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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

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Contents of Volume XXIX

Number 1—Spring, 1963

	PAGE
THE SWEDISH IMMIGRANT AND LIFE IN KANSAS.....	<i>Emory Lindquist</i> , 1
THE "EXODUSTERS" ON THE MISSOURI.....	<i>Glen Schwendemann</i> , 25
KANSAS BEFORE 1854: A Revised Annals, Part Nine, 1836-1837.....	Compiled by <i>Louise Barry</i> , 41
With portraits of Henry Dodge, <i>facing</i> p. 43, and Stephen Watts Kearny, <i>facing</i> p. 40.	
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees; Election of Officers; Resolu- tion to Mrs. Lela Barnes; Revised Schedule of Dues To Be Effective July 1; List of Directors of the Society.....	82
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	103
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	104
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.....	108

Number 2—Summer, 1963

	PAGE
ERASTUS D. LADD'S DESCRIPTION OF THE LAWRENCE MASSACRE.....	<i>Russell E. Bidlack</i> , 113
With a reproduction of a water color of the Quantrill raid on Lawrence by Mrs. Lauretta Louise Fisk, <i>facing</i> p. 113.	
A PREFACE TO THE SETTLEMENT OF KANSAS.....	<i>Dorothy V. Jones</i> , 122
THE MUNICIPAL CAMPGROUNDS OF KANSAS.....	<i>Clinton Warne</i> , 137
KANSAS BEFORE 1854: A Revised Annals, Part Ten, 1838-1839.....	Compiled by <i>Louise Barry</i> , 143
With a reproduction of a segment of Hutawa's map (1842) showing the Fort Leavenworth vicinity, <i>facing</i> p. 160, and Ado Hunnius' sketch of Pawnee Rock in 1867, <i>facing</i> p. 161.	
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY, Compiled by <i>Alberta Pantle</i> , Librarian.....	190
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	217
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	220
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.....	228

Number 3—Autumn, 1963

	PAGE
THE EARLY CAREER OF ABRAHAM L. EISENHOWER, PIONEER PREACHER	<i>Gladys Dodd</i> , 233
With pictures of Dr. and Mrs. Abraham L. Eisenhower, a G. A. R. reunion in front of the Eisenhower store at Hope in 1887, and the Eisenhower home in Abilene, <i>frontispiece</i> .	
AT WHAT AGE DID MEN BECOME REFORMERS?	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 250
NORTH CENTRAL KANSAS IN 1887-1889: From the Letters of Leslie and Susan Snow of Junction City (in two installments, Part One), Edited by <i>Lela Barnes</i> , 267	267
KANSAS BEFORE 1854: A Revised Annals, Part Eleven, 1840-1841	Compiled by <i>Louise Barry</i> , 324
With portraits of Jacques Ash-Kum, the Rev. Felix L. Verreydt and John Tecumseh "Tauy" Jones, <i>facing</i> p. 328; and Jerome C. Berryman and picture of the Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School, <i>facing</i> p. 329.	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	360
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	361
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	365

Number 4—Winter, 1963

	PAGE
A TEAR-JERKING ILLUSTRATED SONG OF 1897, "THE LETTER EDGED IN BLACK"	<i>John W. Ripley</i> , 369
With its eight slides reproduced as the <i>frontispiece</i> .	
NORTH CENTRAL KANSAS IN 1887-1889: From the Letters of Leslie and Susan Snow of Junction City (in two installments, Part Two), Edited by <i>Lela Barnes</i> , 372	372
KANSAS BEFORE 1854: A Revised Annals, Part Twelve, 1842-1843	Compiled by <i>Louise Barry</i> , 429
With picture of John C. Fremont and map showing his exploring routes across "Kansas," 1842-1844, <i>facing</i> p. 448; and portraits of Non-on-da- gum-un and Matthew R. Walker, <i>facing</i> p. 449.	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	487
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	488
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	491
ERRATA, VOLUME XXIX	494
INDEX TO VOLUME XXIX	495

**THE KANSAS
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QUARTERLY**

**PUBLISHED BY
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HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE SWEDISH IMMIGRANT AND LIFE IN KANSAS <i>Emory Lindquist,</i>	1
THE "EXODUSTERS" ON THE MISSOURI <i>Glen Schwendemann,</i>	25
KANSAS BEFORE 1854: A Revised Annals, Part Nine, 1836-1837 Compiled by <i>Louise Barry,</i>	41
With portraits of Henry Dodge, <i>facing</i> p. 48, and Stephen Watts Kearny, <i>facing</i> p. 40.	
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees; Election of Officers; Resolu- tion to Mrs. Lela Barnes; Revised Schedule of Dues To Be Effective July 1; List of Directors of the Society	82
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	103
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	104
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	108

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THE COVER

"Crossing the Kansas"—Artist Alfred Jacob Miller's water color showing the American Fur Company's caravan of 1837 fording the river (some seven or eight miles above present Lawrence) en route to the Rocky mountains. (See Marvin C. Ross, editor, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, Norman, Okla., c1951.) Reproduction *courtesy* of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md., and the University of Oklahoma Press. For story in the text, see p. 64.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXIX

Spring, 1963

Number 1

The Swedish Immigrant and Life in Kansas

EMORY LINDQUIST

THE coming of the Swedish immigrants to Kansas was a part of the general movement that developed with increasing tempo during the second half of the 19th century. The extent of that development in Kansas is indicated numerically by the census of 1865, which showed 204 Swedes in Kansas, and 25 years later in the census of 1890, the highest point, when 17,096 Swedish-born men, women, and children claimed Kansas as their home. In 1890 the Swedes ranked in third place behind the Germans and the English in the category of foreign born in the state. Although the total numbers dropped in 1900, the Swedes ranked second behind the Germans numerically in that census year.¹

The motives which brought the Swedes to Kansas were generally not unlike those of the Swedish immigration to other states, but the situation created by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 and the events prior to and during the Civil War were factors in determining the time, and also quite likely, the extent of the Swedish immigration to Kansas. There were ardent champions and bitter opponents of Kansas among the Swedes as a place of settlement during the Civil War era. An early supporter of immigration to Kansas, who later changed his attitude, was the Rev. T. N. Hasselquist, an influential Lutheran clergyman and founder in 1855 of the principal, and at the time, the only Swedish newspaper published in America, *Hemlandet, Det Gamla Och Det Nya*, Galesburg, Ill. In *Hemlandet*, March 31, 1855, Hasselquist referred to Kansas

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This article is an expansion, plus footnotes, of his presidential address before the annual meeting of the State Historical Society in Topeka on October 16, 1962.

1. The "Compendium of the Kansas Census of 1865" was published for the first time in J. Neale Carman, *Foreign-Language Units of Kansas: v. 1, Historical Atlas and Statistics* (Lawrence, 1962), pp. 5-8. The statistics for 1890 and 1900 are from the federal census.—*Sixteenth Census of the U. S.: 1940, Population, v. 2, Characteristics of the Population*, pt. 3, p. 31. The federal census for 1860 showed 122 Swedes in Kansas and 4,954 in 1870. The decade of greatest gain was from 1870 to 1880 when the number increased from 4,954 to 11,207.—*Ibid.*

as "an excellent country." On July 14, 1857, in a special feature, "Some Words to Recently Arrived Immigrants and Others Who Are Seeking Their Luck in America," he pointed out that the Eastern states offered few opportunities, that land in Illinois and Iowa was already too costly for immigrants of modest means, and that the wise decision would be to go to some new territory like Kansas or Nebraska.

A pre-Civil War enthusiast for Scandinavian immigration to Kansas was Dr. C. H. Gran, a physician of Andover, Ill., who was heartily supported in the columns of *Hemlandet* by Hasselquist. Gran planned a Scandinavian colony in Kansas, which never became a reality, but he wrote enthusiastically about the prospects in Kansas. In *Hemlandet*, December 3, 1857, Gran described at length the advantages of Kansas, based on an extensive trip to the area. The countryside was beautiful and productive, and, "when one gets up on a bluff and looks about these fruitful plains and woods, and sees these wonders of God's creation, the soul is filled with a stirring that words cannot describe." The description of Kansas included the Kansas, Big Blue, Smoky Hill, and Republican river valleys, which the physician had visited. Gran found the climate to be moderate, the soil fertile, and the rainfall adequate. Here indeed was the promise of a great future for the immigrant.²

Other enthusiasts for Kansas wrote frequently to *Hemlandet*, which was read extensively by Swedes in this country and in the homeland. Henry L. Kiisel, who had been in the United States for eight years, addressed his countrymen through the pages of *Hemlandet*, December 15, 1857, as follows: "Countrymen in New York and in other eastern states! You who work hard every day for your small daily wage, now is the chance for you to get your own home, where you can live independent of Americans, and you will escape working so hard and cease to be dependent upon your daily wages." Kiisel ended his plea by urging the Scandinavian immigrants "to hurry to Kansas." Letters continued to urge settlement in Kansas. On March 15, 1859, *Hemlandet* carried another enthusiastic account from Riley county, where John Johnson had settled in the area known as Mariadahl in 1855, from a correspondent who described the fertile soil, plentiful water, good supplies of wood and building stone, invigorating and healthful climate, plenty of good level land, and trading posts within 30 miles.

2. For a discussion of the proposed Gran colony in Kansas, see Emory Lindquist, "The Swedes in Kansas Before the Civil War," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 19 (August, 1951), pp. 258-265, and "A Proposed Scandinavian Colony in Kansas Prior to the Civil War," *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly*, Chicago, v. 9 (April, 1958), pp. 48-60.

However, the pages of *Hemlandet* also contained letters opposing Kansas as a field for settlement. On March 15, 1859, *Hemlandet* carried a long article by Louis Lybecker, a Swede who had spent a year with a surveying party in Kansas. He was outspoken in his criticism of Kansas as he wrote:

My knowledge about Kansas is such that from the bottom of my heart I never want to think of it. What is home for us people from the North without a glorious Summer, without snow, without woods and water? Are we accustomed to an endless prairie with its eternal monotony? No, we feel at home when we find ourselves surrounded by beautiful nature, by evergreen forests along a lake or river. Then we can call it New Sweden.

Lybecker contended that he was in weekly correspondence with countrymen in Kansas who were disgruntled with the prospects there. He concluded his attack upon Kansas by urging the Swedes to settle in Minnesota. A. Thorson, writing in *Hemlandet* July 6, 1858, had warned his Swedish readers that

Kansas is the battle ground and the scene of conflict between two great political parties, and the end of the struggle is far off. For this reason at present Kansas can only with difficulty be settled and occupied by peaceable people, who must earn their bread by the sweat of their brows.

A combination of factors turned Swedish immigration away from Kansas until after the Civil War.³ The failure of the Gran plan for a large colony, and frequent discouraging reports from Swedes in Kansas, created an adverse situation. In *Hemlandet*, March 8, 1859, the editor reported that a letter "earnestly urging Swedes not to come to Kansas," had been read at a large meeting at Galesburg, Ill., on February 28. Newspaper reports and "Amerika brev," letters from the new country to friends and relatives in Sweden, created a negative attitude toward Kansas. *Hemlandet*, October 19, 1860, reprinted a long letter from the Chicago *Tribune* describing in most graphic language the terrible economic conditions as a result of the prolonged drought of that year. The newspaper also discussed the impact of the Civil War on Kansas, and on September 30, 1863, *Hemlandet* described the casualties among the Swedes in Lawrence as a result of Quantrill's raid. When the Civil War was concluded, a new situation prevailed in Kansas, and united with economic and religious factors in the homeland, the stage was set for a new era of Swedish immigration to this state.

3. Accounts of the early Swedish settlements in Kansas are found in A. Schön, "De förste svenskarne i Kansas," *Präriebloman*, 1912 (Rock Island, Ill., 1911), pp. 171-173; T. W. Anderson, "Swedish Pioneers in Kansas," *Year-Book of the Swedish Historical Society of America*, St. Paul, Minn., v. 10 (1924-1925), pp. 7-18. A compilation of letters from *Hemlandet* is edited and translated by George M. Stephenson in *Year-Book of the Swedish Historical Society of America*, v. 8 (1922-1923), pp. 56-152. This source has been used in this study.

The relationship of the future growth of Kansas to European immigration was recognized in February, 1864, with the passage of an act by the Kansas legislature to establish the bureau of immigration. This legislation provided for two commissioners, appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate, with the governor as an ex-officio member. Section 1 stated that the commissioners had ". . . power to appoint one or more agents to visit Europe for the purpose of encouraging and directing immigration to this State. . . ." ⁴ The first report pursuant to the act creating the bureau of immigration was presented by L. D. Bailey and George A. Crawford, commissioners, and Gov. S. J. Crawford for 1867. The report indicated that no appropriations for the work of the bureau had been made by the legislature, although the bureau had prepared a one-page "immigration letter paper" which had been distributed widely. This first report included an urgent appeal for developing financial resources to promote immigration to Kansas. Emphasis was placed upon "the starving condition of 500,000 people in Sweden. Every western and northwestern State but Kansas appropriates money to secure a share of this human harvest." ⁵ On December 30, 1868, J. B. McAfee, adjutant general of Kansas, reported that "the great famine in Sweden has been causing tens of thousands to immigrate to this country; a great portion of them might, with proper effort, be secured to this State." ⁶ In February, 1865, John P. Swensson, a Swede residing in Junction City, wrote to Governor Crawford that he had received a letter from a countryman in Sweden, "a man who says that thousands of them [Swedes], also in Norway and Denmark, make preparation to go to this country. . . ." ⁷ Four years later, in January, 1869, Swensson urged Gov. James M. Harvey to promote Swedish immigration, offering his services as an immigration agent if the legislature would appropriate funds for that purpose. ⁸ Although the activity of Kansas immigration agents was quite extensive in Germany and France, this phase of promotion of Swedish settlement in Kansas was limited. The official roster of Kansas shows only one such appointment on March 13, 1874. ⁹

4. *Laws of the State of Kansas, 1864*, ch. 75, sec. 1, pp. 143, 144.

5. *Report of the Office State Bureau of Immigration*, Topeka, March 7, 1868 (Leavenworth, 1868), pp. 5-8. The condition in Sweden has been described as follows: "An economic crisis gripped Sweden in 1864 and 1865 and was followed by three distressing years of crop failures."—Florence Edith Janson, *The Background of Swedish Immigration* (Chicago, 1931), p. 222.

6. D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), pp. 495-496.

7. John P. Swensson to Gov. S. J. Crawford, February 6, 1865.

8. John P. Swensson to Gov. James M. Harvey, January 29, 1869.

9. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16 (1923-1925), p. 682.

Kansas profited directly from the various activities of immigration companies with headquarters in New York and Chicago. The American Emigrant Company, which carried on extensive operations in Europe, was represented by an agent in Gothenberg, the principal port city in Sweden, as early as 1865, and the company began advertising to enlist the attention of Swedes planning on immigrating to America in 1866. The Columbian Emigration Company also began its activities in Sweden about the same time. Other active groups were the Chicago Emigrant Agency and the American Emigrant Aid and Homestead Company. Several newspapers in the Swedish language were circulated in Sweden beginning in the 1870's for the avowed purpose of stimulating an interest in immigration. *Amerika-Bladet* was one of the best known of these publications.¹⁰

The railroad companies took the lead in promoting immigration of various nationalities to Kansas, and appropriate recognition was given to Sweden. In 1874 the Santa Fe railroad printed a modest-sized pamphlet in Swedish in promoting a Swedish settlement at Pawnee Rock, in the upper Arkansas valley. Swedish immigrants were urged to settle in an area which included 115,000 acres of railroad land which sold from \$4.00 to \$7.00 per acre with credit terms for 11 years.¹¹ A comprehensive attempt to enlist the interest of Swedish immigrants to Kansas was presented by the Kansas Pacific railroad in a 24-page pamphlet published in the Swedish language at Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1877. The pamphlet identifies C. W. Helstrom as immigration agent in Gothenburg. Helstrom later became a well-known citizen in McPherson county. The names of 19 Swedes in Kansas, who would endorse the superior advantages of the state, are listed. The pamphlet affirmed that "it is undeniable beyond any doubt that Kansas is a paradise."¹²

Several other factors, in which Swedes already in America took the initiative, brought their countrymen to Kansas. It has been pointed out that many Swedes came to the United States between 1867 and 1879 through the influence of friends and relatives already in this country.¹³ A vital element in developing interest in America was the "*Amerika brev*," letters from immigrants to friends and relatives at home. One Swedish immigrant has described the ac-

10. Janson, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-240.

11. Available only in an English translation.

12. *Kansas och Colorado. En kort beskrifning öfver landet dess Boskapsskötsel och Akerbruk, längs Kansas-Pacific Jernbanan* (Köpenhamn, 1877), 24 pages.

13. Janson, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

counts as "full of hope and great expectations for the future, and people came from far and near to read these letters. Copies were made and read to crowds of people upon public occasions in the surrounding country."¹⁴

A special factor in promoting Swedish immigration to Kansas was the organization of land companies by Swedes. The year 1868 witnessed the organization by Swedes already in this country of two companies whose activities were decisive in creating the large Swedish element in southern Saline and northern McPherson counties with Lindsborg as the center. The First Swedish Agricultural Company of McPherson county was organized at Chicago on April 17, 1868. On the basis of information available on 42 members, 30 of them had arrived in the United States in 1867 and 1868. The company purchased 13,168 acres of land from the Kansas Pacific railway in McPherson and Saline counties. The Galesburg Land Company was formed at Galesburg, Ill., in the autumn of 1868. This group acquired 14,080 acres in Saline and McPherson counties, with the centers of activity at Freemount and Salemsborg.¹⁵ The year 1868 also witnessed the founding of the Scandinavian Agricultural Society of Chicago, which purchased 12 sections of land along the Republican river. The colony, called New Scandinavia, now known as Scandia, in Republic county, brought many Swedes to the area.¹⁶

The increasing tempo of Swedish immigration in the 1880's stimulated Swedes in Kansas to organize for the promotion of settlement in their state. The leaders in the movement were the Rev. Olof Olsson, who had come to Lindsborg in 1869 in the area provided by the First Swedish Agricultural Company, and Dr. Carl Swensson, founder and president of Bethany College. The two men toured western Kansas in 1887 and gave glowing accounts of the prospects there. The special area urged for settlement was in Wallace and Logan counties. Olsson and Swensson used extensively the pages of the Swedish newspaper, *Framåt*, published in Lindsborg, for promoting this venture. Olsson predicted that the prophecy of Isaiah 35 would be forthcoming, "The wilderness and the dry land shall be glad, the desert will rejoice

14. C. J. A. Ericson, "Memories of a Swedish Immigrant," *Annals of Iowa*, v. 8 (April, 1907), p. 2.

15. Alfred Bergin, "The Swedish Settlements in Central Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11 (1909-1910), pp. 22-30; Emory Lindquist, "A Land Company and a Community: The Background Factors in the Founding of Lindsborg, Kansas," *The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly*, v. 9 (October, 1958), pp. 111-123.

16. I. O. Savage, *History of Republic County* (1883), p. 68; *New Scandinavia's Ninety-Three Years, 1868-1961* (Scandia, 1961), pp. 3-5.

and blossom.”¹⁷ The *Lindsborg News* reported enthusiastically on February 3, 1888, that the Southwest Swedish Colonization Company had sold nearly 50,000 acres of land in western Kansas since the previous July. The editor predicted that Wallace, Logan, Greeley, Sherman, and Thomas counties would soon have prosperous Swedish settlements. Another colonization company was promoting settlement in Trego county. It was predicted that Vasa, Birka, Vega, and Altona would be as well known as Lindsborg. Although the exuberant expectations of the promoters were never realized, a sizeable Swedish element settled in the area south of Ogallah in Trego county, and near Sharon Springs in Wallace county, and in the area of Page City in Logan county.¹⁸

The transition from life in the old country to Kansas was marked by a variety of responses dependent upon the outlook and circumstances of the immigrant. There was, nevertheless, a common element expressed in the Swedish word, *hemlängtan*, which is difficult to translate meaningfully into English. *Hemlängtan* includes the vital and fundamental meaning of “longing for home,” expressed only partially in the English word “homesickness.” Nature must have contributed mightily to this feeling as the immigrant contrasted the wide expanse of uninhabited prairie with the pine and spruce woods, the colorful small meadows, the birch-lined streams, and the winding roads of the homeland. One Smoky valley immigrant, decades after leaving the homeland as a youth, unobtrusively carried out a personal ritual each Sunday morning, when, after the church service which had been conducted in the liturgical form of Sweden, he plucked a few pine needles from a tree on church property, rubbed them gently in his hands, and inhaled the fragrance of the residue, sharing thus silently in a sacrament of remembrance from former days.

The feeling of *hemlängtan* was magnified by a full realization that the immigrants were separated from familiar faces and places by the vast expanse of the Atlantic ocean and half of the space of the great American continent. The likelihood of a return to Sweden was remote because of economic factors, but the possibility was kept alive in the temple of memory. There was at first a feeling of lostness, too, in the newness and strangeness of the language, customs, people, and life in the new world.

17. *Framåt* was used extensively in 1887 and 1888 for promoting this project. A long description of opportunities for Swedes in western Kansas by the Rev. Olof Olsson, “En Titt Till Kansas,” is found in *Framåt*, October 29, 1887.

18. For the pattern of Swedish settlements, see Carman, *op. cit.*, in the county sections.

Although there are many expressions of this *hemlängtan* in "Amerika brev" written from Kansas to the old country, the depth and meaning of it is beautifully and poignantly expressed in a series of letters written from a farm home near Manhattan by Mrs. Ida Nibelius Lindgren to her mother in Sweden during the period 1870-1881.¹⁹ In the best tradition of Sweden, the farm was given a name, *Lindesfrid*, and from there and at other places in the area, this cultured and sensitive wife and mother of five children shared her feelings about life in Kansas. When mail came one day from Sweden containing flower seeds, she wrote: "When they [the flowers] bloom, as I hope they will do, and when some evening they send their fragrance through the window to me, I will think that it is a dear greeting from my loved ones." Only one picture had been brought from Sweden. It hung over her bed and reminded her of "by gone and happier times." But there were the ever-present resources of God's great universe which she shared with her dear ones far away. She described what this meant to her shortly after arriving in Kansas:

I see the stars twinkling and the milky way shines here so clearly. It sits so low here, right in front of my window. I know that it sits right in front of mamma's front hall door. Oh, you small, clear stars, may you shine there on happy, joyous people, blink at them, and greet them from me and tell them that I love them and long for them always.

This pioneer Swedish woman recalled the festivities of Midsummer day, June 24, in the old country, when they wandered out in the fields and meadows, seeking a great variety of beautiful flowers, the serenading of the young men with the sound of the last chorus singing in her ears, "Summer is such a happy time for the young," and the great joy of the day. But Midsummer day was only another day on the calendar of Kansans. There were other times of remembrance, a wedding anniversary, with a rose in the hair to identify it, and tears mingled with the carpet rags as the pioneer woman thought of former days. One August day in 1875 a visitor came to *Lindesfrid*, a man selling a highly prized item, a sewing machine. This would be a splendid possession in a household of seven persons but the family funds would not produce the \$70 required for purchase. But Mrs. Lindgren was resourceful. She recalled that packed away in the sea chest was her beautiful white silk shawl, a treasured possession from Sweden. The shawl was displayed, and to the great pleasure of the owner, the man liked it.

19. Ida Nibelius Lindgren, *Brev Från Nybyggarhusmet I Kansas, 1870-1881* (Göteborg, 1960), April 12, 1871, p. 38; February 9, 1871, p. 35; October 9, 1871, p. 44; June 24, 1877, p. 69; August 28, 1875, pp. 66, 67. These letters constitute an excellent source of information about the daily life and aspirations of a cultured Swedish immigrant.

Soon a bargain was concluded. The Swedish immigrant parted with her treasured white silk shawl and \$25, and in return she now owned the sewing machine.

There were times of great sorrow also for the immigrants trying to build a new life in a distant land. One pioneer mother asked herself why "God's hand rests so heavily upon us. He beats us in so many ways, not that we do not deserve it and much more—no, it is that *we should require so much discipline*,—that strikes me so heavily. I read last evening the first two chapters of Job. I thought that we needed to be reminded, how a Christian should bear his adversities."²⁰ On New Year's Eve, in 1868, in the Smoky valley, Mrs. John Nelson, the mother of seven small children, died as the New Year was dawning. Six dollars were subscribed among her neighbors for the purchase of lumber for a coffin. Burial took place as C. R. Carlson, a schoolteacher, read the simple service of the homeland.²¹ On May 20, 1870, a Swedish woman made this entry in her diary at Lake Sibley, Cloud county, six weeks after leaving Sweden:

Anna is better today and God be praised that she didn't die here. They have buried Claus' son, but no preacher, no bells, no cemetery. They bury their dead under a large, lone tree out on the prairie, sometimes without a coffin. Claus nailed together a little coffin and we decorated it both inside and outside with flowers. They themselves read the burial service.²²

The pattern of life includes sorrow for the family of man everywhere, but the burden of tragedy must have been especially great for the immigrants in a strange and far-away land. The Rev. Olof Olsson, who came to Kansas from Värmland, Sweden, in 1869, pondered these facts later and gave his response:

From whence should strength and comfort come to us as we were called upon to bury our dear ones in the wilderness? You must have a spiritual, yes, a divine strength that upholds you when you must withstand anguish, misreckonings, sorrow, and loss year after year. Pioneer life in the wilderness is no joke; it is a war, a battle. We should have been most foolish to have lost our hope in the heavenly home.²³

The Swedish immigrant was confronted with the difficulty of learning the English language and the rate of that achievement varied considerably among individuals and in different communities. Some of the Kansas immigrants never learned the language of the land, while many others made substantial progress. It was generally

20. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

21. Alfred Bergin, *Lindsborg. Bidrag Till Svenskarnas och Den Lutherska Kyrkans Historia I Smoky Hill Dalen* (Rock Island, Ill., 1909), pp. 31, 32.

22. Ida Nibelius Lindgren, *Vår Resa Till Amerika, 1870. Dagboks—anteckningar* (Stockholm, 1958), p. 40.

23. Olof Olsson, *Samlade Skrifter* (Rock Island, Ill.), v. 3, p. 186.

true that Swedes in towns and cities adapted themselves more readily to the English language than people in distinctly rural areas. The men, who were involved in wider contacts than the women, generally learned English earlier. The process of Americanization increased in tempo as the children of immigrants attended American schools. These children became bi-lingual and they soon felt more at ease in the use of English than in Swedish. One factor which perpetuated the use of the Swedish language was the "Swedish schools" held usually for two months in the summer, and conducted under the auspices of individual congregations. An observer in Lindsborg, writing in 1919 and reviewing developments in the previous decade or so, pointed out that children often answered the questions of their parents in English, although the mother or father had used Swedish in making the inquiry. Sunday School materials were written in Swedish but the discussion had been in English for several years prior to the writer's comments.²⁴

Prof. J. Neale Carman, of the University of Kansas, has rendered a great service to the knowledge of Kansas life and history in his excellent and comprehensive study of foreign-language units and linguistic developments in Kansas, published this year.²⁵ In an analysis of 44 Swedish settlements among the 59 identified by Professor Carman, the most critical years for the abandonment of the Swedish language in Kansas were the years 1914-1918, the period of World War I. Professor Carman appropriately defines the term "critical year" as "the year in which a community ceased to use the foreign language habitually in the majority of the homes where there were growing children."²⁶ In 14 settlements the critical year occurred before 1914, and in five of them as early as 1905. The World War I period was critical for 18 settlements, including the large Swedish area in McPherson and Saline counties. Twelve Swedish communities reached the critical year after 1918, with three related to 1925 and one as late as 1930.

The pattern of development is interesting and sometimes quite puzzling. For instance, Garfield township in Clay county, a distinctly rural area, had its critical year in 1905. One possible explanation is found in the fact that there had been only modest

24. G. A. Peterson, "Svenskheten i Lindsborg," in Bergin, *Lindsborg after Fentio Xr*, pp. 146-149. The influence of children in the Americanization of Swedish immigrants is discussed in Oscar Algot Benson, "Problems in the Accommodation of the Swede to American Culture" (an unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1933), pp. 118, 119.

25. Carman, *op. cit.*

26. *Ibid.*, p. 2. Professor Carman states: "Because of its character of estimate, the date fixed in the *Atlas* for the critical year of any community may be in error by as much as two, three, or even five years; five may be regarded as the maximum error."

immigration there since early times, because in 1895 only 221 persons out of the total Swedish stock of 533, were born in Sweden. However, in Laing township in Rawlins county, also like Garfield township a definitely rural area, the critical year was 1930. In 1895 112 of the Swedish stock of 191 were born in Sweden, indicating a more direct relationship with the old country than in Garfield township. In Morris county, the Marion Hill Swedes and Burdick Swedes have similar patterns except that the former was founded in 1869 and the latter in 1881. The critical year for the Marion Hill Swedes was 1912 and for the Burdick Swedes it was 1925.²⁷

Evidence suggests that the presence of a church with a Swedish background was not always a decisive factor in perpetuating the Swedish language. Isolation in a rural area and the number and date of arrival of Swedish-born residents tended to be decisive factors. The critical year 1918 for the Lindsborg Swedes, although dominant in that region, may be explained at least in part to the presence of Bethany College as an Americanization factor and the desire of this Swedish community, so well known in Kansas, to be recognized as an integral part of the American scene during the abnormal years of World War I.

The Swedish language was often used in church services beyond the time that it was generally spoken in the homes. Dr. Alfred Bergin has written that the first preaching in the English language in the Bethany Lutheran church, Lindsborg, occurred in 1885. The church report for 1895 indicates that there had been an effort made to preach in English the previous year, but, as it encroached upon the regular program of the church, the services were moved to [Bethany] College. There was no rite of confirmation in the English language prior to 1904.²⁸ Swedish was the language of the services of the large Bethany Lutheran church at Lindsborg until 1928, when the practice was initiated of having one morning service in Swedish and one in English. However, Messiah Lutheran church, in which the English service was used exclusively, was organized in Lindsborg in 1908 to serve the non-Swedish population and Swedes who favored the language of the land for church services. The principal service at the Bethany Lutheran church after 1928 was conducted in English. Beginning in 1941 English was used exclusively except for one Bible class. The minutes of congregational business were written in Swedish until 1934.²⁹

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 102, 211, 241-243.

28. Alfred Bergin, *The Story of Lindsborg* (Lindsborg, 1929), p. 15.

29. Emory Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People* (Rock Island, Ill., 1953), p. 182.

The pattern at Lindsborg was quite typical of other Swedish communities in the use of language in church services.

Available written materials indicate that the Swedes readily adopted English words for expressing meaning whenever this was convenient. The official records of the First Swedish Agricultural Company of McPherson county, 1868-1877, produce interesting evidence. Included among the English words and modifications of them in the midst of Swedish sentences were such words as farming, floring (flooring), motion, gaten (gate), lawyer, deedens (deed), platformen (platform), trainen (train), and depoten (depot).³⁰ One scholar has pointed out interesting usage based upon a diary kept by a Kansas Swede, 1870-1885. This diary included such usage as "tubb" for tub, "peel" for pail, "skingel" for shingle, "lomber" for lumber, "torkis" for turkey, and "fäns" for fence.³¹ Quaint and interesting results often occurred in the spoken word as English was mixed with Swedish. G. N. Malm, a Kansan, and a well-known name in literary and artistic circles among Swedish Americans, has caught the tone and spirit of this language in his classic volume on Swedish American life in the 1890's entitled, *Charli Johnson*.³² This volume is a splendid source for this phase of linguistic study. In the hundreds of examples in the volume the following are cited: kroppen (crop), kutta (cut), hajrat (hired), kipat upp (continue), kaontrit (country), karload (carload), tjita (cheat), tometes plantes (tomato plants), enjoyat (enjoyed), palajt (polite), evriting (everything), exhastada (exhausted).

The Swedes in Kansas realized the need for newspapers and periodicals in their own language until a new generation could master the English language. The first Kansas publication in Swedish was *Nytt och Gammalt*, a religious journal written by the Rev. Olof Olsson at Lindsborg and printed in German type in Salina. Six issues totaling 190 pages were published between April and November, 1873. The journal was then merged with other Swedish language publications. Ten other Swedish language newspapers and periodicals were published in Kansas. The oldest newspaper, *Svenska Herolden*, a weekly, was published in Salina, 1878-1881. Lindsborg *Posten*, a weekly, had the longest continuous history. The first issue appeared in 1897; it ceased publication in

30. "Records and Minutes of the First Swedish Agricultural Company of McPherson County, Kansas."

31. C. Terence Pihlblad, "The Kansas Swedes," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Austin, Tex., v. 13 (June, 1932), p. 42.

32. G. N. Malm, *Charli Johnson*. *Svensk-Amerikan* (Chicago, 1910).

1930. Other Swedish language publications have been *Kansas Staats Tidning*, 1879-1880; *Kansas Posten*, 1882-1883; *Pedagogen*, 1885-1886; *Praktiken*, 1886; *Framåt*, 1887-1888; *Kansas Missions Tidning*, 1904-1912; and *Budbäraran*, a Bethany College publication appearing occasionally for a few years beginning in 1892. *Kansas Monitoren*, a short-lived journal, was published in Salina. The editor apologized "for his deficiency in Swedish spelling and grammar." However, he stated, "that really makes no difference, since the purpose of *Monitoren* is merely to promote true culture among the people of the Saline valley."³³ All the above publications, except as noted, had their origin in Lindsborg.³⁴

The political affiliation of the Swedes in the United States generally as well as in Kansas has been definitely with the Republican party. An important factor was the commitment of the Rev. T. N. Hasselquist, founder and editor of *Hemlandet, Det Gamla Och Det Nya*, to the Republican cause. Hasselquist greatly admired Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune* and the columns of the *Tribune* furnished much material for this Swedish newspaper. The identification of the Democratic party with slavery caused the Swedish immigrants generally to shun that party. An authority on Swedish-American life has described the situation as follows:

Although one denomination fought another for converts, all agreed upon the merits of the Republican party. It was the staunch adherence to the tenets of the Republican party by the Swedish American press from 1855 to 1876 which is largely accountable for the faithfulness of the Swedes to the Republican party both during and following that period.³⁵

The situation in Kansas is described at least symbolically in the terse philosophy of life declared by one Swedish immigrant as follows: "Jag är Luteran, jag är Republikan och jag kör en McCormick själv binder." ("I am a Lutheran, I am a Republican, and I drive a McCormick self-binder.") Dr. Carl Swensson, founder of Bethany College, writing to D. W. Wilder from Lindsborg in January, 1881, declared:

We Swedes come from a free and noble people, and our history as a free people dates back at least as far as the beginning of the Christian era. . . . The Swedes of Kansas and Iowa, as a class, have worked hard for Prohibition, and that as good Republicans, because every Swede is born a Republican and will remain such if no unforeseen accidents overtake him.³⁶

33. J. Oscar Backlund, *A Century of the Swedish American Press* (Chicago, 1952), pp. 69, 70.

34. A fairly complete list of Swedish papers published in Kansas is found in William E. Connelley, *History of Kansas Newspapers* (Topeka, 1916), pp. 232, 233.

35. O. Fritiof Ander, "Swedish-American Newspapers and the Republican Party," *Augustana Historical Society Publications*, Rock Island, Ill., v. 2 (1932), p. 77.

36. C. A. Swensson to D. W. Wilder, January 16, 1881.

The voting record of the Kansas Swedes, in so far as it can be determined, indicates that generally "no unforeseen accidents" overtook them politically. Prof. Walter Nugent in his comprehensive study of voting patterns in Kansas has pointed out that McPherson county, with a large concentration of Swedes and Protestant Germans, was "farther above the average in Republicanism throughout the period 1880-1908 than either the native or other immigrant counties among the 26 counties that were studied." He goes on to point out that 15 Swedish precincts in the period 1894-1908 were "generally and heavily Republican. In 1908 the heavier the Swedish percentage in the precinct, the heavier the Republican vote with two exceptions." An analysis of voting in 1894, in Smoky Hill township, where Lindsborg is located, shows the following: Populist, 21.3%; Democratic, 3%; Republican, 75.9%. For the entire state of Kansas: Populist, 38.8%, Democratic, 9.5%; and Republican 51.7%.³⁷

Although the commitment to the Republican party was decisive, some interesting and spotty voting can be observed in Swedish communities during the Populist era. In McPherson county, in the contest for governor in 1896, the incumbent Republican candidate, Edmund N. Morrill, won decisively in the Swedish townships, Smoky Hill and Union, but John W. Leedy, the Populist candidate, the winner in the election, gained the largest number of votes in the Swedish settlement, New Gottland. In Saline county, in Falun and Smolan townships, where the Swedes had dominating superiority in numbers, Leedy had a two to one majority over his Republican opponent. The results were particularly interesting in Union and New Gottland townships in McPherson county where the Swedish voters dominated and were almost identical in number. Union chose the Republican by a large majority, and New Gottland preferred the Populist, but by a lesser majority.³⁸

The above facts are interesting but difficult to interpret because of the parallel similarity in Swedish background. One important factor accounting for the great Republican strength in Lindsborg and Smoky Hill township was the personal influence of Dr. Carl Swensson, president of Bethany College and a dedicated Republican. As early as 1882 the Lindsborg *Localist*, October 26, 1882,

37. Walter Nugent, "Populism and Nativism in Kansas, 1888-1904" (an unpublished dissertation for the Ph. D. degree, University of Chicago, 1961), pp. 206-209.

38. The census for 1895, preceding the election of 1896, shows the following: Union township, total population, 608; Swedish stock, 560; Morrill (R), 121, Leedy, (P), 28. New Gottland township, total population, 607; Swedish stock 540, Morrill (R), 67, Leedy (P), 81. The statistics on the population and Swedish stock are found in Carman, *op. cit.*, p. 190. The statistics on the election are found in the records of the secretary of state of Kansas.

announced a Republican rally on Sunday evening at the Swedish Lutheran church where Swensson was the pastor. He was, moreover, an avowed and vitriolic opponent of the Populists. In a letter to the Populist Gov. L. D. Lewelling, in April, 1894, he wrote:

The plague of grasshoppers and droughts cannot be compared to the disasters that have been heaped upon our young, noble state by the doctrines and proclamations and public and private utterances by yourself and other leaders of your party. You have made Kansas the laughing-stock of the entire intelligent world.³⁹

The Republicans organized strong Swedish-American Republican clubs in various parts of the state. The state-wide League met in Lindsborg on March 6, 1896, with delegates from 50 local Swedish-American Republican clubs in attendance. The objective of the League was "to educate the Swedish-Americans along the lines of republicanism and Americanism."⁴⁰ In October of the same year, John A. Enander, editor of the Republican newspaper, *Hemlandet*, published in Chicago, addressed a great rally at Lindsborg attended by 2,500 people.⁴¹

The normal Republican commitment of the Swedes of Kansas was modestly challenged by the growth of the Farmers' Alliance and Populist movement. Smoky Valley Alliance No. 2535 had been organized in the Lindsborg community and carried on an active program. The group planned picnics and rallies. This unit of the Alliance was entitled to 10 delegates to the county convention at McPherson on June 26, 1891.⁴²

The activities of the Alliance were bitterly opposed in some Swedish communities. The climax of conflict came in the Smoky valley when on August 12, 1891, seven members of the Bethany Lutheran church, Lindsborg, were excommunicated for their membership in the Alliance.⁴³ The organization nevertheless sponsored an Alliance picnic at Lindsborg on August 15 which attracted between 500 and 600 people according to the Populist press. A correspondent of the Topeka *Capital*, however, reported that the "attendance was very slim and a great disappointment to the leaders."⁴⁴

As the controversy developed in Lindsborg, the editor of the *Peoples' Advocate*, McPherson, wrote on October 2, 1891, that the attitude of the "Luthren [*sic*] church is unamerican, anti-demo-

39. Topeka *Capital*, April 29, 1894.

40. Lindsborg *News*, March 13, 1896.

41. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1896.

42. *Peoples' Advocate*, McPherson, June 12, July 31, 1891.

43. "Record of Ministerial Acts, 1891," Bethany Lutheran church, Lindsborg, p. 240.

44. *Peoples' Advocate*, August 21, 1891; Topeka *Capital*, August 16, 1891.

cratic, and less liberal than the Pope of Rome." Dr. Carl Swensson, a staunch Republican and pastor of the Bethany Lutheran church which had excommunicated the Alliance members, replied at length to his McPherson critic in a long article in the *Lindsborg News*, October 30, 1891. He pointed out that he had replied to his Alliance opponents in a letter to Judge Coldwell of McPherson on September 15, 1891, stating that

politically the decision has no significance whatever, as our church as such has not taken any part in politics, nor does it intend to. . . . But as to all secret organizations the founders . . . had taken the stand that such organizations are unchristian, unrepubli- can in their tendency, and therefore antagonistic to the best interests of the state, church, and family, however innocent and benevolent their exterior appearance may be.

The Lindsborg pastor further informed his readers that the position should not be changed although some of the "sons . . . make fools of themselves by supporting without previous examination a secret political organization called the Alliance."

The debate about the excommunication of the Alliance members of the church was not confined to the 1890's. There are some who felt that the action was taken not because of the "anti-republicanism" cited in Swensson's letter, but because of the anti-Republican party position of the Alliance. However, the farmers' movement was not crushed at Lindsborg, because on June 17, 1892, the *Lindsborg News* reported that a stock company had been organized there with a capital stock of \$5,000 for the purpose of publishing a Populist newspaper in the Swedish language in the city. These plans never materialized. The pattern of loyalty to the Republican party was fully re-established at the turn of the century, and received support from many quarters. In October, 1906, for instance, a pastor of the Swedish Lutheran church in Marshall county published a three-column article in the semi-official Kansas Conference organ, *Lindsborg Posten*, entitled "Some Words to Swedes in Kansas." In this article the pastor pleaded, "Countrymen, let us be Republicans and here in Kansas vote for Governor Hoch."⁴⁵

Sen. Frank Carlson of Concordia, the son of Swedish immigrants, has achieved the most distinguished record among the Swedes of Kansas in politics and elective office. Carlson's father, who arrived in America in 1880, was born in the province of Värmland. His mother's birthplace was in Småland. Mrs. Carlson's parents are also Swedish born. Frank Carlson represented the former sixth district in the United States congress from 1934 to 1946. He

45. The Rev. A. S. Segerhammar in *Lindsborg Posten*, October 17, 1906.

then served as governor of Kansas from 1946 to 1950. Carlson was first elected to the United States senate in 1950 and was re-elected in 1956 and 1962 by substantial majorities. He holds important committee assignments in the senate, including membership on the senate foreign relations committee.⁴⁶

Religion and the desire for freedom in religious expression were important factors in Swedish immigration to Kansas, especially in the early era. The Lutheran state church was challenged effectively about the middle of the 19th century by dissent within its own ranks. One phase was related to a free, evangelical movement, Lutheran in doctrine, whose members were known as *läsare*. This group maintained a distinctively pietistic and subjective emphasis and attracted increasingly large numbers of adherents as the years advanced. Individuals like Carl Rosenius, editor of *Pietisten*, and Peter Fjellstedt, the Biblical scholar, and the organization Fosterlands-stiftelsen (The Evangelical Fatherland), were important influences in this development. This evangelical movement produced great hymns by Lina Sandell-Berg (L. S.). *Tryggare Kan Ingen Vara and Blott En Dag Ett Ögonblick I Sender*, from the hymn book, *Hemlandsånger*, were sung with deep feeling by many Kansas Swedes.⁴⁷

Closely identified with this evangelical movement was the Rev. Olof Olsson of Sunnemo, Karlstad diocese, who came with a large party of immigrants to the Smoky valley in 1869 to share in the founding of Lindsborg. In that year, 1869, a newspaper correspondent in Sweden, writing in *Hemlandet*, August 10, 1869, observed: "The largest number of immigrants consists of vigorous people, of which a large number belonged to that group called *läsare*—in other words, those who have with earnestness found the greatest end in life: to live by faith in Christ and to die happy." The Rev. Olof Olsson, a distinguished preacher, writer, leader, and the first member of the Kansas house of representatives from McPherson county, was a great spiritual force among the Kansas Swedes during the formative period of the late 1860's and 1870's.⁴⁸

Important Swedish colonizing companies in Kansas were definitely committed to religious principles and to the development of spiritual life. The First Swedish Agricultural Company of McPherson

46. *Official Congressional Directory*, 87th Cong., 2d Sess. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 53.

47. Oscar N. Olson, *The Augustana Lutheran Church* (Rock Island, Ill., 1950), pp. 16-26. An interesting description of the career of Lina Sandell-Berg by J. E. Liljedahl is found in the *Lindsborg News-Record*, July 12, 1962.

48. The Kansas phase of Olof Olsson's career is described in E. W. Olson, *Olof Olsson. The Man, His Work, and His Thought* (Rock Island, Ill., 1941), pp. 46-140.

county provided in the second article of its constitution the following statement: "Everyone received as a member of this corporation shall be a believing Christian, adhere to the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran church, be industrious and thrifty, and exert himself for the upbuilding and development of the company." Several leaders and members of the company were members of the *läsare* movement. The minutes of the meetings of the company reflect a serious religious spirit. The Galesburg company, which like the First Swedish Agricultural Company, acquired thousands of acres of land in McPherson and Saline counties, was also based upon the desire to found a Swedish settlement upon Christian principles. This company was organized in the Galesburg, Ill., Swedish Lutheran Church, where the Rev. A. W. Dahlsten was the pastor. Dahlsten, the leader of the group, became the first president of the Kansas conference of Swedish Lutheran churches.⁴⁹

Since religious motives played an important role in immigration, it was only natural that the Swedes would found and support churches in Kansas reflecting this doctrinal, liturgical, and linguistic commitment. Swedish Lutheran, Mission Covenant, Baptist, and Methodist churches were established in communities where any sizeable number of Swedes lived. The largest group numerically were the Swedish Lutherans who founded at least 50 churches in Kansas. The first church of this denomination was organized in the Blue valley near Cleburne in Riley county on October 13, 1863. It was named Mariadahl in honor of the mother of the Johnson children, whose first representative, John, came to this area in 1855. The great center for Swedish Lutherans has been the Smoky valley area where in McPherson and Saline counties, 12 congregations were established.⁵⁰

The Lutheran churches among the Swedes in Kansas experienced in intense form the conflict which divided Swedish Lutheran churches throughout America and in Sweden as a result primarily of the teaching of P. P. Waldenström on the doctrine of the atonement. Scarcely any Swedish community was spared the agony and strife produced by the issues of doctrine as earnest men and women strove to know the truth. The dissenters withdrew from the Lutheran churches and organized independently, including many Lutheran elements in their new church. These congregations organized into what became known as the Mission Covenant church. In some

49. Alfred Bergin, "The Swedish Settlements in Central Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections* v. 1 (1909-1910), pp. 19, 24-30.

50. *Kansas-Konferensens Referat, 1897*, "Statistics, 1896," pp. 2, 3. Other volumes of the *Referat* furnish full information about the Swedish Lutherans in Kansas.

rural areas in Kansas, a Swedish Lutheran church and a Mission Covenant church were located within the same section, or on opposite corners of intersecting miles, and in towns, the two groups occasionally had churches within a block or two of each other. The Mission church at Rose Hill, five miles north of Lindsborg, founded in 1873-1874, was the first one of this denomination in Kansas. The Mission Friends, as they were known, organized 28 churches, 11 mission congregations, and conducted religious services in 19 other communities in Kansas.⁵¹ Swedish Baptists founded 19 churches in Kansas. The first congregation of this denomination was organized at Swede Center, Neosho county, near Chanute, in May, 1869.⁵² Clay Center was the site for the founding of the first Swedish Methodist church in Kansas in April, 1870. Seven congregations of this denomination were organized among the Swedes of Kansas.⁵³

The Swedish Baptist and Swedish Methodist churches in Kansas merged with their American counterparts in the 1920's. The Lutheran churches with Swedish antecedents have merged this year (1962) with three other Lutheran groups. The Mission Covenant church alone maintains its historic identity with the period of Swedish immigration.

Religious motives were the principal factors which created the tradition of education and culture at Bethany College, which constitutes the greatest single contribution of the Swedes to Kansas. Dr. Carl Swensson, pastor of the Bethany Lutheran church, Lindsborg, was the founder of the college in 1881, and served later for many years as its president until his death in 1904. The Rev. Olof Olsson, Swensson's predecessor as pastor of the Lutheran church, had earlier discussed with friends the possibility of founding a school in the Smoky valley. However, the personal initiative and faith of Swensson was the decisive factor. He described the background factors in 1884 in these words:

"I saw how God had blessed our settlements in this beautiful, flourishing, and liberty-loving state. But how our children and youth should obtain the necessary Christian education was a question not easily answered. Without the elevating influence exerted by a good school to mould the character of students and others, we would evidently be in danger of sinking into the worship of the almighty dollar and materialism. In addition, among our youth, how many gifts that would otherwise be hidden and deteriorate, would not such a school disclose, gifts to benefit and gladden the community and the church of God. Finally, after consulting the members in the vicinity and laymen

51. *Strödda Drag Ur Missions-Vännernas Verksamhet i Kansas* (Topeka, 1917) describes the activities of the Evangelical Mission Covenant church of Kansas in detail.

52. P. Lovene, *History of the Swedish Baptist Churches of Kansas and Missouri, 1869-1927*.

53. *Svenska-Methodismen i Amerika* (Chicago, 1895), pp. 455-463.

who were interested in the work, all of whom with one accord seconded the project, we ventured upon the undertaking!⁵⁴

The support of the college was broadened significantly for the future when the Kansas conference of the Swedish Lutheran churches assumed responsibility for the institution in 1884.

Bethany College furnished the setting for the origin and growth of the great oratorio tradition at Lindsborg. The Swedish immigrants and their children, under the inspiring leadership of Dr. and Mrs. Carl Swensson, established the distinctive "Messiah" tradition which has an outstanding record of achievement since 1882.⁵⁵ Dr. Birger Sandzén joined the faculty of Bethany College in 1894, coming directly from Sweden. He became Kansas' most outstanding artist. His paintings, watercolors, and prints have attracted national and international acclaim.⁵⁶ The faculty of Bethany College was greatly enriched in the early decades by Swedish immigrants of distinguished learning and culture, who shared in building a fine educational tradition.

The Kansas Swedes, like all immigrants, were confronted with the conflict produced by old allegiances and the challenge of accommodation to the reality that America was their new home. Inevitably there were transitional phases in this adjustment. It was only natural that the immigrants cherished the observance of festive days, like Midsummer day and Christmas, in the manner of the old country. One pioneer Swedish mother wrote to Sweden about the Christmas observance near Manhattan in 1870, the year of arrival in Kansas. A few Swedish friends in the vicinity came on Christmas Eve for the traditional Christmas coffee and Swedish delicacies. The beautiful cedar Christmas tree, with the Swedish flag at the top, and aglow with 24 candles, was decorated with apples, nuts, raisins, and candy. Familiar Christmas carols were sung in the mother tongue to the accompaniment of an harmonica.⁵⁷ The non-Swedish editor of the Lindsborg *Localist* described the traditional *Jul Otta* service in Bethany Lutheran church in 1881. He awakened

54. *Kansas-Konferensens Protokoll, 1884*, pp. 35, 36. A detailed description of the founding and early years of Bethany College is found in Carl Swensson, "Huru Bethany College Blef Till," *Präriebloman, 1903* (Rock Island, Ill., 1902), pp. 76-86. Material on the life of Carl Swensson is found in Ernest Skarstedt, "Läroverkspresidenten Carl Swensson," *Präriebloman, 1905* (Rock Island, Ill., 1904), pp. 77-93; J. E. Floreen, "Dr. Carl Aaron Swensson," *Korsbaneret, 1905* (Rock Island, Ill., 1904), pp. 175-193; Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People*, pp. 126-146.

55. The literature describing the Lindsborg "Messiah" is extensive. For a bibliography, see, Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People*, pp. 260-262.

56. Extensive printed material is available on Birger Sandzén: see William Allen White's introduction to the volume, *In the Mountains* (McPherson, 1925); Charles Matthews, "Artist, Gentleman, and Scholar," *Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, 1938, pp. 3-7; Charles Pelham Greenough, III, *The Graphic Work of Birger Sandzén* (Manhattan, 1952); Margaret Sandzén Greenough, "From Sweden to Kansas," *American Artist*, Stamford, Conn., v. 25 (January, 1961), pp. 26-31, 72, 73.

57. Lindgren, *Från Nybyggarhemmet i Kansas*, pp. 58, 59.

at 4 a. m. in response to the ringing of the church bell, calling the residents to the festive worship service. Christmas morning that year was "clear, starlight, and pleasant. The city was illuminated, nearly every house had tapers in the windows, and the farm houses out on the prairie, as far as the eye could reach, glimmered and twinkled with lights."⁵⁸ The church had candles in every window. The choir sang the famous Swedish Christmas anthem, "Hosianna," and the congregation sang enthusiastically, "Var Helsad Sköna Morgen-Stund" ("All Hail to Thee, Oh Blessed Morn"). The liturgy was the familiar one of the distant church in Värmland or Smålan.

Swedish communities observed regularly Gustavus Adolphus day in commemoration of the great King of Sweden and hero of Protestantism, who died on the field of battle at Lutzen on November 16, 1632.⁵⁹ On those occasions the immigrants and their children sang enthusiastically the Swedish national anthem, "Du Gamla, Du Fria" ("You Old, Free Nation") and "Hell Dig, Du Höga Nord" ("Hail Thee, Thou Great Northland").

The nature of this dualism involving American and Swedish elements can be readily illustrated from the printed sources in the Lindsborg *Localist*. On July 5, 1879, the *Localist* described the great Fourth of July celebration in the Lindsborg community. This splendid event had been initiated with a parade a half-mile long and the multiple events of the day were concluded when "the Captain of the players called 'partners for cotillion', and all went merry as a marriage bell, till the wee small hours chased the full moon away." The same article, however, contained the following statement: "Meanwhile the Sweeds [*sic*] celebrated the American Holiday, in a grand pic-nic on the banks of the boisterous Smokey, thus showing that they are not sweeds [*sic*], but Americans, loyal patriotic Americans. . . ." Apparently there was a rift in the community that year between Swedes and non-Swedes. On the basis of the pietism of the Swedish immigrants in the Smoky valley and their attitude towards dancing, the key was undoubtedly the phrase quoted above, "the Captain of the players called 'partners for cotillion', and all went merry as a marriage bell, till the wee hours chased the full moon away."

Several interesting aspects of the distinction between the American and Swedish elements are recorded in the early life of the Lindsborg community.⁶⁰ In 1880, following the developments dur-

58. Lindsborg *Localist*, December 29, 1881.

59. Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People*, p. 184.

60. Lindsborg *Localist*, July 5, 1879; May 20, 1880; July 7, July 14, September 9, 1881; August 10, 1882.

ing the Fourth of July celebration the previous year as described above, it was decided that the various elements in the community should join in one great celebration. Arrangements should be announced in the *Lindsborg Localist* and in the Swedish weekly, *Svenska Herolden*, published in Salina. Allen Wilbur was listed as the "English Secretary" and John A. Rodell, the "Swedish Secretary." When the Augustana Swedish Lutheran synod met in Lindsborg in July, 1881, the *Localist* carried this announcement: "There will be English preaching in the Lutheran Bethany Church next Sabbath p. m. by some visiting clergymen. Americans are cordially invited to attend." Later, the editor observed that the services were "greatly appreciated by the Americans present." In September, 1881, memorial services were held at the Bethany Lutheran church for President Garfield. "Mrs. Rev. Swensson" is listed as leading "the Swedish choir" and Mrs. A. Wilbur, "the American choir." The editor of the *Localist* urged Pastor Carl Swensson in August, 1882, to preach in English on Sunday afternoons. He was certain that this arrangement "would secure the attendance of many of the Americans."

The records indicate that the intermarriage of Kansas Swedes with non-Swedes was rather rare in the early days of settlement. For instance, the Rev. Olof Olsson, pastor of the Bethany Lutheran church, Lindsborg, performed no mixed marriages during his pastorate from 1869 to 1877. The records of McPherson county show that from November, 1870, to January, 1880, 76 marriage licenses were issued to couples who were both Swedish and eight when only one was of that nationality for a ratio slightly higher than nine-to-one. From March, 1880, to March, 1887, in McPherson county, 181 licenses were purchased by Swedish couples to 38 when only one party was Swedish for a ratio slightly less than five to one.⁶¹ Records for couples at the Bethany Lutheran church in 1896 show no mixed marriages out of a total of 87 marriages in the United States.⁶²

Professor Carman's summary of the census for 1895 shows that there were 15,352 children in Kansas whose parents were both Swedish or only one was Swedish. It shows further that 11,664 or 75.9% were children of parents who were both born in Sweden and 3,688, or 24.1% had only one parent born in Sweden or a ratio of about three to one. The range was from 92.7% to 7.3% in Rawlins county, but it was reversed, 48.1% to 51.9% in Jewell county.⁶³ This

61. Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People*, p. 182.

62. *Helsning Från Pastors-Embetet I Lindsborg, 1896*, Bethany Lutheran church, Lindsborg. This material consists of a questionnaire filled in by members.

63. Carman, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-25.

study shows that the greater the concentration of Swedes the lesser the number of mixed marriages for the obvious reason that the range of opportunities for marriage outside the Swedish settlement were restricted. In 1900 there were 2,930 native Americans in Kansas whose fathers were born in Sweden and 1,422 whose mothers were born in that country. The other spouse was generally an American. Since there were 15,755 native-born Americans in Kansas with full or partial Swedish parentage, it can be concluded that 11,403 or 72.4% of the children came from homes where both parents were born in Sweden.⁶⁴ The evidence is clear that in the early period, parents urged their children to marry men or women of Swedish nationality. Expressions such as the following: "She married an American," to distinguish marriage to a non-Swede, have been common until recent times and may still be heard.

When Bethany College was founded in 1881, the colors of the Swedish flag, yellow and blue, were chosen as the college colors. When the first edition of Bethany College songs appeared, the 30 selections were all in the Swedish language. Included was the "Bethany Song," which was to be sung to the well-known Swedish patriotic tune, "*Hell Dig, Du Höga Nord.*" The board of directors of the college published an extensive hymn book *Hemåt* in the Swedish language in 1888.⁶⁵

When a college yell became a part of collegiate life at athletic contests, the "Terrible Swedes" of Bethany College were urged on to victory by words in the Swedish language based in Nordic mythology:

Rockar Stockar
Thor och Hans Bockar
Kör Igenom, Kör Igenom
Tju Tju Tju.
Bethania!

The words are difficult to translate. They refer to the Nordic god, Thor, driving his chariot with great speed on an urgent mission. The aid of the Nordic god and his example was sought in order to drive through the line, *Kör igenom, Kör igenom*, (Drive through, Drive through) for a touchdown. "Rockar, Stockar" is still the official college yell. Recent generations have pronounced these Swedish words with strange accents.⁶⁶

Although the Swedish heritage has been cherished at Bethany College and great resources have been derived from it, the orienta-

64. *Twelfth Census of the U. S.: 1900*, v. 1, pt. 1, pp. 815, 823, 831.

65. Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People*, p. 184.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 220, 221.

tion and purpose of the college has been toward making a distinctive contribution to American life and culture. The aim of the founder, Dr. Carl Swensson, who was American born, was described by him in the *Lutersk Kvartal-Schrift*, Rock Island, Ill., July, 1887, as follows: "The education that our people in America need is Swedish-American. We do not wish, even if it were possible, which it is not, to build a little, new Sweden in this country. That would be as childish as it would be wrong, but on the other hand, we do not wish to become Americanized at the turn of the hand." This statement expresses clearly the spirit of the Swedes in Kansas.⁶⁷

The Swedish immigrant identified himself quite readily with American life. He soon found in America what he described by the Swedish word, *framtidlandet*, "the land of the future." The Rev. Olof Olsson, a leader among the early Swedish immigrants in Kansas, viewed the developments after approximately two decades in this country in the following words:

When I think of all the settlements I have visited, which my countrymen have built under toil and difficulties but with the divine reward of having their own homes, my heart leaps with joy, especially when I see it all in the light of history and know that only a few centuries ago all the working men in the world's most civilized continent, Europe, were slaves. In America, every workingman can, if he will, become a nobleman, baron, and count.⁶⁸

Dr. Carl Swensson, also writing on the same subject in 1887, described the coming of the Swedes and their settlement in Kansas. He found that the following pattern developed after the passing of 10 years:

The sod-house yields to a comfortable wood house, the shade trees are large, the fruit trees have already started to bear fruit, the fields are extensive and well-cultivated, the farmer is the happy proprietor in the largest and best country in the world. So it goes from year to year. Children are born, the family grows up, there are churches and schools, and with respect for and love of God's word, they will become a large and happy people.⁶⁹

For the vast majority of Swedish immigrants to Kansas, America proved to be "*framtidlandet*," the land of the future.⁷⁰

67. The relationship of Bethany College to Swedish life and culture is carefully documented and discussed from Dr. Swensson's point of view in Emmet Eklund, "A Study of Bethany College and Its Educational Objectives as Interpreted by Its Founder, Dr. Carl Aaron Swensson, From 1881 to 1904" (an unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1958), pp. 38-48.

68. Skolvännan, October 31, 1887, quoted in George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of the Swedish Immigration* (Minneapolis, 1932), p. 401. A summary view of the Americanization of the Swedish immigrant is found in Oscar Algot Benson, "Problems in the Accommodation of the Swede to American Culture" (an unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Pittsburgh University, 1933), pp. 111-135.

69. *Framåt*, September 3, 1887.

70. Statistics are not complete relative to Swedish immigrants to Kansas who returned to the homeland. Such entries as the one in the church records at Råda, Värmland, in 1869, contain a more meaningful story than the following words suggest: "Jan Eriksson, veterinarian, immigrated to Kansas in the Spring with his wife and one child but returned here in the Autumn."

The "Exodusters" on the Missouri

GLEN SCHWENDEMANN

SATURDAY afternoon, April 19, 1879, had become a little too warm for the Negroes clustered around the depot in Wyandotte, and they were forced to find protection from the sun's rays. Some were seen under the railroad station itself, which was built on trestle-work, while others had sought refuge among the lumber piles near the Missouri river, a short distance from the tracks. All were awaiting the arrival of the train which was to carry them to Lawrence, where they expected to find homes and a welcome conclusion to a journey begun weeks before on the river banks of Louisiana and Mississippi.

These were some of the "Exodusters," or Negro migrants who had gained national attention by their unprecedented mass movement up the Mississippi river to Kansas. They and hundreds more throughout the river parishes and counties of Louisiana and Mississippi had been pouring northward since early March in quest of a new life on the plains of Kansas.¹ Walking or riding to the river, carrying what few possessions they had not sacrificed in the rush to leave, the migrants deserted the plantations in great numbers. Negroes who previously had been ignorant of the very existence of the Sunflower state, soon began filling the towns and cities along the river. Even at places where the steamers made no regular stops, freedmen had gathered in large groups endeavoring to attract the attention of the passing vessels.²

The first boatload of migrants had arrived in St. Louis aboard the steamer *Colorado* on the evening of March 5. The newcomers, apparently expecting some kind of assistance on the last leg of their journey to Kansas, were greatly disappointed when no such help was forthcoming.³ A reporter of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*,

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1. For a discussion of the causes of the migration as well as the Negroes' departure from the South, see Glen Schwendemann, "Negro Exodus to Kansas: First Phase, March-July, 1879" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, University of Oklahoma, 1957), pp. 1-39.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-39, 152, 153. See, also, the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, April 27, 1879; the *Atchison Daily Champion*, May 6, 1879, and an unidentified and undated newspaper clipping in "Horatio N. Rust Scrapbook; Relating to the Negro Exodus From the South to Kansas, 1880," Kansas State Historical Society library, p. 48.

3. A St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* reporter, who interviewed the migrants arriving on the steamer *Colorado*, wrote of their "firm and abiding faith that they would be furnished free transportation to Kansas, where the Government would not only provide each individual dinky with a good farm free of charge, but also with the necessary mules and farming implements at the same price. Their mistaken belief, it was said, had been imparted to them through the medium of printed circulars."—St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, March 13, 1879. See, also, *ibid.*, March 12, 1879, for a further discussion of this subject.

who visited the levee the following morning, found 280 men, women, and children in "utter want." The women and children were sitting dejectedly around several fires, while the men were either loafing on the levee, or had gone into the city and elsewhere, probably in search of food and shelter. Nothing more than a few chunks of bread was discovered among the whole group.⁴

The plight of the newcomers had apparently aroused little more than curiosity among the white residents of St. Louis. The colored people of the city, however, had quickly begun to provide relief for their Southern brethren. Charleton H. Tandy, a Negro resident of St. Louis, was the first of his race to become concerned about the condition of the new arrivals. He found shelter for a part of the group, and many of the remainder sought a welcome among the Negro residents of St. Louis, where they were provided with food and shelter.⁵

Scarcely had the first boatload been settled in the city than the steamer *Grand Tower* docked on March 16 with a record of 500 to 600 on its decks.⁶ This development, plus news from the South of thousands more awaiting transportation northward,⁷ compelled the colored people of St. Louis to put relief on a more permanent basis. Two Negro churches, St. Paul's chapel (A. M. E.) and the Eighth Street Baptist church were thrown open to the migrants. In addition, a mass meeting of colored people was held at St. Paul's chapel on March 17, at which meeting it was agreed to undertake the relief of the refugees from the South who were temporarily "stalled" in the city. A committee of 15 (later expanded to 25) was appointed to provide ways and means to relieve the migrants.⁸

The problems confronting the committee were more than merely providing food and shelter, however. Unless the migrants were shipped from the city periodically, relief work would soon become impossible through sheer weight of numbers. This question was discussed at the first meeting of the committee of 15, and it was felt necessary to inaugurate the transporting of the Negroes on to their destination as soon as possible. Accordingly, a transportation committee was created with one Charles W. Prentice at its head,

4. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1879.

5. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1879. See, also, the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, March 19, 1879, and Charleton H. Tandy's testimony in "Report and Testimony of the Select Committee of the United States Senate to Investigate the Causes of the Removal of the Negroes from the Southern States to the Northern States," *Senate Report*, No. 693 (Serial 1899), 46th Cong., 2d Sess., 1880, pt. 3, p. 37.

6. St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* and *Missouri Republican*, March 17, 1879.

7. St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, March 16, 17, 1879, and St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, March 19, 1879.

8. St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, March 18, 1879.

and arrangements were made with the Missouri River Packet Company to transport the first boatload westward on March 22.⁹

The movement of migrants from St. Louis to Kansas had already begun, however. On March 16 the steamer *Fanny Lewis* had departed for the "Promised Land" carrying 150-200 of the *Grand Tower* group capable of paying their own passage.¹⁰ Such financial independence among the migrants proved an exception, however, and the remaining shipments to Kansas, beginning with the *Joe Kinney* on March 22,¹¹ were financed and supervised by the St. Louis relief group. These were destined for Wyandotte, which soon became the recipient of all migrants arriving in that state.

It was not chance that had given Wyandotte such a prominent role in the migration, for with the exception of Kansas City, Kan., no other town was as geographically well located to receive the Negroes. Kansas City, with a population of about 3,200, had been considered as the objective point for the migration until the authorities there had announced that they would "positively" refuse to allow the Negroes into the city.¹² Kansas City, Mo., with well over 55,000 inhabitants¹³ and a prosperous business community, would have been a logical depository for the migrants had it been a Kansas town. In this respect it failed to meet a most important requirement.

The elimination of these two cities narrowed the choice to the settlements on the west side of the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. Although this area would one day become a part of a great industrial city, in 1879 there was little to indicate its future growth. Except for Wyandotte, located immediately west of the river junction, the region was in its infancy. North of Wyandotte a few miles, on the long trip up the Missouri river to Leavenworth and Atchison, was the former Free-State town of Quindaro, which had declined rapidly since the Civil War. Near Wyandotte on the south was the village of Armstrong with its nearly 718 inhabitants. Still farther southward, beyond the bend in the Kansas river, was Rosedale, whose population of around 962

9. St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, March 19, 20, 1879.

10. The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, March 17, 1879, estimated that 150 took the *Fanny Lewis* and 250 departed by rail. The latter group were probably those who arrived in Topeka on March 19, the first of the "Exodusters" to enter the state. The *Topeka Commonwealth* and the *North Topeka Times*, March 21, 1879, both estimated the group at 200 persons. See, also, the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, March 23, 1879 (Supplement), for a report of this group of migrants.

11. For descriptions of the departure of the steamer *Joe Kinney*, see the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, March 23, 1879 (Supplement), and the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* of the same date.

12. St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, March 16, 1879.

13. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, v. 1, p. 242.*

afforded little rivalry to its bustling sister city at the confluence of the two rivers.

Wyandotte was, therefore, the bright spot in the whole area around the junction of the two rivers, and by 1879 it could boast a population of nearly 5,000.¹⁴ The "click of the trowel and the sound of the hammer," heard throughout the town, testified to its prosperous condition. The town could point to frequent visits by Jay Gould, the well-known financier, who "pranced around over the macadam" as though wishing to invest in the "Metropolis of Kansas." It was even rumored he had threatened to make a "whistling station" of Kansas City, Mo., because of its opposition to him, and to locate a "big town" on the Kansas side of the state line.¹⁵ Certainly, the prospects for Wyandotte never looked brighter than on the eve of the influx of the migrants from the South.

Yet in spite of the favorable condition of the city, it was not prepared to weather the deluge of destitute Negroes that began arriving. Following the landing of the *Fanny Lewis*, previously mentioned, came the *Joe Kinney* on March 31 with over 400 migrants,¹⁶ and the *E. H. Durfee* on April 6 with 450 on its decks.¹⁷ This mass of humanity, numbering close to 1,000, was sheltered in the Negro churches of Wyandotte and supported from whatever the citizens of the city could supply.¹⁸

The Wyandotte *Herald* of May 1, 1879, in describing the first arrivals in the city, recalled that they had been composed "almost entirely of helpless children and aged and infirm people, many of whom were sick and some of whom had been paralytics for a series of years." V. J. Lane, editor of the *Herald*, in his testimony before the senate committee investigating the exodus, further described the newcomers as "the most God-forsaken set of people" he had ever seen. "They were entirely destitute," continued Lane, "and it looked like the almshouses of the Mississippi valley had

14. See an unofficial census published in the Wyandotte *Herald*, April 17, 1879, which set the population at 4,612. The decennial census of 1880 gave the population as 6,149, an increase over the unofficial census of 1879 of 1,537, an increase explained in part by the migrants who remained in the city, living in shacks along the river.—*Tenth Census*, 1880, v. 1, p. 449.

15. Wyandotte *Herald*, March 27, May 22, 1879. See, also, the Topeka *Daily Capital*, April 22, 1879, quoting from the Wyandotte *Gazette* of an unknown date.

16. The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, March 23, 1879, set the number at 450; the Wyandotte *Herald*, April 3, 1879, estimated the group to be 400, while the *Kansas Pilot*, Kansas City, April 5, 1879, reported 350. The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, however, arrived at its figure from the number of tickets bought in St. Louis.

17. Wyandotte *Herald*, April 10, 1879.

18. For a general account of the migration in Wyandotte, see Glen Schwendemann, "Wyandotte and the First 'Exodusters' of 1879," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* (Autumn, 1960), v. 26, pp. 233-249.

been searched to get them together, and it became an act of humanity to do something for their relief."¹⁹

Initially, the migrants had been received by most of the residents of Wyandotte with a mixture of surprise and sympathy. As the numbers in the city increased, however, this attitude turned to one of fear and indignation—fear because it was generally believed the Negroes baggage carried yellow fever germs; indignation because the burden of caring for so many indigent persons had soon become an intolerable imposition. This feeling led to a demand by a large segment of the population that the migrants in the city be transported away, and new arrivals be excluded.²⁰

In the face of this mounting discontent, Mayor J. S. Stockton, who had been appointed chairman of the Wyandotte relief committee formed on April 8 to care for the migrants,²¹ selected an executive committee of three to expedite the transporting of the newcomers from the city.²² Such a course of action had become increasingly necessary. On April 13 the steamer *Joe Kinney* made its second appearance in the city with around 200 more Negroes. News had also arrived that over 300 migrants were leaving St. Louis on April 14 aboard the *E. H. Durfee*.²³ These developments hastened the committee to appeal to the "Generous of The United States" for their help in providing for the destitute freedmen.²⁴

The response to the committee's appeal for help was heartening, especially in Kansas where several of Wyandotte's neighbors agreed to receive some of the newcomers. Among them was Lawrence, whose offer to take 100 of the migrant families was quickly accepted by the Wyandotte committee.²⁵ Throughout the morning the migrants had been transported in wagons from the African Methodist church, one of the places in which they had been quartered, to the Wyandotte depot where the arrival of the chartered "cars" was expected momentarily. Morning had slipped into afternoon, however, and still the Negroes waited patiently,

19. *Senate Report*, No. 693, pt. 3, p. 326.

20. Schwendemann, "Wyandotte and the First 'Exodusters,'" *loc. cit.*, p. 242. See also, the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 23, 1879.

21. *Wyandotte Herald*, April 10, 1879.

22. *Senate Report*, No. 693, pt. 3, pp. 326, 327. See the testimony of V. J. Lane, editor of the *Wyandotte Herald*, who, with George H. Miller, head of the state asylum for the blind, and G. W. Bishop, made up the committee.

23. *Wyandotte Herald*, April 17, 1879, and the *Atchison Daily Champion*, April 16, 1879.

24. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 17, 1879, and the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 18, 1879.

25. Other towns in the state offering to receive the Negroes, as of April 24, were Leavenworth, Tonganoxie, Manhattan, and Ottawa. Atchison had requested 200 of the migrants but apparently withdrew the request later.—*Wyandotte Herald*, April 17, 24, and May 1, 1879.

bedding, frying pans, coffee pots, and other household gear forming the nucleus around which the families gathered. Their vigil was finally rewarded when the train, with "comfortable passenger coaches" adequate for the crowd, came into the station and was quickly loaded. After consigning the shipment to T. D. Fisher, editor of the *Lawrence Journal*, members of the Wyandotte relief committee distributed loaves of bread among the travelers, and, much to the joy and relief of the citizens of the city, the train pulled out of the station.²⁶

The migrants had scarcely gotten under way, however, when word came from Mayor Isaac Newton Van Hoessen of Lawrence countermanding the earlier offer to receive the freedmen. No effort was apparently made by the Wyandotte committee to comply with the order, but as they began preparations for the next shipment of migrants to Leavenworth, they must have wondered how the newcomers would fare in a city which had so nearly rejected them.

The residents of Lawrence, however, displayed no sign of contempt or regret as the trainload of Negroes arrived in the city on April 20. Nor was such a spirit in evidence four days later when the citizens of the city filled Frazer Hall to "overflowing" in an effort to provide aid for their new charges. The "undivided sentiment" of those present saw the exodus as the "legitimate result of the injustice" inflicted upon the fleeing migrants by the Southern whites. Not only did they protest the misuse of the ex-slaves, but they also pledged their continued demand that the Negroes receive full political rights in the South.²⁷

The main accomplishment of the evening, however, was the appointment of a seven-man committee to provide aid for the migrants in the city. The group was also instructed to co-operate with other local aid societies to assure the creation of a system of state-wide relief administered by an "efficient and responsible State executive committee."²⁸ The citizens of Lawrence had apparently come to realize, as had other groups in the state, that the exodus was becoming too large for the resources of individual cities. This was also the attitude taken by the *Topeka Commonwealth*, which had been urging the formation of a state organization to cope with what it considered a critical problem. A call for a meeting of Topeka citizens at the Opera House on Sunday evening, April 20,²⁹

26. See N. C. McFarland's description of the migrants in Wyandotte in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 24, 1879. A more complete account, probably by McFarland also, appeared in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 22, 1879.

27. *Atchison Daily Champion* and the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 25, 1879.

28. *Atchison Daily Champion*, April 25, 1879.

29. *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 19, 20, 1879.

was heartily endorsed by the newspaper, which urged the attendance of every person having an interest in the welfare of the state. The meeting resulted in the formation of the Central Freedmen's Relief Committee with Gov. John P. St. John at its head.³⁰ The objectives of the group were fully revealed on April 24, when the executive committee, appointed by the governor on April 21,³¹ published an appeal "To The People in Kansas." The various cities throughout the state were asked to establish freedmen's aid societies to assist the central committee in placing the migrants in jobs and homes where they might become useful, self-sustaining citizens.³²

The inauguration of centralized relief on a scale proposed by the executive committee in Topeka coincided exactly with the wishes of the Lawrence meeting. The resolutions of the latter group expressed the conviction that a state which had secured its own freedom through "suffering and blood" would be untrue to its history by refusing succor to the Negroes coming into the state. As the migrants were fleeing the South to the protection of "free institutions and equal laws" so should they be aided in their efforts to settle in the state.³³

While the citizens of Lawrence were advocating the relief of thousands on a state-wide scale, the local committee found that the handful in their midst was enough to keep them occupied. The newcomers, with nothing material to contribute to their own cause, had to be provided with all the necessities of life, in addition to being helped to eventual self-support. The Negroes had already been quartered in an old school house, where, with the assistance of the colored citizens of Lawrence, they were soon provided with food, clothing, and medical attention.³⁴

A more important problem than relief was facing the authorities at Lawrence, however. It was manifest that the Negroes could not be supported indefinitely by the city, and the sooner they became self-sufficient the better it would be for all concerned. It was hoped that some of them could be placed on the surrounding farms, and the remainder either transported to neighboring towns that had not received migrants, or to one or more of the Negro colonies established throughout the state. Placing the migrants was only a part of the problem plaguing the committee, however.

30. *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 21, 1879, and the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 22, 1879.

31. *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 21, 1879.

32. See the text of the address in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, April 25, 1879; the *Wyandotte Herald*, May 1, 1879, and the *Coffeyville Journal*, May 3, 1879.

33. *Atchison Daily Champion*, April 25, 1879.

34. *Lawrence Journal*, April 24, 1879, as quoted in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 25, 1879.

Money with which to transport the newcomers from the city was wholly lacking, and it was not until Jay Gould had written offering transportation on the Kansas Pacific railroad that the problem was solved.³⁵

With this assurance, the relief committee met in the office of the *Lawrence Journal* on May 2 to make plans for sending the Negroes to other localities in the state. One place the committee had in mind was Nicodemus colony, in Graham county, Kansas, a Negro settlement planted in 1877 mainly by colonists from Kentucky.³⁶ Sidney Clarke, a member of the Lawrence group, had conferred with the central committee in Topeka, and reported that that body was not yet ready to advise shipping the migrants to Nicodemus until a closer examination of the settlement could be made.³⁷

The Lawrence committee turned to the alternative of settling the migrants in the surrounding area. The group had earlier issued an address "To the People of Douglas and the Adjoining Counties," explaining that a considerable number of families were still in Lawrence living on charity, and requesting the farmers to furnish employment for them.³⁸ The central committee in Topeka was also petitioned for \$150, which was promptly sent, not only to help provide relief for the migrants in the city, but also to finance a survey of employment opportunities in the surrounding counties.³⁹

The necessity of removing the Negroes had become more apparent when a delegation that investigated the migrants' condition reported much uneasiness and discontent among them. In addition, Dr. C. W. Lawrence explained that overcrowded conditions among the newcomers, and the approach of warm weather necessitated their removal to prevent an outbreak of disease.⁴⁰

The committee's plan to disperse the migrants was not immediately accomplished, however. The *Lawrence Tribune* of May 8, voiced its opposition to the newcomers remaining in the "crowded conditions" any longer, reminding the authorities of the danger of

35. See the text of a telegram from Jay Gould to Judge John P. Usher of Lawrence in the *Lawrence Standard*, of an unknown date, as quoted in the *Wyandotte Herald*, May 1, 1879.

36. A short sketch of the founding of Nicodemus colony may be seen in the *Topeka Journal*, January 7, 1922. See, also, the *Nicodemus Western Cyclone*, April 21, 1887.

37. The Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association of Topeka established a colony in Wabaunsee county, about 50 miles west of Topeka, and furnished the colonists with everything necessary to begin farming. Although some assistance was given to other Negro colonies in the state, the central committee generally ignored these settlements as depositories for the newcomers. It was widely believed that the *plantation Negro* could not maintain himself on the frontier. The Negroes who colonized Kansas were usually from Kentucky and Tennessee and were more industrious and self-reliant.

38. *Topeka Commonwealth*, May 1, 1879.

39. *Ibid.*, May 3, 4, 1879.

40. *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 3, 10, 1879.

disease spreading throughout the city.⁴¹ This, however, was the last appeal that was necessary, and by May 14 the migrant camp was “mainly” broken up.⁴² The committee had been successful in its efforts to place most of the Negroes on surrounding farms, while the remainder were shipped to Topeka where they were again transported to other localities by the central committee.⁴³

Lawrence took great pride in the manner in which it had welcomed and cared for the migrants.⁴⁴ The city, however, was in a position to boast of its humanity, since being off the transportation routes followed by the migrants, it could accept or reject the Negroes as it chose. This was not the case with such Missouri river cities as Leavenworth and Atchison, where the whistle of every steamboat might prove to be the herald of an addition to the migrants already on hand.

While the steamboats were later to play a part in the migration in Leavenworth, the city’s initial contact with the freedmen came when a trainload was shipped from Wyandotte on April 23, arriving in Leavenworth the following morning. During the forenoon the residents of the city were seen visiting the tracks to view this latest of spectacles. Upon arrival the ten carloads of migrants, numbering about 300, had been switched off near “Ryan’s pork house,” but in the afternoon they were returned to the depot where the group was unloaded.⁴⁵

The Leavenworth *Appeal* was not optimistic concerning the city’s latest acquisition. “We are compelled to say they are a sorry lot, and are evidently the rag-tag-and-bobtail of the pilgrims.” Besides their obvious hunger and “seedy” appearance, the newspaper especially noticed the lack of “good field hands” among the number, the majority being old men, women, and children.⁴⁶ But the Wyandotte *Herald*, probably intending to be more humorous than informative,

41. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1879.

42. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1879. The New York *Daily Tribune*, May 20, 1879, noted that the migrants’ camp was “nearly deserted,” and “the spot which the exiles made historic may soon be consecrated as a place of mourning sacred to the use of those prophets of the unnumbered ills that were to befall the country in consequence of the arrival of these hordes of paupers.”

43. By May 24, the last of the migrants had been shipped to Topeka.—Topeka *Daily Capital*, May 28, 1879. The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of May 21, carried an article datelined, “Lawrence, Kansas, May 18, 1879,” in which it was reported that “600 colored refugees,” an exaggerated figure, had been absorbed into the surrounding countryside and were working on farms.

44. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1879.

45. The Leavenworth *Appeal* of an unknown date, as quoted in the Wyandotte *Herald*, May 1, 1879, waxed poetic when it wrote: “The Africans came down like the wolf on the fold, and they had nary cent in silver and gold.” C. C. Baker of the Topeka *Commonwealth*, who visited the city at this time, reported that the migrants were the “chief topic” of conversation, and were crowded into empty buildings all over the city.—Topeka *Commonwealth*, April 29, 1879.

46. Leavenworth *Appeal*, as quoted in the Wyandotte *Herald*, May 1, 1879.

observed that the *Appeal* was mistaken in its appraisal of the newcomers. "We shipped them ourself," continued the *Herald*, "and picked a good lot."⁴⁷

Regardless of the newcomers' worth, relief was set in motion that evening by a meeting in Laing's Hall. A collection of \$22 was taken with pledges received for a like sum. A previous meeting had produced \$12, making a total of \$56 in all, which the *Topeka Daily Capital* thought was "pretty good, for Leavenworth," a city with a population of 16,546 by 1880!⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the small but humane efforts of the citizens of Leavenworth were mostly undone by the subsequent action of the city authorities.

On April 28, four days following the migrants' arrival, Mayor W. M. Fortescue called a special session of the city council to decide upon a course of action in dealing with the migration. The board of health was instructed to determine whether "contagious diseases or the germs of yellow fever" were being carried in the Negroes' baggage. If an investigation produced such evidence, the newcomers were to be removed to the quarantine limits, five miles from the city, and further groups of the refugees, "or other persons so afflicted," were to be prevented from entering the city.⁴⁹

A supplementary resolution, perhaps the most unfriendly official action taken by any city affected by the exodus, ran as follows:

Resolved, That the Mayor be, and is hereby instructed to call upon the Captain of any boat bringing colored refugees to this city, and make arrangements to transport said refugees to other points, and *we hereby appropriate any sum of money necessary for said purpose.*⁵⁰

At the moment this measure occasioned little response from Leavenworth's neighbors, but a few more days were to produce a sharp reaction. The *Wyandotte Herald*, in the meantime, thought the idea of Leavenworth,

head and ears in debt, and that for months has been attempting to repudiate its honest obligations, appropriating money to carry the colored refugees to some other point is preposterous. Better set them to work and try to build up the failing fortunes of the city.⁵¹

47. *Ibid.* V. J. Lane, editor of the *Herald*, was a member of the committee which selected the Leavenworth group.

48. *Tenth Census, 1880*, v. 1, p. 178. See, also, the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 25, 1879.

49. *Wyandotte Herald*, May 1, 1879, and the *Atchison Daily Champion*, April 30, 1879.

50. The italics are mine. *Wyandotte Herald*, May 1, 1879.

51. *Ibid.* During the Civil War, the terminal for the Western trade shifted from Kansas City, Mo., to Leavenworth because of the military protection afforded by the latter city. By 1880, however, this trade was again finding its way to Kansas City, occasioning a loss of population in Leavenworth amounting to 1,327 between 1870 and 1880.—*Tenth Census, 1880*, v. 1, p. 178.

The determination of the Leavenworth city council to quarantine the town against the entrance of more migrants was not original with that group. A number of cities either had such laws or had toyed with the idea of passing ordinances of that nature. In the end, however, finding such statutes impractical or unenforceable, they turned to relieving the Negroes and transporting them away in a more dignified manner. The practice of bribing steamboat captains to carry the migrants away, however, was a Leavenworth innovation, soon to be tested by the approach of the steamer *Joe Kinney*, laboring up the Missouri river with 275 migrants destined for Leavenworth.

The *Kinney* had left St. Louis on April 20 carrying the migrants in the hold of a barge it was towing. In spite of mechanical trouble the vessel reached Wyandotte on May 1, where the Negroes were provided with enough food for the trip to Leavenworth.⁵² On the morning of May 2, therefore, the steamer docked at Leavenworth and was preparing to discharge its cargo when Mayor Fortescue went aboard. The ensuing conversation was not recorded, but ample evidence left no doubt that the mayor gave the captain \$250 with the understanding that the load would be taken on up the river, and as no other suitable depository then existed, obviously to Atchison.⁵³

News of the arrival of the *Kinney* in Leavenworth and its subsequent departure with the migrants still in tow had preceded the vessel to Atchison.⁵⁴ The captain, therefore, probably feeling the urgency of a quick retreat from the city, landed "below Ketcham's mill," without sounding his whistle, ran the migrants ashore and was on his way in around 15 minutes.⁵⁵ The operation was performed with such dispatch that Mayor John C. Tomlinson scarcely had time to go aboard to make his unsuccessful remonstrance. According to the *Atchison Globe*, a critic of the migration, the captain was "driven away from Wyandotte by force, and bribed by the Leavenworth people to come to Atchison," and his only objective was to be released from his cargo as soon as possible.⁵⁶

As the citizens of the city gathered to view these much-publicized Southerners, the newcomers, mainly from Warren county, Mississippi, were sitting on the river bank "blinking at the sun" and await-

52. St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, April 21, 1879, and the *Wyandotte Herald*, May 8, 1879.

53. *Wyandotte Herald*, May 8, 1879. See, also, the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 5, 1879, which set the bribe at \$200.

54. *Atchison Daily Champion*, May 3, 1879.

55. *Ibid.* See, also, the *Atchison Globe*, May 3, 1879.

56. *Atchison Globe*, May 3, 1879.

ing the next move. A reporter for the Atchison *Daily Champion* was reminded of the recent war on seeing the

old and young, big and little, huddled together on the river bank with their queer collection of household gear. All were plantation negroes, the women with their handkerchiefs tied around their heads, and the men clad in a general assortment of rags.⁵⁷

As the afternoon wore on, it suddenly dawned on the residents of the city that their visitors, even though uninvited, must be cared for, and a relief movement was immediately begun. The African Methodist Episcopal and the Ebenezer Baptist churches were opened to provide shelter, with priority given to women, children, and the sick.⁵⁸ A wagon was hauled throughout the city collecting staples, and the citizens responded generously. The relief efforts were continued after dark, and at a "late hour" some of the colored men were still sitting on the river bank warming themselves at several fires. The emergency, however, had passed and the city relaxed momentarily to ponder the next move.⁵⁹

The following morning, May 3, found the citizens of Atchison at work completing the labors of the previous night. All the Negroes were fed, and after covering the basement floor of the Methodist church with bedding, the sick were made comfortable. The long trip from the South, involving some 20 days of exposure and inadequate food had taken its toll. There were about six cases of pneumonia, 27 afflicted with bronchitis, five suffering with measles and many with chills. Several cases were critical.⁶⁰

In the afternoon, the Atchison city council held an emergency meeting, and "in conformity with the state law," passed an ordinance designed to prevent the landing of paupers, or persons likely to become charges on the city. Violators were to be punished by a fine of not more than \$100, or imprisonment for three months, or both. The river banks were to be patrolled to assure that Atchison received no more migrants.⁶¹

With the safety of the city apparently secured, the attention of Atchison turned to Leavenworth, the instigator of the recent deluge.

57. Atchison *Daily Champion*, May 3, 1879. "Had the King of the Cannibal Island, with his staff and a brass band suddenly arrived," reported the *Champion*, "a crowd would not have gathered more quickly. The newly landed were immediately surrounded by a crowd of curious questioners of both colors."

58. The Rev. William M. Twine (colored), pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist church, testified that he even vacated his church office for a while to make room for the migrants. Twine, however, opposed the exodus because he felt Kansas had no use for so much unskilled labor.—*Senate Report*, No. 693, pt. 3, p. 319.

59. Atchison *Daily Champion*, May 3, 1879.

60. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1879. The colored citizens of Atchison, who took the lead in relieving their Southern brethren, organized a relief committee on May 5.—*See ibid.*, May 6, 1879, for a report of the Negro meeting.

61. Atchison *Patriot*, May 6, 1879, as quoted in the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, May 8, 1879.

Insult was added to injury when Mayor Fortescue of Leavenworth telegraphed Mayor John C. Tomlinson asking if Atchison could care for more migrants, for his city had an ample supply and two boatloads were expected there momentarily.⁶² The answer was emphatic and to the point:

No. We have all the city can provide for. I hereby respectfully notify you and the city of Leavenworth that the city of Atchison will hold you and your city responsible for the paupers you caused to be sent here yesterday.⁶³

The Atchison *Champion*, never slow to come to the defense of the city, took up the pen against Leavenworth. After referring to the humor of the Leavenworth mayor as about "the consistency of Missouri bottom gumbo," it proceeded to give that city what it considered sound advice:

As these refugees are all farm hands, the proper place for them to stop is evidently Leavenworth. They might be profitably employed cultivating patches of garden truck in the streets of that city. The ground is useless for any other purpose. And at least five thousand of them could find shelter in the vacant houses of that deserted village.⁶⁴

Even the boatload sent to Atchison, continued the *Champion*, "would have given the town a business look it has not known for years."⁶⁵

The latter conclusion was evidenced by the fact that the migrants were finding themselves useful in Atchison. Some were seen unloading railroad ties at the tracks, others were cutting wood, and the women generally found household work. The remainder, however, "quite a large number," according to the *Champion*, were seen at the churches loafing, "an operation which they conducted with singular fidelity and success."⁶⁶

Meanwhile, the authorities of the city continued to have the river banks patrolled to prevent another landing such as that of the previous Friday afternoon, but nothing rewarded their vigil. The city was, however, greatly disturbed by a report that a vessel with 400 migrants on board was approaching the city. This, much to the relief of all, turned out to be a "cruel joke."⁶⁷ With steps taken to prevent the entrance of more Negroes, the council began making plans for the removal of those in the city. The Central Branch of

62. Atchison *Globe*, May 3, 1879.

63. *Ibid.*

64. Atchison *Daily Champion*, May 4, 1879.

65. *Ibid.* The Wyandotte *Herald* of May 8, 1879, noting the difficulty between Atchison and Leavenworth, remarked quite appropriately, that the "Leavenworth and Atchison papers gave a large amount of wholesome advice to Wyandotte while we had over 1,000 of them [the migrants] here, some of which they ought to apply to their own cities now that they know how it is themselves."

66. Atchison *Daily Champion*, May 6, 1879.

67. *Ibid.* The news was brought by the captain of the steamer *Yellowstone*.

the Union Pacific, as well as the Atchison and Nebraska railroads both offered to transport the newcomers for one cent per mile, which the city council quickly accepted.⁶⁸

While efforts were being made in Atchison to clear the city of its newly acquired charges, the Leavenworth *Times* renewed the contention between the two cities by accusing Atchison of "being the only town in the State to cry and whine" over the migrants she had received.⁶⁹ The *Champion* responded in a similar vein, laying the whole blame for the unpleasantness between the two cities on the "impudent, foolish telegram" sent by the mayor of Leavenworth. He had done a "mean thing" to divert the migrants from a city with plenty of empty houses to a city with none.⁷⁰ The *Times*, however, felt that the chief complaint was that the Negroes had been sent from Leavenworth, "as though they had not been sent to Leavenworth from Wyandotte, and to Wyandotte from St. Louis."⁷¹

The Democratic newspapers across the river in Missouri were delighted with the feud between Atchison and Leavenworth. The St. Joseph (Mo.) *Gazette*, however, was inclined to agree with the latter city concerning the nature of Kansas relief. Noting that the "philanthropic" people of Leavenworth "shoved" the migrants up the river to Atchison, the *Gazette* thought it in line for the latter city to pay their fares to Elwood. Perhaps Elwood could then send them on to Nebraska. "Philanthropy," sarcastically added the *Gazette*, "is of the telescopic order, alas! too frequently."⁷²

The St. Joseph *Herald*, on the other hand, was amazed at the attitude of Leavenworth and Atchison. It was common knowledge, said the *Herald*, that both of the cities were "strong" on colored people, although a little stronger on days when the Negroes were voting. And since elections ran close in both towns, the migrants should have been welcomed with open arms by the Republicans. "You see," continued the *Herald*,

Republicanism in the abstract, in the clouds, in speeches and delightful editorial articles, is not precisely the same as a nigger at your door who wants a dinner

68. Atchison *Daily Champion*, May 6, 1879.

69. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1879.

70. *Ibid.* The St. Joseph (Mo.) *Herald*, as quoted by the Atchison *Globe* of May 7, 1879, noted that Atchison's philanthropy was "bounded by her city limits," and that her excuse of inadequate housing as a reason for not wanting the migrants was "Very thin. Not Christian. Not Republican." Atchison's excuse was not without some foundation, however. Between 1870 and 1880 the city's population grew from 7,054 to 15,105.—*Tenth Census, 1880*, v. 1, p. 174.

71. Atchison *Daily Champion*, May 7, 1879. The Atchison *Globe* of May 6, 1879, although a critic of the migration, reminded the city of Leavenworth, that while Atchison was "willing to do [her] part toward providing these miserable devils homes, and keep them from starving, we will not allow Leavenworth to ship her proportion to us, and then boast of it as a cunning trick."

72. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1879.

and a bed. Now Atchison is the most hospitable little village in the world. And she is pretty Republican. But here are these niggers, so to speak.⁷³

In spite of the ridicule from the Democratic side of the Missouri river, Atchison was proceeding with plans to divest itself of the migrants. One Giles E. Scoville of the city was sent out to arrange for transporting the migrants to towns on the Central Branch.⁷⁴ On May 8 groups were sent to Muscotah, Whiting, Netawaka, and as far as Scandia. There were also shipments made on the Atchison and Nebraska railroad consisting of 13 migrants destined for Brenner and Hiawatha. By May 10 it was reported that only 17 families remained in Atchison.⁷⁵ These were later sent to Topeka where they were cared for by the state relief committee, which, by this time, has assumed the responsibility for all migrants arriving in Kansas.

Only a few days earlier, on May 5, the central committee, through the insistence of the Wyandotte relief group, had made arrangements to meet all new arrivals in Kansas City, Mo., and to forward them by rail to Topeka.⁷⁶ This news was joyously received in Wyandotte, which had borne the brunt of the migration since its beginning. Relief of that city was only one of the several benefits derived from the action of the central committee.

It marked the end of a haphazard and often ineffective system of relief administered by the various cities. The danger of a clash between the races, such as almost occurred in Wyandotte, was likewise considerably lessened. Centralized aid was also responsible for ending needless duplication of relief efforts, and made possible a more economical and orderly way of handling the Negroes. More important, perhaps, was the dignity and responsibility given to the relief movement by the leadership of Gov. John P. St. John. His presence helped insure adequate relief supplies, since philanthropists and humanitarians in New England and throughout the East, feeling confident their contributions were in safe hands, gave generously to an organization so ably led.

Finally, the additional responsibility undertaken by the central committee forced that body to expand its relief facilities. This was especially significant, for after a lull in the exodus during the summer of 1879, the migration was renewed on a scale that would have overwhelmed the resources of individual cities. Around 5,000 Negroes who entered Kansas between April and June of 1879, had

73. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1879.

74. *Atchison Daily Champion*, May 9, 1879, as quoted in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 10, 1879.

75. *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 12, 1879.

76. Schwendemann, "Wyandotte and the First 'Exodusters,'" *loc. cit.*, p. 245.

been settled within the state, but only with great difficulty.⁷⁷ The expansion of relief work would prove absolutely necessary when the stream of migrants from the lower Mississippi river area was swelled by thousands of freedmen from Texas, who began pouring into the state in the winter of 1879. By rail, wagon, and often on foot, the Negroes from the Lone Star state moved across the Indian territory to find homes in southeastern Kansas. Their journey was especially difficult, and the end of the trek often clothed in disappointment, but still they came, refusing all entreaties to return to their Southern homes. The firm determination of the migrants to sojourn in the "Land of Promise," to which they fondly believed the Lord was leading them, was a phenomenon difficult to explain. Perhaps it was best revealed by a group of "Exodusters" arriving in St. Louis, who spurned an offer to return to the South by simply declaring: "We'se goin' to Kansas, and we won't go back dar."⁷⁸

77. For a discussion of the numbers involved in the first phase of the exodus (March-July) see Schwendemann, "Negro Exodus to Kansas" (M. A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1957), pp. 160, 161.

78. St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, March 17, 1879.

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART NINE, 1836-1837

1836

JANUARY 5.—From Westport, Mo., Isaac McCoy mailed Rep. William H. Ashley a *memorial*, addressed to the house of representatives, asking that the mail route (in "Oklahoma") from Fort Towson to Fort Gibson be extended from the latter post to Fort Leavenworth (*see* item on *petition* of 1834 under February 2, 1835, entry).

As set forth in the memorial (dated "Western Territory 1835") the distance would be 318 miles: Fort Gibson to the Creek subagency, seven miles—Union Mission, 22 miles—A. P. Chouteau's, on east bank of Neosho river, 16 miles—W. C. Requa's [Hopefield Mission], 15 miles—Osage Agency, 65 miles—Harmony Mission, a few miles within Missouri, 75 miles—Wea Mission, 50 miles—Westport, Mo., 35 miles—"Delaware Smithery" (near the Delaware's Kansas river ferry), 10 miles—Fort Leavenworth, 23 miles. (The distances vary from those given in the 1834 petition noted above.)

The memorial's 38 signers were: Col. Henry Dodge, Capt. David Hunter, Capt. Matthew Duncan, Lt. G. P. Kingsbury, Lt. Asbury Ury, *Lt. Enoch Steen*, Lt. L. P. Lupton, Lt. B. D. Moore, *Lt. J. S. Van Derveer*, *Lt. B. A. Terrett*, *Asst. Surg. S. Preston Moore*, Lt. J. W. Hamilton, *L. V. D. Stryker*, *J. H. Freligh*, Anthony L. Davis (emigrating agent for Pottawatomies), John P. Smith (Kickapoo blacksmith), Wea missionaries the Rev. Joseph Kerr, Henry Bradley and *Francis Lindsay*, Agent Richard W. Cummins, the Rev. Isaac McCoy, Capt. Lemuel Ford, *Dr. J. A. Chute*, *W. W. Kavanaugh*, *C. M. H. Loudon*, *W. T. Loudon*, *Charles Findlay*, *Nat. H. Scruggs*, *H. C. Davis*, *J. B. Chiles*, *Michael Farmer*(?), *Peter Duncan*, *James M. Hunter* [these last 11 were Westport, Mo., residents], the Rev. *J. C. Berryman*, Jotham Meeker, Robert Simerwell, Dr. Johnston Lykins, John C. McCoy. [The persons whose names are in italics were *not* among the signers of the 1834 *petition* for a post route. One name notably absent from both lists is that of the Rev. Thomas Johnson.]

(*See, also*, March 19 entry.)

Ref: Isaac McCoy's copy of the memorial (in McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 23, KHi ms. division), with note on verso of attached page that he has enclosed the original to Ashley with a letter of January 5, 1836.

☪ **MARRIED:** Moses R. Grinter (aged 26?), an operator of the Delawares' Kansas river ferry (*See KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 180, 181), and Anna Marshall (aged 16), half-Delaware, daughter of Indian trader William Marshall, in January, on the Delaware reserve (present Wyandotte county).

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To this couple 10 children were born. The Grinters' land (north of the ferry site), was on Sec. 20 and 21, T. 11, R. 24 E., in Wyandotte township of today. A two-story brick house, erected by Moses Grinter in the late 1850's, on his farm, still is in use (1963). Grinter died June 12, 1878. Anna (Marshall) Grinter died June 28, 1905.

Ref: Goodspeed's *Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas* . . . (Chicago, 1890), pp. 622, 623; *Wyandotte Gazette*, June 14, 1878 (or, see *Biographical Clippings, "G,"* v. 3, p. 287, in KHi library); *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, June 28, 1905 (or see *Biographical Clippings, "G,"* v. 7, p. 321); U. S. census, 1870, Wyandotte tp., Wyandotte co., p. 4 (which lists Moses R. Grinter, 61, native of Kentucky; his wife Ann, 50, native of Indiana; and son William, 28, born in "Kansas").

☪ On January 29 John C. McCoy, founder (in 1834) of Westport, Mo. (also its first storekeeper, and first postmaster), wrote (in a letter to his father): "We have sold out our stock of goods to Col. [William M.] Chick of Chariton [Mo.] for cost and 12 per cent and I have rented my house to him for one year." Chick succeeded McCoy as Westport postmaster, also.

("We" referred to McCoy and his partners J. H. Flournoy and J. P. Hickman—operating under the name J. P. Hickman & Co. The partnership was dissolved on February 6, 1836.)

Ref: Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 23.

☪ As shown by Comm'r Elbert Herring's January 30 report, employees of the Department of Indian affairs in "Kansas," were:

Northern Agency of Western Territory—Agent Richard W. Cummins; *Interpreters* Joseph James, James Connor, Peter Cudjoe [Cadue], Henry Clay, Joseph Parks; *Blacksmiths and gunsmiths* John P. Smith, Claybourne Colbert, William Donalson, Lewis Jones, Robert Dunlap, William Carlisle, and *assistants* William V. Smith, Preston Moore, R. D. McKinney, John Barnes, Samuel Boydston, and ——— Jackson; also William Barnes, *miller* for the Delawares and Shawnees; *Teachers* Jerome C. Berryman and John D. Swallows for the Kickapoos, and Henry Rennick for the Delawares.

Osage Subagency—*Subagent* Paul Liguete Chouteau; *Interpreter* Baptiste Mongrain; *Blacksmith* Gabriel Philibert, and *assistant* E[tienne] Brant.

Ref: 24th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 95* (Serial 288). Spellings of some names have been corrected from the printed listing.

☪ BORN: at Delaware Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county), on February 25, Mary (or Margaret?) Jane Peery, daughter of the Rev. Edward T. and Mary S. Peery.

Ref: Si and Shirley Corn's *Our Family Tree* (1959), Section 4. Mary Jane Peery married Henry B. Bouton on September 2, 1852 (Jackson county, Mo., marriage records). In 1860 they were Westport, Mo., residents and had two children—Julia (4) and Edward H. (1), according to the U. S. census, 1860, Jackson county, Mo.

☪ BORN: at Kickapoo Methodist Mission (present Leavenworth county), on March 4, Gustavus P. Smith, son of the government blacksmith for the Kickapoos, John P. Smith, and his wife Elizabeth.

Ref: KHi 16th *Biennial Report*, p. 66; G. J. Remsburg, in *Atchison Daily Globe*, April 13, 1914. In 1837(?) the John P. Smith family moved to Platte county, Mo.

¶ Early in March, about a mile above the mouth of American Chief (now Mission) creek (in present Shawnee county), a party of workmen, supervised by the Rev. William Johnson, began erecting two logs cabins for a Kansa Methodist Mission. (By survey description, the site was the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ (apparently) of Sec. 33, T. 11, R. 14 E., Dover township.) American Chief's village (*see KHQ*, v. 28, p. 59) was not far away; and down near the creek's mouth, was Frederick Chouteau's American Fur Company trading post (*see KHQ*, v. 28, p. 58).

(Appointed missionary to the Kansa at the Methodists' Missouri conference in the fall of 1835, Johnson had twice visited the Indians before winter set in, to make preliminary arrangements. *See KHQ*, v. 28, p. 179, for his earlier, short-lived Kansa Mission.)

On June 7, 1836, William Johnson wrote: "We have now 20 acres of good soil, fenced and planted; two cabins built, and a garden nearly finished. We removed into our cabins about two weeks since. [He had married Mary Jane Chick, of Chariton, Mo., in May, 1834.] The Indians have . . . gone out to hunt for buffalo. . . . We are preparing to instruct these people . . . but shall not be able to do much before winter, as we have our dwelling house to build—also to depend upon our new farm for provision, as we are 100 miles from the nearest white settlement. . . . [The Kansa] have some corn, and but little of anything else . . . no cattle or hogs, and few horses . . . The . . . agent [R. W. Cummins] . . . is at this time having about 300 acres of land [near the mission] fenced and planted for them."

As reported in February, 1837, the mission buildings were: a not-yet-completed, hewed-log dwelling (36' x 18') a story and a half high; a kitchen, and a smoke house (each 18' x 18') under the same roof, with a 10-foot passage-way between. The occupants were the Johnsons, and a farmer. A 20-acre fenced farm was ready for cultivation.

Apparently no formal school was ever undertaken. A few Kansa children lived at the mission for brief periods, and were taught as time permitted. The Johnsons also labored faithfully among the adult Indians till William Johnson's death in 1842. The Kansas Methodist Mission on American Chief creek was maintained (though twice suspended in the 1840's) till the end of 1846.

Ref: *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York, v. 10, pp. 138, 186, v. 11, p. 130; *Kansas Historical Collections (KHC)*, v. 1-2, pp. 277, 278 (contains errors, especially in dates), v. 8, pp. 426, 428, v. 9, pp. 196-201 (also has errors), v. 16, pp. 229-236, 239-241, 251, 253-266; J. S. Chick letter, April 19, 1906 (in KHI ms. division); J. T. Peery letter, December 30, 1880 (in *ibid.*); Comm'r of Indian affairs (CIA) *Reports*, 1838-1846; *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Boston, v. 20 (1840), pp. 42, 43.

¶ According to a March 8 report (published as *Senate Report 288*, 24th Congress, 1st session) on the number and situation of Indians on the frontiers, about 31,000 Indians had been removed west of the Mississippi, and some 72,000 were yet to be removed. Below are some statistics relating to "Kansas" from the report's "Census of Indian Tribes." Also listed, for comparative purposes, are figures

published in Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register* for 1837—statistics apparently obtained in late 1836, which, for the emigrant tribes, are more realistic than those of the "census." (See *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 358 for 1834 statistics.)

<i>Indigenous Tribes</i>	"Census"	McCoy
Kansa	1,471	about 1,606
Osages *	5,120	about 5,510
<i>Emigrant Tribes</i>		
Pottawatomies from Indiana	441	444
Kickapoos	588	625
Delawares	826	921
Shawnees	1,250	of Kansas river 823
Ottawas	200	79
Weas	222	206
Piankeshaws	132	157
Peorias and Kaskaskias	132	142

* From one-third to one-half of the Osages were in "Oklahoma."

Ref: 24th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Report 228* (Serial 281); Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register* for 1837, p. 7 (McCoy states most of his materials were collected prior to January, 1837). *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, v. 50 (August 27, 1836), pp. 435, 436, has a table (with varying figures) prepared "at the topographical bureau."

☐ March 19.—A resolution of congress authorized the postmaster general to establish the following post roads: (1) from Fort Towson (in present southern Oklahoma) to Fort Gibson (in present east-central Oklahoma); and (2) from Fort Gibson by way of Fayette [ville] in Arkansas territory, Barry [county, Mo.] courthouse [*i. e.*, Cassville, Mo.], Van Buren [county, Mo.] courthouse [now Cass county, Mo., county seat Harrisonville], Jackson [county, Mo.] courthouse [*i. e.*, Independence], Fort Leavenworth, Liberty (Clay county, Mo.), Plattsburgh (Clinton county, Mo.), and Fort Des Moines, to the town of Dubuque [Iowa].

Ref: *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 5, p. 131. The name of Van Buren county, Mo., was changed to Cass county on February 19, 1849.—See J. N. Kane's *The American Counties* (New York, 1960), p. 326.

☐ April 7.—Reaching Liberty, Mo., from the East (after a trip up the Missouri on the *Chariton*) was a missionary party in the service of the American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions. Bound for the Oregon country were Dr. Marcus Whitman and his bride Narcissa (Prentiss) Whitman, the Rev. Henry H. Spalding and his wife Eliza (Hart) Spalding; and with them two(?) Nez Perces boys (brought East the previous autumn by Whitman—see October 26, 1835, entry). Also, there were Dr. Benedict Satterlee (sent out as missionary to the Pawnees), with his seriously-ill wife, and Emeline Palmer (bride-to-be of Samuel Allis—see April 17 entry), whose destination was Bellevue (Neb.).

The Whitman-Spalding party, by previous arrangement, was to join the American Fur Company's caravan at Bellevue for the overland journey to Oregon. Remaining at Liberty for three weeks, this group outfitted while awaiting arrival of the American Fur Company's *Diana* for passage of some of the group to the Council Bluffs. During this interval William H. Gray (a skilled mechanic), arrived to join the Oregon party.

See, also, next entry, and April 27 and May 1 entries.

Ref: Eliza S. Warren's *Memoirs of the West* . . . (Portland, Ore., 1916[?]), pp. 57, 58 (for Mrs. Spalding's diary); Oregon Pioneer Association *Transactions*, Portland, 1891, pp. 81-94 (for Mrs. Whitman's letters); C. M. Drury's *Marcus Whitman* . . . (Caldwell, Ida., 1937), pp. 133-140; also his *Henry Harmon Spalding* (Caldwell, Ida., 1936), pp. 120-131.

☪ April 17-23.—The steamboat *Diana*, which had left Bellevue (Neb.) April 15th, stopped at Fort Leavenworth on the 17th, en route to St. Louis. A passenger who disembarked, and remained three days, was Missionary Samuel Allis (who had reached Bellevue on April 1, after spending the winter with the Pawnee Loups).

(The *Diana*, on her first upriver voyage of the season, had left St. Louis in March, but—as reported—hit a snag below Lexington; sank in shallow water; was delayed for repairs and drying of cargo; and did not get to Bellevue till April.)

Samuel Allis arrived at Liberty, Mo. (overland from Fort Leavenworth), on April 21; and on the 23d was married to Emeline Palmer of Ithaca, N. Y. (who had reached Liberty on the 7th, in company with the Whitman-Spalding party). The Rev. Henry H. Spalding officiated.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 9, p. 301, v. 14, p. 710; C. M. Drury's *Henry Harmon Spalding*, pp. 111, 126, 131; Oregon Pioneer Association *Transactions* (19th annual reunion), 1891, p. 81 (for Mrs. Narcissa Whitman's comment on the *Diana's* mishap); *op. cit.*, p. 58.

☪ BORN: at Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county), on April 20, Eliza Shallcross Johnson, daughter of the Rev. Thomas and Sarah T. (Davis) Johnson.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 12, p. xii; *KHi* 15th *Biennial Report*, p. 35. (Eliza S. Johnson married John Wornall. She died July 5, 1865, aged 29.)

☪ April 21.—On the San Jacinto river (about 22 miles east of present Houston, Tex.) Samuel Houston's Texas army defeated a Mexican force under Santa Anna in a brief battle which won independence for Texas, and avenged the massacres of the Alamo (March 6) and Goliad (March 27).

One inscription on the San Jacinto Monument (at the battle site) reads (in part):

"Measured by its results, San Jacinto was one of the decisive battles of the world. The freedom of Texas from Mexico won here led to annexation and to the Mexican War, resulting in the acquisition by the United States of the

states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, California, Utah, and parts of Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas, and Oklahoma. . . ."

Ref: Walter P. Webb, editor-in-chief, *The Handbook of Texas* (Austin, 1952), v. 2, p. 554.

¶ In the spring, on a 320-acre tract leased from the Shawnees (a tract some four miles west of Westport, Mo.), native workmen employed by the committees of Ohio, Indiana, and Baltimore yearly meetings, Society of Friends, began erection of three Shawnee Mission buildings ("two houses of hewn logs, twenty feet square, one and one-half stories high, with a brick chimney in each end, and another for school and meeting-house, of same dimensions, to be warmed by a stove").

The original land survey plat of the 1850's shows the Friends' mission land principally within the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 7, and extending southward into the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 18, T. 12, R. 25 E. It is now partly within the city limits of Merriam, Johnson county.

Apparently the log houses of 1836 were completed by midsummer. Jotham Meeker, of the Baptist mission two miles to the northeast, wrote in his diary on August 29: "Attend at the Quakers' buildings to witness the Shawanoe Councils, &c preparatory to their drawing their annuities on to-morrow."

Beginning in mid-1837 (*see*, June, 1837, entry) and continuing, except for brief interruptions, till 1869, a boarding school for Indian children was maintained by the Friends. In 1845 a 24 by 70-foot, three-story, stone-and-frame permanent mission house was erected. During the 1860's most of the pupils were orphans.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 8, pp. 250-269, especially pp. 262, 267, 268; Meeker "Diary," in *KHi ms.* division; CIA reports, from 1838; *Kansas Historical Quarterly (KHQ)*, v. 10, p. 348 (gives the text of the historical marker for Shawnee Friends Mission).

¶ April 27.—The Rev. Henry H. Spalding, William H. Gray, three Nez Perces boys, and a hired man, left Liberty, Mo. (*see* April 7 entry), with the Whitman-Spalding party's outfit (two loaded wagons, horses, mules, and 17 head of cattle) to cross the Missouri at Fort Leavenworth (which they did, after delays, on May 2) and head northward across "Kansas" to the Otoe Mission (six miles above the Platte's mouth). Some 40 miles beyond the fort, a young man traveling alone joined them. He was Miles Goodyear (aged 19) who later became "the first white settler in what is now the State of Utah." *See, also*, May 1-19 entry.

Ref: William H. Gray's *History of Oregon* (Portland, 1870), pp. 113-142; *KHC*, v. 14, pp. 710, 711; *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Salt Lake City, v. 21 (July, 1953), pp. 195-218 (for Dale L. Morgan's article on Miles Goodyear); C. M. Drury's *Henry Harmon Spalding*, pp. 131-133; and his *Marcus Whitman*, p. 140.

¶ In April, after a tour of the Southwest during the winter of 1835-1836 (on a mission for U. S. commissioners Montfort Stokes and Gen. Mathew Arbuckle), Paul Liguete Chouteau reported on the Indians of that region, as follows:

Comanches—Claim and occupy all the country bounded North by the Arkansas river, South by the Mexican Settlements, West by the Grand Cordillera, and East by the Cross Timbers. The numerical Military force of the Comanches . . . is estimated . . . by the Mexican Government at 8,000; but, from my own personal observation I have been induced to calculate the number of Comanche warriors at 4,500.

Kaywabs [Kiowas]—Occupy at pleasure during the different seasons of the year, such parts of the Comanche Country as suit their immediate convenience. This is done by full consent of the Comanches, who consider the Kaywabs their closest allies, Number of Warriors (at least) 1,500.

Cah-tah-kahs or a band of Apaches; Reside generally with and under the protection of the Kaywabs. Military force estimated at about 300.

Wee-che-tah [Wichita], Tow-wac-car-ro, Wacco and Keetz-ash Bands of Pawnee Picts; Are corn planters—occupy several permanent villages and reside within the limits of the Comanche Country; which last nation together with the Kaywabs are supplied by them with corn and other production of the earth. Their force has been variously estimated but I think it would not be exaggerated at 1,000 men.

Calculating the respective numbers . . . as one to six, to the whole population, would make the latter amount to 43,800. [Comanches: 27,000; Kiowas: 9,000; "Cah-tah-kahs": 1,800; Wichitas (and other Pawnee Pict bands): 6,000.]

Ref: Grant Foreman's *Advancing the Frontier 1830-1860* (Norman, 1933), p. 148, quotes P. L. Chouteau's April 25, 1836, report.

¶ May 1-19.—The *Diana* (upbound on her second trip of the season, and with a new captain) passed Liberty Landing, Mo., on May 1, refusing to stop, or "take a pound for any person." This occurred as the Oregon-bound missionary party (*see* April 7 and 17 entries), awaiting the steamboat at Liberty, was preparing to bury Mrs. Benedict Satterlee (who had died the day before).

On May 3, having made hasty arrangements to journey *overland* to the Council Bluffs, the Whitmans, Mrs. Eliza Spalding, Doctor Satterlee, and the Allises, started for Fort Leavenworth. (Allis purchased a wagon and three yokes of oxen; Doctor Whitman hired a team, wagon, and driver; the three women rode on horseback.) They reached the fort on May 5. Samuel Allis set out to overtake Spalding, Gray, and the wagons (*see* April 27 entry). The others remained at the post—guests of Capt. Matthew Duncan, and of Alexander G. Morgan (postmaster-trader)—till the evening of May 7; then continued five miles northward to the Kickapoo Methodist

Mission, where they spent Sunday, the 8th, with the Berrymans, and journeyed northward again on May 9. Allis, meantime, had traveled to within 30 miles of Bellevue before overtaking Spalding, Gray, and the wagons on May 8. Gray and Allis returned to the Big Nemaha, and from there Allis continued to backtrack till he met his party about 45 miles north of Fort Leavenworth. On May 11 they all reached the Big Nemaha.

The Whitman-Spalding-Gray group, in haste to join the American Fur Company caravan setting out from Bellevue, hurried on ahead, crossing the Platte on May 19 and 20. (The Allises and Doctor Satterlee proceeded more slowly; stopped for three days at the Otoe Mission; and reached Bellevue on the 27th.)

Headed by Thomas Fitzpatrick, the American Fur Company caravan (which included Capt. William Drummond Stewart's hunting party) had started up the Platte from Bellevue on May 15. The Whitmans, Spaldings, and Gray set out in pursuit on May 21; and by making forced marches caught up with the caravan four and a half days later.

Subsequently, the fur traders, Stewart's party, and the Oregon-bound missionaries reached "Fort Laramie" on June 13; crossed the continental divide by way of South Pass on June 4; and reached the rendezvous (on a branch of Green river, near present Daniel, Wyo.) on July 6.

Under escort of John McLeod (and Thomas McKay) of the Hudson's Bay Company, the missionaries continued westward reaching Fort Hall on August 3, Fort Boise on August 19, and Fort Walla Walla at the beginning of September.

Narcissa (Prentiss) Whitman and Eliza (Hart) Spalding were the first white women to cross the Rocky mountains. The Spaldings' light wagon, though not the first to cross the mountains, was the first wheeled vehicle (at Snake river it was converted to a two-wheeled cart) to go as far as Fort Boise, in present Idaho. Of the missionaries' 17 cattle, the eight which completed the journey from Liberty, Mo., to Fort Walla Walla were the first to be taken over the Rockies and through to Oregon.

Ref: C. M. Drury's *Marcus Whitman*, pp. 141-154; C. M. Drury's *Henry Harmon Spalding*, pp. 132-152; *KHC*, v. 14, pp. 710, 711 (for Samuel Allis' journal); *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Salem, v. 38, pp. 355-369 (for William H. Gray's journal); *Oregon Pioneer Association Transactions* (19th annual reunion), 1890, pp. 40-68 (for Mrs. Narcissa Whitman's journal); Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-68 (for Mrs. Eliza Spalding's diary); Bernard De Voto's *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston, 1947), pp. 244-250, 440 (for the American Fur Company party).

¶ About May 7 Capt. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville left the Missouri frontier on his second journey to the Rocky mountains (where he would "make a final close" of his fur trade interests). Presumably he crossed "Kansas," but nothing is known of his route, his companions, or even the point of departure (which may have been Fort Leavenworth). (See August, 1835, entry, *also*, for item on Bonneville.)



Henry Dodge (1782-1867) was colonel of the (First) U. S. dragoon regiment from its organization in 1833 to mid-1836, when he resigned to become governor of the new territory of Wisconsin. From Autumn, 1834, to Spring, 1836, he was commandant at Fort Leavenworth, headquarters of the (First) dragoons. Reproduced is Catlin's portrait of Dodge, in hunting garb, painted during the 1834 expedition to the Comanche and Wichita country. (From *Iowa Historical Record*, Iowa City, October, 1889, courtesy State Historical Society of Iowa.)



Stephen Watts Kearny (1794-1848) became colonel of the (First) U. S. dragoons on July 4, 1836. He succeeded Col. Henry Dodge (see verso) as commandant at Fort Leavenworth, arriving in mid-1836 and remaining till August, 1842. For brief periods he was at the post again: in 1845 (heading a dragoon expedition to South Pass), in 1846 (as commander of the Army of the West), and in 1847. On June 30, 1846, Kearny became a brigadier general; and in August, 1847, was brevetted a major general. (Photo from an oil portrait, courtesy Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.)

He reached Fort William (Fort Laramie) after June 6; probably did not go beyond Powder river (Wyo.); left the mountains in July; and by August 6 had reached Fort Leavenworth.

Awaiting at the army post was a War Department order (of April 22) reinstating Bonneville as a captain in the Seventh U. S. infantry. He set out, at once from Fort Leavenworth, on horseback, for his designated station—Fort Gibson (Okla.).

Ref: Washington Irving's *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* . . ., edited by E. W. Todd (c1961), pp. xxx, xxxvii, xxxviii, xliii; Lt. G. K. Warren's "Memoir," in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys . . . for a Railroad . . . to the Pacific Ocean* (1861), v. 11, p. 33 (for quote of Bonneville's letter of August 24, 1857: "I left the mountains in July, 1836, and reached Fort Leavenworth, Missouri, the 6th of August following"); *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 51 (September 3, 1836), p. 16; Dale L. Morgan's letter of June 9, 1962, to L. Barry, for the "after June 6" statement; 23d Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 97* (Serial 273) for trading license issued to "Astor, Bonnville & Co." on April 16, 1834; William Clark's statement of licenses granted from March 7 to May 3, 1836, in "Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs" (microfilm from National Archives), for April 19, 1836, license issued to B. L. E. Bonneville to trade with the Arapahoes at a point of timber (on the south side of the Platte) called "Larama's point."

☐ May.—A steamboat named *Kansas* was advertised for the Missouri river trade. On May 21 a St. Louis newspaper carried notice that the *Kansas* and the *John Hancock* would leave soon for Missouri river; and a June 25 issue noted the scheduled departure of these same two steamboats for the Missouri on June 27.

Other boats advertised for the Missouri between April and July included: the American Fur Company's *Diana* (the only one to go beyond the Council Bluffs), the *Iowa*, the *Howard*, the *Boonville*, the *St. Charles*, the *Tiskilwa*, the *Chariton*, and the *Dart*. On November 30 the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, stated that five steamboats had been lost on the Missouri during the season past. One was the *Diana* which sank "in Diana bend," above Rocheport, Mo., on October 10, 1836, with a valuable cargo of furs. A few days later the *Chariton* went down (but was apparently salvaged—see April, 1837, annals). On November 26 the *John Hancock* (heavily laden), hit a snag "at Bellefontaine" and sank in 10 feet of water.

Ref: Nebraska Historical Society *Publications*, Lincoln, v. 20, pp. 65, 66; *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 301, 305 (the *Kansas* is said to have been piloted by Joseph La Barge); *Jeffersonian Republican*, Jefferson City, Mo., October 22, 1836.

☐ May 23.—By an act of this date, the President was authorized to raise an additional regiment of dragoons.

As a result the existing U. S. dragoon regiment (organized in 1833) commanded by Col. Henry Dodge, and headquartered at Fort Leavenworth, became the *First* U. S. dragoons. See, also, July 4 entry.

Ref: *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 5, pp. 32, 33.

☐ Beginning May 25, and ending in the fore(?) part of June, John C. McCoy and a party of "seven or eight poorly-armed men," surveyed the north line of the Osage reservation (treaty of 1825)—

from the northeast corner (a point now in southwest Bourbon county), due westward as far as the Arkansas river (in present Sedgwick county). See map facing p. 177 (*KHQ*, v. 28) for visual reference.

Nine years earlier—see *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 33, 34—Angus Langham had canceled a survey of this line, due to Osage hostility. McCoy, too, met opposition. In an address, in 1889, he told of the experience. As he and his crew approached the Neosho they worked only about three miles above the Little Osages' village (the uppermost Osage town—north of present Chanute, Neosho co.). Braves on horseback, watching and following them, became increasingly restive—claiming their land extended much farther north. McCoy found it expedient to pay a visit to the head chief Nicheumanee (Walking Rain). He and Charles Findlay, with an Indian escort, rode to the village (over 100 lodges), "situated on a high prairie hill a mile or so west of the Neosho." There, in the chief's large, centrally-located lodge (of bark, over a framework of poles), the surveyor faced Nicheumanee and several hundred head men and braves of the Little Osages. He remained firm in the face of threats. The council (much of it conducted in sign language, for lack of an interpreter) ended in a stalemate. McCoy says: "Findlay and I took our departure. . . . We found our horses at the [lodge] door, with the tail of my horse completely denuded of hair. I was glad to get the horse, even with his corn-cob tail." Back at the surveyors' camp, meantime, an Osage attempt at robbery had been thwarted.

The survey westward was continued "without serious molestation." The line of march—across Township 26 South of today—ran a few miles south of present Eureka and El Dorado. (McCoy states that the Arkansas tributary now called Walnut river was then known as the "Little Neosho"; and the stream now named Whitewater river was then called the "Little Verdigris"!). They reached the Arkansas at 124 miles from the point of beginning, about five miles above the mouth of the Little Arkansas.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 5, pp. 308-311 (for McCoy's 1889 address), v. 8, p. 199 (where the northwest corner of the Cherokee Neutral Lands [identical with the northeast corner of the Osage line—as noted by McCoy, v. 5, p. 309] is described as 20 rods south of the north line and three-fourths of a mile east of the west line of Sec. 26, T. 26 S., R. 21 E., Bourbon county); *SIA*, v. 1, pp. 267-269 (for McCoy's plats) and pp. 276-283 (for his field notes, dated "West Port, Mo., Sept 16th 1836"). The field notes contain little of interest beyond the comment, that, on the highlands as they approached the Neosho they crossed "an Indian Trace [running north and south] leading from the little Osage village to the Wea settlements. . . ."

☉ May.—The annual spring caravan to Santa Fe was overtaken several days out on the trail by Charles Bent's seven-wagon train which traveled in company (for protection from Indians) as far as Cimarron crossing of the Arkansas. The experienced mountain man Robert ("Doc") Newell (see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 50) was one of Bent's party.

Another hand, not experienced, was young Richens Lacy ("Dick") Wootton (hired as a mule driver) whose account of the journey (his first to the west) was included in reminiscences pub-

lished in 1890. By Wootton's recollection, the caravan numbered some 150 men and 57 wagons. (Josiah Gregg, in 1844, listed the Santa Fe-bound trade statistics for 1836 as 135 men [35 of them proprietors], 75 wagons, and \$130,000 in merchandise.)

On night guard at the Little Cow creek camp (present Rice county), Wootton shot "Old Jack" (a mule) mistaking it for an Indian. At Pawnee Fork 250 or more Comanches "charged through the camp three or four times, trying to make the mules break loose." They failed, and lost three warriors in the attempt. After leaving the caravan at Cimarron crossing, to continue up the Arkansas, Bent's small train was met by Ceran St. Vrain and a mounted party from Fort William ("Bent's Fort") and escorted to that post.

Ref: H. L. Conard's "*Uncle Dick*" Wootton (Chicago, 1890), pp. 28-42; Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* . . . (New York, London, 1844) v. 2, p. 160; David Lavender's *Bent's Fort* (Garden City, N. Y., 1954), pp. 166, 167, 393, 394. Henry Inman, in a tale entitled "How 'Pawnee Rock' Was Named" (published in his *Stories of the Old Santa Fe Trail* [Kansas City, Mo., 1881], pp. 1-10), attributed the mule-shooting incident to "Kit" Carson on an alleged first trip west in 1833. But see *KHQ*, v. 23, p. 29, for Carson's first (1826) journey on the Santa Fe trail. James Hobbs may have been another tyro hand with this Bent, St. Vrain & Co. party. In his reminiscences (*Wild Life in the Far West*—first published in 1872) Hobbs told of being taken captive by Comanches (near the Arkansas, west of "The Caches") during his first trip west in 1835 (but perhaps, correctly, 1836) as a Bent, St. Vrain & Co. employee; and of being ransomed four(?) years later by William Bent.

¶ Kickapoo Catholic Mission had its beginning on June 1, when the Rev. Charles F. Van Quickenborne, S. J., and three lay brothers (Andrew Mazzella, Edmund Barry, George Miles) debarked from a Missouri river steamboat at Kickapoo Landing (about five miles, by water, above Fort Leavenworth), and took up temporary residence in a log cabin of American Fur Company trader Laurence Pensineau, whose post was at the landing. (They had left St. Louis on May 25.)

At a site over a mile west of Pensineau's post, and near both Kickapoo settlements—Chief Pa-sha-cha-hah's village (half a mile southwest) and Kennekuk's town (a quarter-mile south)—the first mission building (a one-story, hewed-log schoolhouse, 16'x15') was erected, after some delays. Ready for use in October, it served as mission headquarters during the winter, and until completion, in the spring of 1837, of a log house and chapel house (48'x20'x16'). Father Christian Hoecken (who had arrived some weeks after Van Quickenborne's party) then opened a school which, in the autumn, was reported to have 20 pupils.

At the end of 1836 the mission church had only two Kickapoo members (both children). The chief obstacles to converting these Indians were: (1) their addiction to whisky, and (2) the increasing opposition of the Kickapoo Prophet (Kennekuk) who had his own religion, many followers, and a government-built church in which to preach. Nor did the school prosper, for the Kickapoos felt they did not need it—having already the government school run by Methodist missionary J. C. Berryman.

Father Felix L. Verreydt replaced Van Quickenborne in July, 1837. Later, Father Anthony Eysvogels became head of the mission. Chief Pa-sha-cha-hah and his followers moved some 20 miles distant in 1839(?), leaving the Catholics few supporters. The school dwindled to eight students and the government withdrew its \$500 per annum support (given since 1837) in 1840.

On September 19, 1840, the decision was made to close the Kickapoo Catholic Mission. Apparently its last use for church services was in late December.

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* . . . (New York, 1938), v. 1, pp. 395-421 (p. 421 contains a footnote on the subsequent use of the mission house); R. J. Bollig's *History of Catholic Education in Kansas* . . . (Washington, D. C., 1933), pp. 10-12.

¶ June 7.—An act of this date provided for the extension of Missouri's western boundary to the Missouri river. (The existing line ran due north and south from the mouth of the Kansas—see map in *KHQ*, v. 28, facing p. 177.)

Prerequisites for adding this area (the "Platte Purchase") to Missouri: (1) extinguishment of Indian title to the land lying between Missouri's boundary and the Missouri (*i. e.*, the Little Platte country), and ceding of jurisdiction to the State of Missouri, (2) assent of the State of Missouri to the act's provisions, (3) a Presidential proclamation—see March 28, 1837, annals entry.

Ref: *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 5, p. 34.

¶ June 11.—At Fort Leavenworth, Capt. Matthew Duncan (the commanding officer), together with Agent John Dougherty, held a council with 49 chiefs and head men of the Missouri band of Sac (and Fox) Indians who had arrived the day before to seek redress of grievances (relating to a claim for annuities; and in regard to their removal to the southwest side of the Missouri).

Ref: Capt. Matthew Duncan's June 18, 1836, report, in "Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs"—microfilm from National Archives. Col. Henry Dodge—see July 4 entry—had already left Fort Leavenworth.

¶ June 13.—Capt. Matthew Duncan and Agent R. W. Cummins, at Fort Leavenworth, counceled with the Kickapoo Indians in regard to a war dance recently held at their upper village (Pa-sha-cha-hah's settlement)—a dance reportedly in celebration of an Indian victory over U. S. troops in Florida.

Ref: Capt. Matthew Duncan's report, *loc. cit.*

¶ June 15.—Arkansas, a territory since 1819, was admitted to the Union as a state.

Ref: *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 5, p. 50.

¶ July 2.—President Jackson approved the enabling act for the better protection of the Western frontier. It provided: (1) for the surveying and opening of a military road from a point on the upper Mississippi to Red river in the south; (2) that the road should pass *west of Missouri and Arkansas* (after getting the assent of the Indians through whose territory it would run); (3) for the construction of military posts along the road (locations unspecified); (4) for the use of U. S. troops to perform the required labor; (5) the sum of \$100,000 to accomplish the objects of the act.

Ref: *Ibid.*, p. 67; *KHQ*, v. 11, p. 117.

¶ At the northeast corner of the Kansa lands (in present Jackson county), on July 2, John C. McCoy and a work party began a survey of the north boundary of the Kansa reservation (treaty of 1825). Before July ended they had proceeded west for 206 miles (to Rooks county of today), where they terminated the survey "on [a] high level prairie covered with short curly Buffalo grass. . . . Solomons fork about 1½ miles to Slouthl."

Ten years earlier (1826-1827) Angus Langham had surveyed the east and south Kansa lines (*see KHQ*, v. 28, p. 28); and six years earlier (1830), John C. McCoy had accompanied his father on a survey of the Delaware Outlet's north line (*see KHQ*, v. 28, p. 176)—a boundary which paralleled the Kansa north line and ran only 10 miles above it. (*See* map facing p. 177 in *KHQ*, v. 28, for visual reference.)

It appears that the northeast corner of the Kansa lands was (by current description), about the southwest corner of Sec. 22, T. 7 S., R. 15 E., Franklin township, Jackson co. The line then ran due west through Township 7. McCoy, in his field notes, mentions "Soldier creek" (crossed between 10 and 11 miles from the beginning point); "Egoma Saba (or Black paint) Creek" [since McCoy was in present Pottawatomie county, the stream referred to is the Red Vermillion creek of today]; the "blue earth river" [Big Blue] crossed between 52 and 53 miles west; the "Republican fork of Kansas" between 79 and 80 miles west; and the bank of "Solomon's fork" between 121 and 122 miles west. This last-named stream is mentioned again at 151 miles, at 192-193, and 195-198 miles, as well as at the end of the survey.

Ref: Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, "Records" (SIA), v. 1, pp. 271-275 (for McCoy's survey plats) and pp. 284-294 (for his field notes, dated "West Port, Mo. September 16, 1836").

¶ July 4.—Col. Henry Dodge (whose resignation as head of the First U. S. dragoons was effective this date) took the oath of office as governor of the newly created Territory of Wisconsin, at Mineral Point (Wis.).

To rank from July 4, Lt. Col. Stephen Watts Kearny was promoted colonel of the First U. S. dragoons, Maj. Richard B. Mason became the regiment's lieutenant colonel, and Capt. Clifton Wharton its major.

Colonel Kearny, who had been at Fort Des Moines since the autumn of 1834, received orders in July to move to Fort Leavenworth and assume command. (See *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 175, for his earlier, brief, tour of duty there.)

Ref: *Iowa Historical Record*, Iowa City, v. 8 (July, 1892), pp. 300, 302; D. L. Clarke's *Stephen Watts Kearny* . . . (Norman, c1961), pp. 69, 70; F. B. Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* . . . (Washington, 1903).

☐ July 18.—In the settlement of Frenchmen and Indians, at the mouth of the Kansas (present Kansas City, Mo.), Father C. F. Van Quickenborne (of Kickapoo Catholic Mission) baptized 14 mixed-blood Indian children (Flatheads, Kutenai, Iroquois, etc.), all, apparently, from 12 families which had "lately come down from the Rocky Mountains." Also on the 18th he performed two marriage rites (the earliest recorded in that vicinity). Both parties in the first ceremony were Iroquois Indians: Benjamin Lagautherie (son of Victor) and Charlotte Gray (daughter of John and Marianne). The other rite—for Clement "Liserte" (Lessert) and Julia Roy—renewed a civil marriage of 1829 (see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 53).

In a letter of October 4, 1836, Van Quickenborne referred to the recent settlement on the "low level ground that skirts the right bank of the Kaw at its junction with the Missouri" of 12 families which had "lately come down from the Rocky Mountains"; and stated that on the second of two visits to the Indians he "found them all sick, and, in despair of being able to live here, they were talking of going back to their mountains." With his sketch map of "the Indian country" (also October 4, 1836) he wrote this descriptive note relating to the Kaw's mouth settlement: "Place where the American Fur Company has built a small church ["Chouateau's Church"—see July, 1835, entry]—here live 25 families—20 of which are Indians or half breeds. . . ."

Ref: Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 259, and between 402 and 403 (for map). Benjamin "Logatree" was deeded land near "mouth of the Kansas," on April 10, 1836, by Francis G. Chouateau—Jackson County (Mo.) courthouse, in Book E, p. 564.

BORN: within the Kickapoo reserve (present Leavenworth county), on July 23, Brigitte Aimable Pensineau, daughter of Trader Paschal Pensineau and Catharinette, "an Indian woman (Kickapoo) *vulgo* Greenwood." (She was baptized January 4, 1837, at "Kickapootown," by the Rev. C. F. Van Quickenborne, S. J.)

Ref: "Kickapoo Register," at St. Mary's College, St. Marys, *courtesy* of the Rev. Augustin C. Wand, S. J.

☐ Gholson Kurcheval (appointed July 2) superintended the removal west, during the summer, of several hundred more Pottawatomies of Illinois. Capt. John B. F. Russell was the disbursing agent. Apparently they were the Indians who had spent the preceding winter in southeastern "Iowa"—see December 2, 1835, entry.)

These Pottawatomies joined the emigrants of 1835 in the Little Platte (Mo.) country. They were placed under the temporary supervision of Emigrating Agent Anthony L. Davis (whose residence was at "Kickapoo town" above Fort Leavenworth).

Expenditures by the government for the emigrants included payments of \$2,352.20 and \$7,977.30 to [J. T. V.] Thompson and [Hiram] Rich for provisions; \$56 to N. W. Hutchins for transporting Indians on the steamboat *Siam*; \$8 to Francis L. Vallier for service as interpreter.

Though a December 1, 1836, report stated that the number of Pottawatomies (and united Chippewas and Ottawas) removed west of the Mississippi was 1,712, a later report (1840) estimated their number did not exceed 1,455. (In November, 1835, the figure had been given as 1,200[?].)

Ref: Grant Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, c1946), p. 107; 24th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 137* and *H. Doc. No. 141* (both in Serial 303); 24th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Ser. 297) for CIA report of December 1, 1836; 24th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Report 228* (Serial 281), p. 5, for November 24, 1835, report; *Report of the Comm'r of Indian Affairs for 1840* (Document 3, with the report).

¶ August 26.—After an official inspection of Fort Leavenworth, Col. George Croghan wrote:

. . . it is not only not a fort but is even devoid of the regularity of a common barrack. Of defences it has none. Colonel [S. W.] Kearny [the new commandant] having very wisely recommended the erection of block houses, has . . . contracted for the building of two . . . both of them will be finished, it is believed, by December. . . .

Ref: F. P. Prucha, ed., *Army Life on the Western Frontier* . . . (c1958), p. 24.

¶ William Clark's journey to Fort Leavenworth in September (*see, also*, next entry) may have been his first and only visit to that post. He traveled there aboard the steamboat *Boonville*, leaving St. Louis on August 30. George Rogers Hancock Clark (his 20-year-old son, serving as secretary), an interpreter, and a servant, accompanied him. After the treaty was concluded in mid-September, Clark returned to St. Louis on the American Fur Company's *Diana*.

In 1804, bound up the Missouri with the Lewis & Clark expedition, and again in 1806, returning, he had passed the site of the future fort. But there does not appear to be any record that William Clark returned to that vicinity in the 30 years between 1806 and 1836, though he was situated no farther away than St. Louis, as superintendent of Indian affairs, during most of the intervening time.

Ref: "Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs," St. Louis Superintendency (National Archives microcopy 234, Roll 751)—George Maguire's September 2, 1836, letter, and William Clark's abstract of disbursements from October 1, 1836, to September 30, 1837. *See, also*, next entry references.

¶ September 17.—At Fort Leavenworth William Clark (sup't of Indian affairs, St. Louis) negotiated a treaty with the Iowas, and the band of Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri. By its terms, the Indians

(1) Gave up all claim to lands lying between the State of Missouri and the Missouri river and received a present of \$7,500. (This was the "Platte Purchase" country, where they were residing.)

(2) Were assigned a reserve across the Missouri—a small strip of land between the Kickapoos' north line and the Grand Nemaha, extending "back and westwardly" from the Missouri to encompass 400 sections, to be divided equally between the Iowas and the Sacs & Foxes. (See map of 1834, in *KHQ*, v. 28, facing p. 177, for general location.) The rectangular tract of land as surveyed in 1837-1838, was divided by a diagonal line into "twin reserves." (See May, 1837, entry, p. 67.)

(3) Agreed to move as soon as arrangements could be made. In return, the government was to do these things for the *Iowas*: build five comfortable houses; fence and break up 200 acres of land; furnish a farmer, blacksmith, teacher, interpreter; provide agricultural implements (for five years), rations for one year, a ferry boat, a mill, 100 cows and calves, five bulls, 100 stock hogs; and assist in removing them to the extent of \$500. For the *Sacs & Foxes* the terms were the same, except only three houses were to be built, and but \$400 provided for removal.

"Mo-hos-ca" (White Cloud), "Nau-che-ning" (No Heart), and 10 others signed for the *Iowas*. "Cau-ca-car-mack" (Rock Bass), "Sea-sa-ho" (Sturgeon), and 13 others signed for the *Sacs & Foxes*.

Treaty witnesses were: Col. S. W. Kearny (commandant at Fort Leavenworth), Agent John Dougherty, George R. H. Clark (son of William Clark), Subagent Andrew S. Hughes, William Duncan (farmer for the *Iowas*), Sutler Joseph V. Hamilton, Joseph Robidoux, Jr., Sgt. Maj. William Bowman (of the First dragoons); interpreters Jeffrey Dorion, Peter Cadue, Jacques Mette, and Louis M. Dorrion.

Ref: C. J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 468-470; *KHQ*, v. 16, p. 2 (for item on George R. H. Clark); *KHC*, v. 8, p. 32.

¶ About September 19 John C. McCoy and a work party left Westport, Mo., and set out southward, to survey the *Cherokees'* reserve. They reached a beginning point on the *Arkansas* (location not identified) on October 14. (A dragoon escort from Fort Leavenworth, detailed to accompany McCoy, did not leave that post till October 19.) After completing between 60 and 70 miles of the survey, illness and bad weather forced suspension of work till 1837. (See p. 63.)

Ref: Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 23 (Isaac McCoy letter of December 15, 1836).

¶ September 26.—At Fort Leavenworth Col. Stephen W. Kearny was dinner host to British army captain William Drummond Stewart, who was en route East after a summer's hunting expedition in the Rocky mountains.

Captain Stewart's party (a companion "Mr. Sillem, a German gentleman"; three servants; two light wagons; some fine horses; and two dogs) had traveled to the mountains with the American Fur Company caravan (headed by Thomas Fitzpatrick) which left Bellevue (Neb.) on May 15 and followed up the Platte. It is supposed that Stewart and party returned to Bellevue

with Fitzpatrick, by the same route, in August and September. (*See, also*, October 26-31, 1835, entry.)

Ref: Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 73; De Voto, *op. cit.*, pp. 244, 270.

☪ BORN: at Delaware Baptist Mission (present Wyandotte county), on October 7, Lydia Blanchard, daughter of the Rev. Ira D. and Mary (Walton) Blanchard.

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," October 7, 1836, entry; A. J. Paddock correspondence, in KHi ms. division.

☪ October 15.—At Bellevue (Neb.) the Otoes, Missouriias, Omahas, and Yancton & Santee bands of Sioux, after a council with Agent John Dougherty and Subagent Joshua Pilcher, signed a "convention" giving up all claim to lands lying between the State of Missouri and the Missouri river. (*See* the June 7, 1836, "Platte Purchase" annals item.)

The acting secretary of the proceedings, who also signed the document as witness, was "J[oseph] Varnum Hamilton, sutler, [First] U. S. dragoons," of Fort Leavenworth.

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 479-481.

☪ October 21.—The chiefs and leading men of the Delawares, Shawnees, Piankeshaws & Weas, Peorias & Kaskaskias met in council with Agent Richard W. Cummins (head of Northern Agency, Western Territory), and signed an agreement giving "our full consent that the United States, open and establish a road through each of our countries, and establish therein such military posts, as the Government of the United States may think proper. . . ." (*See* July 2, entry.)

In return, the Indians were paid \$900 in goods (the Delawares and Shawnees, \$300 each; \$150 each to the two smaller Indian groups). Delaware signers were Nah-comin, Captain Ketchum, Nonon-da-gomin, Captain Swanock, "Sackindeattun" (Secondine), and four others; for the Shawnees, John Perry, George Williams, Young Blackhoof, Letho, Little Fox, Peter Cornstalk, and two others signed; Charley, Swan, Go-to-cop-wah, and six others signed for the smaller nations. Witnesses to the agreement were: Dr. J. Andrew Chute, W. W. Kavanaugh, Angus G. Boggs; also, interpreters Joseph Parks and Baptiste Peoria.

Ref: SIA, v. 1, pp. 262, 263, v. 26, p. 78.

☪ November 5.—Jesse Overton received payment (from Lt. Thomas Swords, assistant quartermaster) of \$1,795 for having made three farms for the Kansa Indians.

(According to Isaac McCoy, these fields, "fenced and ploughed," were at the "lower village" and of 130, 140, and six acres in size. Earlier, 10 acres had been ploughed and fenced.)

Ref: 25th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 362* (Serial 330), p. 86; Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register for 1837*, p. 32.

☪ In November Capt. Edwin V. Sumner, and Company B, First U. S. dragoons, arrived at Fort Leavenworth, from Fort Des Moines. They had left the latter post on October 30.

Ref: Louis Pelzer's *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley* . . . (Iowa City, 1917), p. 62.

☪ DIED: Ten-squa-ta-wa (the Shawnee Prophet), in November, at his small settlement (four huts) on the Shawnee reserve (within the bounds of present Kansas City, Wyandotte co.). He was probably about 68. (The year of his birth is given as 1768.)

A brother of famed chief Tecumseh, Ten-squa-ta-wa ("the open door"—a self-given name) was, in the early 1800's, a powerful and influential man. (Throughout his life he claimed to have direct communication with the Great Spirit.) He abetted Tecumseh in the plot to unite the Indian nations against the United States. When the Battle of Tippecanoe (1811, in Indiana) ended in defeat for the Indians, Ten-squa-ta-wa's prestige declined, and he became an obscure figure.

It is said that he came to "Kansas" in 1828, from the Shawnee settlement in the Cape Girardeau, Mo., area, where he had lived two years; that he settled on the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 32, T. 11, R. 25 E., but moved to the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 30 about a year before his death. See his portrait (by Catlin), in *KHQ*, v. 28, facing p. 336.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 164n, 165n; *Kansas City Sun*, March 5, 1909; the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, March 27, 1950, shows a picture of "White Feather" spring (described as "in a ravine which bisects Ruby avenue," in the block west of 38th street, Kansas City, Kan.) and notes that the Shawnee Prophet is buried near by; Bureau of American Ethnology, *Fourteenth Annual Report*, pt. 2, pp. 673, 674.

☪ According to the December 3 report of the secretary of war, the army's Western Department force (under Maj. Gen. Edmund P. Gaines) totaled only 2,458 troops.

At Fort Leavenworth the aggregate strength was 321 men—seven companies of the First U. S. dragoons. In present Oklahoma there were 132 men at Fort Gibson, 44 at new Fort Coffee, and 158 at Fort Towson.

Ref: 24th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 297), pp. 107, 146.

☪ MARRIED: The Rev. Robert Clark Ellifrit and Ann Eliza Jefferson (teacher), both of the Kickapoo Methodist Mission, on December 20, at Shawnee Methodist Mission, by the Rev. Thomas Johnson.

(In the fore part of 1837 the Ellifrits were at Delaware Methodist Mission, but moved, in the latter part of the year, across the Missouri, where they were early settlers in the "Platte Purchase.")

Ref: Jackson County, Mo., marriage records, Independence, Mo., v. 1, p. 102; W. M. Paxton's *Annals of Platte County, Mo.* (Kansas City, Mo., 1897), see index; *KHC*, v. 9, p. 206; "Remsburg Scrapbook," v. 1, p. 252 (in KHi library); Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register* for 1837, p. 30. It is said that Mrs. Ann Eliza Ellifrit was a relative (grand niece?) of Thomas Jefferson.

☪ A gold mine (or buried treasure) was the quest of a party of men who were guided, in 1836, by Jesse Chisholm, from Arkansas to the mouth of the Little Arkansas river (present Sedgwick county).

James Mead told of this journey in an address made in 1907, and thereby contributed an item to "Kansas" buried treasure lore. He stated that the search was undertaken partly because Antoine S. Le Page du Pratz's map of 1757 (*see* reference in *KHQ*, v. 27, p. 92) showed "A Gold Mine" in that vicinity; and also because of a tradition "that long ago a party from New Mexico, descending the river in boats, were surrounded by Indians in the night at this point, and after a siege of several days were all killed but one, who escaped, after he had buried their gold and silver."

Ref: *KHC*, v. 10, p. 9. Mead no doubt heard this tale direct from Chisholm.

☪ Employed in "Kansas" by the Indian Department during all, or part of the year 1836, were the following persons:

In the *Northern Agency, Western Territory*—Agent Richard W. Cummins [whose headquarters was the old Shawnee Agency (present Johnson county, near state line)]; *Interpreters* Joseph James [Kansa], Joseph Parks [Delawares, etc.]; *Gun and blacksmiths* John P. Smith [Kickapoos], Lewis Jones [Shawnees], Elias M. Walker [Kansa], Nelson A. Warren [Kansa], Robert Dunlap [Delawares], William Carlisle [Weas, etc.]; *Assistant gun and blacksmiths* William V. Smith [Kickapoos], Preston Moore [Kansa], R. D. McKenney [Shawnees], John M. Owen [Kansa], Samuel Boydston [Delawares; and Shawnees], John Barnes [Shawnees], Peter Duncan [Delawares], _____ Jackson [Weas, etc.], James Whitlock [Shawnees], P. G. Cayton [Weas, etc.]; *Teachers* J. C. Berryman [Kickapoos], John D. Swallows [Kickapoos], Henry Rennick [Delawares]; *Millers* William Barnes [Shawnees & Delawares], John Allen [Delawares], James Allen [Delawares].

In the *Osage Subagency*—Subagent Paul Liguete Chouteau; *Interpreter* B[aptiste] Mongrain; *Gun and blacksmith* Gabriel Philibert; *Assistant smith* E[tienne] Brant.

"Assistant agent in the emigration of Indians" Anthony L. Davis [temporarily situated at "Kickapoo-town" above Fort Leavenworth]—in charge of the Pottawatomies who had emigrated west between 1833 and 1836 (and who were residing both on the Kickapoo reserve, and across the Missouri in the "Platte Purchase").

Ref: 24th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 141* (Serial 303); 24th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 137* (Serial 303), pp. 27-30; 25th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. 362* (Serial 330), pp. 86, 87.

1837

☪ BORN: on January 17, at Fort Leavenworth, George Kearny, third son of Col. Stephen W. and Mary (Radford) Kearny. (He died on October 6, 1837.)

Ref: *Clarke, op. cit.*, p. 76.

☪ BORN: on January 30, at Shawnee Baptist Mission (present John-

son county), Eliza(?) Rollin, daughter of the Rev. David B. and Sarepta (Reed) Rollin.

(The Rollin family—David B., wife, and infant son Edward—had arrived at Shawnee Baptist Mission on November 5, 1836, after a “protracted journey of more than four weeks” from the Baptist mission to the Western Creeks [near Fort Gibson, “Oklahoma”], which had been suspended due to Indian opposition. The Rollins remained in “Kansas” till the spring of 1839—removing to Commerce, Mich., where Mr. Rollin died on May 12, 1839. When they left “Kansas” they had three children. Of the third child—born in 1838?—no information is available.)

Ref: Jotham Meeker’s “Dairy,” November 5, 1836, and January 30, 1837, entries; *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 17 (February, 1837), p. 45; v. 19 (August, 1839), p. 202; J. R. Rollins’ *Records of Families of the Name of Rawlins or Rollins* . . . (Lawrence, Mass., 1874), pp. 85, 155-158.

☪ February 11.—In a treaty concluded at Washington with the chiefs of several small bands of Indiana Pottawatomies, the United States agreed to give the Pottawatomies of Indiana, a tract of country “on the Osage [Marais des Cygnes] river southwest of the Missouri river, sufficient in extent, and adapted to their habits and wants; remove them to the same; [and] furnish them with one year’s subsistence after their arrival there.”

Qui-qui-to (a “Kansas” resident—on the Kickapoo reserve—since 1833 [see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 333]) was the first to sign; followed by Che-chaw-kose, Ash-kum, We-saw (or Louison), Muck-kose, Sin-qui-waugh, and Po-ga-kose. The U. S. commissioner was John T. Douglass. John C. Burnett, Abram B. Burnett, and William Turner were the interpreters. All three of the latter were part Pottawatomie, and all three subsequently migrated to the “Osage” river reserve.)

This first Pottawatomie reserve in “Kansas” was subsequently laid out by Isaac McCoy. Its northeast corner was a little over 16 miles west of the Missouri line, at a point a few miles below the Weas’ and Piankeshaws’ southwest corner. It bordered, on the north, generally, the lands of the Peorias and Kaskaskias, and the Ottawas. The reserve’s width, as stated by Isaac McCoy, was 24 miles; the distance the land would run west had not been determined. (See map in *KHQ*, v. 28, facing p. 177, for visual reference.)

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 488; Comm’r C. A. Harris’ letter of July 21, 1837, in McCoy’s “Manuscripts,” v. 24; A. L. Davis’ May 15, 1838, letter in Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), Letters Received from SIA, St. Louis (Microcopy 234, Roll 752, National Archives), contains a drawing of the Pottawatomie lands and the Indian reserves north of it; McCoy’s *Annual Register of Indian Affairs for 1838*, p. 58.

☪ March 4.—Inauguration Day. At Fort Leavenworth, as the Rev. Thomas Johnson passed by, en route to the Kickapoo mission, “the cannon was firing in honor of the new president”—Martin Van Buren.

Ref: *Christian Advocate and Journal*, v. 11 (July 7, 1837), p. 182.

¶ Early in the spring William C. Requa established an Osage mission—Hopefield (No. 3)—near the southeast corner of the Osage reserve, on La Bette creek, about nine miles from its junction with the Neosho (southwest of present Oswego, Labette co.).

Requa, who had closed Hopefield (No. 2)—or New Hopefield—in present Mayes county, Okla., in 1835(?)—see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 170—and then occupied Boudinot Mission (abandoned by the Nathaniel B. Dodge family in 1835—*ibid.*, p. 169), had himself abandoned the Boudinot site in late 1836, or early 1837, to relocate at a place more favorable to begin an Indian farming community (such as Hopefield had been).

He “made considerable progress in preparing the requisite buildings and other improvements, and hoped soon to have a colony of 50 [Osage] families around him.” But during the summer the “hostility of other portions of the tribe” caused Requa to discontinue the mission. (“The cattle belonging to the station were killed . . . other property was seized, and some of the [Osage] settlers were threatened and actually assaulted and beaten by their savage countrymen.”) In July he removed his belongings and abandoned Hopefield (No. 3).

In a journal entry of September 5, 1837, the Rev. David B. Rollin (en route from Shawnee Baptist Mission to visit the Creek Indians) wrote: “Arrived at Harmony [Mo.—where the first mission to the Osages had been founded in 1821 (see *KHQ*, v. 27, p. 511)]. Here, about fifteen years ago, missionary efforts were commenced on a large scale, for the benefit of the Osages. Labors have of late been suspended. At this place, I was introduced to Mr. Requa, the last of many missionaries who have left these degraded sons of the forest. The Osages have recently been very abusive, and Mr. Requa has concluded to quit their country, after a service of about sixteen years. There is now no missionary among this people, and their prospects, for time and eternity, are indeed gloomy.”

Ref: *Report of the American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions for 1837*, pp. 111, 112; *Missionary Herald*, Boston, v. 33, p. 476; *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 18, p. 42.

¶ March 28.—President Van Buren proclaimed the Indian title extinguished to the lands lying between the State of Missouri and the Missouri river—the “Platte Purchase” (act of June 7, 1836—see p. 52), thereby making the area a part of Missouri, and opening it to settlement.

Six northwestern Missouri counties—Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Holt, Nodaway, and Atchison) subsequently (1838-1845) were organized from the “Platte purchase.”

Ref: James D. Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1902* (1905), v. 3, p. 32; State Historical Society of Missouri, comp., *Historic Missouri* . . . (Columbia, c1959), p. 27.

¶ At the beginning of April seven steamboats were reported "engaged in the commerce of the Missouri." They were the *Chariton*, *Phillos*, *Kansas*, *Howard*, *Dart*, *Bridgewater*, and *Fayette*. The first four had arrived on the same date (April 4?) at St. Charles, Mo., from the upper river, after a long absence. The *Dart* was still to come down.

Ref: *Missouri Argus*, St. Louis, April 7, 1837 (copied from the St. Charles [Mo.] *Clarion*).

¶ April 13.—Revised regulations adopted by the Indian Department included these changes in the superintendencies, agencies, and subagencies, as organized under the July 7, 1834, regulations—see *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 361, 362.

THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF ST. LOUIS (William Clark, sup't) was enlarged to include the united Pottawatomies, Chippewas & Ottawas north of the Missouri river, in addition to all the other Indians south of the Missouri and north of the northern line of the Osage reservation. Its subdivisions:

*Fort Leavenworth Agency** (Richard W. Cummins, agent)—for the Delawares, Kansa, Shawnees, and Kickapoos. [Location: the old Shawnee Agency buildings, in present Johnson county, near the state line.]

Council Bluffs Agency (John Dougherty, agent)—for the Otoes, Missouriias, Omahas, and Pawnees.

Upper Missouri Agency (Joshua Pilcher, agent)—for the Sioux of the Missouri, Cheyennes, and Poncas.

Upper Missouri Subagency (W. N. Fulkerson, subagent)—for the Mandans, Blackfeet, etc.

Council Bluffs Subagency (Dr. Edwin James, subagent—appointed April 28)—for the United Pottawatomies, Ottawas, & Chippewas north of Missouri river.

*Great Nemahaw Subagency** (Andrew S. Hughes, subagent)—for the Iowas, Sacs & Foxes of Missouri. [Location: on the Missouri, just above the mouth of Wolf river, present Doniphan county.]

*Osage [Marais de Cygnes] River Subagency** (Anthony L. Davis, subagent—appointed April 28)—for the Ottawas, Peorias & Kaskaskias, Weas & Piankeshaws, and the Pottawatomies south of Missouri river. [Location: on Wea creek, present Miami county, at Wea Presbyterian Mission.]

THE ACTING SUPERINTENDENCY OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY (William Armstrong, acting sup't) was to have three agencies (Choctaw, Creek, and Cherokee), and two subagencies: *Osage Subagency** (Paul Liguiste Chouteau, subagent) for all of the Osages [Location: on the Neosho river, present Neosho county]; and *Neosho [Grand] River Subagency* for the Senecas, united Senecas & Shawnees and the Quapaws.

* Agency, and subagencies with headquarters in "Kansas."

Ref: *Report of the Comm'r of Indian Affairs*, 1837, pp. 660-664 (for new regulations); 25th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 135* (Serial 326) for names of officials. For data on sites, see A. S. Hughes' letter of August 14, 1837, A. L. Davis' letter of May 15, 1838, and R. W. Cummins' letter of May 18, 1838—all in OIA, Letters Received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives, Microcopy 234, Roll 751).

¶ April 20.—Anthony L. Davis (“emigrating agent” for the Pottawatomies from Indiana, residing on the Kickapoo reserve) set out from Westport, Mo., with Isaac McCoy, Robert Simerwell, Dr. J. A. Chute, Robert Polke and son of Indiana, “Mr. Holliday” (a Pottawatomie), and Lewis McNoff (a Chippewa) to view the country in which he would soon relocate as subagent (appointment date: April 28) of the new Osage River Subagency.

This party reached Wea Presbyterian Mission (present Miami county) on April 21; proceeded next day south and west to the “Osage” [Marais des Cygnes] river; followed up its course to the Peoria & Kaskaskia line; crossed the river and camped. On April 24th these explorers arrived at an “Osage” tributary which (wrote McCoy) “we named Putawatomie creek, supposing that the first settlement of the [soon-to-arrive] Putawatomes would be on it.”

Crossing and moving southward, they camped on the Neosho on the 25th. On the night of April 27, after traveling up the Neosho’s north bank, they were (according to McCoy) some 70 to 75 miles west of the state of Missouri (in present Lyon? county). On the 28th the line of march was north-east for about 12 miles, then east for perhaps 13 more, to a branch of “Putawatomie Creek.” Continuing east on the 29th, McCoy noted: “We . . . examined some very prominent and singular natural mounds at noon” (in present Franklin county—one of these landmarks was referred to, in 1845, as “the steamboat mound”). Before evening they had come again to the “Putawatomie Creek” ford, where they crossed to the left bank and moved two miles downstream to make camp. [Apparently this was the ford subsequently known as “Dutch Henry’s crossing.”]

Concluding the exploration on May 2, two of the party went on to Wea Presbyterian Mission, while McCoy and the others proceeded to the Peoria Methodist Mission (near Peoria, Franklin co., of today). McCoy (and companions) reached Westport on May 3.

Ref: Isaac McCoy’s “Journal,” April 17-May 3, 1837, entries; Calvin McCormick’s *The Memoir of Miss Eliza McCoy* (Dallas, 1892), pp. 58, 59; James C. Malin’s *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six* (Philadelphia, 1942), p. 714; Johnston Lykins’ “Journal,” April, 1839. Lykins stated that the mound at the forks of the Pottawatomie “appeared above the forest, like an immense steamboat top. . . .”

¶ Leaving Westport, Mo., on April 25, John C. McCoy proceeded southward to resume and complete the Cherokee reserve survey begun in October, 1836 (*see* p. 56).

Writing some 50 years later, McCoy stated that he surveyed, in 1837, “the south, the west, and the north lines of the land now known as the ‘Cherokee strip,’ extending west to longitude 100° west from Greenwich, the south line being between the lands of the Creeks and the Cherokees, and the north line [in Kansas] between the Cherokee and the Osage reservations.” (For visual reference, *see* map in *KHQ*, v. 28, *facing* p. 177.)

Ref: Isaac McCoy’s “Journal,” May 3, 1837, entry; *KHC*, v. 4, p. 301. The north line—the dividing line between the Osage and Cherokee reserve—was three miles north of the 37th parallel (which is the southern boundary of Kansas)—*see* *KHQ*, v. 1, p. 104, Footnote 5.

¶ May 5.—Journeying west to Kansa Methodist Mission (present Shawnee county), Agent R. W. Cummins, the Rev. Thomas Johnson, the Rev. Nelson Henry, of Independence, Mo., and Cephas Case—“met some 4 or 500 of the Kansas Indians going to the white settlements to beg provisions, for they had nothing to eat at home; and those that had not gone to the white settlements to beg were nearly all scattered over the prairies digging wild potatoes.” (Scientist Thomas Say—of Maj. S. H. Long’s 1819-1820 expedition—recorded that the Otoe Indians’ word for the Kansas river was *to-pe-o-ka*, “good potatoe river.” *This suggests the origin of the word, Topeka.*)

After reaching the mission, Agent Cummins counceled with the Kansa on May 6 and 7. Arrangements were made to “take a few children into the mission family,” each chief being given the privilege of selecting one boy. Leaving on May 8, the party of white men returned to Shawnee Methodist Mission on May 9.

Ref: Thomas Johnson’s letter of August 11, 1837, in *Christian Advocate and Journal*, v. 12 (September 8, 1837), p. 10; or *KHC*, v. 9, p. 199; R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, v. 17, p. 300 (for Say).

¶ In the spring (early May?) the American Fur Company’s *St. Peters* brought employees and equipment up the Missouri, probably to Chouteau’s Landing two miles below the Kaw’s mouth, in preparation for an expedition to the 13th annual rendezvous of the Rocky mountain trappers. Not since 1834 had the route across “Kansas” been chosen. (The caravans of 1835 and 1836 had started from Bellevue [Neb.])

At a camp not far west of the Missouri line, two or three weeks were spent in recruiting animals, outfitting and awaiting the “season of grass.” Two veteran mountain men in this company evidently holding responsible posts were “Black” Harris and Etienne Provost. Joining the expedition here were Capt. William Drummond Stewart (heading West for the third time) and his well-equipped party (about 10 in all), which included the artist Alfred Jacob Miller, L[evi?] Phillips, F. Y. Ewing, and half-breed Antoine Clement (as “hunter and purveyor”).

The cavalcade which left the eastern “Kansas” line some time in May included at least 120 men (company employees; Stewart’s group; a band of free hunters; 25 or more Delaware Indians), numerous wagons and carts, and a large number of horses and mules.

No journal of the trip is known to exist. David L. Brown (new to the West in 1837), in recollections printed in 1845, supplied a cursory account. Other information comes from Artist Miller’s on-the-spot sketches, and accompanying notes written some years later. [The cover of this *Quarterly* reproduces Miller’s water color of the caravan crossing the Kansas river.] It appears that “Sublette’s Trace”—the route of 1834—was followed in 1837. If so, the Kansas was forded seven or eight miles above present Lawrence, at the site of the Kansa Agency (closed in August, 1834). Miller made at least two other sketches relating to “Kansas”: a portrait of a *young* Kansa chief “White Plume”

(White Plume II, apparently—see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 353); and a drawing of a "Western Log Cabin"—the substantial home of a Shawnee Indian (perhaps the residence of Joseph Parks, later head chief of the Shawnees)—located near the expedition's outfitting camp. His "Bee Hunter" sketch, too, was probably done in "Kansas."

From Fort Laramie, in mid-June, "Black" Harris went on ahead of the caravan to the Green river rendezvous. Missionary William Gray, returning East, met him there, interviewed him, and jotted down in his journal (under date of July 13) information he obtained from Harris on "names of streams on the East & west sides of the Mts from Independence Mo. to the Grand Round, Oregon" (though no notes were actually recorded for streams west of Independence Rock). Presumably the itinerary from the Missouri line to Fort Laramie described the route the American Fur Company caravan had just traversed.

The following table of distances is a summary of the first 13 entries as listed in Gray's journal, with corrected spelling of most place names. (He wrote "Wasse ree saw" for Wakarusa; "Soterel" for Sauterelle, etc.)

The Big Blue—14 miles from Independence "empties into the Cansus"
[Gray's error, surely, for Harris would have known that the Big Blue of Missouri empties into the Missouri.]

Wakarusa—40 miles

Kansas river—25 miles

A small creek near the [Kansa] Agency—4 miles

Sauterelle, or Grasshopper river [now the Delaware]—into the Kansas—6 miles

Soldier creek—15 miles (6 miles from the Kansa village it empties into the Kansas)

to Prairie creek—15 miles

Black Vermillion—18 miles

Big black creek a fork of the Blue—30 miles

North fork of the Blue [the Big Blue, of Nebraska and Kansas]—15 miles

Big Sandy creek—40 miles

The west fork of the Blue [Little Blue river]—"136[?] to the Paune [Pawnee] trails"—25 miles

Across to the Big Platte—20 miles

Ref: David L. Brown's "Three Years in the Rocky Mountains," in *Cincinnati Daily Morning Atlas*, September 8, 10-13, 1845 (microcard, KHi); De Voto, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii, 309-319, 391, 409, 414, 415, 444; Marvin C. Ross' *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller* (Norman, Okla., c1951), pp. xvii, 17, 48; William H. Gray's "Diary" for July 13, 1837 (typed copy of the Oregon Historical Society's original, supplied to this compiler by Dale L. Morgan, of the Bancroft Library, who also gave additional valuable help on this entry in his letter of December 10, 1962, to L. Barry). Though De Voto's account places Thomas Fitzpatrick at the head of the 1837 caravan, there is no evidence that he was with the expedition while it traveled from Missouri to Fort Laramie.

☪ May.—On her way to the American Fur Company's upper Missouri trading posts, the *St. Peters* probably passed along the "Kansas" shore in the latter part of the month. Among the passengers were Indian agents John Dougherty and Joshua Pilcher; and the boat's cargo included annuity goods for their Council Bluffs and

Upper Missouri agencies. (The *St. Peters* reached Fort Clark on June 19.)

At, or near, Fort Leavenworth, a Company employee—a mulatto—became ill. Before the *St. Peters* arrived at Bellevue [Neb.]—the Council Bluffs Agency—his disease—smallpox—was fully developed and “had been communicated to several other persons subject to it.”

From this introduction (according to Joshua Pilcher) there followed the devastating smallpox epidemic of 1837-1838 which destroyed some, and nearly wiped out others of the upper Missouri Indian nations; and thereby altered the river fur trade. (The nations most affected were the Mandans, Arickaras, Minnetarees, Assiniboines, Blackfeet, and Sioux.)

According to Isaac McCoy, upper Missouri fur traders “conjectured” 15,000 Indians had perished of smallpox by year’s end.

Ref: Joshua Pilcher’s February 5, 1838, letter to William Clark (copy in John C. McCoy Collection, KHi ms. division); Isaac McCoy’s *Annual Register* for 1838, pp. 22-24. There are other versions of the origin of the epidemic. Bernard De Voto has discussed them in his *Across the Wide Missouri*, pp. 279-301, 442. Apparently he did not know of the Pilcher letter referred to above.

¶ A *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, compiled by Alphonso Wetmore, was published at St. Louis in the spring. The western border county of *Jackson* (created in December, 1826; county seat, Independence, established in 1827—see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 38) was listed as having a population of 4,522 in 1836 (as against 2,823 in 1830).

In the *Gazetteer* is a table of distances “From Jackson county to Santa Fe” (calculated as an 897-mile journey). The indications are that it was compiled by Wetmore when he captained an 1828 expedition to Santa Fe (see *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 39, 40).

Another table gives the mileage by water, from St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth. By this reckoning the distance up the Missouri from St. Louis to Franklin and Boonville was 204 miles; 115 more to Lexington; 32 miles to Sibley [Fort Osage]; 20 to Liberty; eight to Independence; 12 to [Francis G.] “Chouteau’s”; and 40 to Cant. [*i. e.*, Fort] Leavenworth—a total of 431 miles. [An up-to-date table would have listed Westport Landing.]

Ref: Wetmore’s *Gazetteer* . . . (as noted above); *Missouri Argus*, St. Louis, May 12, 1837 (contains editorial comment on, and long quotes from, the *Gazetteer*); J. F. McDermott, ed., *The Early Histories of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1952), p. 21.

¶ May 12.—John G. Pratt (missionary and printer), with his bride Olivia (Evans) Pratt, reached Shawnee Baptist Mission (where they would replace the Jotham Meekers who were preparing to settle among the Ottawa Indians).

Ref: Isaac McCoy’s “Journal,” May 14, 1837, entry; Jotham Meeker’s “Diary,” May 11, 1837, entry; J. W. Manning’s “John Gill Pratt” (dissertation, 1951, on microfilm in KHi). He states the Pratts arrived at Westport Landing on May 11; and reached the mission on May 12.

¶ May.—According to Josiah Gregg’s statistics (as compiled for his *Commerce of the Prairies*, 1844), the goods taken to the South-

west over the Santa Fe trail in 1837 were estimated to be worth \$150,000. The merchandise, belonging to some 35 proprietors, was carried in about 80 wagons; and around 160 men made the journey. Gregg, southwest-bound for the third time, was one of the merchants. (He returned in May, 1838.) Not all the traders, necessarily, went in the *spring* caravan.

Ref: Gregg, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 305.

¶ During the spring and early summer, the Iowa Indians, and the Sac & Fox Indians of Missouri, assisted by their subagent Andrew S. Hughes, moved across the Missouri from their old homes in the "Platte Purchase" (northwestern Missouri) to the lands provided by treaty of September 17, 1836 (*see pp. 55, 56*), settling in present Doniphan county, north of the Kickapoo's reserve.

Subagent Hughes wrote in mid-May that he had recently taken the Iowas to the new reserve. On July 31 Brig. Gen. Henry Atkinson (from "Independence landing") sent Isaac McCoy (at Westport) a letter stating: "The Iowas & Sauks have generally crossed the river to their own lands, a few being permitted to remain a short time to gather their crops of corn." He urged McCoy to go up at once and mark out the division line between the two bands' reserves as the Indians were fighting over their rights of location. (McCoy went, a few days later, and before August 12, had straightened out the difficulties.)

With his August 14 letter to the Indian department, Subagent Hughes sent a rough sketch showing the new Indian settlements at "Eagle Point," "on the Prairie" along the Missouri's right bank. The Sacs & Foxes were just north of the mouth of Wolf river (now Wolf *creek*), and the Iowa Indians a little higher up the Missouri (elsewhere, the distance between settlements was given as one mile). Hughes wrote that it was about four miles between Wolf river and the next Missouri tributary to the north—which he called "Mill creek" (now Clear creek)—and that the Indians were located right on the river between these two streams.

On August 26 Subagent Hughes reported that the Indians had erected 41 bark houses, and that the early-arriving families had small fields or patches of corn, pumpkins, beans, and other vegetables. "According to the best count I can make," he wrote, "the Ioways consist of 992 souls; the Sacs consist of 510 souls."

Ref: Isaac McCoy's "Journal," May 19, 1837; Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 24 (for McCoy letters of August 2 and September 23, 1837, and for an A. S. Hughes letter of July 8, 1837); Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence (microfilm, KHi), for S. M. Irvin and Aurey Ballard letter of August 12, 1837; OIA, letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 751) for Hughes' August 14, 1837, letter, and August 26, 1837, report (the latter is, also, in *Report of the Comm'r of Indian Affairs for 1837*, but undated there).

¶ May 26.—At Fort Gibson (Okla.) delegations of chiefs and leading men from the Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, and Tawakoni tribes, entered into a treaty of peace and friendship with the United States—the first such treaty negotiated with these western prairie Indians.

Also present were representatives of two "eastern" tribes—the Muscogeas (Western Creeks) and the Osages of the Verdigris. Auguste P. Chouteau

and Montfort Stokes signed for the United States. Ta-ka-ta-couche (Black Bird) headed the Kiowa signers; Roly McIntosh signed first for the Muscogees; and Clermont for the Osages.

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 489-491; Grant Foreman's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), p. 231.

¶ June 6.—The steamboat *Kansas* reached Fort Leavenworth (from St. Louis) with 62 dragoon recruits, in the charge of two lieutenants—one of them 2d Lt. Philip Kearny (nephew of post commander Col. Stephen W. Kearny).

Ref: Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 75. Philip Kearny was commissioned a second lieutenant in the First dragoons as of March 8, 1837.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 586.

¶ Between June 7 and 18 Methodist ministers Andrew Monroe, William W. Redman, and Nelson Henry, all of Missouri, visited the Peoria, Shawnee, Delaware, and Kickapoo missions of their church, holding business and religious meetings. They left for home on June 20.

Ref: *Christian Advocate and Journal*, v. 12 (September 8, 1837), p. 10; or, *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 199, 200.

¶ In June Lt. Col. Richard B. Mason and the remaining troops (18 men) of Companies H and I, First U. S. dragoons, arrived at Fort Leavenworth from Fort Des Moines (which had been abandoned on June 1, by War Department order).

(The ranks were depleted because many dragoons had completed an enlistment period and left the army.)

Ref: Pelzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 63.

¶ Ottawa Baptist Mission had its beginning on June 18 when Missionary Jotham Meeker and family unloaded their wagons at a site (selected in March) on the north bank of the Marais des Cygnes, near present Ottawa, and moved into temporary living quarters ("a small rough cabin intended for a stable"). Before mid-October the mission house had been completed.

Two days earlier the Meekers had left Shawnee Baptist Mission (some 40 miles distant) which had been their home since October, 1833. On the Ottawa reserve there were only 79 Indian residents in June, 1837, but 170 more arrived in October (*see p. 75*).

Jotham Meeker's first teaching efforts were in the Ottawa language. By report, a school of 26 men, women, and children was opened in January, 1838—conducted by visits of the missionary to the homes of Indians who were interested (many were not). In February, 1838, Meeker went to the Shawnee Baptist Mission and printed 400 copies of an Ottawa First Book. This stimulated interest in reading, and in the summer he built a schoolhouse, where, on July 9, he commenced teaching *in English* (at the chief's request). His day school was conducted with some success. In February, 1839, Meeker reported that 17 Indians attended, but he averaged nine or ten students.

Many Indians refused to send their children because the missionaries did not board and clothe them.

Ottawa Baptist Mission was moved, after the flood of 1844, to a site "back on to the hills" some five miles northeast of present Ottawa. Following Jotham Meeker's death in January, 1854—the mission was discontinued.

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary"; *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 18 (June, 1838), p. 140, v. 19 (May, 1839), p. 117, also, later issues; Spooner & Howland's *History of American Missions* . . . (1840), pp. 545, 546; *Report of the Comm'r of Indian Affairs for 1837*, p. 609; *KHC*, v. 8, pp. 472-475.

☪ At Shawnee Friends Mission a school was opened in June. (For construction of the mission buildings—in 1836—and other data, see p. 46.) The first superintendents were Moses Pearson and his wife Sarah (Pearson) Pearson, who came out in covered wagons, from Miami county, Ohio, with their five children (Rhoda, aged 12, Mahala, Timothy, Ann, and three-year-old Joshua), in the late(?) spring. Mary H. Stenton (assistant matron) and Elias Newby (teacher) also came in 1837.

As reported in 1838, the Friends' school had 17 scholars, who were instructed in English, and fed and clothed by the mission. The Pearsons remained in "Kansas" for three years—their appointed time—and were succeeded in mid-1840 by Henry and Ann Harvey.

Ref: Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register for 1838*, p. 64; *KHC*, v. 8, pp. 267, 268; *The History of Miami County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1880), p. 849; W. W. Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Ann Arbor, Mich., v. 5 (1946), pp. 790, 819; *Comm'r of Indian Affairs Report, 1840*, pp. 150, 151. As noted hereafter, two sons were born to the Pearsons during their "Kansas" stay—one in 1837, the other in 1840.

☪ June-July.—As reported at St. Louis in late July, "Captain White's company" of Santa Fe traders had recently returned to Fayette, Mo., bringing between \$80,000 and \$100,000 in gold dust and silver bars. During the journey east this party had lost most of its mules. Presumably this company crossed "Kansas" in June.

Ref: *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, July 28, 1837 (as reprinted in *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 67).

☪ On the Shawnee reserve, by mid-year, a saw and grist mill had been completed, at a reported total cost of about \$8,000. Michael Rice received a payment of \$6,994.40 (from Capt. E. A. Hitchcock, handling disbursements for the St. Louis superintendency) for erecting this mill. (Rice, in 1833, had built a mill—costing less than half as much, apparently—for the Delaware Indians. See *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 330, 331.)

Ref: OIA, Letters received from the St. Louis superintendency (Hitchcock's disbursements for the half year ending September 30, 1837), National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 751; Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register for 1837*, p. 27.

☪ About July 1 the third issue of Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register of Indian Affairs* (with a title-page date of May, 1837) was pub-

lished at Shawnee Baptist Mission, by John G. Pratt, in a 1,500-copy edition. So far as known this was the first work printed by Pratt on the Shawanoe Mission Press (or, "Meeker press"). He had arrived on May 12.

Ref: McCoy's *Annual Register* . . . (as noted above); his *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (1840), p. 524; D. C. McMurtrie's and A. H. Allen's *Jotham Meeker* . . . (Chicago, 1930), p. 154.

☪ July 9.—Maj. Gen. Edmund P. Gaines arrived at Fort Leavenworth on an inspection trip. He subsequently reported: "the first Dragoons as drilled by Colonel [S. W.] Kearny are the best troops I have ever seen."

Ref: Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

☪ BORN: on July 15, at Shawnee Friends Mission, present Johnson county, Abram Pearson, son of the mission superintendent Moses Pearson and his wife Sarah. (See June annals entry.)

Ref: *The History of Miami County, Ohio* (1880), p. 849; W. W. Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, v. 5, p. 819.

☪ In July and August the emigrant bands of united Pottawatomes, Chippewas, and Ottawas residing (since 1835 and 1836) across the Missouri from Fort Leavenworth in the "Platte Purchase," were removed (under the management of Maj. Gen. Edmund P. Gaines) to the Council Bluffs reserve (southwestern Iowa) set aside for them by the treaty of September 26, 1833.

Aboard the steamboat *Kansas*, Brig. Gen. Henry Atkinson, Col. S. W. Kearny, Dr. Edwin James (the Indians' newly appointed subagent), and some 100 Pottawatomie women, children, and invalids, arrived at the new location on July 28. A second group of Indians (about 75) reached the Council Bluffs on August 8, aboard the *Howard*. Meantime the main body traveled overland—up the left bank of the Missouri—and probably arrived before the end of August.

By November 842 more Pottawatomes had "removed themselves" from east of the Mississippi to this reserve; and on November 26 Lewis H. Sands "delivered" an additional 287 Indians. At the end of 1837 some 2,500 Pottawatomes were under the care of the Council Bluffs Subagency. By official report, up to 1840 a total of 2,734 had been removed there.

The united Pottawatomes, Chippewas, & Ottawas were also called the "Prairie Band of Pottawatomes." In 1847 they moved to "Kansas"—to the new Kansas river reserve for *all* of the Pottawatomes provided by the treaty of June 5, 1846.

Ref: Nebraska State Historical Society *Transactions*, Lincoln, v. 4, p. 184; *Missouri Argus*, St. Louis, August 8, 1837; *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Iowa City, v. 11, pp. 341-363; *Indiana Historical Collections*, Indianapolis, v. 26, pp. 405, 412, 423, 424, 457-462; *Nebraska History Magazine*, Lincoln, v. 18, pp. 5-9; *Report of the Comm'r of Indian Affairs for 1840* (document No. 3, accompanying report); Grant Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians* (c1946), pp. 107-109.

¶ July 20-22.—Anthony L. Davis, head of the new Osage River Subagency, moved from the Fort Leavenworth vicinity (where he had been, since December, 1834, agent for the Pottawatomies squatting along the Missouri in that region) to the "Osage" (Marais des Cygnes) river country.

The "temporary" subagency (to which he had already moved his family) was at Wea Presbyterian Mission, on Wea creek (present Miami county). In May, 1838, Davis was of the opinion his residence had been purchased by the government from the missionaries, and wrote that he considered it eligible for use with \$100 to \$150 repair; and in his 1840 report the subagent stated his headquarters was still on the Wea lands—for lack of orders to erect buildings on the site selected in April, 1837, within the Pottawatomie reserve.

Ref: *Indiana Historical Collections*, v. 26, p. 419; A. L. Davis' letter of May 15, 1838 (cited under April 13, 1837, entry); A. L. Davis, report for 1839, in *Report of the Comm'r of Indian Affairs for 1839*.

¶ Late July and early August.—Aboard the American Fur Company's *St. Peters* (Bernard Pratte, Jr., captain), Count Francesco Arese (aged 32, from a noble family of Milan, Italy) journeyed up the Missouri from St. Louis to the Council Bluffs. (He was the only passenger not connected with the fur trade.)

"Fort Leavenworth," wrote tourist Arese, "is the last American post. It has a regiment of dragoons and artillery to keep the savages respectful. Some wretched barracks and a second-rate blockhouse is all there is to what is called the military establishment." Present at the fort "because it so happened that several chiefs of different tribes were . . . on their way to Washington to see the President," was "a big gathering of savages . . . all in their finest costumes."

A few hours later, above Fort Leavenworth, the *St. Peters* stopped "at a post of the American Fur Company and landed the boss [Laurence? Pensineau] of the [Kickapoos'] trading station . . . The boat was instantly flooded with savages, to whom tobacco and brandy[!] were given. They greeted the boss . . . affectionately, wringing his hand and calling him 'Papá, Papá.' They played cards with great enthusiasm and even passion, and remained on board very late that night; and three young Indian women remained on board all night . . . with the consent of the Kickapoo chief. . . ."

The *St. Peters* reached the Council Bluffs "after 11 days on the Missouri." Arese, with two companions, subsequently traveled on horseback across present Minnesota; then, by canoe, and dug-out, made his way to Prairie du Chien; traversed Wisconsin (mostly in canoes); spent some time in the Great Lakes region; eventually reached Boston; and then returned to Italy.

Ref: Francesco Arese's *A Trip to the Prairies and in the Interior of North America* . . . , translated . . . by Andrew Evans (New York, 1934); *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 20 (December, 1933), pp. 381-399.

¶ Late in the summer the Pottawatomies residing on the Kickapoo reserve above Fort Leavenworth left that location and journeyed 70 miles southward to the "Osage" (Marais des Cygnes) river

reserve which had been provided for the Pottawatomies of Indiana by the treaty of February 11, 1837. (*See* p. 60.)

Jotham Meeker reported that the first migrants arrived at the "Osage" on August 16, but indications are that most of them (681) made the journey in September. An abstract of Indian department expenditures for September 13 shows the following items relating to removing the Pottawatomies from Fort Leavenworth to "Osage" river: to Johnston Lykins \$617.50 for his services as assistant agent, and \$372 for aiding in the Indians' removal; to Joseph Barrette[?] \$60 for "ferriage over Kansas river" of 552 Indians and their horses, etc.; to "Sacarcopy" [Sarcoxie—a Delaware] \$16.12 for "ferriage over Kansas river" of 129 Indians and their horses, etc.; also, to Charles Johnson, William Mattingly, John P. Smith, William M. Chick, and Joseph Barrette, payments for "hire of a wagon" (two wagons in the case of Chick) in removing the Indians.

These Pottawatomies made their camps along the *south* side of Pottawatomie creek. According to Isaac McCoy and Subagent A. L. Davis, many of the Pottawatomies who migrated to the "Osage" river reserve in 1837 were either "Kankakee" (Ill.) Indians, or "St. Joseph's river" (Mich.) Indians, formerly enrolled in the Chicago Agency—and therefore not *Indiana* Pottawatomies.

On September 27, coming direct from east of the Mississippi, 53 Pottawatomies under the care of George Proffitt, reached the Marais des Cygnes, also. (*And see* p. 78 for November arrivals.)

Ref: Meeker "Diary," August 16, 1837, entry; 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 174* (Serial 347), p. 59; *Indiana Historical Collections*, v. 26, pp. 405, 419-424, 459-461, 465, 466; *Report of the Comm'r of Indian Affairs for 1837* (A. L. Davis' report, incorporated); *ibid.*, for 1840 (Document No. 3 accompanying report); Johnston Lykins' "Journal," April, 1839 (in KHi ms. division); also, the references cited for Pottawatomie Baptist Mission—*see* p. 77.

☪ **MARRIED:** William Smith Donohoe and Eleanor McCoy, on August 22, at the home of the bride, near Westport, Mo., by her father the Rev. Isaac McCoy.

Ref: Jackson county, Mo., marriage records, v. 1, p. 119.

☪ August 30.—A Chippewa "exploring deputation" from Michigan (three chiefs of the Saginaw band, three from the Swan creek and Black river bands, their conductor, Albert J. Smith and attendants—10 persons in all), accompanied by the Rev. Isaac McCoy, left Westport, Mo., to examine the country west and south, of the Ottawas' reserve—in present Franklin county—which McCoy (as agent for the government) had selected for the Chippewas' 8,320-acre reservation (promised under terms of the May 9, 1836, treaty).

[Conductor Smith's abstract of disbursements shows payment, on August 27, 1837, to the Steamboat Kansas of \$20 "for self," and of \$72 "for Indian chiefs," from St. Louis to Westport. Residents who supplied goods or services were: Daniel Yoacham (who boarded the party), merchants William M. Chick, and Parks & Findlay (who outfitted the deputation), and Thomas J.

Colbert (who was paid for "Transportation of Indians from Westport to Independence" when the Chippewas started home). Notably, this abstract contains one of the early specific references to Westport as an outfitting point.]

On August 31 the deputation reached newly founded Ottawa Baptist Mission (on the Marais des Cygnes, near present Ottawa); and on September 3, after several days of exploring, was back at the mission, en route to Westport.

The Chippewas, and their aides, returned to St. Louis on the *Boonville*, boarding her at Independence, Mo., about September 9. By the end of the month they had reached their Michigan homes.

(In November, 1839, 62 of the Swan creek Chippewas came to "Kansas" to make their home in present Franklin county.)

Ref: 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 174* (Serial 347), pp. 19-21 (for Smith's abstract of disbursements); *KHC*, v. 11, p. 314; Jotham Meeker's "Diary," August 31, September 3 and 4, 1837, entries; Isaac McCoy "letters" of September 6, 1837, in "McCoy Manuscripts," v. 24.

¶ Between September 1 and October 8 the route subsequently known as the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road was located and surveyed by a party made up of Col. S. W. Kearny, Capt. Nathan Boone, Charles Dimmock (civil engineer), his assistant, and a small escort of First U. S. dragoons.

On the exploratory journey southward, through what is now the eastern tier of Kansas counties (after leaving Fort Leavenworth on September 1), the line of march was never more than a few miles within the Indian country, and, on occasion, approached within yards of the Missouri boundary. In the latter part of September, the Kearny-Boone party arrived at short-lived Fort Coffee (on the Arkansas, about eight miles west of the state of Arkansas)—the chosen terminus for this middle section of the Western military road (*see* p. 53 for note on the July 2, 1836, frontier protection act).

The actual survey was made (by Dimmock) on the return trip, beginning at the Arkansas river, opposite Fort Coffee (Okla.) on September 27. It was completed to Fort Leavenworth on October 8. In his report Dimmock commented on the extensive rolling prairies in the "Kansas" portion of the route—the 158 miles between Spring river (in present Cherokee county) and Fort Leavenworth. The streams to be forded he listed as "Spring river," "Pomme de Terre" [Cow? creek, Cherokee county], "Wildcat" [Drywood?], "Mermiton" [Marmaton], "Little Osage," "Cotton Wood [Mine?] creek," "Marias des Lygne" [Marais des Cygnes], "Blue" [Big Blue, Missouri tributary], and the "Kanzas."

(*See, also*, October 15, 1838, annals entry.)

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 11, pp. 115-121, also map facing p. 129. Fort Coffee (Okla.) was abandoned in the autumn of 1838.—*Ibid.*, p. 123.

¶ September 18.—Lt. Thomas Swords (acting quartermaster) made a contract with J. B. Wells to prepare and sow in timothy seed, 100 acres of land near Fort Leavenworth; also a contract with Jesse Overton to prepare, sow in timothy seed, and fence in, by the

31st of October (1837), and the 31st of May (1838), 500 acres of prairie near Fort Leavenworth.

Ref: 25th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 200* (Serial 316), pp. 352, 353, 360.

¶ September 27.—An exploring delegation of 18 to 20 New York Indians, conducted by the Rev. John F. Schermerhorn, of Utica, N. Y., left Westport, Mo., to examine a tract north of the Cherokee Neutral Lands and the Osage reserve.

This party first entered "Kansas" some 70 miles south of Westport—probably a little above the Linn-Bourbon county line of today; proceeded to tour the Little Osage river country, and some tributaries of the Neosho; visited the Osage Subagency; descended the Marmaton; crossed the Missouri line to Harmony; and by October 13 was back at Westport, en route East.

Subsequently, by treaty of January 15, 1838 (which was signed by all the groups of New York Indians—those who had emigrated to Wisconsin in the 1820's, as well as those residing in New York), a large rectangular reserve (1,824,000 acres) in the "Kansas" area described above, was assigned to these tribes. (The negotiations involved an exchange of 435,000 acres of the land in Wisconsin which had been given them by the treaty of 1831.) On June 11, 1838, the U. S. senate amended the treaty, but only part of the New York Indians signed the final document.

Though something like 200 New York Indians finally came out to the reserve—in 1846—only 32 received patents (for 320 acres each) provided by terms of the treaty, and none settled permanently in "Kansas."

After President Buchanan, in 1860, declared the vacant reserve public domain, open for settlement, the New York Indians filed suit for indemnity. In 1898 their claim was allowed.

Ref: John F. Schermerhorn letter of October 13, 1837 (in McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 24); also Isaac McCoy letter of November 23, 1837, in *ibid.*; Felix S. Cohen's *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* . . . (Washington, 1942), p. 420; *KHC*, v. 3, pp. 83-85; Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 502-512; 52d Cong., 1st Sess., *Senate Report No. 910* (Serial 2915), pp. 5, 6. In *KHC*, v. 4, p. 301, John C. McCoy (in 1889) stated that he surveyed, in 1837, "a tract south of the Pottawatomies and north of Fort Scott [established in 1842] for the New York Indians. . . ."

¶ Late in September(?) some 100(?) Shawnee and Delaware men, who had been enlisted for six months' service in the war against the Seminoles, left "Kansas" for Florida. The leading Delaware chief—Nah-ko-min—was in this company, but the captain was Joseph Parks (part Indian; later Shawnee head chief). By one report about 80 of each nation went; however, Capt. Thomas Swords (AQM, Fort Leavenworth), on September 27, made a contract with Joseph White to transport 100 Indians, and the officers in command, from mouth of Kansas river to Jefferson Barracks, Mo.

Thirty Delawares (led by Captain Parks) took part in the battle near Lake Okeechobee, Fla., on December 25. (It was in this engagement that Missouri volunteer troops suffered heavy casualties, and lost their leader, Col. Richard Gentry.) Prior to the battle, the "greater part" of the Shawnees had been de-

tached, and the rest had refused to accompany Col. Zachary Taylor "under the pretext that a number of them were sick, and that the remainder were without moccasins." It is said that all these Indians returned to "Kansas" safely in 1838.

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," October 6, 1837, entry; 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc.* 94 (Serial 346), p. 54; Isaac McCoy letter of December 15, 1837 (published in *Indiana Historical Collections*, v. 26, p. 474); 25th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc.* 27 (Serial 311); 25th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc.* 227 (Serial 316); *KHC*, v. 10, p. 400; E. C. McReynolds' *The Seminoles* (Norman, c1957), pp. 193, 201; Isaac McCoy letter of July 1, 1839 (for item on Nah-ko-min).

☐ October 6-20.—Conducted from Maumee, Ohio, by John McElvain, a party of 170 Ottawas arrived at Chouteau's Landing on the 6th, aboard the *St. Peters*. Ten wagons and teams, supplied (at \$4 a day per team) by Westport merchant William M. Chick, then transported the Indians (between October 7 and 11) to the reserve, in present Franklin county, occupied by approximately 80 Ottawas who had come to "Kansas" in 1832 (see *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 204, 363, 364).

The reserve assigned these new arrivals (the Roche de Boeuf and Wolf Rapids Ottawas) was both south, and west, of the tract already occupied; but Jotham Meeker, of the newly founded Ottawa Baptist Mission (near present Ottawa), wrote in his diary on October 20: "Our new Indians have just decided to settle near us." (In August, 1839, 108 more Ottawas came to "Kansas.")

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," October 6-20, entries; 25th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc.* 200 (Serial 316), pp. 2-4; Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 24, for McCoy's letter of September 30, 1837, and a September 22, 1837, letter by Disbursing Agent Criger; *KHC*, v. 13, pp. 373-375 (for Joseph B. King's article, which contains errors in dates, etc., but is, in general, correct); Grant Foreman's *Last Trek of the Indians*, p. 91.

☐ October 9.—The Rev. Learner B. Stateler and his bride Melinda (Purdom) Stateler arrived at Delaware Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county)—see *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 191, 192, for its 1832-1837 history—where the Rev. E. T. Peery and his family had recently resided.

Stateler first preached to the Indians on October 15. Subsequently he was occupied for some weeks in repairing the mission buildings. On January 4, 1838, he opened a school for Delaware children. (The Staterels were transferred to Shawnee Methodist Mission in 1840.)

Ref: E. J. Stanley's *Life of Rev. L. B. Stateler* (1907), pp. 81, 87, 88, 104; *Christian Advocate and Journal*, v. 12 (February 16, 1838), p. 102 (for Thomas Johnson's report of December 27, 1837—wherein he notes that the Munsees who arrived in December, 1837, settled about three miles from the Delaware Methodist Mission); portraits of L. B. and Melinda Stateler are in *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 222, 223.

☐ October 11.—The Rev. Lorenzo Waugh (a single man) arrived at Shawnee Methodist Mission, to serve as assistant missionary. He lived with the Rev. Thomas Johnson family.

As he later recollected: "At the old Shawnee Mission [in Wyandotte county] then we had only a small farm, and all the mission buildings were poor and

inconvenient." (Waugh left the Indian country in 1840. Besides teaching the Shawnees, he had also spent some months at the Kansa Methodist Mission assisting Missionary William Johnson.)

Ref: Lorenzo Waugh's *Autobiography* . . . , 2d edition (San Francisco, 1884), pp. 112, 117, 126, 134; *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 168, 226.

☪ MARRIED: the Rev. Nathan T. Shaler, and Annie Beauchemie (aged 17?, of Chippewa, Shawnee, French, and English ancestry), daughter of Mackinaw and Betsy (Rogers) Beauchemie, in the autumn, at, or near, Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county).

Ref: *KHC*, v. 16, p. 253 (for the Rev. E. T. Peery's statement concerning this marriage); *ibid.*, v. 9, p. 171n and *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 350 (for items on Mrs. Betsy Beauchemie, and another daughter). Nathan T. Shaler had arrived at Shawnee Mission in late 1836.—*KHC*, v. 9, p. 170. Annie Beauchemie had been educated at the mission.—*Ibid.*, pp. 171n and 211. She died in March, 1843.—*Ibid.*, v. 16, p. 253.

☪ MARRIED: Joseph Papin and "Kansas"-born Mary Josephine ("Josette") Gonville (daughter of the Frenchman Louis Gonville and a Kansa woman [who was either a daughter, or niece, of Chief White Plume]), on October 25, at "Chouteau's Church," in present Kansas City, Mo., by the Rev. Felix L. Verreydt, S. J. (*See, also, KHQ*, v. 28, p. 348.)

Ref: Frederick Chouteau's May 5, 1880, letter (in KHI ms. division); 37th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 58* (Serial 1122), p. 2; G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 1, pp. 95, 260 (where the bride's name is given as Mary "Cave"—doubtless because of difficulty in deciphering Verreydt's handwriting in the original *Kickapoo Register*. As early as 1833 a "J. Papin" was an employee of the American Fur Company; and a company trader whom Missionary William Gray described as "a Frenchman by the name of Joseph Papair" [Joseph Papin?], was credited by Gray as saving him from death at the hands of the Sioux in the summer of 1837.—*De Voto, op. cit.*, pp. 331, 332. James Beckwourth, in his reminiscences (*op. cit.*, pp. 394, 395) referred to a "Joseph Pappen," on the Missouri river in 1837.

☪ Late in October Pottawatomie Baptist Mission was established when Robert Simerwell moved his family (wife and four children) from Shawnee Baptist Mission (their home since May, 1834—*see KHQ*, v. 28, p. 343) to a log cabin 50 miles southwest, near the newly arrived Indians.

The mission station, as constructed in 1839-1840, was on the south side of Pottawatomie creek, in southeastern Franklin county of today. (On good evidence it appears the site was on the S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 9, T. 19, R. 21 E., about two and a half miles above present Lane, and the ford known as "Dutch Henry's crossing." As described in October, 1840, the recently completed hewn-log mission buildings were: a story-and-a-half dwelling 32'x18', divided into two apartments above and below, with a stone chimney, shingle roof, and plank floor; a 16'x16' cookhouse, with a stone chimney; and a 20'x18' schoolroom, with three 12-light windows and one door. (It is said the Simerwells' original cabin was a little farther downstream.)

When Simerwell began visiting the Pottawatomie camps in January, 1838, almost everybody seemed anxious to be taught to read. But in the spring the Indians "commenced drinking," and later the "sickly season" arrived. Many Pottawatomies died; and all the Simerwells were ill. Following the arrival of more Indians in 1838, there was a movement of many Pottawatomies (beginning in March, 1839) to a settlement on Sugar creek (in present Linn county). In October, 1839, the missionary reported that a day school, begun in January for the Pottawatomie creek Indian youths and his own children, had been attended by nine to 14 Pottawatomies. This school was soon suspended. Simerwell subsequently took employment as a government blacksmith, in order that the Baptist Board in Boston might apply his salary for a minister at the mission. But no minister was sent. Jotham Meeker, of Ottawa Baptist Mission (about 14⁷ miles northwest), had pastoral charge, for a time, beginning in May, 1840.

In April, 1844, the Board in Boston "judged it expedient to suspend the station," and "dissolve their connexion with Mr. Simerwell." Four months later Robert and Fanny (Goodridge) Simerwell were appointed missionaries by the American Indian Mission Association (a new Baptist organization, headed by the Rev. Isaac McCoy, with headquarters in Louisville, Ky.). Under the A. I. M. A., Pottawatomie Baptist Mission was continued at the Pottawatomie creek location till 1848; and then was re-established in present Shawnee county after the Indians moved, in 1847 and 1848, to a reservation on the Kansas river.

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," particularly October 27, 1837, and May 4, 1840, entries; *Reports of the Comm'r of Indian Affairs for 1837, 1839, 1840*; Jotham Meeker letter, January, 1838 (in McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 25); *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 18 (June, 1838), p. 139, v. 19 (April, 1839), pp. 90, 91, v. 20 (June, 1840), p. 128, v. 23 (June, 1843), p. 140, v. 24 (July, 1844), p. 182; Johnston Lykins' "Journal," for April, 1839; Malin, *op. cit.*, pp. 714-717 (wherein Doctor Malin's thorough research for the history of "Dutch Henry's crossing," and vicinity, provides evidence of the Pottawatomie Baptist Mission location); Bessie E. Moore's "Life and Work of Robert Simerwell" (thesis, May, 1939), pp. 40-56; Spooner & Howland's *History of American Missions*, pp. 543, 544.

¶ About November 1 the Rev. Samuel M. and Eliza H. Irvin occupied a recently built log cabin on the Iowa reserve, above the mouth of Wolf creek (in present Doniphan county) and established in "Kansas" the Presbyterian mission for the Iowa Indians which had been founded, in 1835, across the river at the old Iowa Agency in the "Platte Purchase" of Missouri.

(On October 12 Irvin had written: "We have one building put up at the new station and as much hay as will support our cattle through the winter." The location for the cabin had been determined in mid-August—after Isaac McCoy surveyed the dividing line between the Iowas and the adjoining Sacs & Foxes of Missouri—see p. 67.)

Whereas the mission east of the Missouri had been for the Iowas only, the school at the new station (at the invitation of Subagent A. S. Hughes) was to include the Sacs & Foxes. Near the end of December (see p. 80), the Rev. William Hamilton and his wife

joined the Irvins, at the Iowa, Sac & Fox Presbyterian Mission. (To the missionaries it was the "Ioway and Sac Mission.")

In 1844 a decision was made to form a "manual-labor boarding-school." A three-story stone and brick building (containing 32 rooms) started in 1845 was completed in 1846. The site of this mission (the surviving portion of this original building is a state museum) is some two miles east of present Highland, within Sec. 24, T. 2, R. 19 E.

Ref: Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence (microfilm, KHi), for S. M. Irvin and Aurey Ballard's letter of August 12, 1837, S. M. Irvin's letters of May 16, and October 12, 1837, Eliza H. Irvin's letter of June 2, 1837, and Aurey Ballard's letter of November 20, 1837; *Reports of the Comm'r of Indian Affairs, 1842-1861* (especially 1844-1847); *KHC*, v. 10, pp. 312-321; *KHQ*, v. 10, p. 348, v. 23, pp. 124, 125; and Spooner & Howland's *History of American Missions*, pp. 724, 725.

¶ In the middle of November, To-pen-e-bee (or, To-pin-a-bee)—the *principal chief of the Pottawatomie nation*, and 164 of his people, arrived in "Kansas" to settle on the "Osage" river reserve. They were from St. Joseph river in Michigan.

Under the superintendence of Lewis H. Sands, and conducted by Capt. Robert H. McCabe, nearly 500 Pottawatomies from Michigan and Illinois had started overland in September—crossing the Mississippi at Quincy, Ill., beginning September 24. The larger number (287) of these emigrants went to the Council Bluffs (Iowa) reserve; but through the efforts of Luther Rice (part Pottawatomie, whose family was in the party), Moses H. Scott (assistant emigrant agent), and Isaac McCoy, Chief To-pen-e-bee and his followers diverged from the route to Council Bluffs at a point about 40 miles above Westport, Mo., and came down to the Marais des Cygnes, and the settlement on Pottawatomie creek (*see* p. 72).

With this accession, the total Pottawatomie population in the Osage River Subagency at the end of the year was between 850 and 900.

Ref: Grant Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians*, pp. 107, 108; *Indiana Historical Collections*, v. 26, pp. 433, 438, 439, 457-462; 25th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc.* 395 (Serial 318), p. 2; McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 26 (A. L. Davis' letter of January 22, 1839).

¶ During mid-November Bishop Jackson Kemper, the Protestant Episcopal Church's "missionary bishop of the Northwest," made an overland tour of Missouri river towns, as far as Westport, and also journeyed to Fort Leavenworth to discuss with Col. S. W. Kearny the need for a chaplain there. (He was accompanied from Fayette, Mo., by the Rev. Mr. Peake.)

As a result of this brief visit—the first by Episcopalian clergymen to the post—a minister of Bishop Kemper's church was appointed, in 1838, as Fort Leavenworth's first chaplain. (*See* December 17, 1838, annals.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 16, p. 355; *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Richmond, Va., v. 4 (September, 1935), pp. 198, 199; John Wilson's letter of November 13, 1837, in McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 25.

¶ November 19.—The steamboat *Boonville*, en route to Fort Leavenworth (and laden principally with stores for that post) hit a

snag a few miles above Independence, Mo., and went down—a total loss.

Ref: *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, November 28, 1837, as reprinted in *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 69; the Rev. William Hamilton's November 20, 1837, letter (in *Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence—microfilm KHi*).

❶ December.—Accompanied by the Rev. Jesse Vogler, Moravian (United Brethren) missionary, John Kilbuck's party of Munsee (or, Christian) Indians—72 persons in all—arrived at the “mouth of Kansas river” early(?) in the month, aboard the *St. Peters*. By the end of December, these Indians, and their missionary, were established on the reserve of the Delawares (kindred of the Munsees) at a site some eight miles above the Kaw's mouth, and north of the river. Their settlement—or the Munsee Moravian Mission in its midst—was called “Westfield.” (The location: at, and near present Muncie, Wyandotte co., in Sections 14, 15, and 16(?) of T. 11, R. 24 E.)

More Munsees arrived, in 1839, with some Stockbridge Indians. The Rev. J. Christopher Micksch (and wife) succeeded Vogler at the Moravian mission; and after Micksch's death, in 1845, other missionaries came. Although “Westfield” was within that part of the Delawares' reservation which they granted to the Wyandot Indians late in 1843, the Munsees continued to live there till about the end of 1853. (The Wyandots finally requested them to move.) By the Delaware treaty of May 6, 1854, the Munsees were granted four sections of land located about three miles below present Leavenworth—land now occupied by the Wadsworth veterans' facility, and Mount Muncie cemetery. They lived at “Shekomeko” (as the new settlement, or the Moravian mission, was called) for only four years (1854-1858); then sold the reserve; confederated with the Swan creek Chippewas who came to “Kansas” in October, 1839; and moved, as did their missionaries, to present Franklin county. The Munsee Moravian Mission, which began in (or, was transferred from Canada to) “Kansas” in 1837, continued in operation till 1905.

Ref: OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (Microcopy 234, Roll 751—National Archives), William Clark's abstract of requisitions for 1837 (item for December 4—\$432 for transportation of John Kilbuck's party of “72 Delawares from Canada” on the *St. Peters*); *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 18 (June, 1838), p. 139; E. J. Stanley's *Life of Rev. L. B. Stalder* (1907), p. 87; *KHC*, v. 11, pp. 314, 317-323; Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Personal Memoirs* . . . (Philadelphia, 1851), pp. 564, 565; *Reports*, of the Comm'r of Indian Affairs, especially 1840, 1844, 1845; *KHC*, v. 8, pp. 85, 86; *KHQ*, v. 21, pp. 454, 459, 485 (for “Shekomeko”). A Munsee(?) burial place is shown on the land plats of the 1850's in Sec. 16, T. 11 S., R. 24 E. *The History of Jackson County Missouri* . . . (Kansas City, Mo., 1881), p. 684, states: “At this time [1855] Isaiah Walker [Wyandot Indian] . . . lived in the old Moravian Mission House . . . at Muncie town.”

❶ MARRIED: John Calvin McCoy and Virginia Chick (daughter of William M. and Ann Eliza Chick), on December —(?), at Westport, Mo., by the Rev. Isaac McCoy (father of the groom).

(The William M. Chick family had moved to Westport from Howard county, Mo., in 1836 [see p. 42]. Earlier, in 1834, Mary Jane Chick [older sister of Virginia] had married the Rev. William Johnson, missionary to the Shawnees and the Kansa.)

Ref: *The Annals of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.*, v. 1 (October, 1924), p. 467; *KHC*, v. 9, p. 178n. No exact date of this marriage has been located. Apparently it was not recorded at the Jackson county, Mo., courthouse though other McCoy marriages are to be found at Independence, Mo.

☞ On December 28 the Rev. William Hamilton, afoot, and his wife Julia Ann N. (McGiffin) Hamilton, on a mule, crossed the Missouri on the ice from Joseph Robidoux's trading post (now St. Joseph, Mo.) and proceeded cross-country (through present Doniphan county) towards the new home of the Iowa, Sac & Fox Presbyterian Mission 25 miles to the northwest, above Wolf creek.

With them, on a pony, were two small girls (one? an Indian) from "Mr. [Aurey] Ballard's family." (The Ballards still occupied the former Iowa mission station [founded 1835] at the old Iowa Agency east of the Missouri, some nine miles below the Robidoux post.)

Late in the afternoon of December 29, after a night out on the prairie, and some hardships, these travelers reached their destination—the mission cabin occupied (since November—see p. 77) by the Rev. Samuel M. and Eliza H. Irvin.

The Hamiltons remained in "Kansas" as missionaries to the Iowa and Sac & Fox Indians till 1853. Of five daughters born to them during the 16-year interval, four were living when the family removed to "Nebraska."

Ref: Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence (microfilm, KHi), for Hamilton's November 20, 1837, and September 29, 1852, letters; Nebraska State Historical Society *Transactions*, v. 1, pp. 60-73.

☞ John Treat Irving, Jr.'s *The Hunters of the Prairie, or the Hawk Chief. A Tale of the Indian Country*, was published at London in 1837. The locale of the novel was "Wolf Hill" [Fort Leavenworth], and the frontier to the west and north (the country of the Kansa, Pawnees, Otoes, Sioux, and Omahas)—a region which the author had visited in 1833 (see *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 332, 333, 337, 338, 340).

In the introduction to this work of fiction, young Irving wrote: "The tract of country . . . is a wild and luxuriant region of prairies, glowing with gorgeous flowers and rich herbage, and here and there intersected by small rivers of crystal waters, bordered by groves of lofty trees. It is, in truth, a fairy-land, and fitted for wild adventure." The plot, concerning hunters, Indians, and mounted rangers, was an implausible adventure tale.

Ref: J. T. Irving, Jr.'s *The Hunters of the Prairie* . . . (London, R. Bentley, 1837).

☞ Employed in "Kansas" by the Indian Department during all, or part of the year 1837 were the following persons:

FORT LEAVENWORTH AGENCY—*Agent* Richard W. Cummins; *Interpreters* Henry Tiblow (appointed May 14, 1837), and Clement Lessert (appointed July 15, 1837); *Gun and blacksmiths* David Shahan (for Shawnees), William Donalson (for Shawnees), John P. Smith (for Kickapoos), Nelson A. Warren (for Kansa), and William F. Newton (for Delawares); *Assistant gun and blacksmiths* Paschal Fish (for Delawares), John Bluejacket (for Shawnees), William V. Smith (for Kickapoos), Silas Dougherty (for Kickapoos?), John M. Owen (for Kansa), William Pechalker (for Kansa), and Charles Fish (for Kansa); *Farmer* Cephas Case (for Kansa?); *Teachers* the Rev. J. C. Berryman, John D. Swallow, and David Kinnear (all for the Kickapoos), Henry Rennick (for Delawares); *Millers* James and John Allen (for Delawares and Shawnees).

GREAT NEMAHAW SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Andrew S. Hughes; *Interpreters* Jeffrey Dorney (for Iowas), and Nimrod Henderson (for Sacs & Foxes); *Gun and blacksmiths* James Duncan (for Iowas), James Gilmore (for Sacs & Foxes); *Assistant gun and blacksmiths* Joseph H. Ficklin (for Iowas), Madison Gilmore (for Sacs & Foxes); *Farmers* William Duncan (for Iowas), and Leonard Searcy (for Sacs & Foxes).

OSAGE [MARAI DES CYGNES] RIVER SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Anthony L. Davis (appointed April 28); *Interpreters* Francis Le Vallier, and John T. Jones (paid for December only); *Gun and blacksmiths* William Carlisle, and Perry G. Crafton (assistant).

OSAGE SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Paul Liguete Chouteau; *Interpreter* Baptiste Mongrain; *Blacksmiths* Etienne Brant and Louison Brequier (assistant).

Ref: 25th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 135* (Serial 326); 25th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 362* (Serial 330), pp. 84, 86, 87; 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 174* (Serial 347), pp. 58-60.

(Part Ten Will Appear in the Summer, 1963, issue.)

The Annual Meeting

THE 87th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in Topeka on October 16, 1962. At 10:00 A. M., a public meeting was held in the G. A. R. auditorium. Thomas Witty, state archaeologist and a member of the Society's staff, presented a paper and colored slides on the subject, "Locating and Investigating Kansas Archaeological Sites." Edgar Langsdorf, assistant secretary, presided.

The meeting of the Society's board of directors was held concurrently, with Pres. Emory Lindquist presiding. First business was the report of the secretary:

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 16, 1962

At the conclusion of last year's meeting the newly elected president, Emory K. Lindquist, reappointed Charles M. Correll and Frank Haucke to the executive committee. Members holding over were Will T. Beck, Wilford Riegle, and Alan W. Farley.

Two members of the board of directors have died since the last meeting. Frank Hodges, Olathe businessman, banker, and philanthropist, passed away February 5, 1962. He had been a member of the Society for more than 30 years and a director since 1950. Mrs. Isabelle Cone Harvey, widow of former Lt. Gov. A. M. Harvey, died in Topeka April 12. Daughter of a pioneer Kansan, W. W. Cone, Mrs. Harvey was a life member of the Society from 1929 and a member of the board of directors since 1933. She was active in the Daughters of the American Revolution, Colonial Dames, and other patriotic groups, and for many years was secretary of the Kansas Department of the United Spanish War Veterans.

As a result of the adoption last year of a retirement system for state employees, several members of the staff retired on June 30. They are Kirke Mechem, secretary from 1930 to 1951 and continuing thereafter as an editor and informational counsel; Mrs. Lela Barnes, the Society's treasurer since 1940 and a member of the staff since 1931; Mrs. Grace Menninger, library clipping clerk since 1948; Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Hardy, caretakers at Shawnee Mission since 1939; and Mr. and Mrs. Elwood M. Jones, caretakers at the Kaw Mission since 1951. To all these people, who became our personal friends as well as valued co-workers, sincere thanks are due for their years of capable and devoted service.

APPROPRIATIONS AND BUDGET REQUESTS

This year the Society is operating on a budget, exclusive of capital improvements, some \$5,000 less than in the previous two years. The major portion of this reduction, \$4,000, is in the allocation for printing, which is reduced from \$22,000 to \$18,000. The printing budget includes the cost of library and newspaper binding and the reproduction of the monthly newspaper releases which are prepared in the state's central duplicating division, but the effect of the cut will be reflected most sharply in the 1963 *Quarterly*, which absorbs the

lion's share of the printing appropriation. This is doubly regrettable, for the *Quarterly* is not only the Society's most permanent scholarly contribution but in many instances it is the only way in which the Society is known to historians and to users of libraries not only in Kansas but across the entire nation and even in foreign countries.

The position of informational counsel was lost when Kirke Mechem retired, and this will throw a greater load of editorial work on other members of the staff. Requests in the last two budgets for a maintenance engineer and a director of field services are repeated in the budget for 1964, which was submitted to the state budget director late in September. Increases were requested in many operational categories, partly to compensate for higher costs and partly to enable the Society to expand and improve its services to the public. Capital improvement requests include a number of items from past budgets which were not granted, and one major new item, replacement of the wooden windows and frames on the south and west sides of the Memorial building.

PUBLICATIONS AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

As mentioned in the annual report a year ago, the four-color covers used on the *Quarterly* during 1961 were so favorably received that they were continued this year. One of the country's foremost Western history scholars and writers, Dale L. Morgan, wrote last March to commend the "magnificent" Spring issue, adding, "I do hope that funds can be found to permit you to go on indefinitely, or forever, with these colored covers."

Unfortunately, the reduced printing appropriation effective last July 1 makes it unlikely that this feature can be continued in 1964 unless financial relief is provided. In response to a distress call published in the *Mirror* several members have sent in contributions to help defray the cost. With these, and by effecting other economies, it now seems probable that color can be utilized on the 1963 covers. However, unless a miracle occurs, the 1963 issues will still have to appear with fewer pages.

Circulation has increased by about 100 since last year's report. More than 2,700 copies of the *Quarterly* are now being mailed to members of the Society and to schools and libraries. The Autumn number contained the 11th and final installment of the popular series, "Cowtown Police Officers and Gun Fighters." Plans are now being made for the publication of these articles, with additional material, in book form. Work is also underway on another major book, *Kansas in Newspapers*, which will be printed under the auspices of the Baughman Foundation. Further details will be announced when these projects are farther along.

A new series of Sunday afternoon motion pictures began on October 7 as a public service. This year the series consists of some of the classic silent pictures, among them, "The Covered Wagon," "Birth of a Nation," "Hunchback of Notre Dame," and "Son of the Sheik." They will be shown at 2:30 in the Society's auditorium on the first Sunday of each month, concluding in May, 1963.

Texts for Kansas Historical Markers relating to the discovery of helium at Dexter, Cowley county, and on Osawatomie, as mentioned previously, have been finished. Another text was completed, and research on others is in process. Titled "The High Plains," the new marker is to be installed on U. S. 40 at the Kansas-Colorado line. It mentions Fort Wallace and the

Butterfield stage line which operated through the area, and calls attention to Mount Sunflower, the highest point in Kansas.

ARCHAEOLOGY

The Society has continued to co-operate with the National Park Service in performing archaeological salvage work in several reservoirs now under construction in Kansas. Preliminary surveys were completed in the Elk City and Cheney reservoirs and last summer was devoted to a full-scale excavation in the Council Grove reservoir.

Within the Elk City reservoir area 21 new archaeological sites were located and recorded. The Cheney survey discovered four new sites which will be inundated when that reservoir is completed. Appraisal reports of these surveys have been submitted to the Park Service and future investigations in the areas will be based upon these findings.

Nine weeks were spent in the Council Grove area during June and July with a seven-man crew excavating four sites: a camp of the Preceramic period, two small villages of the Woodland period, and a Hopewell burial mound. The first site was a deeply buried camp area several thousand years old. A bulldozer was employed to strip off the top four feet of overburden from the main camp level which lay five to seven feet below the surface. The second and third sites investigated were village sites belonging to the Woodland Indians who were the first potters, farmers, and users of the bow and arrow in this section. Residue of an earth covered structure, storage pits and refuse areas were found. The fourth site was a low, rock-filled burial mound which contained the remains of several individuals. Notable artifacts recovered from the mound were three well-made chipped stone blades, of a type normally associated with the Illinois section, and a marine shell bead probably from the Gulf of Mexico.

Publications dealing with the archaeological work of the Society that have been released during the past year are an *Appraisal of the Council Grove Reservoir*, published by the Society, and a survey report of the Cheney and Elk City reservoirs, appearing in the *Newsletter* of the Kansas Anthropological Association. In the manuscript stage is a detailed report of the excavations carried out in the Wilson reservoir, in Lincoln and Russell counties, during the summer of 1960.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

Public records from the following state departments have been transferred during the year to the archives division:

Source	Title	Dates	Quantity
Administration, Department of	Original budget requests to the legislature	1933-1953 1956-1959	32 vols.
Agriculture, Board of ..	Population schedules of cities and townships ..	1961, 1962	8,427 vols.
	Statistical rolls of counties,	1960	1,678 vols.
	Abstracts of agricultural statistics	1954, 1958, 1959	315 vols.
	Abstracts of population . . .	1954-1961	8 vols.

Source	Title	Dates	Quantity
Centennial Commission . .	Correspondence, papers and fiscal records	1960-1962	12 file drawers
Insurance Department . .	Correspondence	1923-1946	1 file drawer
	Annual statements (life) . .	1958	256 vols.
	Agents' licenses	1953-1955	68 vols.
	Fire marshal tax statements,	1951-1955	12 vols.
	Certificates of authority . .	1948-1957	40 vols.
	Cash books	1946-1950	6 vols.
	Actions against companies,	1942-1943	1 vol.
	Policy registers (by com- pany)		66 vols.
Labor Department	Papers of the Industrial Welfare Commission . .	1916-1929	1 box

Reports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, were received from the Board of Healing Arts and the Central Mail Service. Mrs. M. L. Beeson, Dodge City, donated a copy of the first census of Ford county, 1873, and one box of miscellaneous transcripts, 1895-1921, was received from the McPherson county district court.

LIBRARY

The library was used by 5,413 patrons, 2,285 of whom worked on Kansas subjects, 1,524 on genealogy, and 999 on subjects of a general nature, while 605 consulted library material on microfilm and microcard in the microfilm reading room. Loan file packets sent out numbered 179. These packets include pamphlets, reprints, and typed articles about Kansas subjects and are used to answer as many mail inquiries as possible. Many go to Kansas school children, who often return the material with a note of appreciation. However, useful though this loan file is, most inquiries received require individual research. The Society has taken pride in providing such service, but the increased work load of the last few years has made it necessary to limit the amount of time that can be given to it.

During the year 14 centennial editions, over 50 months of extra newspapers and 1,000 miscellaneous issues were read, clipped, and mounted in addition to the seven regular dailies. Mrs. Grace Menninger, who has capably headed this department for 13 years, retired July 1 and was succeeded by Mrs. Wilford Green.

Local histories prepared for the 1961 centennial and other anniversaries are still being received. Among this year's accessions were historical sketches from 31 churches. Town histories included works on Hillsdale, by Charles D. Everhart; New Scandinavia, by Mrs. Homer Cardwell; Courtland, by Mrs. Anona Blackburn; Cawker City, by Warren J. Lingg; and a Minneola diamond anniversary historical book.

Area books include *A Handbook on the Frontier Days of Southeast Kansas*, by Bernice C. Shackleton; *Maple Hill Stories*, by Roderick Turnbull; and *From Out of the Past, the Origin of the State of Kansas, Its People and Places of Interest*, by Bernice Holden and Bernhard Fleming.

The library's genealogical collection has increased substantially by gift and purchase during the past few years. This collection is useful not only to the genealogist but also to the biographer who needs background information on Kansans and former Kansans. As the collection becomes better known to

genealogists over the country more letters of inquiry are received, and also an increased number of family histories and records are donated. Two outstanding genealogical contributions were made by Kansans this year. Mrs. Nancy E. Hineman, Dighton, donated a copy of her genealogy of the Newby family, and Dr. Clair V. Mann, Rolla, Mo., who grew up in north central Kansas, sent installments of his story, *From Kansas Dust*, a chronicle of the Mann, Shedden, and Reser families and their experiences in a frontier state.

Marriage licenses of Gray county, 1885-1913, were copied and sent in by Mrs. T. C. Ward, Copeland, and through Mrs. Jesse Harper, Sitka, a microfilm copy of Clark county marriage records was obtained. Harper county cemetery inscriptions were donated by the Martha Vail chapter, D. A. R. Cemetery inscriptions of Coffey county, copied by Mrs. C. J. Garrett, Burlington, and of Ottawa county, copied by Mrs. B. A. Bourne and daughter, were received. Records of this kind are valuable for reference work and these copies are a safeguard against loss of the cemetery originals, by fire, flood, or deterioration.

The out-of-state census file was augmented by a gift of microfilm copies of the 1850 census of Maryland and Rhode Island from the Kansas Society, Daughters of the American Colonists, and eight affiliate chapters. Margaret Dunning chapter, D. A. C., has donated sums of money in memory of Mrs. A. B. Griggs and Mrs. C. L. E. Edwards for the purchase of the 1850 Michigan census. Elizabeth Knapp chapter, D. A. C., donates money each year for census records on microfilm.

The National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Kansas provided funds for purchase of film of the 1810 census of Virginia, the 1820 census of Ohio, and the 1830 census of Ohio, Illinois, and New Jersey. Just this week the Colonial Dames sent in another check for \$349.50. Mr. and Mrs. Frank Helm purchased the 1820 and 1830 census of the District of Columbia for the library files. Several fine genealogies were added with money from the Lois Johnson Cone Fund of the Shawnee County Historical Society. The Huguenot Society of Kansas donated money for the purchase of books relating to Huguenot families.

Mrs. Marian Rosen Crawford gave a collection of records of the Bodwell family. Collections of books were also received from Standish Hall, Wichita, and the estates of Ada Remington, Osawatomie, and John S. Dawson, Topeka. Through the efforts of Mrs. Ralph Ewing, Russell, a copy of the memoirs of the Rev. August Augustine, pioneer minister of Russell county, was received from a descendant, Mrs. Fred Zachow, Eau Claire, Wis. Two Bibles, originally owned by Maria Simpson, daughter of Jotham Meeker, the first printer in Kansas territory, were given by Mrs. Herman Pabst, Colby, and Mrs. Grace Koehne, Coffeyville. Historical material on "Grandmother's Trunk and Pantry" was given by the Woman's Kansas Day Club. A collection of World War I songs from Mrs. Edward E. Musick and the song, *Dear Old Kansas*, from John Ripley were important additions to the sheet music collection.

Theses donated included *The Stevens County Seat Controversy*, by Joseph W. Snell; *Pardee Butler, Kansas Abolitionist*, by Daniel Thomas Johnson; and *Child Labor in Kansas*, by William Cape, gift of Mrs. Nellie Kennedy.

Outstanding Kansas books of general interest during the year included *Foreign Language Units of Kansas*, by J. Neale Carman; *William Clarke Quantrell, His Life and Times*, by Albert Castel; *The Little Toy Dog*, by William L. White; *Kansas Folklore*, by Samuel J. Sacket and William E. Koch; *Rider on*

the Wind: Jim Lane and Kansas, by Kendall E. Bailes; and *Arthur Capper: Publisher, Politician, and Philanthropist*, by Homer E. Socolofsky.

Library accessions, October 1, 1961-September 30, 1962, were:

Bound volumes	
Books	
Kansas	159
General	614
Genealogy and local history	189
Indians and the West	85
Kansas state publications	55
Total, books	1,102
Clippings	29
Periodicals	97
Total, bound volumes	1,228
Microcards (titles)	1
Microfilm (reels)	111
Pamphlets	
Kansas	902
General	852
Genealogy	57
Indians and the West	25
Kansas state publications	726
Total, pamphlets	2,562

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

Mrs. Lela Barnes retired June 30 as head of the manuscript division. She was succeeded by Joseph W. Snell, formerly her assistant. Dan Holt of Hoyt has been employed in Snell's old position.

Approximately 86 cubic feet of private papers plus 49 reels of microfilm and one 1,200-foot reel of magnetic recording tape were accessioned this year. Papers of the late Sen. Andrew F. Schoepel made up the largest collection received. Former Governor Schoepel (1943-1947) represented Kansas in the United States senate from 1949 until his death in January, 1962. The still unorganized collection consists of the equivalent of about 37 transfer cases. Mrs. Schoepel, the donor, has indicated that use of the papers will be restricted for the time being.

A generous gift of Mrs. Raymond Millbrook, Detroit, Mich., enabled the Society to purchase microfilm copies of the records of Fort Hays from the National Archives. The 22 reels consist of "Letters Sent," 1866-1889; "Letters Received," 1867-1889; and "Orders," 1869-1889. Shortly after these records had been received Mrs. Millbrook made possible the purchase of an additional five reels containing similar records of Forts Harker, 1865-1873; Larned, 1859-1878; Scott, 1869-1873; and Zarah, 1868-1869.

Mrs. Ray Garrett, Neodesha, donated the diary of W. R. Smith who, as a member of the 20th Kansas regiment, participated in the suppression of the Philippine insurrection in 1899. Mrs. Garrett also gave a ledger of the Lawrence National hotel and a minute book of the East Iola Methodist church board of trustees.

A journey from Pennsylvania to Kansas in the spring of 1855 is described in the diary of Jasper Gleason which was donated by Ruth Marie Field, Holly-

wood, Calif. The diary also details a trip to the Colorado mines over the Santa Fe trail in 1860.

Eva Belle Glassford Pomeroy, Pasadena, Calif., donated a typed copy of the Civil War diary of Fletcher Pomeroy, Co. D, Seventh Kansas cavalry, 1861-1865.

Civil War letters of Augustus Bodwell and World War I letters of George L. Dewey were donated by Mrs. Marian Rosen Crawford, Topeka.

Letters and record books of Valley Falls' pioneer mill operator, Joseph M. Piazzek, were given by Mrs. Edna Piazzek Gilpin, Phoenix, Ariz.

Francis W. Schruben, Reseda, Calif., donated a taped recording of a recent interview with former Gov. Harry H. Woodring concerning politics in the 1930's.

The Rev. Ernest F. Tonsing, Topeka, lent for microfilming a group of letters written by his grandfather, John A. Martin, Atchison newspaperman, soldier, and governor of Kansas, 1885-1889. For the most part the letters cover Martin's Civil War service as lieutenant colonel and colonel of the Eighth Kansas cavalry regiment, 1861-1864.

Mrs. Merritt L. Beeson, Dodge City, lent several interesting western Kansas items for copying. Among them were records of the COD cattle ranch which was owned by Mrs. Beeson's father-in-law, Chalkey M. Beeson, in partnership with W. H. Harris; reminiscences of the last Indian raid in Kansas, 1878; and notes and letters of Henry H. Raymond, buffalo hunter and pioneer Dodge City blacksmith.

The diary which Henry Raymond kept when he first went to Dodge City was lent to the Society for microfilming by his daughter, Mrs. Charles G. C. Blake, Wichita. In addition Mrs. Blake lent several letters written by Raymond and his wife in 1874-1875. Both the letters and diary contain frequent mention of Bat, Ed, and Jim Masterson, with whom Raymond was friendly.

Mrs. Frank L. Davis, Holton, lent for microfilming 32 letters of the Bryant family, 1841-1867. These form a valuable addition to the Peter Bryant letters published in the Autumn and Winter, 1961, issues of the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

Another diary of interest is that of James H. Guthrie, who kept a record of his Civil War service through the Battles of Wilson's Creek and Shiloh and his imprisonment at Andersonville. Guthrie was enlisted in three different Iowa units. This journal was lent for microfilming by Dale E. Foose, Topeka.

Mrs. Grace Wilkerson, Russell, lent for microfilming the letters of Warren and Mary A. Day, 1857, 1862-1865, 1878. Mr. Day served during the Civil War in both the 13th Kansas infantry and in the First regiment, Indian Home Guards. In 1878 the family homesteaded in Russell county.

Other donors were Mrs. L. J. Aubert, Topeka; Richard W. Baker, Solomon; Louise Barry, Topeka; Robert W. Baughman, Liberal; Tom Buchanan, Washington; Mrs. L. L. Camien, University Park, N. M.; Adrienne V. Christopher, Kansas City, Mo.; Mariam Lawton Clayton, Clark Fork, Idaho; Hubert Dawson, Wichita; Judge Harry W. Fisher, Fort Scott; Hortense B. C. Gibson, Wichita; John D. Gilchriese, Glendale, Calif.; Alfred Gray, Dallas, Tex.; Evelyn Gray, San Francisco, Calif.; Frances Grinstead, Lawrence; Dr. and Mrs. Lawton Hanna, Clay Center; the estate of the Rev. Charles Harms, Lincoln, Nebr.; Highland Presbyterian Church, Highland; M. G. Hoffman, Topeka; Nellie Ruth Huffman, Topeka; Mrs. Wilma Bethel Hull, Harlingen, Tex.; the Hutchinson Chamber of Commerce; Harmon Johnston, Los Angeles, Calif.; Mrs. Jesse M.

Jones, Leavenworth; Mrs. C. E. Journey, Kingman; Mrs. Erwin Keller, Topeka; Mrs. Maxine L. Kinton, Mansfield, Ohio; Mrs. Henry Knouft, Holton; Amy Lathrop, Norton; Mrs. V. E. McArthur, Hutchinson; Helen M. McFarland, Topeka; Helen V. Marshall, Colorado Springs, Colo.; Lillian Hughes Neiswanger, Urbana, Ill.; Frederick I. Olson, Milwaukee, Wis.; the Ottawa County Historical Society; Mrs. Addie Underwood Penny, Lawrence; Kelsey Petro, Topeka; Mrs. Chet Poole, Webber; Leoto Frances Riddick, Topeka; Floyd E. Risvold, Minneapolis, Minn.; Doris Roebke, Holton; David J. Roenigk, Morganville; Elma Schmidt, Dodge City; William Simpson, Atchison; Mrs. R. W. Stumbo, Golden, Colo.; Mrs. V. L. Teeter, Partridge; Thomas County District Court; Topeka Public Library; Mrs. Paul Torok, Highland; Washington State University, Pullman, Wash.; Mrs. Ben E. White, Bonner Springs; Max R. Williams, Topeka; Mrs. Chester Woodward, Topeka; and Mrs. Lois York of the George Smith Public Library, Junction City.

A microfilm copy of Boyd B. Stutler's collection of John Brown material was purchased from the Ohio Historical Society. The purchase consists of eight reels of film which contain items ranging from original John Brown letters to radio and television scripts.

MICROFILM DIVISION

Illness in the department reduced the production of microfilm considerably below normal, but even so 134,810 exposures were made, totaling 205 rolls. About half of this production was devoted to the Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Drovers Telegram*, February 25, 1884-September 20, 1889, and May 1, 1890, through 1960. This newspaper is the only daily in the area which is dedicated primarily to agriculture, and most of its circulation is in Kansas. It is expected that this film will be of unusual interest to students in this field.

Other newspaper microfilming projects included the *Wichita Morning Eagle*, 1959-1961; *Council Grove Republican*, July 4, 1884-October 24, 1918, March 29, 1919-August 28, 1924; *Lindsborgs Posten*, February 8, 1898-December 31, 1930; *Columbus Border Star*, May 3, 1878-August 6, 1880, June 9, 1882-November 12, 1886; *Parsons Sun*, January 5, 1878-December 23, 1880; *Parsons Daily Republican*, May 10, 1880-May 7, 1881; *Parsons Daily Infant Wonder*, December 26, 1878-April 30, 1880; *Parsons Eclipse*, January 2, 1879-December 23, 1880; *Baxter Springs Times*, October 17, 1878-December 30, 1880; and the *Bloom Telegram*, April 5, 1888-December 28, 1889.

Through the co-operation of Alan W. Farley the Society was able to borrow from O. L. Sanford, Olathe, a file of the Washington (Pa.) *Western Telegraph and Washington Advertiser*, August 17, 1795-August 8, 1797. This interesting early newspaper was microfilmed last April and is now available for use.

MUSEUM

After the record attendance of 1961 the number of visitors to the museum returned to the pre-centennial norm. Approximately 61,000 toured the galleries and 405 organized groups were given tours.

Late in August social science teachers of the Topeka public school system met with members of the museum staff for a discussion of ways in which the museum might co-operate more closely with them in the teaching of American and particularly Kansas history. They were given an opportunity to see the facilities of the Society and were urged to make as much use as possible of

them. Two talks were given to high school classes in September by John Mitchell, the Society's new assistant museum director. He replaced Frank Walsh, who resigned to accept a position with the North Carolina Department of History and Archives.

In September a display centering on "The Life of the Kansas Pioneer" was exhibited at the Hutchinson State Fair, and later in the month was used again at the Topeka antique show. The old-time general store which was so popular at the Topeka World Food Fair and Mid America Fair in 1961 was operated again this year, and was well received.

An important event of the year was the annual meeting of the Mountain-Plains Museum Conference, for which the Society was host. Delegates from eight states participated and heard informative papers on museum problems and techniques. Joseph A. Patterson, director of the American Association of Museums, Washington, D. C., was a principal speaker. The delegates toured the Menninger Foundation and spent a day at the Eisenhower Museum and Library in Abilene. The Society's museum director, Stanley Sohl, was general chairman of the conference. Earlier in the year, in February, the Society was also host to the quarterly meeting of the Museum Council of Mid-America, which was attended by representatives of 11 institutions in this area.

Again this year the Woman's Kansas Day Club made a significant contribution to the museum by donating funds for the purchase of four specially made mannequins for the Victorian parlor. Dressed in appropriate costume, an amazingly lifelike grandmother, mother, daughter, and guest are now partaking of tea in the parlor, to the delight of museum visitors.

Another period room, a "little red schoolhouse," was completed in the west gallery. It includes desks for 16 students, a teacher's desk on a raised platform, blackboard, and all the materials needed to bring back memories of the one-room country school. A back porch was also added to the farm kitchen.

Two new case displays were installed in the Military Hall, one featuring Kansans who won the Medal of Honor, the other "Modern Warfare." Four other displays in this area were redesigned and improved. On the fourth floor new displays were completed on Gen. George A. Custer's Kansas career, the Pony Express, C. K. Holliday, lighting through the years, the buffalo hunter, and the oil industry.

There were 188 museum accessions totaling 1,025 items. Among these were a working model of the Norman No. 1, famous Kansas oil well, from O. A. Daugherty, Neodesha; a De Laval cream separator and Civil War drum from George Jelinek, Ellsworth; a Fisher upright piano from Gen. Mahlon S. Weed, Kansas City; items of clothing from Mr. and Mrs. T. E. Osborne, Neosho, Mo.; Mrs. C. O. Fogerty, Topeka, and the estates of W. W. Hetherington, Atchison, and Sarah Owens Cheal.

Other donors included: Gov. John Anderson, Jr., Topeka; Mrs. Ella M. Annen, Topeka; Mrs. L. T. Aubert, Topeka; Mrs. Merritt Beeson, Dodge City; James A. Bell, Topeka; Major Benson, Ellsworth; Mrs. A. F. Berch, Willmette, Ill.; Robert Billard estate, Topeka; Nannie Gingham, Sabetha; Mrs. H. S. Blake, Sr., Topeka; Wayne L. Bland, Topeka; Mrs. Frank W. Boyd, Mankato; O. D. Butcher, Topeka; William Butler, Tecumseh; Mrs. L. L. Camien, University Park, N. M.; Ernest Carr, Independence; Mrs. Melvin Carson, Denver, Colo.; Jack L. Casner, Topeka; Robert Castoe, Independence; Don Catron,

Topeka; Centennial Distributors, Inc., Topeka; Vera Chapman, Great Bend; Nellie N. Chilson, Payson, Ariz.; Mrs. F. F. Clinger, Topeka; Marguerite P. Coffman, Shawnee Mission; Mrs. Franklin Corrick, Topeka; R. L. Cotterill, McPherson; Emma Crabb, Topeka; Mrs. J. A. Crabb, Topeka; Virginia Crane, Topeka; Harry E. Crawford, Topeka; Mrs. Marian Crawford, Topeka; John Cregut, Topeka; Mrs. Ethel Dalton, St. George; Robert W. Domme, Topeka; Dr. and Mrs. Lucius Eckles, Topeka; J. T. Edwards, Topeka; Verne Epyle, Topeka; Mrs. Nelson Euwer, Topeka; Mrs. Alice M. Finch, Arkansas City; Mrs. Nora Flickinger, Topeka; Pauline Foulston, Wichita; Mrs. Lee Forbes, Topeka; Mrs. Elda M. Geiler, Tulsa, Okla.; Wayne Geraghty, Topeka; Leslie Guild estate, Topeka; Guy S. Guthrie, Wichita; B. L. Haines, Topeka; Standish Hall, Wichita; Mrs. Frank Haucke, Council Grove; Mrs. James D. Hayes, Topeka; Mrs. Alta Hays; Nancy Henderson, Topeka; A. P. Henry, Topeka; Mrs. Nellie Ruth Huffman, Topeka; David Hughes, Topeka; Mrs. Esther Jacobs, Council Grove; Fred Jinks, Topeka; Mrs. Jewell Johnson, Eureka; Bob Jones, Topeka; Mrs. H. W. Jones, Topeka; Roger Jones, Johnson; Sadie Jurney, Kingman; Kansas Centennial Commission; Kansas State Federation of Labor; Kansas Tax Commission; Stanley Kaufman, Topeka; Mrs. Erwin Keller, Topeka; Melvin Kelsey, Topeka; Mrs. Jean Kerrens, Coffeyville; E. V. King, Topeka; Mrs. C. W. Koch, Southgate, Mich.; Adolph Lange family, Leavenworth; Edgar Langsdorf, Topeka; Mrs. Augusta E. Layman, Topeka; Mrs. Ward Leshner, Fairbury, Nebr.; Royal Lewelyn, Broughton; Mrs. D. E. Logan; Mrs. Aden Lowry, Sedan; Leighton Mark, Topeka; Arlo Martin, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Charles I. Martin, Topeka; Joseph H. Mauzey, Topeka; C. W. McCampbell, Manhattan; Ed McCarty, Oneida; Mrs. J. Warner McCloy, Tucson, Ariz.; Genevieve Schuler McDade, Topeka; Mrs. C. H. McElroy, Merriam; Robert McNason, Topeka; Mrs. Grace Menninger, Topeka; L. V. Metz, Admire; Mrs. N. H. Miller, Topeka; Clinton Moore, Topeka; L. M. Moore; Nina Moore estate, Topeka; Edward E. Musick, Osage City; Barbara Nollman, Columbus, Mo.; Adeline Peers, Topeka; Mrs. Eugene Pfeider, Horton; Mrs. Barbara Phelps, Portola Valley, Calif.; Mrs. U. A. Ralston, Topeka; Mrs. Robert F. Ragland, Potter; Paul M. Reid, Mission; Ada Remington estate, Osawatomie; Mrs. Lou Roberts, Chanute; Fred Ross, Jr., Colt's Patent Fire Arms Mfg. Co., Hartford, Conn.; Harvey Roush, Lincoln, Nebr.; Mrs. T. T. Rowe, Topeka; Cecil H. Runneals, Anaheim, Calif.; Christina M. Sander, Victoria; Mrs. A. C. Schultz, High Point, N. C.; Frank M. Shelton, Topeka; Walter Ashton Smith; Stanley D. Sohl, Topeka; Southwestern Bell Telephone Co., Topeka; State Printer, Topeka; Mrs. S. L. Stebbins, Kansas City, Mo.; Grace M. Steves, Topeka; Mrs. J. G. Strickler, Topeka; Blanche Taylor, Topeka; Pete Taschetta, Topeka; Judge and Mrs. Walter Thiele, Topeka; Mrs. L. R. Tillotson, Topeka; Hattie Truitt, Los Angeles, Calif.; William W. Utterback, Topeka; Mrs. R. W. Van Deventer, Wellington; Avis Van Lew, Topeka; Walter Van Liew, Lawrence; Mrs. Fred Vasey, Topeka; Mrs. Esther Viohl, Topeka; Bert Watustradt, Burlingame; Mrs. May Warner, Topeka; Mr. and Mrs. Robert P. Warren, Emporia; Allen M. Weaver, Topeka; Mrs. E. B. Weaver, Topeka; Dick Wellman, Alden; Mrs. Ben White, Bonner Springs; J. L. Wikus, Topeka; Mrs. Clara Wilkins, Topeka; Arno Windscheffel, Smith Center; Mrs. Harry D. Wolf, Topeka, and Phil Zimmerman, Topeka.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISION

Nearly 11,000 searches in census and newspaper volumes were made during the year in serving 6,362 patrons who visited the department and answering 4,112 requests received by mail. Certified copies of 3,628 census records and newspaper items were furnished, most of them to provide proof of age and place of birth for persons seeking delayed birth certificates or attempting to qualify for social security or other retirement programs.

Materials used by patrons and the staff this year included 17,531 census volumes, 6,775 bound volumes of newspapers, 4,764 single issues of newspapers, and 3,368 microfilm reels of newspapers.

Other services provided by the department included arranging for the reproduction of newspaper articles and microfilming of longer runs of newspapers for patrons. Also, numerous requests for information received by telephone were answered.

The Society continues to receive current issues of Kansas newspapers from the publishers. Fifteen publishers are also sending microfilm copies of their current issues. Newspapers presently received include 57 dailies, nine tri-weeklies, 14 semi-weeklies, 301 weeklies, and 113 published less frequently, a total of 494. Of these, 161 are school, church, fraternal, labor, industrial, trade, and miscellaneous periodicals; the remaining 333 are regular newspapers. Fourteen out-of-state newspapers are received.

The file of bound volumes of Kansas newspapers was increased by 537 during the year, making a total of 59,736. Fifteen volumes were added to the out-of-state collection, which now totals 12,052. Newspapers on microfilm increased by 239 reels to a total of 8,642.

Among older newspapers acquired this year were: *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, February 11, 1869; *La Cygne Weekly Journal*, June 18-November 26, 1870 (not complete); and a microfilm copy of the Las Vegas (N. M.) *Optic*, January 20, 1880-December 31, 1881, March 8, 1883-August 21, 1884. Donors of single newspapers included: Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater, Okla.; John H. Cooter, Topeka; Dr. Lucius Eckles, Topeka; Standish Hall, Wichita; Mrs. Ruthanna Hazel, Atchison; Ethel Linder, Topeka, and Ada Remington estate, Osawatomie.

In addition, Waldo Koop of Wichita donated a microfilm of the Las Vegas (N. M.) *Optic*, January 3-June 30, 1882, and Harold Milliken, Topeka, gave an issue of the *Kansas Settler*, Tecumseh, for February 10, 1858. Ralph Shideler, Girard, lent the *Girard Press*, November 11, 1869-December 23, 1875, for microfilming.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS

During the year 2,319 black and white photographs have been added to the picture collection while 79 duplicate, damaged, or otherwise valueless prints have been removed, making a net increase of 2,240. Of these 1,014 were gifts, 590 were lent to the Society for copying, 223 were made by the Society staff and 492 were transferred from other departments. Sixty-five color slides were added.

In addition to the still photographs accessioned, four reels of motion picture film and one film strip were given to the Society. Donors were the Centennial Commission, Frank and Whitney Warren of Topeka, and WIBW-TV.

Several large groups of pictures were received by the Society again this year. Among the more important gifts were 563 pictures descriptive of the state's centennial celebration, from the Centennial Commission; 34 color slides from Dan B. Rumpf, Topeka; 45 glass negatives representing Topeka in the early 1900's from Mrs. Augusta Layman, Topeka; 74 portraits of prominent Kansans from Judge Walter A. Huxman, Topeka; and two collections of Atchison photographs, one from the Hetherington family through Mrs. Ruthanna Hazel, and the second from Balie P. Waggener, both of Atchison.

Collections of Kansas photographs were lent for copying by Mrs. Merritt Beeson, Dodge City; Eisenhower Library, Abilene; Paul Gibler, Claflin; Floyd Souders, Cheney; Nat Armel, Humboldt; Helen D. Little, LaCrosse; Mrs. Ben White, Bonner Springs; Otis B. Zirkle, Brownton, W. Va.; Mrs. Franciska Winters and Mrs. Ray Garrett, Neodesha; George Jelinek, Ellsworth; Mrs. C. W. Koch, Southgate, Mich.; Seward County Historical Society, Liberal; Mrs. Henry A. Humphrey, Wichita; Robert E. Galvin, Ft. Scott; Mrs. C. H. Engle, Topeka; and Don Russell, Chicago, Ill.

One hundred and twenty maps and atlases have been accessioned this year, 56 being recent issues of the United States Geological Survey. The United States Coast and Geodetic Survey deposited 11 aeronautical charts for Kansas and the Kansas Highway Commission gave 12 new county highway maps.

A map of Atchison for 1888 was donated by the Hetherington family through Mrs. Ruthanna Hazel of Atchison. Dr. Ben Fuson, Salina, gave a copy of the Centennial literary map of Kansas, published in 1961. Other donors to the map collection include Robert Baughman, Liberal; Wellington chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Mrs. Chet Poole, Webber; Roland Swanson, Pittsburg; the J. W. Roberts family, Oskaloosa; Alfred Gray, Dallas, Tex.; David Miller, Jim Barkes, and the Chamber of Commerce, Topeka.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Extended research was done during the year on a variety of topics. In the area of county history, work was carried out on Jefferson, Johnson, and Reno counties. Biography included Pardee Butler, Frank Chance, and J. J. Pennell, and church history dealt with Lutheran and Methodist denominations. Research was also done on a large number of miscellaneous topics, among them agriculture, cattle towns, 42d division in World War I, Kansas State Teachers' Association, Kickapoo Indians, Salt Springs, state schools, Walt Whitman in Kansas, and many others.

SOCIETY HOLDINGS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1962

Bound volumes		
Books		
Kansas	10,958	
General	60,089	
Genealogy and local history	10,775	
Indians and the West	1,801	
Kansas state publications	3,382	
Total, books	87,005	
Clippings	1,352	
Periodicals	18,067	
Total, bound volumes	106,424	

Manuscripts (archives and private papers, cubic feet)	5,787	
Maps, atlases, and lithographs	5,724	
Microcards (titles)	182	
Microfilm (reels)		
Books and other library materials	541	
Public archives and private papers	2,351	
Newspapers	8,642	
Total		11,534
Newspapers (bound volumes)		
Kansas	59,736	
Out-of-state	12,052	
Total		71,788
Paintings and drawings		1,103
Pamphlets		
Kansas	98,745	
General	40,932	
Genealogy and local history	3,931	
Indians and the West	1,143	
Kansas state publications	7,901	
Total, pamphlets		152,652
Photographs		
Black and white	40,635	
Color transparencies and slides	635	
Total		41,270

THE FIRST CAPITOL

Attendance at the First Capitol was somewhat less than last year but was more diversified. Visitors registered from all 50 states and the District of Columbia, and from 28 foreign countries. Total attendance was 7,707.

Seven new case displays dealing with the history of Fort Riley and portraying various aspects of life on the post were installed by the museum staff. Among these were "Camp Funston and the First World War," and "The Big Red One in World War One," the latter featuring exploits of the First infantry division which is now stationed at Fort Riley.

THE FUNSTON HOME

At the Funston Home 936 visitors registered, 812 of them Kansans and 124 from 22 other states. No changes were made in the exhibits, and until the operating appropriation—currently \$355 for the year—can be increased it probably will not be possible to do more than to provide for routine maintenance.

THE KAW MISSION

Mr. and Mrs. Elwood Jones, caretakers at the Kaw Mission since it became state property in 1951, retired at the end of June and were succeeded by Mr. and Mrs. Harlan Trego. Mr. and Mrs. Jones were capable and devoted people, and their services will be missed, but the new caretakers are equally interested and are taking hold of the job with enthusiasm.

Registration was 5,860, including visitors from 43 states, the District of Columbia, and 16 foreign countries. Thanks are due again to the Council Grove *Republican*, the Chamber of Commerce and the street and police departments for their continued interest and assistance, and to Harry Behring,

Erma W. Lewis, Marjorie Huffaker Toth, and Frank Warnica for articles donated to the museum.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

The retirement of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Hardy on June 30 ended a career of nearly 23 years during which they were in direct charge of the Shawnee Mission. Commendable progress was made during this period and the Society is greatly in their debt for their long and faithful service. They were succeeded on July 1 by Mr. and Mrs. A. N. Wiltz, who are meeting their considerable responsibilities with intelligence and zeal.

During the summer nearly 9,000 visitors registered from 32 states and the District of Columbia and from seven foreign countries. These included many school and church groups, as well as Scouts, Cubs, Brownies, and Bluebirds. The Daughters of the American Revolution held their annual pilgrimage to the Mission on September 17, and on two Sundays during the month the ladies of the Westport Historical Society and the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, dressed in costume, served as guides in the North and East buildings.

In addition to these groups, the Society is glad once more to express its appreciation for their interest to the Colonial Dames, Daughters of 1812, and Daughters of American Colonists.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

The accomplishments outlined in this report are due, as always, to the efforts of the staff. While it is not possible to name each individual, credit should be given to Edgar Langsdorf, assistant secretary, and to the department heads: Alberta Pantle, librarian; Robert W. Richmond, archivist; Stanley Sohl, museum director; Thomas Witty, archaeologist; Forrest Blackburn of the newspaper and census division; and Mrs. Lela Barnes and her successor, Joseph Snell, of the manuscripts division. Acknowledgment should also be made of the fine work of the custodians of the historic sites administered by the Society: J. L. Brownback at the First Territorial Capitol; L. A. Foster at the Funston Memorial Home; Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Hardy and their successors, Mr. and Mrs. A. N. Wiltz, at Old Shawnee Mission; and Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Jones and their successors, Mr. and Mrs. Harlan Trego, at the Kaw Mission.

Respectfully submitted,

NYLE H. MILLER, *Secretary.*

Following the reading of the secretary's report, George L. Anderson moved that it be accepted. The motion was seconded by Angelus Lingenfesler, and the report was adopted.

Mr. Lindquist then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes:

TREASURER'S REPORT

Based on the post-audit by the State Division of Auditing and Accounting for the period August 15, 1961, to August 15, 1962.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 15, 1961:

Cash	\$6,776.63	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,000.00	
		<hr/> \$11,776.63

Receipts:

Membership fees	\$1,929.02	
Interest on bonds	165.60	
Interest on savings account	152.68	
Gifts	1,642.45	
		<u>3,889.75</u>

\$15,666.38

Disbursements \$4,006.14

Balance, August 15, 1962:

Cash	\$6,660.24	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,000.00	
		<u>11,660.24</u>

\$15,666.38

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 15, 1961:

Cash	\$164.00	
U. S. bond, Series K	1,000.00	
		<u>\$1,164.00</u>

Receipts:

Interest on bond	\$27.60	
Interest on savings account	5.34	
		<u>32.94</u>

\$1,196.94

Disbursements \$39.50

Balance, August 15, 1962:

Cash	\$157.44	
U. S. bond, Series K	1,000.00	
		<u>1,157.44</u>

\$1,196.94

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 15, 1961:

Cash	\$62.92	
U. S. bond, Series K	500.00	
		<u>\$562.92</u>

Receipts:

Interest on bond	\$13.80	
Interest on savings account90	
		<u>14.70</u>

\$577.62

Disbursements		\$71.48
Balance, August 15, 1962:		
Cash	\$6.14	
U. S. bond, Series K	500.00	
		<u>506.14</u>
		<u>\$577.62</u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

This donation is substantiated by a U. S. bond, Series K, in the amount of \$1,000. The interest is credited to the membership fee fund.

ELIZABETH READER BEQUEST

Balance, August 15, 1961:		
Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$401.47	
U. S. bond, Series K	5,500.00	
		<u>\$5,901.47</u>
Receipts:		
Interest on bonds (deposited in membership fee fund)		151.80
		<u>\$6,053.27</u>
Disbursements: books, photostats		\$475.40
Balance, August 15, 1962:		
Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$77.87	
U. S. bonds, Series K	5,500.00	
		<u>5,577.87</u>
		<u>\$6,053.27</u>

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

This report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. Appropriations made to the Historical Society by the legislature are disbursed through the State Department of Administration. For the year ending June 30, 1962, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, including the Memorial building, \$253,510; First Capitol of Kansas, \$4,619; Kaw Mission, \$4,696; Funston Home, \$4,070; Pike Pawnee Village, \$90; Old Shawnee Mission, \$11,094; Mother Bickerdyke cemetery, \$2,000.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. LELA BARNES, *Treasurer.*

Frank F. Eckdall moved that the report be adopted. Mrs. J. C. Harper seconded the motion and the report was accepted.

Alan Farley presented the report of the executive committee on the audit of the funds by the state department of post-audit:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 5, 1962.

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 Department of Post-Audit has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the Old Shawnee Mission, the First Capitol of Kansas, the Old Kaw Mission, the Funston Home, and Pike's Pawnee Village, for the period August 15, 1961, to August 15, 1962, and that they are hereby approved.

ALAN W. FARLEY, *Chairman*,
WILL T. BECK,
FRANK HAUCKE,
C. M. CORRELL.

On motion by A. Bower Sageser, seconded by E. A. Thomas, the report was accepted.

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

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

October 5, 1962.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

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

For a one-year term: James E. Taylor, Sharon Springs, president; John W. Ripley, Topeka, first vice-president; and Henry B. Jameson, Abilene, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Edgar Langsdorf, Topeka, treasurer.

Respectfully submitted,

ALAN W. FARLEY, *Chairman*,
WILL T. BECK,
FRANK HAUCKE,
C. M. CORRELL.

Mr. Farley moved the acceptance of the report. Howard C. Raynesford seconded the motion and the officers were unanimously elected.

A resolution of appreciation of the services of Mrs. Lela Barnes was offered by Alan Farley and accepted by a rising vote of the board:

RESOLUTION TO MRS. LELA BARNES

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED that the directors of the Kansas State Historical Society extend their thanks to Mrs. Lela Barnes for her long and faithful service as treasurer of the Society. Mrs. Barnes joined the Society as a member of the manuscript division on July 1, 1931, and retired from this staff position on June 30, 1962. For the greater part of the time she was in charge of the division. She also served the Society in various other capacities, and was elected to the office of treasurer in 1940, a position which she has filled capably and conscientiously to date.

It is with genuine regret that the Society bids goodbye to Mrs. Barnes in her official capacity, for officers and members as well as the general public have always found her to be more than helpful in furthering the Society's work.

President Lindquist presented to the board a study of the Society's schedule of dues, prepared by the secretary and the staff, with the recommendation that consideration be given to increasing the fees and adding an additional class of patrons. A general discussion followed and on motion by E. A. Thomas, seconded by Phil H. Lewis, the following schedule was adopted, to become effective July 1, 1963:

Participating annual	\$ 5.00
Supporting annual	10.00
Life	50.00
Patron, annual	100.00 or more

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Annual Meeting of the Society

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society opened with a luncheon at noon in the roof garden of the Hotel Jayhawk, Pres. Emory Lindquist presiding. About 140 members and guests attended.

The invocation was given by the Rev. John Hoon, pastor of the First Methodist Church, Newton.

Following the introduction of guests at the speakers' table, President Lindquist addressed the meeting on, "The Swedish Immigrant and Life in Kansas," which is published on pp. 1-24, of this magazine. President-elect James Taylor presented Mr. Lindquist with a retiring president's plaque.

Robert R. Bolton, director of the Eisenhower Library, Abilene, then spoke on "Presidential Papers and Presidential Libraries."

On behalf of the American Association for State and Local History, President Lindquist presented a certificate of commendation to Robert Baughman, Liberal, for his recently published book, *Kansas Post Offices*. Mr. Baughman's earlier book, *Kansas in Maps*, and his assistance in other historical projects were also commended by President Lindquist.

Alan Farley, chairman of the executive and nominating committees, presented a plaque to the retiring treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes, and then read the report of the nominating committee for directors of the Society:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 5, 1962.

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 in October, 1965:

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
 Anderson, George L., Lawrence.
 Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
 Beck, Will T., Holton.
 Bray, Mrs. Easton C., Syracuse.
 Chandler, C. J., Wichita.
 Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.
 Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.
 Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.
 Eckdall, Frank F., Emporia.
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
 Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.
 Gard, Spencer A., Iola.
 Harvey, Perce, Topeka.
 Jelinek, George J., Ellsworth.
 Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.

Landon, Alf M., Topeka.
 Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
 Lose, Harry F., Topeka.
 Malin, James C., Lawrence.
 Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander,
 Wichita.
 Menninger, Karl, Topeka.
 Moore, Russell, Wichita.
 Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence.
 Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
 Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons.
 Sageser, A. Bower, Manhattan.
 Stewart, Donald, Independence.
 Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
 von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
 Wilson, Paul E., Lawrence.

Respectfully submitted,
 ALAN W. FARLEY, *Chairman*,
 WILL T. BECK,
 FRANK HAUCKE,
 C. M. CORRELL.

Motion for the acceptance of the report was made by Alan Farley, seconded by Charles M. Correll. The report was adopted and directors for the term ending in October, 1965, were declared elected.

Then followed a discussion of the work of the local historical societies. Reports of the Lyon and Reno county historical societies, and the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society were received and filed. Mrs. V. W. Maupin reported for the Reno County Historical Society, and Mrs. George W. Cox for the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society. Howard C. Raynesford of Ellis, who has made a detailed survey of the Butterfield Overland Despatch road through northwest Kansas and is now engaged in a trail-marking project, was introduced. Mrs. C. M. Slagg reported for the Riley County Historical Society; Miss Helen Yoakum for the Leavenworth County Historical Society; Homer Cardwell for the Republic County Historical Society; Mrs. Jesse C. Harper for the Clark County Historical Society and the new railroad museum at

Ashland; George J. Jelinek for the Ellsworth County Historical Society; and Homer E. Socolofsky on plans for the observance of the centennial of Kansas State University in 1963.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

An open house and refreshment hour at the Memorial building followed.

Directors of the Kansas State Historical Society as of October, 1962

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1963

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.	McArthur, Mrs. Vernon E., Hutchinson.
Baughman, Robert W., Liberal.	McCain, James A., Manhattan.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
Beougher, Edward M., Grinnell.	McGrew, Mrs. Wm. E., Kansas City.
Brinkerhoff, F. W., Pittsburg.	Malone, James, Gem.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.	Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg.
Docking, George, Arkansas City.	Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.	Ripley, John W., Topeka.
Farrell, F. D., Manhattan.	Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Hanson, Harry E., Muncie.	Simons, Dolph, Lawrence.
Harper, Mrs. Jesse C., Ashland.	Slagg, Mrs. C. M., Manhattan.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.	Templar, George, Arkansas City.
Hope, Clifford R., Sr., Garden City.	Thomas, Sister M. Evangeline, Salina.
Kanaga, Clinton W., Shawnee Mission.	Townsley, Will, Great Bend.
Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison.	Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.
Long, Richard M., Wichita.	

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1964

Barr, Frank, Wichita.	Montgomery, John D., Junction City.
Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan.	Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.	Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City.	Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
Hall, Standish, Wichita.	Robbins, Richard W., Pratt.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.	Roberts, Larry W., Wichita.
Humphrey, Arthur S., Junction City.	Rose, Franklin T., Topeka.
Jameson, Henry, Abilene.	Scott, Angelo, Iola.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.	Shrewder, Mrs. Roy V., Ashland.
Kampschroeder, Mrs. Jean Norris, Garden City.	Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Kaul, Robert H., Wamego.	Socolofsky, Homer E., Manhattan.
Lauterbach, August W., Colby.	Stanley, Arthur J., Jr., Bethel.
Lewis, Philip H., Topeka.	Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita.	Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.
Maranville, Lea, Ness City.	Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Means, Hugh, Lawrence.	Wark, George H., Caney.
	Williams, Charles A., Bentley.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1965

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Landon, Alf M., Topeka.
Anderson, George L., Lawrence.	Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.	Lose, Harry F., Topeka.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.	Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Beck, Will T., Holton.	Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander, Wichita.
Bray, Mrs. Easton C., Syracuse.	Menninger, Karl, Topeka.
Chandler, C. J., Wichita.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.	Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence.
Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.	Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons.
Eckdall, Frank F., Emporia.	Sageser, A. Bower, Manhattan.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.	Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.	Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
Gard, Spencer A., Iola.	von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
Harvey, Perce, Topeka.	Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
Jelinek, George J., Ellsworth.	Wilson, Paul E., Lawrence.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.	

Bypaths of Kansas History

WHEN BASEBALL WAS KING

From the *Hutchinson News*, June 28, 1906.

A dispatch under a Hutchinson date to the *Kansas City Times* is as follows: A new difficulty in the matter of harvest help was experienced yesterday at the big Forsha ranch, nine miles south of here. The ball fever is at its height and all the hands engaged in the wheat harvest at this ranch struck yesterday afternoon and came to town to see the game between the Hutchinson and Joplin teams of the Western association. Manager Fred Forsha had consented to put up a big bulletin board at one side of the field to keep the workers posted on the game. The board was put up last night and the hands all returned to work today. This afternoon the result of the game was telephoned to the Forsha ranch by innings and posted on the board for the benefit of the 100 or more workers engaged in the harvest.

SIX MEN IN THE TUBS—WITH RUB-A-DUBS?

From the *Daily Drovers Telegram*, Kansas City, Mo., August 13, 1913.

LEAVENWORTH, KAS., AUG. 13.—Warden J. D. Botkin of the state prison issued an order that all convicts of the institution must attend religious services every night from 6:30 to 7:30.

Six more prisoners were baptised in the prison laundry tubs last Sunday, which makes 36 to "profess religion" since the preacher-warden took office.

EXIT, AN EDITOR

From the *Osage County Chronicle*, Burlingame, January 1, 1914.

This also appears to be a hard, hard world from the viewpoint of the *Everett Enterprise*, which observes:

"The stork disappears and we look into the cradle and behold a male child. After running the gauntlet of measles, mumps and chicken pox, he enters school. At the age of 10 he is a red-headed, freckle-faced boy and the terror of the neighborhood. At 12 he is apprentice in a printing office. At 18 he has acquired two cases of long primer and an army press, and is the editor of a country newspaper. At 20 he is married. At 30 he is bald-headed, stoop-shouldered and the father of a large family. At 35 he is a corpse in a cheap pine coffin and as 500 delinquent subscribers file past his bier for the last look they are heard to say: 'He was a good fellow, but he couldn't save his money.'"

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Church histories appearing in Kansas newspapers in recent months included: Highland Presbyterian, Atchison *Daily Globe*, July 15, 1962; Our Savior's Lutheran, Norway, Belleville *Telescope*, July 26, Concordia *Blade-Empire*, July 31, and Scandia *Journal* and Concordia *Kansan*, August 2; St. Paul's Evangelical and Reformed, Bluff City, Caldwell *Messenger*, August 6; St. Aloysius Catholic, Osborne, *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, August 16; Goodland Christian, *Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, and Goodland *Daily News*, August 23; New Gottland Lutheran, *McPherson County News*, McPherson, August 30; Horton Presbyterian, Horton *Headlight*, August 30; St. Paul's Methodist, Wichita, Winfield *Courier*, September 1; St. Mary's Catholic, Jamestown, Jamestown *Optimist*, September 13; Johnson Methodist, Johnson *Pioneer*, September 20, October 4; St. Fidelis Catholic ["Cathedral of the Plains"], Victoria, *Daily Tribune*, Great Bend, September 23; Zion Lutheran, Independence, Independence *Reporter*, September 28; St. Patrick's Catholic, near Atchison, Atchison *Daily Globe*, September 30; New Hope Baptist, near Ottawa, Ottawa *Herald*, October 6; Coldwater Presbyterian, *Western Star*, Coldwater, October 18; Highland Baptist, Highland *Vidette*, October 18; Horton First Baptist, Horton *Headlight*, November 12; Mt. Pleasant Methodist, Rooks county, *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, November 15, 29; Blue Mound Methodist, Fort Scott *Tribune*, November 20; Hopewell United Presbyterian, Anthony *Republican*, November 29; St. Rose Catholic, Columbus, Columbus *Advocate*, November 30; Bethany United Presbyterian, Wichita, Wichita *Evening Eagle and Beacon*, December 1; and Church of the Ascension, Burlington, Burlington *Republican*, December 3.

The Plains Indians as a barrier to the settlement of central and western Kansas in the years following the Civil War are discussed by Lonnie J. White in "The Cheyenne Barrier on the Kansas Frontier, 1868-1869," printed in *Arizona and the West*, Tucson, Spring, 1962.

In its July 19, 1962, issue, the Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican* published a history of Lincoln newspapers by Ben Marshall.

Articles by Gordon S. Hohn in the Marysville *Advocate* during recent months included: "First White Child [Hattie Magill] Born

in Marysville Amidst Tornado—Some Early Events,” July 19, 1962; “Great Automobile Sociability Run of 1910 Dominated by Maxwells,” August 2; “First Blue Rapids Fair and Old Settlers’ Reunion Here in 1916,” August 23; “Pony Express Stable Here Served for Years as Cottrell Livery Stable,” August 30; “Famous Names on Alcove Pioneer List Include Kit Carson, Jim Bridger,” September 27; “City Firemen and Turners Busy in 1900 as McKinley Carried County,” October 4; “Famous Overland Trail Freighting Outfit [Russell, Majors and Waddell] Once Had Rest Area Here,” October 18; “Business Growth Began Here After the Great Financial Panic of 1897,” October 25; “Judge [Buce] Here Once Chased Defendant [W. M. F. McGraw] Around Log Courtroom With a Gun,” November 1; “Early Stage Drivers on Overland Trail Here Led Perilous Existence,” November 22; and “Thos. McCoy Was Pioneer Harness Maker, One of First Businesses Here,” November 29.

Historical sketches of pioneer families of the Logan area continue to appear frequently in the Logan *Republican*. Among the families featured in recent months were: James N. Wilson, July 19, 1962; Abram Troup, August 9; Jefferson J. Siegrist, August 23; Frank Webber, August 30 and September 6; Joseph Spiegel, September 27; and George Vielguth, November 8.

Among historical articles prepared by committees of the Morris County Historical Society and published recently in the Council Grove *Republican* were: “[George Leitch] Helped Build Morris County Court House,” by Charlotte Keith Leitch, July 19, 1962; “Ohio Township Schools—Then and Now,” September 11; and “Recall History of Beman—A Town in 1870,” by Mrs. George Eberle, October 25. On October 16 the *Republican* published a history of Council Grove Masonic Lodge No. 36. The Beman history was also printed in the *Alta Vista Journal*, October 25.

A history of Liebenthal, Rush county, by Orville Young as told to him by Martin M. Herrman and John Schmidt, was published in the Hays *Daily News*, July 22, and the *Ellis County Farmer*, Hays, July 26, 1962. The town, started in the late 1870’s, is noted for its stone buildings.

Alex and Margaret Bird were Rawlins county pioneers, arriving in the fall of 1879. A biographical sketch of the Bird family, by Ruth Kelley Hayden, appeared in the *Citizen-Patriot*, Atwood, July 26, 1962.

Notes on the Kidder massacre, taken from the news dispatches of the period by John S. Gray, appeared in *The Westerners Brand Book*, Chicago, August, 1962. Lt. Lyman S. Kidder and several men were killed by Indians in early July, 1867, in present Sherman county.

Beginning August 9, 1962, the Valley Center *Index*, published serially "The Founding of Valley Center," a master's thesis by Mrs. Herman Fann. Settlement in the Valley Center area began in 1868.

Kittie Dale is the author of a history of Humbogen published in the *Ellis Review*, August 16, 1962. The Ellis county settlement was established nearly 85 years ago by Russian immigrants.

O. W. Mosher's column, "Museum Notes," in the *Emporia Gazette* included the following articles in recent months: "Origin of [Lyon] County Township Names . . .," August 21, 1962; a series on the Kaw Indians, September 3, 7, 18, 27, October 4, 17; "Lyon County Indians [Sauk and Fox] Were Feared as Superb Fighters," October 31; and "Prairie Fires Once Caused Frequent Trouble in State," November 14.

"Old Hayes House, Family History Once Pride of Olathe, Now All But Forgotten," a story of the Col. J. E. Hayes family and residence in Olathe, by Martha C. Wood, was printed in the *Olathe Daily News*, August 21, 1962. The house, built in the late 1850's, still stands. Hayes served in the Civil War and later was state treasurer.

Early on the morning of August 21, 1863, William C. Quantrill led his band of some 400 guerrillas into Lawrence. The story of the raid is recalled in an article in the *Journal-World*, Lawrence, August 22, and in the *Hays Daily News*, August 23, 1962. Quantrill's Olathe raid, September 7, 1862, was described in the *Oswatomie Graphic-News*, October 4.

A page-length history of Argonia Rural High School was published in the *Argonia Argosy*, August 23, 1962. Although high school subjects were taught as early as 1889, it was 1905 before the high school district was organized.

"Bassett Incident 94 Years Ago Was Last Indian Trouble Here," the story of the abduction of Mrs. W. W. Bassett and her infant son by Indians in 1868, was published in the *McPherson Daily Sentinel*, August 25, 1962.

Fort Leavenworth's founding in 1827 was discussed in an article

in the *Leavenworth Times*, August 26, 1962. The site was selected by Col. Henry Leavenworth May 8, 1827.

A history of the Bank of Holyrood was published in the *Holyrood Gazette*, August 29, and in the *Bushton News*, November 8, 1962. The bank was organized in 1887.

Wilson county school district No. 80, Brooks school, was the subject of a historical article in the *Neodesha Register*, August 30, 1962. The district was organized in 1871, operating until its consolidation with other districts in 1961.

A history of Fort Harker, near present Kanopolis, by Mrs. George Sauers, was published in the *Ellsworth Reporter*, August 30, and the *Ellsworth Messenger*, September 5, 1962. The fort was established in 1864 as Fort Ellsworth.

The *Dodge City Daily Globe* published a 72-page progress edition September 3, 1962, containing stories and pictures of southwest Kansas history and progress.

"Waconda Spring Near Beloit Once Shrine of the Indians," a brief history of the famed site, by Eunice Souders, appeared in the *Salina Journal*, September 10, 1962. On September 30 the *Journal* described the last Indian raid in Kansas in 1878.

"Early Days in Kansas," the reminiscences of 92-year-old Dr. M. W. Axtell, was printed serially in the *Axtell Standard*, September 13, 20, 27, and October 4, 1962. Axtell came to Kansas as a boy, attended school at Axtell, and later practiced medicine at Irving and Argonia.

Stockton's first public cemetery was discussed briefly by Francis W. Schruben in the *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, September 20, 1962. The article includes information from the few remaining gravestones.

A 58-page diamond jubilee supplement was published as part of the September 21, 1962, number of the *Catholic Advance Register*, Wichita, publication of the dioceses of Wichita and Dodge City. The occasion was the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the diocese of Wichita.

The reminiscences of 98-year-old Mrs. Martha Francis, Hunter, written by Mary Wiles, were printed in the *Beloit Daily Call*, September 22, 1962. Mrs. Francis' family came to the Hunter area in 1872.

Kansas Historical Notes

"Fort Bissell," near Phillipsburg, torn down after 1878, has been reconstructed by the citizens of Phillipsburg as a memorial to the early settlers of the area. The new fort, consisting of cabins stocked with museum items, and enclosed by a log stockade, was opened to the public May 26, 1962.

Officers elected at the annual meeting of the Marion County Historical Society in Marion, July 20, 1962, were: L. A. Powell, president; Al Riffel, vice-president; Mrs. O. J. Shields, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. Harvey Albright, Fred Moffitt, E. G. Unruh, Emanuel Becker, and A. J. Klenda, directors.

Mrs. Elmer Sherar was re-elected president and Walter Martin first vice-president of the Douglass Historical Society at the July 30, 1962, meeting of that organization. Other officers chosen included: W. A. Graves, second vice-president; and Mrs. Turia Bolington, secretary-treasurer.

Over 200 persons attended the Jackson county old settlers' dinner and reunion, September 7, 1962, at Holton. Featured speakers were Ruth Kittle, a daughter of Jackson county pioneers, who recalled experiences of the early settlers, and Mrs. Alice Moulden, who gave a biography of Green Campbell for whom Campbell College, former Holton school, was named. New officers elected by the group were: the Rev. Alex Eckert, president; Harley Manuel, vice-president; R. E. Singer, secretary; and Bertha Hinnen, treasurer. Mrs. Winifred M. Nelson was the retiring president.

All Chase County Historical Society officers were re-elected at the society's annual meeting September 8, 1962, in Cottonwood Falls. They are: William Selves, Sr., Cottonwood Falls, president; Paul B. Wood, Elmdale, vice-president; Mrs. Mildred Speer, Cottonwood Falls, secretary; and George T. Dawson, Elmdale, treasurer. Directors appointed were: Dawson, Wood, Wayne Rogler, and Dr. Harry M. Wilcox.

C. L. Hubbell was chosen president of the Hodgeman County Historical Society at a meeting September 10, 1962, in Jetmore. Other officers elected were: Bert Brumfield, vice-president; Frances Pitts, secretary; Mrs. Lida S. Bengé, treasurer; and Mrs. Lula Jones, Mrs. Bengé, and Mrs. Gladys B. Wright, directors. Brumfield was the retiring president.

Ninety persons attended the 15th annual meeting of the Sons and Daughters of Pioneers of Stanton and Spring Ridge townships, Miami county, September 21, 1962, in Spring Ridge Hall. Howard Mannen was elected president; Dorothy Nutt, vice-president and treasurer; and Arline Sprague, secretary and reporter, for the coming year. Robert W. Richmond of the Kansas State Historical Society, addressed the group on the "Lighter Side of Kansas History."

Members of the Crawford County Historical Society re-elected all officers at their fall meeting September 28, 1962, in Pittsburg. They include: Mrs. A. N. Ligon, Pittsburg, president; Robert O. Karr, Girard, vice-president; Mrs. R. P. Emmitt, Pittsburg, secretary; Flora Holroyd, Pittsburg, treasurer; and Lora Allen, Pittsburg, corresponding secretary. William H. Matthews, Pittsburg, addressed the group on "History of Early Coal Mining in Southeastern Kansas."

B. F. Park was re-elected president of the Franklin County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting, September 30, 1962, in Ottawa. Loren Latimer was chosen vice-president; W. S. Bowers, secretary; and Alma Schweitzer, treasurer. The organization's trustees are: Bowers, F. H. Parks, Mrs. Harry Cochrane, Franklin P. Baker, Mrs. B. Fleming, Mrs. G. R. Belt, and Glen Gillette.

Baxter Springs' Chamber of Commerce opened a historical museum in the C. of C. building October 6, 1962, the 99th anniversary of the Quantrill raid at Baxter Springs.

Loren Hahn was re-elected president of the Lane County Historical Society at the annual meeting of the society, October 9, 1962, in Dighton. Other officers selected were: R. J. Tillotson, vice-president; Mrs. Henry York, treasurer; and Mrs. R. J. Tillotson, program chairman.

New officers chosen by the Ottawa County Historical Society at a meeting in Tescott, October 13, 1962, were: Dr. L. B. Eustace, president; A. R. Miller, vice-president; Josephine Halberstadt, secretary; Elsie Ballou, treasurer; and Zella Heald, public relations chairman. Miller was the retiring president.

Mrs. W. G. Anderson was re-elected president of the Cowley County Historical Society at a meeting in Winfield, October 16, 1962. Other officers, also re-elected, are: Mrs. Cloud Huston, vice-president; Mrs. Paul Guy, secretary; and Lena Williams, treasurer.

Officers elected at the annual meeting of the Leavenworth Historical Society, October 22, 1962, were: Edward J. Chapman, Jr., president; Donald E. Bachtel, first vice-president; Ed Reilly, Jr., second

vice-president; Mrs. R. B. Deffenbaugh, recording secretary; Mrs. Charles Fogarty, corresponding secretary; and Ormand Leavel, Jr., treasurer. Other business included the adoption of a new constitution which provides for incorporation of the group.

Officers of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society for 1963 are: Mrs. O. N. Eggleston, president; Mrs. Granville Bush, first vice-president; Mrs. John Cochran, second vice-president; Mrs. Reginald Miller, recording secretary; Mrs. Pearl Miller, corresponding secretary; Joan Barkley, treasurer; Mrs. Tom Davis, historian; Mrs. Robert Withers, curator; Mrs. James Glenn Bell, member-in-waiting; Mrs. Stella Smith, parliamentarian; and Mrs. J. S. Tarr, chaplain. Mrs. George W. Cox was the retiring president.

All officers of the Smith County Historical Society were re-elected at the society's annual meeting, November 1, 1962, in Smith Center. They include: Lincoln Strong, president; Roy Lumpkin, first vice-president; Emmett Womer, second vice-president; Mrs. Van Venables, secretary; and Mrs. Claude Diehl, treasurer. Mrs. Mamie Boyd, Mankato, was guest speaker at the meeting.

The annual meeting of the Morris County Historical Society was held in Council Grove, November 1, 1962. R. W. Hunter, White City, was elected president; Morris S. Dowell, Council Grove, vice-president; Mrs. Howard Strouts, Wilsey, recording secretary; Mrs. Alvin Lowe, Council Grove, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Robert Oleen, Dwight, treasurer. Neosho Fredenburg was the retiring president. Thomas Witty, archaeologist for the Kansas State Historical Society, was the featured speaker at the gathering.

New officers chosen by the Comanche County Historical Society at a meeting in Coldwater, November 10, 1962, were: Melvin Parcel, president; Marvin Plank, vice-president; Laura Lohrding, record secretary; and F. H. Moberley, treasurer. Ward Butcher was the retiring president. The principal address at the gathering was given by the Rev. Ernest Lawrence of Wilmore.

The Clark County Historical Society's annual meeting and pioneer mixer was held November 17, 1962, in Ashland. At the business session Mrs. Phyllis Seacat Shattuck was elected president; Mrs. Louise Cauthers Berryman, vice-president; Rhea Gross, first honorary vice-president; and Mrs. Venna Wilson Valentine, second honorary vice-president. Miss Gross was the retiring president. Benjamin O. Weaver, Mullinville, was the principal speaker at the gathering.

A McPherson County Historical Society was organized at a meeting in McPherson, November 26, 1962. Temporary officers were elected as follows: James A. Cassler, president; Anton Peterson, vice-president; Mrs. George R. Lehmberg, secretary; Robert Bartels, treasurer; and John Ash, Chester Peterson, L. H. Ruppenthal, Mrs. John Kubin, Nick Neufeld, and John P. Krehbiel, directors.

Paul Sanders, Belle Plaine, was chosen president of the Sumner County Historical Society at a meeting in Oxford, November 26, 1962. Other officers selected for 1962 are: John C. Orr, Conway Springs, vice-president; Mrs. Elmer Dill, Belle Plaine, secretary; Elmer Dill, Belle Plaine, treasurer; Raymond Cline, Conway Springs, public relations; Mrs. David Heeney, South Haven, historian; and Opal Vulgamore, Milton, photographer. Directors of the society are: Freda Earles, Argonia; Harry Jenista, Caldwell; Wallace Champeny, Oxford; David Heeney, South Haven; Roy Frantz, Conway Springs; Elmer Holt, Wellington; and Millard Ross, Mulvane. Jenista was the retiring president.

Dr. Daniel Boorstin, University of Chicago, was the principal speaker at a seminar for high school teachers and students of history held at Southwestern College, Winfield, November 28, 1962. Another feature of the program was a panel discussion on "The Agrarian Problem Abroad." It is planned to make the seminar a biennial event.

Cyclone Carry—The Story of Carry Nation, by Carleton Beals, a 364-page book published in 1962 by the Chilton Company, Philadelphia and New York, is a biography of the colorful Kansas saloon "smasher."

Nineteen essays presented at the Conference on the History of Western America in Santa Fe, October 12-14, 1961, have been published in 1962, by the Museum of New Mexico Press, Santa Fe, in a 216-page volume entitled *Probing the American West*.

I. P. "Print" Olive's life is the theme of Harry E. Chrisman's new 426-page book, *The Ladder of Rivers*, published in 1962 by Alan Swallow, Denver. A comprehensive picture of the range cattle industry is revealed through the story of this colorful Texas cowman.

A 593-page volume entitled *Independent Historical Societies*, by Walter Muir Whitehill, was published in 1962 by the Boston Athenaeum. The study includes the history, the holdings, and the work of many of the independent societies. Somewhat briefer reviews of some of the state-supported societies are also included.

Mildred P. Mayhall is the author of a 315-page book entitled *The Kiowas*, published recently by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. The author traces the Kiowas' evolution from mountain dwellers, to Plains nomads, and finally to settlement on a reservation.

Rider on the Wind—Jim Lane and Kansas, a 228-page book by Kendall E. Bailes, was published in 1962 by the Wagon Wheel Press, 5832 Woodward, Shawnee Mission, Kan.

Two Diaries is the title of a 135-page volume published in 1962 by the Denver Public Library. The diaries are those of Calvin Perry Clark, who traveled by wagon train from Illinois to Denver in 1859, and his sister, Helen E. Clark, who made a similar journey in 1860.

A History of Steamboating on the Upper Missouri River, a 215-page work by William E. Lass, was published by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, in 1962.

George E. Hyde is the author of a new 295-page book entitled *Indians of the Woodlands: From Prehistoric Times to 1725*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. It is a companion volume to his *Indians of the High Plains: From the Prehistoric Period to the Coming of the Europeans*.

The State Parks—Their Meaning in American Life, by Freeman Tilden, is a 507-page volume published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, in 1962.

Bliss Isely is the author of a new biographical account of the early days of George Washington entitled *The Horseman of the Shenandoah*, published early in 1963 by the Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee.

Biographies of 14 American women who pioneered in fields "closed to their sex" are included in Madeleine B. Stern's *We the Women*, a 403-page volume published early in 1963 by the Schulte Publishing Co., New York. One of them is Lucy Hobbs Taylor, first American woman doctor of dental surgery, who for many years practiced dentistry in Lawrence.



The Kansas Historical Quarterly



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CONTENTS

	PAGE
ERASTUS D. LADD'S DESCRIPTION OF THE LAWRENCE MASSACRE	Russell E. Bidlack, 113
With a reproduction of a water color of the Quantrill raid on Lawrence by Mrs. Lauretta Louise Fox Fisk, <i>facing</i> p. 113.	
A PREFACE TO THE SETTLEMENT OF KANSAS	Dorothy V. Jones, 122
THE MUNICIPAL CAMPGROUNDS OF KANSAS	Clinton Warne, 137
KANSAS BEFORE 1854: A Revised Annals, Part Ten, 1838-1839	Compiled by Louise Barry, 143
With a reproduction of a segment of Hutawa's map (1842) showing the Fort Leavenworth vicinity, <i>facing</i> p. 160, and Ado Hunnius' sketch of Pawnee Rock in 1867, <i>facing</i> p. 161.	
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY, Compiled by Alberta Pantle, Librarian,	190
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	217
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	220
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	228

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Second-class postage has been paid at Topeka, Kan.

THE COVER

"Hutchinson's Automobile Fire Department" as reproduced from a German-made post card. Although the picture is undated, presumably it can be labeled "the early 1900's."



The Quantrill raid on Lawrence in the early morning of August 21, 1863, as depicted in water color by Mrs. Louisa Fox Fisk (1866-1919). She was the wife of Dr. D. M. Fisk, head of the sociological department of Washburn College, Topeka. Her scene possibly was based on Sherman Enderton's earlier sketch (reproduced on the cover of the Summer, 1960, issue of this magazine).

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Erastus D. Ladd's Description of the Lawrence Massacre

RUSSELL E. BIDLACK

I. INTRODUCTION

THE guerrilla raid on Lawrence by William C. Quantrill's band of Missouri ruffians is remembered as one of the most shocking episodes of the Civil War. Sweeping into the town of over 2,000 at dawn on August 21, 1863, a force of perhaps 450 bushwhackers obeyed their commander's order to "kill every man big enough to carry a gun." In the course of about four hours, some 150 male citizens of Lawrence were killed. This massacre and its aftermath give substance to the historian's claim that, of all human conflict, civil war is the most cruel.

Although to their dying day, most survivors remembered the Lawrence massacre as the most horrible four hours of their lives, relatively few eye-witness accounts have survived. While doing research recently among old Michigan newspapers, the present writer found such an account in the forgotten pages of a weekly called the *Marshall Statesman* of September 16, 1863. It is in the form of a letter written just nine days after the raid by Erastus D. Ladd who had migrated to Kansas in 1854 as a member of the Second party of the Emigrant Aid Company. The letter was written to Ladd's father in Marshall, Mich.

The name of Erastus D. Ladd is familiar to Kansas historians, for they have frequently quoted from a series of his letters which were published in the Milwaukee (Wis.) *Sentinel* during the 1850's. These letters describe his arrival in Kansas, the organization of the town of Lawrence, and the subsequent conflict which gave rise to the name "Bleeding Kansas." Similar letters written by Ladd and published in the *Marshall Statesman*, including the one describ-

DR. RUSSELL E. BIDLACK, native of Iowa, did his graduate work at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He became a teaching fellow in the department of library science in 1948 and has continued on the faculty where he is now an associate professor. He has published a number of articles and papers, including *Letters Home, the Story of Ann Arbor's Forty-Niners* (Ann Arbor, Ann Arbor Publishers, 1960).

ing the Lawrence raid, have been unknown to historians. Transcripts of these letters have been deposited in the Kansas State Historical Society by the present writer.

Erastus D. Ladd was born on September 10, 1815, in Otsego county, New York, and died at his home in Wakarusa township, Douglas county, Kansas, on August 24, 1872. His father was Samuel Ladd, a shoemaker by trade who was also something of an adventurer. About 1830 Samuel Ladd moved his family to Canada where he "engaged in trade and warehousing."¹ About 1840 he moved again, this time to the youthful town of Marshall, Mich., where he opened a leather store. A native of Vermont, Samuel Ladd was an active abolitionist and infused in his son a similar zeal for the destruction of the "peculiar institution."

The formal education of Erastus Ladd was limited, although he did attend the Wesleyan Seminary at Laurens, N. Y., before the family moved to Canada. After coming to Marshall, young Ladd became a partner with his father in the leather business under the corporate name "S. and E. D. Ladd." Not content to remain a shoemaker, however, Erastus set out to improve his status. He read extensively, studied law, and, in 1847, became an agent for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Included in his reading were the works of Emanuel Swedenborg, and he became a convert to the New Jerusalem Church. The telegraphic experiments of Samuel Morse intrigued him, and in 1848, while the line was being erected between Buffalo and Cleveland, Ladd went east, learned the telegraph business, and became the first manager of the telegraph office in Chicago. Later he was transferred to Milwaukee, but in 1854 he abandoned his new profession to join the New England Emigrant Aid Company in its settlement of Kansas.

Erastus Ladd, accompanied by a younger brother, John A. Ladd, joined the so-called Second party sent out by the Emigrant Aid Company. When it departed from Boston on August 29, 1854, this group comprised a total of 67 individuals, but as it moved westward additional emigrants boarded its train until the original number was doubled. The Ladd brothers joined the party at Chicago on September 1. In a letter written a week later, Erastus Ladd characterized the membership of the Second party as follows:

At Chicago . . . I met the Kansas party from the east, numbering about 100 men, 15 women and some score or more of children. They are of such an appearance, and a limited acquaintance has satisfied me of such a character, as shall make a conspicuous mark in the character of the institutions

1. Warren Ladd, *The Ladd Family* (New Bedford, Mass., Privately Printed, 1890), p. 140.

which shall prevail in this "center of the world." They are hardy and industrious—intelligent and moral, with a determination never to admit, to the least extent, any application of the principle of Slavery in Kansas, at the same time they will not interfere with the business concerns of their neighbors in the slave states.²

On September 13 the party reached its destination in Kansas, at the site of present Lawrence—sometimes referred to as Waukarusa or Yankee Town in the early days. Writing to his father on the 17th, Ladd noted:

You must understand there is not a house here, with the exception of one log hut, about half a mile from us, and the next cabin is 6 miles East, and one 6 miles West. . . . As far as the country is concerned, there is nothing like it in the world. The city will be laid out very soon, 1½ miles wide back from the river, and 2 miles on the river. . . . We are scattered all over the prairie and wood land to keep claims from the Missourians.³

On September 19 the First party, which had arrived on August 1, joined with the Second party to form the "Lawrence Association of Kansas Territory," and a constitution was drawn up. On the following day officers were elected, Dr. Charles Robinson being chosen as president. Erastus Ladd was elected to the dual office of register of deeds and claims and clerk of the court. In a letter to Seth Lewis, editor of the *Marshall Statesman*, Ladd confided that his was "the best paying office in the association."⁴ A little later he was chosen as the town's postmaster, and at the election of May 22, 1855, he was elected a member of the first territorial legislature. Like other Free-State members, however, Ladd was expelled when the so-called "Bogus Legislature" met in July. At the first election in which Free-State men afterwards participated, in 1857, Ladd was elected a justice of the peace, an office which he still held, along with that of register of deeds and claims, at the time of the Lawrence massacre.

As Lawrence grew and prospered, so also did the material possessions of Erastus Ladd. When the 1860 census was taken, he was credited with real estate valued at ten thousand dollars. When his name appeared in print, it was usually followed by "Esq.," and he owned a large house on Massachusetts street in the most fashionable part of town.

The Proslavery population of Kansas looked upon the town as a center of abolitionism and the particular stronghold of the hated Emigrant Aid Society. In 1856 occurred the so-called "sack of

2. Letter of E. D. Ladd to the Milwaukee (Wis.) *Sentinel*, September 8, 1854, reprinted in the Marshall (Mich.) *Statesman*, October 4, 1854.

3. Letter of E. D. Ladd to Samuel Ladd, September 17, 1854, printed in the *Marshall Statesman*, October 4, 1854.

4. Letter of E. D. Ladd to Seth Lewis, September 24, 1854, printed in *ibid.*, October 11, 1854.

Lawrence," and, in the years following, numerous other "incidents" which kept the town in a constant state of apprehension. Nor was Lawrence merely a passive victim. More than one antislavery raiding party had its origin in the town, and more than one Lawrence family possessed articles of dress, furniture, and livestock which could be characterized by but one word—loot. The blood of Bleeding Kansas was not shed altogether by one side.

On November 10, 1855, Erastus Ladd was married to Mary W. Tribou of Middleborough, Mass. Their only child, a son, died shortly after birth, and on January 22, 1857, Mrs. Ladd died of consumption. On October 24, 1858, Erastus Ladd was married to Eliza Jane Blackford. At the time of the Lawrence massacre there were three children of this latter union: Emma, Georgie, and Winnie.

As indicated in the letter to his father, Ladd returned to Lawrence shortly after the bushwhackers left. Within a few days, he and his family were able to set up housekeeping in three rooms of one of the houses that had escaped the torch. Shortly thereafter, however, Ladd became ill with what was described as a fever "owing to exposure." Although he gradually recovered from the fever, his health was permanently damaged, and at the close of the war he retired to a farm near Lawrence. There he died on August 24, 1872, at the age of fifty-six. The following paragraph was contained in his obituary published in *The Daily Kansas Tribune*:

For the past few years, he has resided on a farm in Wakarusa township, respected and honored by all who knew him as one of the worthiest of the brave pioneers of freedom who established liberty and equal rights in Kansas. He was a worthy, intelligent, useful citizen, and his death will be lamented by all who knew him. He leaves a widow and several children to lament his loss, for whom the most earnest sympathy is felt by the entire community.⁵

II. THE LAWRENCE MASSACRE

LAWRENCE, KAN., Aug. 30, 1863.

DEAR FATHER:—

* * * It was five minutes past five o'clock, when I got up and went down stairs. I stepped out on the porch on the south side of my kitchen, and was standing there for a moment, when I heard, first, two or three scattering shots, followed immediately by a dozen or more in quick succession, in a south-easterly direction, but hidden from my view by houses. The shots were accompanied by cheers, or rather yells. In a few moments, as I stood looking, some three or

5. "Death of Hon. Erastus D. Ladd," *The Daily Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, August 27, 1872.

four negroes from the camp, which was some forty rods from where I stood, came rushing by, hallooing, "The secesh have come!" As I looked, the head of the column of fiends rushed down the street on which the camp was, full in my view, and commenced shooting down the boys in camp near by. There were twenty-five boys there at the time, of whom they shot down and killed nineteen. How the rest escaped I do not know. I estimated there were some two hundred of the devils. There were about three hundred altogether. I saw that, too truly, "the secesh had come!" I went to call Eliza, but she was already up. We commenced to get up and dress the children as fast as possible. We saw that every man was shot down at sight. When they had rode into the main street, and commenced their hellish work, they immediately broke into squads and rushed through all the streets, killing every man they saw, probably in order to prevent any concentration or organization on our part for defense. They rode up and down the streets seeking victims. As soon as all danger of opposition was over they commenced to rob and plunder the houses and barns, and fire them. Eliza at first insisted that I should stay with the family, which I proposed to do, at least for the time, but when she saw them shooting every man they found, she insisted that I should run and get out of town. I concluded, however, that it was better for me to stay until the first fury of the assault was passed; for, to be discovered in the street was certain death. I told her so, and remained. To this fact I probably owe my life.

When they came to plundering and burning, the streets were comparatively clear. When they were near my house, or along the street, I would go into my cellar; and when they were temporarily absent, I would come up and watch the progress of affairs from the windows or porches. The first fire I saw was a large barn, about one hundred feet from my house. They had taken the only horse in it, and then set it on fire. In the course of time it came our turn. I was in the cellar. A devil came to the door with a cocked revolver in his hand, and called Eliza out. He demanded if I was in the house. She told him I was not. He demanded her money, jewelry and arms. She gave him what she had. He then broke up some chairs, and tore up some books, piled them up in the dining room, and in the kitchen, and set them on fire. He was a perfect demon. She begged for five minutes time to get out some things. He would not give her a moment. I heard the flames crackling and roaring over my head. I expected, however, that I should be able to escape through the outside cellar door, which

I had fastened on the inside, after he should have left the house, and before I should suffer from the heat. He told Eliza if she put out the fire it would be a damned sight worse for her. He then went to the next house. Eliza got some water and put out the fire in the dining-room, and partially in the kitchen. I supposed she had done so altogether, but she, fearing if it was put out entirely that they would be there again, before I could get away, threw some paper on the kitchen fire, and let it burn.

When the fellow had gone, I came up from the cellar, took an observation, saw that the fellow was out of sight, in the next house, and that no one was passing on the street—although there were some in sight above and below, but they were not approaching, being otherwise engaged—took the children's wagon, put Emma in it, and Georgie in her lap, took Winnie by the hand, and Eliza, a bundle of clothing for them and herself, and a change—a thin coat, vest, and pants—for me, in a pillow-slip, and we went boldly out into the street, crossed over it, went along the road out of town for about two miles, and were not disturbed. The road led out west, at right angles with the street. When we had gone a few rods, one of them crossed before us a few feet on another street, but he was walking his horse leisurely along, as though he was satisfied with what he had done. He had three or four muskets across the horn of his saddle, before him. He glanced at us, but said nothing, and I made no effort to attract his attention, I assure you. When we had gone about a mile, as we turned the corner of a fence, we saw two of their pickets some rods ahead of us. We turned to go in the opposite direction, and confronted two more that way. We turned back, and I told those with me—for there were at this time some ten or twelve women and children along—that I thought the first-mentioned were persons from the country, who had rode in so far to see what was going on, and we would go that way, as it was in the course of the place we were going to. As we approached them they turned and rode off towards some others, and left the road clear. I was told afterwards they were pickets.

Soon we passed along and out to our friends, Rev. Mr. Brown's, of the Unitarian Church. Here we found a large number of persons already collected, among whom were several men, and as we were in full view of some six or seven horsemen who appeared to be pickets, we thought we had better disperse. So, leaving the women and children at the house, we scattered through the cornfield, and along a ravine in the rear of the house, and remained there secreted

about an hour and a half, when word came that the devils had left the town, or were leaving.

I then went back to town. I went away from my house hoping that the devils would not go back to it again, after the fire was put out, and so it would be saved, not knowing, till we had gone a long ways, that we had left it burning. But I presume they would have fired it again. Many houses were burnt after that, just as they were leaving town. Many were set on fire several times, and the women put them out, some of which were finally saved. I presume half of the houses were saved by the women putting out the fires after the devils had left them. Perhaps this is too large an estimate, but a great many were thus saved, and among them some of our best dwellings.

I will not attempt to describe the desolation which I saw on my return to our town, which was just in the full tide of the greatest prosperity it had ever seen. I could not describe it if I would. I cannot do better than those have done who have written for the papers, and still *they* have utterly failed. Many of our best men were murdered. All, except one of our best blocks of buildings have been consumed, a large portion of our town destroyed, and all of it sacked and plundered. As to the amount of property destroyed, the many horses and goods taken, &c., the papers have informed you better than I can. Eliza and the children came in towards night of that day, and, through the kindness of friends, we have had a home, or rather several stopping places until yesterday, when we moved into a part of a house. We have three small rooms, blackened with smoke, and glass most all broken by the heat, (for it was set on fire among the last, and put out after they left the town) for which we pay nine dollars per month. By buying, borrowing, and (not begging) donations, we have got a few things to keep house with.

My office was saved in the only good block of buildings, not destroyed. That block was on fire, and was put out after the fiends had left. I have a great many small accounts on my docket, due me, but cannot collect much of them. My loss was from \$2,000 to \$2,500 in my house and contents. My official business is almost entirely suspended, as nearly all the liquor shops in town are destroyed, and consequently there are no violations of law and order. This is a great blessing, but it cuts off my principal source of living. Civil suits are not brought on, as everybody has been robbed, and there is no money to pay costs and judgments with.

I will mention one or two circumstances of that day that I

have omitted. I was frequently inquired for specially on that day by the devils, and I am informed they forced one of our men to point out my house to them. When they left town, one of them was cut off from the company and captured, about four miles east of town. After taking from him the money, said to be \$1,000, and the plunder he had strapped to his saddle, they brought him to town to deliver him into the hands of the citizens, for summary punishment. When on the way here, he told his captors that he tried to kill me, and if a lady had not beckoned me in once, he should have done so. He had sworn vengeance against me before, because of some proceedings against him before me.

Now, father, why have we been so terribly punished? why so infinitely worse than any other place in all the history of this war? why beyond comparison and precedent, except in the war of the British and Sepoys, in India, or some of the wars with the savages in our own history? Our city has been a doomed city in the feelings and intentions of the rebels since 1854, when we came here. They have only awaited their opportunity. It has come, and they have had their revenge. Kansas was the first territory, and Lawrence the first place where this great strife and war between freedom and slavery took an active form—where this power of hell was first told, "Thus far, no farther, come." As Lawrence was the representative of a principle in all that great revolution, so, as such representative, has the hellish hate of that infernal power been poured out upon her devoted head, and she feels to rejoice that she is counted worthy to receive such a baptism of blood, and fire, and desolation.

Quantrell said here, after he had satiated his hate and revenge, the he was now "ready to die." A universal shout will go up from every part of slavedom, and from the infernal regions, when this event shall have reached their ears.

Now what is the duty of the country, of the freedom-loving portion of the country, in this case? *Lawrence should never be permitted to be blotted out.* Her noble and lamented dead cannot be restored, but their memories can be cherished and honored, and her waste places can be built up and restored. Her pecuniary losses should be made up to her in full;—her other and more serious losses, and her sad and harrowing experiences should suffice for her share. Who would voluntarily endure the latter for all that was lost in the former? Good God! the recollection of it is overwhelming!

Our neighboring cities are doing well. Leavenworth has contributed some \$15,000, Kansas City from \$3,000 to \$5,000, Atchison

a large amount, which has come here in clothing and provisions for the destitute—85 WIDOWS, and 240 ORPHANS! only think of it, and other sufferers—and St. Louis and Chicago are taking hold, and other places will do so. But, as I said before, the relief of suffering and distress is not all the country owes to Lawrence. It should make up every farthing of the losses incurred in this raid. Nothing less will satisfy justice, and even then its indebtedness to Lawrence will scarcely have begun to be liquidated.

Should Marshall do her share in paying this just debt, I can assure you that we have a committee, (of whom I do not happen to be one, and hence can speak freely) who will see that your wishes are strictly and honestly carried out.

* * *

Yours &c.

ERASTUS.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: The asterisks at the beginning and the end of this letter have been copied as they appear in the newspaper. They were doubtless used to show omissions of personal matters. This letter appeared in the Marshall (Mich.) *Statesman* of September 16, 1863.]

A Preface to the Settlement of Kansas

DOROTHY V. JONES

The Removal act of May 28, 1830, authorized the President to treat with any tribe of Indians living within any state or territory regarding an exchange of their lands for land west of the Mississippi. Debate on the bill and subsequent publicity centered on the large Southern tribes, but several thousand Northern Indians were also affected by it and, under its provisions, moved to new homes in what is now Kansas.

COL. JAMES B. GARDINER was tired when he sat down to write a letter to the commissary general of subsistence in the war department in Washington, and his weariness, shows through the courtesies of 19th century correspondence. He was tired of traveling about Ohio to hold councils with the 800 Indians who had agreed to move to new homes west of the Mississippi. The removal treaties had been signed in late summer, 1831,¹ with the understanding that removal would begin early the following spring. Spring, however, was one long succession of difficulties and delays, and it was June 20, 1832, when the weary Gardiner sat down to write yet another letter to Washington. The Indians were, he wrote, at last ready to move.²

So was Gardiner. He was tired of waiting. Above all, he was tired of the government regulations that kept him from making necessary preparations. Prices of corn and meal were high and would go higher before the summer was out. The new crop was poor and would not be in the mills in time to do the emigrating Indians any good. If he could buy *now* what would have to be bought anyway before the emigrants left Ohio, he could save the government \$1,000.³

But no. He could not spend one penny, nor could he let contracts for provisions and transportation even though he was in charge of the Ohio emigration. All money matters had to be

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1. July 20, 1831, the mixed band of Seneca and Shawnee Indians living at and around Lewiston, Ohio; August 8, the Shawnee Indians of Wapakoneta and Hog creek; August 30, the Ottawas living on Blanchard's Fork of the Great Auglaize river, and on the Little Auglaize river at Oquanoxie's village.—C. J. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (4 vols., Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 327-339.

2. "Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of Indians Between the 30th November, 1831, and 27th December, 1833 . . ." 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512* (5 vols.; hereafter abbreviated to *Doc.*) v. 1, p. 689.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 691.

handled by a disbursing officer from the regular army. "If I am not to make *any* disbursements," he wrote, and added stiffly, "(and I have no *desire* to do so), some person must be continually with me, *at all times and places*, as my purchases, though comparatively small, will be multifarious, and must be made in a great variety of places, as necessity or expediency may require."⁴

Then Gardiner's dignity slipped enough to reveal his exasperation with Lewis Cass, secretary of war. He had clearly understood, he wrote, that each superintendent of Indian emigration would be allowed to disburse his own funds under a system of strict accountability, ". . . but the Secretary thought otherwise, and his opinions are certainly entitled to the highest respect, aside from the authority to enforce them: yet, I shall be much mistaken if he does not become convinced that his plan in this particular will not operate as much like *clock work* as he anticipated."⁵

By the end of June, 1832, the plans for the Ohio emigration were already moving like a clock with a wobbly balance wheel. Most of the Ohio Indians had not planted corn that spring, and had sold their cattle and hogs in anticipation of an early move. Some of them were already short of food. As Gardiner traveled among them, counseling patience and economy, he had to buy food and tobacco for them out of his own pocket.⁶ On June 23 Gardiner wrote directly to Cass that if the disbursing officer were not already on the way then he himself should immediately be authorized to purchase rations. "I cannot anticipate any impediments which will prevent us from setting out early in August, if we are not delayed by the *want of funds*. . . ."⁷

Impediments promptly appeared. The summer of 1832 was full of impediments which Gardiner and the war department could neither anticipate nor prevent. There was the Black Hawk war, for one, and Asiatic cholera for another. In May of that year, Black Hawk and a band of Sac and Fox Indians had blundered into open conflict with the militia on the northern Illinois frontier. On the face of it, there was no reason why this should affect the Ohio emigration, although some people worried that the Ohio Indians might be drawn into the war or made restless by it. Gardiner notified the war department in June that there was abso-

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 689, 691.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 697.

lutely no cause for alarm: "I can confidently assure you that no fears are necessary on that subject."⁸

By the first part of July, Gen. Winfield Scott was on his way to Illinois with regular troops from the Atlantic states, and the effects of the war began to be felt in Ohio and to upset Gardiner's plans for an early August departure. The administrative mills had been grinding away on the problem of a disbursing officer for the Ohio emigration. Special orders were sent to Lt. Joseph Clay at Newark, N. J., but Lieutenant Clay was already on his way west with General Scott's troops. Meanwhile Gardiner had been told to spend no money and let no contracts until Clay's arrival in Ohio. By the time the office of the commissary general of subsistence learned that Lieutenant Clay was not available for duty in Ohio, the lieutenant was on board a steamboat bound for Detroit. And by the time Gardiner wrote to inform Washington that "Lieutenant Clay has not yet arrived," Joseph Clay of the 4th U. S. infantry had been dead five days of Asiatic cholera. The summer of 1832 was getting underway.⁹

With the appearance of cholera in the West,¹⁰ Gardiner's real troubles began. Inadequate communication, as in the case of Lieutenant Clay, had slowed the Ohio emigration to a crawl; cholera brought it to a dead stop. For some time the Indians had been protesting the government's plans to send them west by boat. As Gardiner explained:

They are more allied to their ancient customs than any other people on earth. They scarcely ever change a trail when once made, however crooked or circuitous, and they now wish to travel "*in the manner of their fathers.*" They know nothing about steamboats. They do not wish to "*move by fire,*" nor to be scalded "*like the white man cleans his hog.*" [Boiler explosions were a hazard of steamboat travel in the 1830's.] Some of their little children might be drowned. Their native modesty revolts at the use of the only convenience on board a boat to obey the calls of nature. They have many horses, too, from which they could not be induced to part for any consideration whatever. These, and many other arguments, they use, in the most forcible and importunate manner, in favor of selecting a route by land.¹¹

The reply from Washington was that President Jackson was de-

8. *Ibid.*, p. 689.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 102, 614, 699; J. S. Chambers, *The Conquest of Cholera* (N. Y., 1938), pp. 87, 90.

10. Asiatic cholera first appeared in America in the spring of 1832. It was carried to Quebec and Montreal by immigrants from Ireland. The disease spread quickly with the dispersal of the immigrants to New York and west through the Erie Canal to the Great Lakes. Accurate mortality records for the whole U. S. are not available but scattered reports indicate mortality was high. Contemporary writers estimated that in New Orleans, alone, 6,000 died from cholera in the fall of that year.—Chambers, *op cit.*, pp. 24-118.

11. *Doc.*, v. 1, p. 690.

terminated that the Indians should go by boat; Gardiner must tell them the plan was unalterable.¹²

There were good reasons for the policy and for its firm application. By the summer of 1832 the government had had enough experience with emigrating Indians to know some of the problems involved. If the Indians started late in the season, as they usually seemed to do, cold weather overtook them long before they arrived at their new homes. Their inclination was to settle down wherever this happened, and live off the country until spring. This inevitably led to trouble with white settlers nearby. Then, too, Indians traveling by land were far easier prey for the gamblers and whisky peddlers who hung about their camps. The summer was slipping by. For their own good the Ohio Indians must be gotten under way, and for their own protection they must go by boat. Thus, the government's intentions.

But the Shawnees at Wapakoneta and Hog creek, the Ottawas on the Auglaize rivers, and the mixed band at Lewistown, were not impressed. They had little reason to make plans on the basis of the government's good intentions. Good intentions had not authorized their removal in time to make crops on their new land. Good intentions had not yet sent them anyone who could spend money for preparations. Besides, Washington and the President were far away. In their own villages were traders, men they had known all their lives perhaps, who assured the Indians that boilers on the Western river boats frequently blew passengers to bits. These were men who had given more than one Indian the medicine he needed when his child was sick, who had lent others money for traps and a gun,¹³ and were very likely lending many of them money to live on while they waited on the government. The Indians knew these men and believed what they said—and *they* said to go by land.

Then came the news that cholera was on the Great Lakes. There were cases in Detroit and in Cleveland. Most of the river towns were stricken. The Indians refused outright to go by boat. On July 23 Gardiner wrote to Washington and asked that the matter be laid before the President.¹⁴

In the midst of this confusion, Lt. J. F. Lane arrived in Ohio. He was Lieutenant Clay's replacement as disbursing officer, but he also had orders to investigate the land vs. water dispute. On

12. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

13. For this seldom-noted aspect of the trader's character, see F. E. Leupp, *The Indian and His Problem* (N. Y., 1910), pp. 188-191, quoted in Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs* (Baltimore, 1927), pp. 266, 267.

14. *Doc.*, v. 4, p. 113.

July 31 he reported his conviction that only harsh measures would induce the Indians to go by water. He was sure their attitude was "owing to the intrigues of interested persons," but matters had gone too far to remedy, and he agreed with Gardiner that the Indians should be allowed to travel overland.¹⁵ In their three months' association, this is almost the only time that Lane and Gardiner agreed on anything.

For one thing, Lane complained, Gardiner would not furnish him estimates of expenses either by land or water. These he would try to determine himself. Meanwhile: "I shall await here an alteration in the present singular position of the measures for removal."¹⁶

The "present position" was maddening but, as Gardiner could have told Lane, it was by no means singular. Communication was, as usual, far behind the event. When Lane arrived in Ohio to get the emigration under way at last, he discovered that the \$10,000 supposedly placed to his credit in the United States Bank at Cincinnati, was not there. Bank officials knew nothing about it.¹⁷ Now Lane began composing urgent letters to Washington.

His letters arrived in a city where official channels got longer and slower every day, as more and more government officials left town to escape the heat and the cholera. Lane's dilemma, which was fairly routine, could be handled by the remaining war department staff. They had only to check the files to discover that on July 23 a letter had been written notifying him that the money had been deposited. Time would take care of the rest, although on July 31, nearly two weeks after his arrival, Lane still had no money.¹⁸

Gardiner's request for special permission to remove the Indians by land was something else again. The acting commissary general of subsistence referred the matter to the acting secretary of war, who considered it for a time and then referred it to President Jackson, who was not in Washington but at The Hermitage in Tennessee.¹⁹ In Ohio the Indians waited, and used up their capital.

Two weeks of August dragged by. Then a third. The reservations swarmed with traders, gamblers, whisky sellers, creditors, peddlers of every description. Lieutenant Lane urged the war department not to pay the Indians for the improvements on their Ohio land until after their arrival in the West. "If paid immedi-

15. *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 725.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*, p. 724.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 725.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 135.

ately, the Indians will be ungovernable here, and destitute hereafter." He warned that fraudulent acknowledgements of large debts were being gotten from the Indians in anticipation of the payment.²⁰

Nothing he said or did seemed to have any effect, and on August 18 Lieutenant Lane lost his official composure. "I will no longer be silent," he burst out, and launched into a furious denunciation of the men who were intriguing to keep the Indians in Ohio because "a thousand little rills of profit flow from them." It was more than Lane could stand. "I declare unhesitatingly my belief, that this Indian business, as now proceeding, and as it is likely to proceed, will be made a profitable job, to the detriment of the Indians, and the discredit of the Government." Lane suggested a peremptory order to go by water.²¹

But August 18 was too late for peremptory orders, or even for reasonable suggestions. A letter from Jackson granting permission for the Ohio Indians to travel by land, ". . . provided the expenses incident to such removal shall not exceed twenty dollars per head . . ." ²² was already on its way from Tennessee to Washington. When Lane saw the copy of this letter which was sent to him and to Gardiner,²³ he must have thrown up his hands in despair. He had already informed Washington that if present plans were persisted in, "twelve thousand dollars will no more than cover expenses to the end of the month" ²⁴—and the emigration had not even gotten under way. But summer was drawing to a close. If anything was to be done that year it had to be done quickly or the Indians would be caught by winter en route. A bustle of frantic activity began, into which Lane was drawn willy nilly.

Men were sent north to begin collecting the Ottawas who wandered a great deal in the most settled times and who would now be doubly difficult to find since, as Gardiner had reported earlier, "certain deluded or mischievous men are trying to persuade them not to emigrate." The orderly Lewistown Indians were assembled and vaccinated at their own request. Smallpox had appeared among

20. *Ibid.*, p. 726.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 726, 727.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 717.

23. In February, 1833, Gardiner sent a special report to the secretary of war explaining the reasons that delayed the start of the emigration. One of the reasons given (*ibid.*, v. 4, p. 113), was that he did not receive a copy of Jackson's August 17 letter giving permission for the Indians to go by land until about September 10, 1832. The conductor of the Lewistown detachment of Indians kept a "Journal of Occurrences" during the emigration, and he noted (*ibid.*, p. 79) that Gardiner notified them on September 3 that they had been given permission to go by land. The letters from the acting commissary general of subsistence transmitting copies of Jackson's letter to Gardiner and Lane, are dated September 1 (*ibid.*, v. 1, pp. 152, 153).

24. *Ibid.*, p. 731.

the Shawnees in the West the previous fall, and had spread to the Kaw Indians as well, thinning, frightening, and scattering the tribes. Even the unruly Shawnees at Wapakoneta were sobered by the news, and they, too, requested protection. They were assembled and vaccinated—some 400 of them. The confusion can be imagined: children crying, dogs and little boys dashing through the crowd, fearful old women, suddenly become deaf, shaking their heads obstinately at the shouting interpreters.²⁵

A few days later the Indians were assembled again and the treaty goods distributed: 100 blankets, 10 rifles, and \$300 worth of tenting to the Lewistown band; 200 blankets and \$400 worth of tenting to the Shawnees of Wapakoneta and Hog creek. Twenty-five rifles for the Shawnees had been mislaid in the administrative forest, but Gardiner had already written Washington about the matter and the rifles were being shipped to St. Louis. The arrangement did not improve the tempers of the Shawnees.²⁶

Meanwhile the Indians' horses must be shod—some 500 of them. Extra horses must be bought by the government. The scent of profit brought in every horse trader from miles around. Seventy-five worn out beasts were bought, and put on rented pasture. Grain costs were high that fall because of widespread crop failures, but grain was bought to try to bring the horses up to traveling condition. (Later Gardiner was to admit that the horses were poor, diseased, and old. "They were not such as were ordered," he explained, "and were purchased at a higher price than was stipulated by me.")²⁷

The Ottawas were drawing rations—or at least contractors were being paid for Ottawa rations—but no one seemed to know where they were or how soon they would assemble. The Lewistown band and the Shawnees of Wapakoneta began the agonizing process of deciding what to take with them. There would be some pack horses, and a few baggage wagons. Not many wagons were to be taken because the roads were so bad; conductors, assistant disbursing agents, and clerks would also transport their baggage in those few wagons. The Hog creek Shawnees had their own teams and wagons, but were not yet sure they would go. They were a peaceable, hard-

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 692, 696, 697; v. 4, p. 79; letter of Thomas Johnson, Shawnee Mission, to corresponding secretary of the Missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church, December 29, 1831, printed in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, pp. 236, 237. Regarding the vaccination of the Indians, Gardiner noted in his February, 1833, report (*Doc.*, v. 4, p. 113), that the project was a failure since "the matter procured in Ohio proved useless. . . . But the failure was not ascertained until it was too late to obtain new matter from Baltimore. . . ."

26. *Doc.*, v. 1, pp. 122, 141, 143; v. 4, p. 79.

27. *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 728; v. 4, pp. 114, 115.

working band and they had no desire to travel with the disorderly Shawnees of Wapakoneta as they had been told they must.²⁸

September was passing. The weather was uncertain. There were a thousand things to do before the Indians could leave. Arrangements which had been put off all summer suddenly had to be made at once. At Lewistown, the Senecas and Shawnees sorted through their belongings for the last time. What they could not take with them, they turned over to a government appraiser for evaluation and sale. The rest was packed for travel, which for most of them meant packed into bundles to be piled behind Grandmother on the family baggage horse. These were the obvious tasks. There were others, equally pressing so far as the Indians were concerned. They devoted one whole day to honoring their ancestors with the Feast of the Dead. This was an annual celebration, the more meaningful now that they were about to leave their dead among strangers.

On September 3, the Lewistown Indians had been told to be ready to leave on the 13th; no delay was to be allowed. Not until the 15th, however, did the money arrive to pay them for the improvements they had made on their land: the cabins, corn cribs, stables, fences, etc., which they were leaving behind. For these, the 200-some Lewistown Indians were paid \$6,000 which the government advanced against the proceeds of the sale of their lands. On the 17th they were paid for their personal property. When it became known that the Indians had money, their village was overrun with men determined to make it as easy as possible for them to get rid of it. The talk against moving was renewed. Everywhere the Indians turned they were told of the hardships waiting for them on the road. They were offered whisky and trade goods, and urged to stay where they were, among friends. In the midst of this confusion, they learned of the death of Mrs. James McPherson, wife of their agent. He had been planning to conduct them to their new homes, but after his wife's death he resigned his post. This put a heavy load of sadness and fear on the already over-burdened Indians, a fact immediately seized upon by the men who hung about their camps: You see? The government agents brought cholera with them. They killed Mrs. McPherson, and they'll kill you, too, once you're on the road away from home.

Many of the Indians attended Mrs. McPherson's funeral and then milled about in confusion, afraid to set off for their new homes, afraid to stay in their old ones. By the next day government agents had coaxed some of them into leaving the village and travel-

28. *Ibid.*, v. 1, pp. 705, 729.

ing seven miles to the crossing of the Great Miami river, where they camped for the night. Gardiner took charge of that group and sent the conductor and his assistant back to bring up the rest of the Lewistown band. The emigration had begun.²⁹

Once united and on the road, the Lewistown Indians moved west at a steady rate of 12 to 15 miles a day. Bad roads, rainstorms, or strayed horses delayed them occasionally, but more frequently they were delayed by the Indians on the road behind. Several times the Lewistown band was halted to allow the Shawnees and Ottawas to catch up. After a day or so in camp, they would become restless. "Nearly all the Indians went into town," reads one entry in the journal kept by the conductor of their detachment, "some to see the place, some to trade, and some to get intoxicated." But a more common entry is "order reigned," or "Indians quiet today." And usually he recorded the day's progress: "Struck our tents at 9 o'clock, and marched thirteen miles and a half. . . ." ³⁰

The Indians crossed the Wabash river at Clinton, Ind., swimming the horses across to save ferry charges. In Illinois they had good roads and fair weather and they began to make 19 or 20 miles a day. Their spirits rose. On October 28 at Hickory Grove, Ill., their conductor noted: "The Indians remained in camp; quietness was exhibited from every tent; good feeling abundantly prevailed throughout the day. The Indians have not for several days had an opportunity of procuring liquor; they consequently remain sober." ³¹

At Hickory Grove the Lewistown detachment was to turn south. Their new lands were in the Neosho river in the northeastern corner of present Oklahoma, while the other Ohio Indians were bound for lands just west of Missouri on the Kansas river. So the groups would separate, but not without pain and uncertainty. Many in the mixed band were closely related to the Shawnees of Wapakoneta. Should they go with them, or go south? "Two men, while on the route, left the family of Civil John and joined the Shawnees," the enrolling agent noted on the muster roll. And again: "Joe White and family joined the Shawnees, while on the route." But there were some who could not make the change, even to be with their families: "Louis Dougherty and family and John Dougherty and family joined the Shawnees, while on the route, with the exception of one woman, who is now with John Smith's family." ³²

29. The movements of the Lewistown Indians can be followed in their conductor's journal, *ibid.*, v. 4, pp. 79, 80, and in Gardiner's accounts of their last days in Ohio, *ibid.*, v. 1, p. 702, and v. 3, p. 478.

30. *Ibid.*, v. 4, pp. 80, 81.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 82.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

It was October 29 when the Lewistown band left the Ottawas and the Shawnees of Wapakoneta at Hickory Grove, Ill.³³ A month earlier the chances of getting these latter groups as far as Illinois seemed almost nonexistent. No one was able to handle them when they were drunk, and they were drunk as often as they could possibly manage it. The last week of September was a nightmare for everyone connected with the emigration. The Shawnees of Wapakoneta in particular seemed bent on drinking themselves to death and laying their bones in the land of their fathers. Gardiner wrote:

They forfeited every promise, and abused every kindness. It seemed impossible to get them to make the least movement towards preparation. They were furnished with every thing promised, and much more. We *lent* them twenty-five horses, and supplied three light two-horse wagons for their baggage. They abused the horses, rode them off to the neighboring towns, kept in a state of intoxication for several days together, until nature sunk under their beastly intemperance. . . . At length I was compelled to go *back* from Turtle Creek to Wappaughkonetta [Wapakoneta] myself. . . . I found the Shawnees in a most wretched situation. Many sick, some wounded, their own horses all astray, and all that could still drink whiskey, women as well as men, half-crazy and infuriated. . . .³⁴

Whisky was cheap in 1832—about 20 cents a gallon for whites, and whatever the Indian traffic would bear. It was the currency of the West, the most easily transportable form of the section's huge corn crops. What Westerners didn't ship out, they drank. Contemporary travel accounts frequently comment on the prevalence of whisky drinking especially among "the lower orders" and the Indians. The lower orders were bad enough when in liquor, but the Indians were a menace to themselves and everyone within gunshot. When the men began to drink, the Indian women hurried to hide guns, hatchets, camp knives, anything that might be used as a weapon. But the men got along without. Ears were torn off, noses bitten until the blood ran, eyes gouged out. Burning brands were snatched up from the cookfire and used as clubs, or the flames were ground out in an enemy's face. The noise was unceasing: howls, chants, the screams of women, the yipping of a dog kicked out of the way, the moans of a man fallen into a campfire.³⁵

The violence and bloodshed that accompanied an Indian drinking spree are recorded by government agents, by traders, mission-

33. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

34. *Ibid.*, v. 3, p. 478.

35. For contemporary descriptions, see Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America* (2 vols., London, 1835), v. 2, pp. 210, 211; journal of Sgt. Hugh Evans, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 14, p. 212.

aries, and anyone who had anything to do with Indians. Everyone agreed that the best thing was to leave them alone till they sobered up. But Gardiner could not wait until the Shawnees were sober. It was the end of September and winter was approaching. The authorities at Washington would be wondering why the Indians weren't on the road.

Gardiner flattered and scolded, coaxed, and threatened. He and his assistants gathered up six Indians at one place and a dozen at another and got them moving. Then they gathered a dozen more and hurried forward to keep the first bunch moving. It was slow and maddening work, but Gardiner kept at it, prodded perhaps by the rumors of his dismissal which had been circulating through the camps.³⁶

He found the Ottawas sulking in the woods north of Wapakoneta. They were furious because their regular annuities had not arrived, and they were feeding their fury on whisky. Gardiner tempted them with talk of the treaty goods that were waiting for them if they would only go with him. He sent an express rider to pick up their annuity money. Finally they were persuaded to move, and they joined the Shawnees at an encampment on Turtle creek in Shelby county, Ohio. There was one last big drunk—a three-day affair—and then Gardiner and his men got the Indians moving again and marched them hard: 55 miles in two and a half days. They arrived in Richmond, Ind., sick, exhausted, and ready to sit down for the winter right where they were.³⁷

Back in Piqua, Ohio, Lieutenant Lane took time to write to his superiors in Washington. For the past week and a half he had been trying to keep track of the Indians so that he would know where to deliver their food rations. He would arrange for delivery at one point and find that the rations were wanted somewhere else. When he asked Gardiner to give consistent notice of need, Gardiner replied, "All is chaos. I know not where the Indians will be tomorrow night." The harassed lieutenant had had all he could stand: "I say, officially and fearlessly, that Mr. J. B. Gardiner, special agent and superintendent is unworthy and incapable. There is but one opinion: I have expressed it."³⁸

At the same time the equally harassed Gardiner, just up from a severe attack of fever, was expressing his opinion that Lane was

36. *Doc.*, v. 1, p. 733; v. 3, p. 478.

37. *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 704; v. 3, p. 478.

38. *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 730.

obstructing the emigration, and conniving with the contractors to make a killing on the Indians' rations.³⁹

Inevitably, the two men quarreled—a bitter, public quarrel. Lane immediately wrote to Washington asking that he be relieved of his duties as disbursing agent for the Ohio emigration, and granted a three-months' furlough. He found the difficulties of working with Gardiner insurmountable: "His drunkenness and destitution of character place him below gentlemanly notice. His age forbids personal chastisement."⁴⁰

Five days later, on sober second thought, Lane withdrew the request. If he left now, he wrote, it would look as if Gardiner's charges were true. He hurried after the emigrants, hoping, as later letters reveal, to be put in charge of the emigration and, by his successful conduct of it, regain the good reputation that he felt had been lost through no fault of his own.⁴¹

At Indianapolis the Eastern mail caught up with him, but there were no letters from headquarters. Lane was almost out of funds. Contractors, officers, teamsters, all were demanding payment. A steady stream of Indians flowed through his quarters requesting money for services rendered the government, for the hire of their horses on government business, for repairing rifles, mending damaged tents, and filling a thousand other needs. Angry citizens brought in sworn certificates that the Indians' horses had broken into their cornfields on such-and-such a date, inflicting so-many-dollars worth of damage—and when was the government going to pay?⁴²

Lane stalled them off, bought on certificate when he could, and finally decided to send to Cincinnati to see if more money had been deposited to his credit, and if not, to borrow what he could. When no express rider would go to Cincinnati where the cholera was then raging and deaths were reported to be 40 a day, Lane went himself. There he found that another \$10,000 had been deposited and he turned about and rode hard for the Wabash where he hoped to catch up with the Indians. The emigration had been going forward, Gardiner later reported, with money borrowed from the Indians themselves.⁴³

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 702, 706.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 730.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 732, 733.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 733, 734.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 734, 735; Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America* (London, 1843), reprinted in *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1906), R. G. Thwaites (ed.), v. 22, p. 155; *Doc.*, v. 4, p. 115.

As the emigrant train moved through Indiana, the days settled into a routine. The Indians rode in groups of five or ten strung out along the road within sight of each other. Most of them were on horseback. Some of the sick and old, and a few of the children rode in the baggage wagons. According to one contemporary account, the Indians "exhibited a fantastic appearance, their clothing and ornaments being of almost every color and description."⁴⁴ No details are given, but other descriptions of Shawnees and portraits of their leaders suggest some of the details: Calico shirts with the ruffled neck worn open; gaudy sashes; black hair bound by a handkerchief or all but hidden under a turban of brightly-colored calico. There would be some with their ears slit along the outer rim and the lobes pulled down by the weight of ornaments into a loop of flesh that swayed with every movement of the head. A few of the chiefs would be wearing Presidential medals on ribbons about their necks. Others would have blue military coats given them perhaps on state visits to Washington. There would be wide pewter armbands, and pewter gorgets worn at the throat. A few might be wearing nose rings, and have slashes of red paint on each cheek, while next to them rode relatives in the jeans and calico of the white settlers.⁴⁵

The long train of Indians passed through Indiana and Illinois in October. Pawpaws were ripe, and acorns covered the ground. The hammering of woodpeckers echoed in the woods where leaves had changed color and were beginning to fall. Bright red Virginia creeper wreathed the trunks of many trees—the tall maples, beeches, elms, ashes, limes, and walnuts of the virgin forest. Even where settlers had cut these out, huge sycamores still stood, some of them with hollow trunks big enough to stable a horse. Deer were becoming scarce, but squirrels, raccoons, possums, and rabbits were still plentiful, and wild turkeys not unknown, so the Indians were able to supplement their ration of beef and pork, flour and cornmeal.⁴⁶

The rations were always a problem. After Indianapolis, meat was purchased on the hoof and driven to the Indians' camp for them to slaughter. Thus, to the usual evening uproar was added the bawl of frightened cattle and the squeal of tethered pigs. Traders drove up to exchange coffee, sugar, and tea for hides and tallow from the slaughtered animals. The inevitable whisky sellers

44. *Missouri Intelligencer*, Columbia, November 12, 1832, p. 2, quoted in Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, c1946), p. 84.

45. Descriptions drawn from portraits in Thomas H. McKenney and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* . . . (Philadelphia, 1836-1844), reprinted in Edinburgh, 1933-1934, 3 vols., F. W. Hodge (ed.).

46. Maximilian, *Travels*, in Thwaites, v. 22, pp. 148, 165-168.

hid out in the nearby woods. In some places white people made up sightseeing parties to go out and watch the Indians.⁴⁷

At Hickory Grove, Ill., within 40 miles of St. Louis, the Indians went into camp. They were moved off the main road to avoid contact with travelers from St. Louis where cholera was epidemic. Here, 80 Hog creek Shawnees, about half the band, joined them. They had finally decided to go, and a conductor had been sent back for them, but all across Indiana and Illinois they had kept well back of the main party. Here, too, Lieutenant Lane came up. Also, Col. J. J. Abert, U. S. army, who had left Washington October 4 with orders to take over the emigration, arrived. Someone had noticed at last that all was not well with the Ohio emigration.⁴⁸

Abert took charge and the Indians felt the difference at once. He had been granted sufficient authority to get the necessary done when it needed doing, not some time after an answer arrived from Washington.⁴⁹ The immediate necessity was money: "Money must be supplied," he wrote, "or the emigration be arrested: there is no half way course."⁵⁰ He arranged to borrow \$8,000 from William Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis. He appointed Lane disbursing officer to the Lewistown band, turned over \$3,000 to him for expenses, and started the detachment south to the Neosho. These things accomplished, Abert got the remaining Indians under way, and on November 2 he wrote "The Mississippi is behind them to-day."⁵¹

Nothing seemed to ruffle his calm. In Missouri some of the Ottawas went on a drunk. "An excessive use of peach brandy, during a three days debauch, killed the old Ottaway chief," Abert reported matter of factly, "and two others are rather in a doubtful way." The sickness gave rise to reports of cholera which Abert promptly squelched.⁵² There was a great dread of the disease in Missouri, and a fear that the Indians were carrying it. Abert wrote:

You would laugh to see how we are frequently received on the road: doors are slammed in our faces, yet some are bold enough to peep at us

47. *Doc.*, v. 4, p. 114; Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

48. *Doc.*, v. 1, pp. 705, 735; v. 4, pp. 114, 115, 117.

49. His instructions read in part: "The department, entertaining full confidence in your judgment and ability, commits the *whole* subject to your discretion, with power to adopt all such measures as, in your opinion, the honor of the Government and the interest of the Indians may require."—*Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 341.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 392.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 392, 393, 396. It is only just to Colonel Gardiner to note that Colonel Abert asked Gardiner to accompany him as far as the Mississippi, which he did. In fact, Abert reported that he "experienced great advantages from the advice and remarks of Col. Gardiner." He invited Gardiner to continue with him to the end of the journey, but Gardiner declined. He was granted a "leave of absence" to return to Ohio and visit his family.—*Ibid.*, v. 4, pp. 5, 6.

52. *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 397.

through the windows. However, so long as they do not stop our progress, we don't care; and yet some of these whites will continue to sell whiskey to our Indians. About twenty of our Ottaways were as drunk as David's sow yesterday. When sober, these are by far the most orderly and manageable of the whole detachment. But drunk, sober, or sick, we will move them along.⁵³

In mid-November with winter storms beginning, it was the greatest kindness that could be done. Drunk, sober, or sick, the Indians *were* moved along, and on November 30 they arrived at the Shawnees' new reservation 20 miles west of Independence, Mo.⁵⁴

These Shawnees and Ottawas were among the first immigrants to settle in what is now Kansas.⁵⁵ Like the well-publicized later immigrants, they came with axes and cross-cut saws. They built cabins, plowed the prairie, and planted corn.⁵⁶ They did not come singing "We cross the prairies as, of old, our fathers crossed the seas," but they had their own songs, and their own memories of the days when *their* forefathers were giants in the land they had left behind.

But it would be foolish to overemphasize their resemblance to later settlers, and it would be unfair to them. Many of the Indians retained as much of their own culture as they possibly could, having seen little to admire in the culture that had pressed for their removal to Kansas and then made such a botch of moving them there.⁵⁷ The two peoples, red and white, were a great distance apart on that cold November morning when the Shawnee and Ottawa immigrants arrived on the frozen ground of their new homes. They were closer in Kansas, however, than in northern Illinois or southern Wisconsin where differences between the races had erupted into open warfare. A small step had been taken on the long and difficult road to mutual tolerance. And with it, a settlement of Kansas had begun.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 399.

54. Gardiner remarked (*ibid.*, v. 4, p. 114) that he never knew how many Indians were in his charge "in consequence of the constant intercourse between the tribes, their habits of visiting each other alternately, for days together, their practice of scattering along the road, or through the woods, or remaining in the villages where whiskey could be procured. . . ." In a letter to William Clark (*ibid.*, p. 117), Gardiner estimated that there were 250 in the Lewistown band, 100 Ottawas, and 450 Shawnees of Wapakoneta and Hog creek. The enrolling agent for the Lewistown Indians reported 220 in that band (*ibid.*, p. 77). On December 22, 1832, Agent Richard W. Cummins reported that he had had a count made of the new arrivals and that there were 334 Shawnees and 73 Ottawas (*ibid.*, v. 3, p. 567).

55. Shawnees from Missouri and Ohio had begun moving to their Kansas reservation at least as early as the spring of 1828. In the fall of 1830 Delawares from Missouri started settlement of their lands north of the Kaw river.—Journal of Isaac McCoy for the exploring expeditions of 1828 and 1830, Lela Barnes (ed.), printed in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, pp. 260, 376.

56. In 1838 their agent Richard W. Cummins reported that they raised corn, potatoes, cabbages, peas, pumpkins, melons, wheat, and oats.—25th Cong. 3d Sess., *House Doc. 2*, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," p. 477.

57. When the Indians were delayed at Arrow Rock, Mo., by a violent snow storm, Abert commented, "Ah! this weather, this weather—they should have been at their homes before this, and could have been if the business had been properly managed from the start."—*Doc.*, v. 1, p. 400.

The Municipal Campgrounds of Kansas

CLINTON WARNE

CAMPING out while traveling by automobile has again become popular. With some encouragement on the part of automobile manufacturers, the vacation tourist is fast renewing an old American tradition. It might be interesting then, to take a look at the camping accommodations available to early motorists, especially in view of the fact that some of the early campgrounds are again in use. Because the early municipal campgrounds were highly popular for only a short period of time, several questions immediately come to mind: What was the need for campgrounds? Why were Middle Western communities not only willing but eager to offer camping facilities? Why was the popularity of these accommodations so short-lived?

For the early motor traveler, procurement of suitable lodging for the night presented obstacles which, while not altogether unassailable, could cause some real inconveniences. West of the Mississippi river, the condition of the roads, the scarcity of choice accommodations and the distance between stopover points did not lend themselves readily to the making of hotel reservations in advance. Efforts to reach previously selected destinations before nightfall often swallowed up the enjoyment of the trip. Hence, the development of municipal campgrounds where all tourists were free to stop for the night offered a welcome alternative. Thus it was, that during the early 1920's, the municipal camp area reached an apex of popularity in the Middle West where major cities are few in number and often hundreds of miles apart. It was estimated in 1921 on one Western highway that every second car carried camping equipment.¹ Since the percentage of campers was high throughout the Middle West, it is not surprising to discover that the state of Kansas, with its central location, was one of the earliest to encourage campgrounds and remained a leader throughout their years of popular use. Accordingly, knowledge of conditions as they developed in the campgrounds of Kansas seems especially pertinent.

As early as 1902, St. Marys is reported to have opened to travelers

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1. Walter P. Eaton, "Tenting on the New Camp Ground," *The Nation*, New York, September 14, 1921, p. 287.

a municipal park which was capable of handling 100 parties in its 23 acres of ground.² In the next few years other municipal camp areas developed, until by 1920 there were 300 cities in the nation offering this overnight lodging privilege.³ By 1922 the number had risen to 1,000.⁴ As campgrounds proliferated rapidly, Kansas continued to assert its leadership in the offering of camping facilities. John G. Stutz, writing in *Kansas Municipalities*, stated: "Kansas has the distinction of having more tourist camps per 100 cities than any other state in the Union."⁵ At that time there were 156 Kansas municipalities that proudly boasted some kind of municipal camp area.⁶

The deliberate encouragement of the municipal camp area was based on the premise that it was necessary to control the otherwise accidental locations which the tourist might select for his overnight lodging. The automobile tourist could be expected to locate not only near the highway but also within easy reach of the community, both because of the need to obtain food, automobile supplies, and good water, and also because of a certain degree of fear of being alone and completely isolated. However, these self-chosen locations were not always the most auspicious for the health interests of the community concerned. There was then, need for some regulation of the activities of the casual camper. The municipal campground seemed at the time to be an effective way of meeting this need.

These municipal camps usually were located in a park near the downtown commercial zone, where the automobile traveler could conveniently acquire the services he needed. Foremost among these was the need for such enterprises as gasoline filling stations, garages, and tire shops, but travelers also patronized grocery markets, restaurants, dry goods and drug stores, as well as telegraph and post offices.

Many municipal parks displayed a sign stating that a camper was welcome to stop. Moreover, stimulated by the efforts of their civic organizations, many communities offered municipal campgrounds that became elaborate places with kitchens, tables, fire-

2. John G. Stutz, *Tourist Camps in Kansas Cities* (*Municipal Reference Bulletin No. 35*, University of Kansas, Lawrence, March 1, 1923), p. 28. The date given in the report is 1902. However, this seems a bit early for the need for a large campground to have been felt. A check of a St. Marys newspaper for 1902 revealed that land was purchased and a city park established, but there is no indication that it was open to tourists for camping at that time.

3. Bellamy Partridge, *Fill 'er Up* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952), p. 195.

4. John J. McCarthy and Robert Littell, "Three Hundred Thousand Shacks," *Harpers Magazine*, Concord, N. H., July, 1933, p. 183.

5. "Kansas Has Many Tourist Camps," *Kansas Municipalities* (published by the League of Kansas Municipalities), Lawrence, February, 1923, p. 17.

6. *Ibid.*

places, showers, baths, and rest rooms, and they even offered police protection. At the opening of a campground at Manhattan, it was claimed that the city had taken ". . . the lead among all the states in providing the most convenient as well as beautiful 'free' camp park maintained for the traveling public."⁷ In this particular camping area the tourist was offered, in addition to the usual facilities, a community building containing a lounge room with a rock fireplace. This was situated in an artistic park planted with every shrub and ornamental tree known to thrive in the Middle West, and with flower beds containing hundreds of blooming flowers.⁸

The costs were high for the construction of elaborate facilities such as those at Manhattan. Up to \$35,000 was spent by Kansas City, Kan., alone.⁹ In order to justify a financial outlay of this magnitude for a municipal campground, local merchants calculated the increased returns anticipated by the businesses of the community from trade with overnight guests. For most tourists, the average length of stay in a given camp area was approximately two days, and it was typical for the spending of each tourist group to net the merchants of the community about \$5.00 per day.¹⁰ One unnamed community which kept records on the campers realized an estimated \$100,000 increase in cash trade resulting from the stay of visitors sheltered in its municipal campground.¹¹

On September 15, 1923, the Chamber of Commerce in McPherson reported on the volume of business from a municipal campground which had been built there in 1921 for \$7,000. By that time the income, including that realized from the 5,886 tourists from 43 states, Canada, and Mexico who stayed in the camp during the summer of 1923, amounted to several times the original cost of the camp.¹² Similar economic gains were experienced by many other communities, not only in Kansas but also along other major highways of the Middle West.

In spite of their decided economic advantage to the community, these municipal campgrounds faced strong local opposition for

7. "Long Oil Company Has Attractive Camp Site," *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 20, 1928.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Dr. L. B. Gloyne, "The Grading of Tourist Camps," *Kansas Municipalities*, September, 1923, p. 28. Dr. Gloyne makes the interesting remark that the community had received more favorable comment on its tourist camp, and "has got more good advertising out of it, than from any one thing that it has done in a number of years."

10. J. W. Gregg, "Essentials for Tourist Camps," *Kansas Municipalities*, September, 1921, p. 16.

11. Charles Harger, "Free Tourist Camp, One Mile," *The Outlook*, New York, August 15, 1923, p. 591.

12. Kirke Mechem, ed., *The Annals of Kansas, 1836-1925* (Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, 1956), v. 2 (1911-1925), p. 364.

several reasons, even at the peak of their popularity. The chief antagonists represented two specific factions. Most vocal were those who were deprived of the opportunity of serving these tourist groups. Especially bitter were the members of hotel associations¹³ and the owners of commercial tourist lodgings. A second contingent consisted of those who felt that community campgrounds were not a legitimate area of municipal governmental activity. The opposition elements had spokesmen who were vitally concerned with and influential in the affairs of their communities. The most convincing charge against the municipal campgrounds centered around health.

It was charged by those opposed to the municipal campground that adequate sanitary standards could not be maintained. Conditions in some of these tourist camps were such, that on February 15, 1923, the Kansas State Board of Health, under the authority of Section 10122 of the *General Statutes of Kansas, 1915*, unanimously recommended a set of sanitary regulations specifically designed to improve campgrounds.¹⁴ Kansas was the first state to take such action. Unfortunately, there have always been persons who mistreat or misuse any kind of public facility, so that even with these regulations, the conditions of the campgrounds in Kansas remained variable. Some were of good quality, others deteriorated.¹⁵ In order to publicize the satisfactory municipal camp areas and at the same time to encourage indirectly the improvement of others, a Tourist Camp Bureau was organized on April 18, 1924. Cities which belonged to this Tourist Camp Bureau were to have standard facilities and to charge the tourist camper 50 cents per day for the use of the camp area. In addition the Tourist Camp Bureau issued uniform registration blanks, and each automobile was given a recognizable type of serially numbered tag. These tags were a receipt for registry and at the same time were to serve as identification for the motorist during his stay in a given city.¹⁶

It was felt by the leaders of this movement that the 50-cent fee would assist in improving the conditions in each of the camps and at the same time keep out the "gypsy" or "hobo," who polluted streams, left heaps of rubbish behind and accidentally set forest fires.

13. Norman Hayner, "Auto Camps on the Evergreen Playground," *Social Forces*, Chapel Hill, N. C., December, 1930, p. 263, reports on the effective efforts of a local hotel association to close a camp.

14. Albert H. Jewell, "Tourist Camp Sanitation," *Kansas Municipalities*, March, 1923, p. 20.

15. Harger, *loc. cit.*

16. "Cities to Charge for Use of Camps," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, April 19, 1924.

In spite of the efforts of the Kansas State Board of Health and the Tourist Camp Bureau to control conditions in camp areas, the Kansas Public Health Association at its meeting in Wichita on September 19, 1922, specifically ordered tourist camps throughout the state to improve their sanitary conditions.¹⁷

The failure on the part of city officers to administer sanitary and police regulations effectively had, by the mid-1920's, forced the desirable types of campers to seek other lodgings. Official notice of this trend was taken at the second conference of city officials of Kansas held in Topeka in April, 1924. At this time, it was stated that: "While a majority of the tourists are appreciative of the services offered by the cities, not a few are unappreciative, destructive, and in many cases criminal in their treatment of tourist camp facilities. . . ." ¹⁸ As this thoughtless type of person came to be dominant among those using the facilities, additional members of the community began to question the wisdom of allotting city taxes for the maintenance of municipal camp areas. The city manager of Wichita, Earl C. Elliott, forcefully summarized this position when he called the Wichita municipal camp, ". . . a 'haven of roost' for the automobile tramp and for the 'boomer' who travels through the country living off the community. Our experience is that many of the folks who light in our camp are tramps . . . who become a charge upon the community."¹⁹

As unsatisfactory conditions in the municipal campgrounds became increasingly prevalent, discerning campers ceased using them entirely, and with the rapid degeneration of most of the camps, even the "gypsy" or "hobo" camper began to avoid them. Robert D. McGiffert of the Topeka City commission stated that during the early part of the summer of 1928 the Topeka campground had not averaged eight persons per week. He commented that the 50-cent fee charged each of these groups was not enough to pay for the watchmen and caretakers necessary to maintain the grounds.²⁰

Thus it appears that by 1928, not only did the commercially desirable class of tourist avoid the municipal campgrounds, but even those less considerate in their treatment of the sites had turned

17. Mechem, *op. cit.*, p. 328. At this same time other states were experiencing similar difficulties. An Indiana State Board of Health survey of 116 municipal tourist camps in Indiana reported in May, 1924, that 27 per cent of the water supplies were undesirable or unsafe, only 22 per cent of outside toilets were approved, and only 47 per cent had approved garbage disposal facilities.—"Unsanitary Tourist Camps," *Literary Digest*, New York, October 11, 1924, p. 61.

18. "Standardizing City Tourist Camp Regulations," *Kansas Municipalities*, May, 1924, p. 28.

19. Earl C. Elliot, "The Case Against the Tourist Camp," *American City*, New York, January, 1923, pp. 77-79.

20. "City Tourist Camps Go," *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 12, 1928.

to other sources of lodging. It ceased to be common to see informally dressed men, women, and children alighting from heavily loaded cars to spend the night in these municipal camps. This loss of popularity marked the end of an era in the wanderlust of the American tourist.

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART TEN, 1838-1839

1838

¶ Robert Polke (recently of Indiana) opened a trading house for the Pottawatomies (on Pottawatomie creek, about where present Lane, Franklin county is today) in the latter part of 1837, but no reference earlier than the January 3, 1838, diary entry of the Ottawas' missionary Jotham Meeker has been located. He wrote: "Visit Quaquatau [Qui-qui-to, Pottawatomie chief], do some business at Mr. Polks ["Robert Polke & Co.,"] and ride [12 miles] home. . . ."

(Subagent A. L. Davis had met Polke—a brother-in-law of Isaac McCoy—in the spring of 1837 and promised him a trading license when the Pottawatomies removed to the Marais des Cygnes country.)

In a July, 1838, journal entry, McCoy recorded that on July 21 he took his wife "to Mr. Polke's among the Putawatomies," after a journey from Westport, Mo., and overnight stop at Davis' "Agency among the Weas. . . ." (Reminiscing, in 1879, John C. McCoy stated that "Robert Polk and Moses H. Scott, traders among the Pottawatomies . . . [in the 1830's] broke and put in cultivation a large field in the valley of Pottawatomie creek, near Osawatomie, which they cultivated for several years . . . [with indifferent success].") It appears that W. W. Cleghorne was also trading at Pottawatomie creek, as early as 1839.

Robert Polke was still living on Pottawatomie creek at the time of his death in 1843. Apparently he, his wife Elizabeth (Widener) Polke (and some? of their children) had been "Kansas" residents during the intervening years. His oldest son Thomas W. Polke (about 23 in 1838) probably was associated with the trading house from the beginning; and his second son, John W. Polke (about 18 in 1838) later(?) became a trader.

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," in Kansas State Historical Society (KHi) ms. div., January 3, 1838, and occasional subsequent entries, also May 26, 1843 (for Polke's death); Isaac McCoy's "Journal," in KHi ms. div., as noted above; *Indiana Historical Collections*, Indianapolis, v. 26, pp. 362, 398; 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 173* (Serial 366), p. 93 (for an August 25, 1839, item on "Robert Polke & Co.," and mention of "W. Cleghorne"); 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 164* (Serial 403), p. 97; *Vital Historical Records of Jackson County, Missouri*, compiled by the Kansas City chapter, D. A. R. (c1934), p. 415 (Polke burials in McCoy cemetery); *Indiana Magazine of History*, Bloomington, v. 10 (March, 1914), pp. 86 and 107 (for biographical data on Robert Polke and family). Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal*, February 6, 1879 (or, "Kansas Reminiscences," clipping volume in KHi library) for John C. McCoy's statement. The Polkes are not in the 1840 U. S. census of Jackson county, Mo., but Elizabeth Polke (Robert's widow), and five sons, are listed in the 1850 census under Jackson county, Mo. (These sons were: Thomas W., John W., Oliver H. Perry, Charles, and Robert T.; Robert Polke's only daughter, Mary A., married Pierre Menard Chouteau, son of Francis G. Chouteau, in 1849.) A

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"Moses G. Scott" is listed in the 1850 U. S. census of Jackson county, Mo. "Mr. Cleghorn," of Pottawatomie creek, is mentioned in Meeker's "Diary," under date of December 26, 1840.

☪ BORN: on January 15, at Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county), Mary Cummins Johnson, daughter of the Rev. Thomas and Sarah T. (Davis) Johnson.

Ref: *Kansas Historical Collections (KHC)*, v. 12, p. xii; or, 15th *Biennial Report* of the Kansas State Historical Society, p. 35. (This infant died two months later—on March 19.)

☪ January.—The Rev. Christian Hoecken (of Kickapoo Catholic Mission), after a difficult eight-day, 80-mile winter journey, arrived at Pottawatomie creek (near the present Miami-Franklin county line) on his first visit to the Pottawatomie Indians. He remained for "about a fortnight" as guest of the chief "Nesfwawke" (Naswaw-kee) and his band of Catholic Indians (formerly of Indiana).

On January 30 Father Hoecken performed marriage ceremonies for two Pottawatomie couples. Both "brides" were daughters of "Nesfwawke." These marriages (of Wawiakächi to Josette, and Chachäpäki to Wawasemokwe) are the earliest of record among the Pottawatomes of the Marais des Cygnes country. They were, it appears, ceremonies revalidating irregular marriages.

Ref: Christian Hoecken's "Diary," as published in T. H. Kinsella's . . . *The History of Our Cradle Land* . . . (Kansas City, 1921), pp. 225, 226; G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* . . . (New York, 1938), v. 1, pp. 190, 191, and 195. In Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register* for 1838, p. 59, the chief's name is given as "Naswaugee." The April 22, 1836, Pottawatomie treaty "signature" is "Naswaw-kee."

☪ January-February.—Smallpox was prevalent among the Pawnees. (See p. 66.) It had been transmitted first to the Pawnee Loups by captives (some 20 women and children, most of whom succumbed to the disease) and plunder taken in a winter battle with the Sioux. "Multitudes" of Pawnee children died as smallpox spread to the other villages. According to Missionary John Dunbar, the mortality among the adults was not so great. The victims were chiefly those persons born since the 1831 epidemic.

The Pawnee Loups, in order to "retrieve their good fortune," resorted to a custom for which this Pawnee band was notorious, killing one of the remaining Sioux prisoners (a 14-year-old girl) in a human sacrifice rite. "The chiefs of the other bands refused to witness the bloody spectacle though specially invited to be present." This incident occurred on February 22.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 14, pp. 630-632, 640; Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register* for 1838, pp. 22-24; Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Personal Memoirs* . . . (Philadelphia, 1851), p. 614; John B. Dunbar's *The Pawnee Indians, A Sketch* (reprint from *Magazine of American History*).

☪ BORN: on February 10, at Kickapoo Methodist Mission (present Leavenworth county), Emily Greene Berryman, daughter of the Rev. Jerome C. and Sarah C. (Cessna) Berryman.

Ref: 15th *Biennial Report* of the Kansas State Historical Society, p. 35.

¶ February 15.—The “fast running St. Peters” (the steamboat which in 1836 and 1837 had carried American Fur Company employees and supplies to the upper river trading posts, and brought back fur returns) was advertised to leave for Fort Leavenworth “as soon as the navigation will permit,” and to “run as a regular packet in the Missouri trade” during the ensuing season.

On October 11 the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, reported the return (on October 9 or 10) of the *St. Peters*—perhaps completing her last run of 1838 on the Missouri. This boat was also in service during 1839.

Ref: Nebraska State Historical Society *Publications*, Lincoln, v. 20, pp. 70, 86.

¶ March.—In an altercation between some Missourians and a party of Osages (over Indian depredations on livestock), Nathaniel B. Dodge, Jr., was killed, another white man was wounded; and the Osages had two men killed and one wounded. This border incident perhaps occurred in Linn or Bourbon county of today.

Ref: Isaac McCoy “Manuscripts” (in KHi ms. div.), v. 26 (1839), in a McCoy “document” labeled “Remarks to aid Genl Tipton in speaking on Ind Affs. . . .”; *History of Vernon County, Missouri* . . . (St. Louis, 1887), p. 157.

¶ Late in March Parks & Findlay (Joseph Parks, prominent member of the Shawnee nation; and James Findlay, of Jackson county, Mo.) erected a trading house near the Ottawa Indian settlements (present Franklin county) and within a few miles of Ottawa Baptist Mission. Missionary Jotham Meeker assisted in the “raising” of this “store house” on March 29.

(On September 8 Meeker noted in his diary: “Visit Mr. Findlay who arrived with his goods on yesterday at his Post.” On December 25 he “Attended the Ottawa [annuity] payment at Findlay’s store. . . . The Agent [Anthony L. Davis] and Paymaster [Dr. John C. Reynolds] . . . [left] at sunset.”)

Ref: Jotham Meeker’s “Diary,” entries of February 23, March 29, September 8, 21, December 25, 1838, January 19, 1839 (and subsequent entries). In the 1850 U. S. census of Jackson county, Mo., James Findlay is listed as aged 34. He was about 22, apparently, in 1838. See, also, June 16, 1838, annals entry.

¶ In late March(?)—taking advantage of an early break-up of ice in the Missouri—the American Fur Company’s new steamboat *Antelope* passed along the “Kansas” shore, en route to the upper river trading posts. Trader Charles Larpenteur and Robert Christy (coming down from Fort Union in a canoe, with two oarsmen) met the steamboat at the Platte’s mouth some time in April, apparently.

The *Antelope* returned in mid-July. On arrival (July 16) at St. Louis, it was reported that most of the 1,000 packs she brought were buffalo robes; and that the more valuable furs were coming down in Mackinaw boats.

Ref: Charles Larpenteur’s *Forty Years a Fur Trader* . . . (New York, 1898), v. 1, p. 136; Nebraska State Historical Society *Publications*, v. 20, p. 78.

☪ April 3.—Joseph V. Hamilton, sutler (since 1835) at Fort Leavenworth, was also appointed postmaster, succeeding Alexander G. Morgan (who had been Hamilton's predecessor as sutler).

(See, also, June 27, 1839, entry.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 1-2, p. 255.

☪ **DIED:** Francis Gesseau Chouteau, on April 18, at his farm on the Missouri's right bank, two to three miles below the Kaw's mouth, within present Kansas City, Mo. (See *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 25, for his settlement there.) He was 41 years old, and died suddenly. Notably, his death occurred at a time when the American Fur Company's caravan was organizing in the Westport and Chouteau's landing area. See next entry.

Francis G. Chouteau (son of Pierre Chouteau, Sr.) had entered the fur trade about 1816 (see *KHQ*, v. 27, p. 378). At the time of his death, "Chouteau's Landing" (on the river front of his property) was at the height of its prominence as a shipping point on the Missouri. This lower landing (where his warehouses served as a base for American Fur Company—or, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company—operations) was the steamboat port generally used for traffic and commerce bound to Westport, Mo., or the Indian Country beyond. The upper, or "Westport Landing,"—some two miles above, near the Kaws mouth—was, as yet, the lesser-used shipping point.

The following quotations (from a sequence of letters Sup't Joshua Pilcher wrote Subagent A. L. Davis in the latter part of 1839) show that Cyprian Chouteau (younger brother of Francis G., whose own trading place was on the Kansas river, a few miles above its mouth, in present Wyandotte county) took over the operations at Chouteau's Landing. Pilcher, on September 9, wrote: [about goods for the Pottawatomies] "which I wished you to be prepared to receive by the 13th at Chouteaus landing . . ."; and on September 25: "I will ship the property . . . and have it consigned to Mr. Ciprien Chouteau's landing . . ."; and on November 4: "the property . . . was shipped on board the *Pizarro*, and Mr. Chouteau, being absent, it was taken to the upper [Westport] landing, and placed in charge of Mr. [Thomas A.] Smart. . . ."

Ref: The following information was supplied to this compiler by James Anderson, historian of The Native Sons of Kansas City, Mo., and his help is acknowledged with gratitude. There is extant a Bible inscribed "To Delia from her Grandma" [*i. e.*, to Odille Chouteau from Mme. Berenice Chouteau (widow of Francis G. Chouteau)] which was (and probably is) at the Boatman's Bank, St. Louis. On a page in this Bible are Chouteau family vital records, apparently recorded there by Mme. Berenice Chouteau; and therein the death date for Francis G. Chouteau is entered as April 18, 1838. Also, the *Missouri Saturday News*, St. Louis, of April 28, 1838 (in Mercantile Library, St. Louis, Mo.), reported the sudden death (on an April day unspecified) of "Mr. Francis Chouteau" at the "mouth of the Kansas river," and stated that his remains had been brought to St. Louis "on Tuesday last [*i. e.*, April 24] and interred in the Catholic burying grounds." This tends to corroborate the April 18 death date. Sup't Joshua Pilcher's letters, noted above, are to be found in Superintendency of Indian Affairs (SIA), St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 44, 46, and 55.

☪ April 22-28.—Andrew Drips headed the American Fur Company's caravan which left Westport, Mo., on Sunday, the 22d, for

the Rocky mountains. Moses ("Black") Harris was his lieutenant; additionally there were perhaps 45 company employees; and an outfit of 17 carts and some 200 horses and mules.

With the caravan were Capt. William Drummond Stewart (making his fourth trip West) and party of five(?) which included William Clark's son William Preston Clark and step-son John Radford (Stewart and Clark each had a wagon); also, Swiss-born John Augustus Sutter (who would become prominent in California's development after his settlement there in 1839), and a friend named "Welter," or "Wetler?"

By April 27 (having followed a section of the Santa Fe trail and the general pathway up the south side of the Kansas river—across present Johnson, Douglas, and Shawnee counties—soon to be known as the "Oregon trail") the American Fur Company caravan reached a point of timber on the Kansas river, *above(?) present Topeka*, and encamped. At that place (*apparently for the first time*) the crossing would be made, after the arrival of a company flatboat then on its way upriver with supplies. (For crossing apparently used on the 1837 journey, *see* p. 64.)

On April 28 a party of missionaries, Oregon-bound, reached the camp of Drips and party, to travel in company as far as the Rocky mountain rendezvous. (*See, also*, following entries.)

Ref: Oregon Pioneer Association *Transactions*, Portland, 1889, pp. 54-88 (for Mrs. Myra F. Eell's "Journal"); C. M. Drury, editor, *First White Women Over the Rockies* . . . (Glendale, Calif., 1963), v. 2 (contains diaries of Mrs. Mary Walker and Mrs. Myra F. Eells); *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Seattle, v. 29 (1938), pp. 277-282 (for W. H. Gray's "Journal"); C. M. Drury, editor, *The Diaries and Letters of Henry H. Spalding and Asa Bowen Smith Relating to the Nez Perce Mission 1838-1842* (Glendale, Calif., 1958), pp. 43-79; Ruth Karr McKee's *Mary Richardson Walker, Her Book* (Caldwell, Ida., 1945), pp. 140-157; C. M. Drury's *Elkanah and Mary Walker* . . . (Caldwell, Ida., 1940), pp. 67-95; Cornelius Rogers' letter of July 3, 1838 (microfilm, KHi); J. Cecil Alter's *Jim Bridger* (Norman, Okla., c1962), p. 182 (for names of William Clark's son and stepson); J. P. Zollinger's *Sutter, The Man and His Empire* (New York, 1939), pp. 36-38, 41, 345; E. G. Gudde's *Sutter's Own Story* . . . (New York, 1936), pp. 11, 12; Myron Eell's *Father Eells* . . . (Boston, c1894); "Personal Reminiscences of General John Augustus Sutter" (in Bancroft Library), typed copy, courtesy of Dale L. Morgan; Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal*, January 23 and 30, 1879, or, "Kansas Reminiscences," clipping volume, in KHi library, for John C. McCoy's statements on Sutter.

☞ April 23-28.—Nine missionaries (four couples, and a single man) left Westport, Mo., on Monday, the 23d, to begin an overland journey to the Oregon country (where they would serve as reinforcements for the Indian mission sponsored by the American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions). They were: William H. Gray (who had gone to "Oregon" in 1836, and returned in 1837), his bride Mary A. (Dix) Gray, the Rev. Cushing Eells, his bride Myra (Fairbank) Eells, the Rev. Asa B. Smith, his bride Sarah G. (White) Smith, the Rev. Elkanah B. Walker, his bride Mary (Richardson) Walker, and Cornelius Rogers (bachelor). Their companion, and guide, on the first stage of the journey was Dr. J. Andrew Chute, of Westport. *The four women in this party were the first white females to cross "Kansas" by the Oregon trail*

pathway. (Compare with the route which Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding traveled in May, 1836—see pp. 47, 48.)

(The Eells, Smiths, Walkers, and Rogers had debarked at Independence Landing, Mo., on April 15, from the steamboat *Howard*; the Grays had reached Independence a few days earlier. At this town they outfitted; then moved 12 miles to Westport, where the American Fur Company caravan was organizing. There they hired mountain man John Stevens, as their packer. At Westport, Mary Walker and Mary Gray were guests at Isaac McCoy's home; the others stayed in quarters Doctor Chute found for them.)

At the start the missionaries had 25 horses and mules, 12 horned cattle (including two fresh milch cows), and a light one-horse wagon. The available journals (of Gray, Smith, Myra Eells, and the Walkers) provide detailed information of their journey across present Johnson, Douglas, and Shawnee counties; and make it clear that they traveled nearly 100 miles to reach the Kansas river crossing (just above present Topeka) where the American Fur Company caravan was encamped. (By a direct route this would have been little more than 70 miles.)

From Westport, on the 23d, their course was south of west—towards the Santa Fe road (which they would follow for a time). According to the journal of William H. Gray (whose log is used here because he was the experienced traveler in the party) their first day's journey was *eight miles*—to "Sapling Grove," where a little stream ran northwest into the Big Blue of Missouri.

On April 24, after 25 miles of prairie travel, their night's camp was on "a little stream called Brush Creek" [headwaters of Bull creek]. (Myra Eells wrote that it was "one of the head branches of the Osage river.")

After eight miles of travel on the 25th, they "proceeded onto a beautiful stream called the WaKorusah from a root found in abundance on its banks made use of for food by the Natives," according to Gray. [There are several versions of the meaning of "Wakarusa."] Late in the day they crossed this stream. (Smith recorded: "Had one small river to cross just before we encamped wh. we forded without any difficulty.") They had traveled 20 miles.

On the 26th they "proceeded over high rolling prairie . . . on the top of the divide between the waters of the Wakerusah and the Kansas . . ." (Gray's journal), and camped on the open prairie, after a 20-mile journey.

They traveled 17 miles on the 27th, and (according to Gray) camped on the west bank of a "stream running into the Kansas" [the Shunganunga, or a branch] at a spot "about 9 miles East of the Kansas Village." [Hard Chief's? prominently located village in Dover township, Shawnee co.—see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 59.] During the night three of their best horses disappeared—presumably stolen by Kansa Indians.

On April 28 they "proceeded about 7 miles do [due] North" to the Kansas river where they "found the Fur Co. encamped on its South bank in a point of timber . . ." (Gray's journal).

Gray's "distances" total 97 miles. (By the estimates of two others in his party, the journey to the Kansas crossing, from Westport, was slightly over 100 miles.) If Gray's statements can be taken literally (as to traveling *due* north to the river after camping "about 9 miles" east of the Kansa village), the caravan crossed the Kansas just above present Topeka. But, see annals entry for the American Fur Company party of (May) 1839.

Ref: Same as for preceding entry. See, also, preceding entry, and entries of April 28 and April 29.

¶ April 28(?)—The American Fur Company's supply-carrying flatboat, cordelled up the Kansas river to the overland caravan's camp (above present Topeka), made rendezvous late on the 28th (or early on the 29th?). (See preceding entry.)

In 1906—nearly 70 years after the event—Joseph S. Chick (aged nine in April, 1838) wrote: "In 1838 I was visiting my sister, Mrs. William Johnson . . . [at the Kansa Methodist Mission a few miles above the caravan's camp] when the Chouteaus [about April 30?] brought a 'Periogoe' to the mouth of Mission Creek [where Frederick Chouteau had his trading post—see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 193]. Every body living near there, whites and Indians, went to see it." In an interview (1908) Chick stated: "Chouteau's pirogue was cordelled up the Kaw river. It had a plank deck. The goods were all down in the hold. There was no awning over the boat." Chick (in 1906) also wrote: "I have no recollection of any keel boats on the Kansas river. The Chouteaus did use pirogues on both the Missouri and Kansas."

However, Frederick Chouteau stated (see *KHC*, v. 8, p. 428) that *keelboats* were used for the Chouteaus' trading activities on the Kansas. He described them as "ribmade boats, shaped like the hull of a steamboat, and decked over. They were about eight or ten feet across the deck and five or six feet deep below deck. . . ." Chick and Chouteau seem to describe the same type of craft, but Chick called them *pirogues*, and Chouteau called them *keelboats*.

Ref: See April 22-28, and April 23-28 entries; and Joseph S. Chick's letter of May 3, 1906, and interview of October 19, 1908 (in *KHi* ms. division).

¶ On Sunday, April 29, the rendezvous-bound American Fur Company caravan and the Oregon-bound missionary party crossed the Kansas river not far above present Topeka. The baggage was ferried on the Company's flatboat, and the animals swam. After camping for the night on the north bank, the cavalcade (stretching for nearly half a mile) set out, on the 30th, up the Kansas valley. According to Myra Eells, there were about 60 men, and besides the four females of the missionary party, "ten or fifteen Indian women and [half-breed] children."

The further "Kansas" travels of this company (while spelled out in considerable detail in the missionaries' journals) are not here outlined since the route from this point was the now "old" and familiar "Sublette's Trace" (or, "Oregon trail") previously noted in these annals (and dealt with at some length in *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 352-355).

On May 13 the cavalcade crossed from the Little Blue to the Platte. (The camp that night was "about 27 miles below the head of the Grand or Big Island in the Platt River on its South East Bank."—Gray.) On the 30th these travelers crossed Laramie's Fork and came to "Ft. Laramy or Ft. William at the foot of the black hills." Gray stated: "As near as we can make or calculate the distance it is 790 miles [although] it is called . . . [by those who travel with pack animals] but 750." (Myra Eells' estimate to this point was 776 miles; Asa B. Smith calculated it as 740 miles.)

After reaching the Wind river rendezvous on June 21, the missionaries remained in camp till July 12; then continued westward (to Fort Hall) with

Francis Ermatinger (of the Hudson's Bay Company) and a small company (about 20 men) which included John Augustus Sutter and party of five. Eventually—on August 29—(after four months and one week en route from Westport) the nine missionaries reached the mission at Walla Walla, where they were greeted by the Whitmans and Spaldings (pioneers of 1836).

Ref: Same as for April 22-28 entry; also, see *The Missionary Herald*, Boston, v. 35 (July, 1839), p. 269, and v. 36 (January, 1840), pp. 15 and 33.

☪ DIED: Clermont, II, chief, since 1828, of the Osages on the Verdigris river, in "Oklahoma," in the spring(?).

On June 5 Montfort Stokes wrote (from Fort Gibson): "The recent death of their [Osages'] Principal Chief Clermont, will cause their turbulent warriors to go to war before winter with the Pawnees, Kiawas, and other tribes of the great Prairies, with whom they have been at peace ever since our late Treaties."

Ref: Grant Foreman's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (1926), p. 239, footnote. See *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (KHQ), v. 28, pp. 40 and 320, for other data on Clermont and his band of Osages. A successor, Clermont (III), signed the Osage treaty of January 11, 1839.

☪ Beginning May 9, and continuing into June, John C. McCoy surveyed the Pottawatomie reserve—completing a project on which preliminary work had been done in August, 1837. (See p. 60.)

Ref: Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 25 (for survey field notes); "Plat of the Putawatomie Lands Surveyed in 1838 by J. C. McCoy" (photostat from National Archives, in KHi ms. division); 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 174* (Serial 347), p. 105. In these references August, 1837, is indicated as the time the preliminary survey was made.

☪ May 10.—This was the *scheduled* date for the annual traders' caravan to depart from Independence, Mo., for Santa Fe (as announced in the *St. Louis Missouri Argus* of April 5).

Little information has been located which relates to the 1838 season. Overland trade to Mexico was in a "languishing condition," partly due to recently imposed higher duties at Santa Fe for American traders, and also because of an uprising—a revolutionary movement (lasting till the spring of 1838)—which had begun in the province of New Mexico in the summer of 1837. A memorial that the General Assembly of Missouri addressed to congress in December, 1838, stated "only seven [Missourians?]' wagons" had gone to Mexico "during the last season." According to Josiah Gregg's later-published estimate, some 50 wagons (carrying goods worth \$90,000), and around 100 men (20 of them proprietors) made the trip to Santa Fe in 1838. It may be that the wagons of *Mexican* traders carried the bulk of the 1838 New Mexico-bound trade.

Ref: *Missouri Argus*, St. Louis, April 5, 1838; 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 472* (Serial 360), p. 6 (for memorial of December 27, 1838); R. E. Twitchell's *Leading Facts of New Mexico History* (1912), v. 2, pp. 53-60; Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* (New York, 1844), v. 2, p. 160. The 1838(?) expedition recollected by Oliver P. Wiggins (see E. L. Sabin's *Kit Carson Days* [1935], v. 1, pp. 307, 308; *The Trail*, Denver, v. 3, no. 7 [December, 1910], p. 6; and M. M. Estergreen's *Kit Carson* [c1962], pp. 77-79), has been omitted here for lack of substantiation, and because of discrepancies in Wiggins' accounts. For lack of time, the files of certain St. Louis newspapers (not available in KHi) have not been examined. The *Missouri Republican*, particularly, may contain items which throw additional light on the Santa Fe trade of 1838.

☪ May 11.—In the party of 22 Americans (with 12 Mexican servants, and outfit of seven wagons, one dearborn, and two small fieldpieces) arriving at Independence, Mo., after a 38-day journey from Santa Fe, were traders Josiah Gregg, and “Messrs. Ryder and Payne.” Gregg and the other principal proprietors brought with them about \$150,000 in specie and bullion. (Ryder and Payne were later reported as reaching St. Louis with \$65,000 in gold and silver.)

(This company left Santa Fe on April 4; John J. Langham died after they had proceeded some 130 miles; at a camp in the Cimarron valley, below the Willow Bar, Pawnees attempted, but failed, to stampede the stock; the rest of the trip was without incident.)

Ref: Gregg, v. 1, pp. 308-313; *Missouri Argus*, St. Louis, May 31, 1838.

☪ BORN: on May 12, at Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county), Ann Eliza Pratt, daughter (and first child) of Missionaries John G. and Olivia (Evans) Pratt.

Ref: Pratt Collection (KHi ms. division); J. W. Manning’s “John Gill Pratt . . .” (dissertation, May, 1951; microfilm copy in KHi).

☪ May 21.—About this date there arrived at Kickapoo Catholic Mission (five miles above Fort Leavenworth) a small party of Jesuits: the Rev. Peter Joseph Verhaegen (superior of the Missouri Jesuits), as a visitor, the Rev. Anthony Eysvogels and Brother William Claessens (who were to remain at the mission), and the Rev. Pierre-Jean De Smet (whose ultimate destination was the Pottawatomie settlements at Council Bluffs [Iowa]).

All had traveled from St. Louis on the *S. Howard* as far as Independence, Mo. There Father Verhaegen had disembarked and made his way overland, on horseback, to Fort Leavenworth—reaching that post four days later. The others remained on the *Howard* till the boat put in at the fort’s landing. Father De Smet (who stayed to supervise baggage unloading) was a day later than the others in reaching the mission.

Ref: De Smet’s letter of July 20, 1838, in Chittenden and Richardson, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 161; Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 433. Verhaegen had previously visited Kickapoo mission in 1837—see *ibid.*, pp. 403-406.

☪ May 25.—The Rev. Pierre-Jean De Smet and two missionaries from the Kickapoo Catholic Mission (the Rev. Felix L. Verreydt and Brother Andrew Mazzella) boarded the upbound steamboat *Wilmington* at a landing near the mission (five miles above Fort Leavenworth), to journey to the Pottawatomie settlements at Council Bluffs (Iowa), where they were to establish a mission.

The night of May 25 the *Wilmington’s* stopping place was “two miles from the village of Pashishi” (Pa-sha-cha-hah—Kickapoo head chief). De Smet paid the chief a visit that evening at his town “situated on the river.” Subsequently, the steamboat stopped at the Blacksnake Hills (the future St. Joseph, Mo.) for two hours, and De Smet had a “long talk with J[oseph]

R[obidoux, Jr.] who keeps a store and runs his father's fine farm." "The place is one of the finest on the Missouri for the erection of a city," wrote Father De Smet. Later, as the *Wilmington* passed "up by the Sauk country, the bank for more than a quarter of a mile presented nothing but groups of savages, warriors, women and children, accompanied by an army of dogs." At the Iowa village, where the boat stopped for several hours, De Smet talked with young head chief Mahaska (Francis, or Frank, White Cloud). Farther up the Missouri he visited the Otoes. On May 31, in the afternoon, the Catholic missionaries reached their destination—the Pottawatomie settlements at Council Bluffs (Iowa).

Ref: Chittenden and Richardson, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 150-157, 161, 162; Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 418 (which refers to a move by Pa-sha-cha-hah and his band in 1839[?] to a locality about 20 miles from the Kickapoo mission). De Smet, in 1838, found this band living on the bank of the Missouri—a location which apparently is not the same as the 1837 village site shown in Father Verhaegen's sketch (of 1837 date) published in Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 1, facing p. 403.

¶ May-June.—In company with the Rev. Peter Joseph Verhaegen ("the Superior of the Missouri Jesuits"), the Rev. Christian Hoecken (of Kickapoo Catholic Mission) paid a second visit to the Catholic Indians on Pottawatomie creek. (See January, 1838, entry.) Their particular host was Joseph Napoleon Bourassa—an education Pottawatomie, and one of the nation's prominent young men. Though Verhaegen's stay was brief, Hoecken remained about three weeks among the Pottawatomes. (See, also, October 2 entry.)

Ref: Christian Hoecken's "Diary," in Kinsella, *op. cit.*, p. 226; Garraghan, v. 2, pp. 191-193. On December 10, 1838, Father Hoecken performed a marriage ceremony for (Joseph) Napoleon Bourassa and Memetekosikwe.—*Ibid.*, pp. 193 and 195.

¶ June 16.—Licenses to trade with the Indians in the Fort Leavenworth Agency (the Kickapoos, Delawares, Shawnees, and Kansa) were issued by Agent R. W. Cummins to: (1) C[yprian] Chouteau, (2) William M. Chick, (3) J[oseph] Parks and Charles Findlay, (4) A[lbert] G. Boone.

For earlier mention of Cyprian Chouteau, see, particularly, *KHQ*, v. 27, p. 378, and v. 28, p. 45. (Kansa trader Frederick Chouteau, though not named, was "covered" by Cyprian's license.) William M. Chick had arrived in Westport, Mo., to make his home, in 1836 (see *ibid.*, v. 29, v. 42). Joseph Parks had resided on the Shawnee reserve since 1833 (see *ibid.*, v. 28, p. 334).

Traders James Findlay (see March, 1838, annals) and Charles Findlay were, apparently, brothers. They are listed in the 1840 U. S. census of Jackson county, Mo. (both in the 20-30 age bracket). Two letters of 1840 written from "West Port," by Mrs. H. C. D. Findlay to her daughter Margaret C. Findlay (then aged 17), and addressed to "Lone Jack Jackson Co., Mo.," refer to trading activities. The August 14 letter mentions "William" (probably William S. Chick—son of William M. above—whom Margaret later married), and James Findlay's store (at Lone Jack), also "Charles" (Findlay) at Westport. The August 27 letter includes these statements: "Mrs. [Joseph?] Parks is sick the new [trading] goods has been here some eight or ten days . . .," and "Your brother [Charles] has gone to Park's since supper to try and get a horse to send for you."

Albert G. Boone (son of Jesse Bryan Boone; and grandson of frontiersman Daniel Boone) brought his family to live in Westport, Mo., about 1838, it is said. He had been a resident of Callaway county, Mo. Boone remained at Westport till the beginning of the Civil War.

Ref: Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), Letters Received from St. Louis Superintendency (R. W. Cummins' letters of June 28, 1838), Microcopy 234, Roll 751, National Archives; Mrs. Carrie W. Whitney's *Kansas City Missouri, Its History and Its People* . . . (Chicago, 1908), v. 1, pp. 649-651 (for Findlay letters); *KHC*, v. 9, p. 565 (for W. R. Bernard's statement regarding A. G. Boone); Hazel A. Spraker's *The Boone Family* (1922), pp. 125, 126, 189.

¶ June(?).—At Fort Leavenworth on an inspection trip, Col. George Croghan commented favorably on the "experiment" there to grow forage for the garrison's horses and cattle. (See September 18, 1837, annals entry on pp. 73, 74.)

"About 1,000 acres of prairie are now under fence and in corn," he wrote, "from which 20,000 bushels may be expected, that is to say, 20 bushels an acre or half a crop and no more, such being the average of prairie lands that have been broken up during the fall previous to planting." (He anticipated a second-year crop of 40 bushels to the acre given a reasonably favorable season in 1839.)

Ref: F. P. Prucha, editor, *Army Life on the Western Frontier* (c1958), p. 83.

¶ July 3.—Iowa became a territory. (The organic act of June 12 had provided for the division of the territory of Wisconsin, and the establishment of the territorial government of Iowa.

Ref: *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 5, p. 235.

¶ July.—Dr. J. Andrew Chute, of Westport, Mo. (employed by the Indian department), gave smallpox vaccinations to the Ottawas at the beginning of the month; and proceeded to the Pottawatomie settlements on July 4. He also visited some of the other Indian reserves in "Kansas" on this mission during the summer. Probably he had vaccinated the Kansa in April. See p. 147.

Doctor Chute, aged 27, died at Westport, Mo., on October 1, 1838.

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," June 30, July 2, 4, and October 8, 1838; C. M. Drury, editor, *First White Women Over the Rockies* (1963), v. 2, p. 59. See, also, September 6, 1839, annals entry.

¶ July 5.—The act of this date to increase the "present military establishment" of the United States, included a provision for the organization of the *Corps of Topographical Engineers* (to replace the previous Bureau); and a provision which permitted "the officers composing the council of administration at any post . . ." to employ a *chaplain*.

Capt. Washington Hood (appointed a captain in the topographical corps effective July 7) arrived at Westport, Mo., not long afterward (in the summer?) to make surveys in the Indian territory. (For this purpose congress, in 1838, appropriated \$10,000). He began, at the mouth of the Kansas river, an initial

project to determine the eastern boundary of the Indian territory. John C. McCoy was hired to assist in the survey. Work on this line (which was also the western boundary of Missouri) was continued some 40 miles southward, then abandoned when Captain Hood became incapacitated and had to return East. McCoy, in reminiscences, indicated Captain Hood found Joseph C. Brown's 1823 survey of the western boundary of Missouri (*see KHQ*, v. 27, p. 527) accurate, and made no changes.

The provision of the July 5 act which related to *chaplains* was amended on July 7, by limiting to 20 the number of posts permitted to have such an officer. *See* December 17, 1838, entry for Fort Leavenworth's first chaplain.

Ref: *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 5, pp. 257, 258; *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, February 13, 1879, or "Kansas Reminiscences," clipping volume, in KHi library (for McCoy); also *KHC*, v. 4, p. 301.

¶ July 12.—Fur trader Lancaster P. Lupton's small caravan, bound for Fort Lupton (or, Fort Lancaster) on the South Platte, started out from Independence, Mo., on the Santa Fe trail. Seth E. Ward (aged 18), beginning his career in the West, was one of the hired hands. His recollections provide the only information located on this journey, which took about six weeks. (*See, also*, July 26, 1839, entry.)

Soon after reaching the South Platte, young Ward joined fur traders Thompson & Craig; crossed the continental divide to their post (Fort Davy Crockett) at Brown's Hole [in the northwest corner of present Colorado]; and spent some seven years in the mountains, and among the Indians, before becoming an independent trader, and a freighter. Later, from 1857 to 1871, Seth Ward was sutler at Fort Laramie. Subsequently, he lived in the Kansas City, Mo., area. Alexander Majors, in 1893, described the Wards' home as a spacious, two-story brick house, two-and-a-half miles south of Westport, on the old Santa Fe trail.

Ref: *The United States Biographical Dictionary . . . Missouri Volume* (New York, etc., 1878), pp. 466-469; H. L. Conard, ed., *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri . . .* (1901), v. 6, p. 372; Alexander Majors' *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (Chicago, etc., 1893), pp. 119-124; *A Memorial and Biographical Record of Kansas City and Jackson County, Mo.* (Chicago, 1896), pp. 567-570; *Annals of Wyoming, Cheyenne*, v. 5 (July, 1927), pp. 5-18; L. R. and Ann W. Hafen, editors, *To the Rockies and Oregon, 1833-1942* (Glendale, Calif., 1955), p. 57 (Obadiah Oakley's journal).

¶ July.—Outfitting at Independence, Mo., partners Louis Vasquez and Andrew W. Sublette moved out on the Santa Fe trail (about mid-month?) with ox-drawn supply wagons, and a company which included James Beckwourth, bound for their trading post "Fort Vasquez" (of autumn, 1835, origin)—the first of the forts on the South Platte river.

(These partners had received their first trading license for the South Platte country on July 29, 1835, at St. Louis. "Fort Vasquez"—about one and a half miles south of present Platteville, Colo.—was maintained by Vasquez and Sublette till the spring of 1840.)

As Beckwourth later recollected it, the particular incidents of this journey on the Santa Fe trail and upper Arkansas route (past Bent's Fort) were (1)

his own illness from sunstroke (suffered while crossing the Arkansas-Platte dividing ridge), and (2) Louis Vasquez's encounter (on the upper Arkansas) with a war-party of Pawnees (on foot). By his account, it was after this 1838 company reached the post that "suitable buildings" were erected at "Fort Vasquez."

Ref: T. D. Bonner's *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* (New York, 1856), pp. 422-424; OIA, "Registers of Letters Received" (National Archives microfilm), for William Clark's August 3, 1835, letter; E. W. Smith's "Journal," in *To the Rockies and Oregon* . . . , edited by L. R. and Ann W. Hafen, p. 161; Dale L. Morgan's letter, June 9, 1962, to L. Barry; *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 29 (October, 1952), p. 241; *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 12 (December, 1925), pp. 335-341. Since Beckwourth says he spent July 4, 1838, on a Missouri river steambot en route to Independence, Mo., it seems the overland journey may have commenced by mid-July.

¶ July 14-26.—Conducted by James L. Schoolcraft (with four assistants), a delegation of 26 Ottawas and Chippewas from Michigan arrived at Westport, Mo., on the 14th, en route to examine lands for a future home.

Under Isaac McCoy's direction, this party set out on the 19th for the Ottawa settlements (present Franklin county), traveling by way of the Osage River Subagency (on the Weas' land, present Miami county), and across the Peoria & Kaskaskia reserve. On July 22 McCoy joined the group, which proceeded, on the 23d, to examine the Marais des Cygnes country adjoining the existing Ottawa reserve. After a noon council on the 24th, at a crossing of the river, the company started home. Schoolcraft's party was back at Westport, Mo., by July 26.

Ref: Isaac McCoy's "Journal," July 18-26, 1838, entries; Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (1840), p. 543; Jotham Meeker's "Diary," July 23 and 25, 1838.

¶ Between July 18(?) and August 10 William S. Donohoe surveyed the "twin" reserves of the Iowa, and Sac & Fox Indians, on the Missouri river in northeastern "Kansas," under instructions from John C. McCoy. (Preliminary surveying had been done in August, 1837—see p. 67.)

The Iowas' lands extended, on the north, to the Great Nemaha river (in southeastern "Nebraska"). The Sac & Fox lands (below the Iowa reserve) extended southward to the Kickapoos' north line. The two reserves were divided by a diagonal line having a beginning point near the mouth of Wolf river and running to the northwest.

Ref: Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 25 (for field notes); Isaac McCoy's "Journal," July 28 and August 8, 1838, entries; survey plat (in KHi ms. division); 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 174* (Serial 347), p. 98. The field notes were dated "Westport, Mo., Sept. 15, 1838."

¶ BORN: on August 3, at "Ioway and Sac Mission" (present Doniphan county), Anna Maria Hamilton, daughter of the Rev. William and Julia Ann N. (McGiffin) Hamilton.

Ref: Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence, Box 100 (microfilm, KHi), William Hamilton's letter of September 29, 1851. Though some sources have suggested that the Rev. S. M. Irvin's son—Elliott Loury Irvin—was born at the above mission in 1838 or 1839, it appears that he was born in Pennsylvania. (The

Irvin returned East in the fall of 1838, because of Mrs. Irvin's health, and she remained there till the spring of 1840.) Also, see, *Illustriana, Kansas* . . . (1933), p. 530 (biographical sketch of Elliott Samuel Irvin); and Mrs. Mary Irvin Leigh's letter of February 25, 1907, in KHI ms. division.

¶ August.—On the Arkansas river a war party of about 80 Kansa and Osage Indians surprised a party of Pawnees and took 11 scalps. Their own losses were four killed and two wounded. In a separate skirmish, warriors from the same party killed five Pawnees.

Isaac McCoy, who reported these incidents, also wrote: "On the first of September a party of about 20 Kanzans, headed by the 3d Chief of the nation named 'The Hard Chief,' was absent on a war and stealing expedition, the result of which I have not yet heard. In August last a large drove of horses was stolen from the Osage villages. Besides many horses stolen from other Indian tribes, the Osages have among them some valuable horses stolen from the whites."

Ref: Grant Foreman's *Advancing the Frontier 1830-1860* (Norman, Okla., 1933), p. 197 (quoting McCoy's letter of November 27, 1838, from OIA, Western Superintendency records in National Archives); Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 26 (1839), also contain McCoy's statements, in a copy of lengthy "Remarks" he originally prepared for Sen. John Tipton.

¶ In late August and early September the American Fur Company caravan (including some 30 fur-laden wagons and carts) homeward bound from the summer rendezvous (held near present Riverton, Wyo.), crossed "Kansas"—doubtless retracing the "Oregon trail" pathway utilized on the westward march in April and May. Indications are that Moses "Black" Harris, and probably Lucien Fontenelle too, made this journey.

Capt. William Drummond Stewart returned with the caravan; presumably William Preston Clark and John Radford were with him. Some travelers from the Oregon country also were in the party. They included the Rev. Jason Lee (going East for re-enforcements to the Methodist mission on the Willamette river), Philip L. Edwards (missionary assistant; now homeward bound to Missouri), F. Y. Ewing (who had gone West with the 1837 party), and five Indian youths (in Lee's charge) who were to be educated in the East. (Lee and Edwards had crossed "Kansas" westbound, in 1834, with N. J. Wyeth's second expedition.—See *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 352-355.)

(Capt. William Drummond Stewart learned, after he arrived at St. Louis on, or before, September 28, that his brother, Sir John A. Stewart, had died in Scotland on May 20. As successor to the title, he thus became "Sir William.")

On September 5 Jason Lee arrived at Shawnee Methodist Mission (the "old" mission, present Wyandotte county) and remained for several days. At one o'clock on the morning of September 9 two messengers from the West reached the mission to notify Lee that his wife and infant son had died in "Oregon" in late June. (One of the men who had left Fort Hall [Ida.], after July 27, on this mission was Paul Richardson.)

Ref: Drury's *Elkanah and Mary Walker*, pp. 87, 88, 91; *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York, v. 13 (November 9, 16, 23, 30, 1838, January 4, 1839), pp. 46, 54, 60, 77, 78; William Drummond Stewart's letter of August 27, 1838, from "Head of the Blue Fork," en route to Missouri (item—not seen by this compiler—available by

courtesy of Dale L. Morgan, of the Bancroft Library, from the original in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis); Oregon Pioneer Association *Transactions*, 1889, pp. 79, 83; Dale L. Morgan's letter of March 5, 1963, to L. Barry (for Harris and Fontenelle); Jason Lee's "Diary," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Portland, v. 17 (December, 1916), pp. 403-430; *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, v. 29 (July, 1938), p. 282; Alter, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 183; Bernard DeVoto's *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston, 1947), p. 358 (for "Sir William" data); C. J. Brosnan's *Jason Lee* . . . (New York, 1932), pp. 92-103.

☞ **DIED:** William Clark (sup't of Indian affairs at St. Louis since 1822), on September 1, at the home of his son Meriwether Lewis Clark, in that city. He was 68 years old. The *Missouri Republican* was of the opinion Clark was "probably the oldest American settler residing in St. Louis."

Ref: Nebraska State Historical Society *Publications*, v. 20, pp. 80-82 (for item from *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis); *KHQ*, v. 16, pp. 1-3 (for brief sketch of Clark's life).

☞ In the autumn (or late summer), Henry Bradley, his wife, and Mrs. Rosetta Hardy—the last of the Wea Presbyterian Mission personnel—removed to the "Ioway and Sac Mission" in present Doniphan county. The Wea mission buildings (on Wea creek, near present Paola, Miami co.) were sold to the government for \$750, and the Osage River Subagency headquarters, established there in 1837, by Subagent A. L. Davis, remained at that location till after 1843(?).

Ref: Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence (microfilm, KHi), Box 100; Spooner & Howland's *History of American Missions* (1840), p. 724; *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, Philadelphia, v. 28 (December, 1950), pp. 244, 245; Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register for 1838*, p. 60.

☞ Pottawatomie Methodist Mission was opened in the autumn at a site near one of the Indian settlements on Pottawatomie creek—not far from the Miami-Franklin county line of today. (No information has been found on its exact location.) The main building was a story-and-a-half "double log house, standing east and west, with a hallway between." Mackinaw Beauchemie (half Chippewa, but raised among the Pottawatomies) and his family may have moved into quarters there before the Rev. Edward T. Peery (with his family) arrived in the latter part of 1838.

A missionary had been assigned (by the Missouri conference) in the fall of 1837, to work among the Pottawatomies, but failed to arrive. Meantime, the Rev. Thomas Johnson (of Shawnee mission) visiting the Pottawatomies, and finding them unsettled, determined not to build a mission in 1837; but "employed a native exhorter [Beauchemie] from the Shawnee mission . . . who speaks the language to labor among them this winter [1837-1838] and to act as interpreter for the missionary when he arrives."

According to an October 15, 1839, report, Pottawatomie Methodist Mission had opened, within the preceding year, despite strong opposition from various sources; the missionary [Peery] had "suffered much from affliction himself, and in his family," yet had been able "to collect a little band of 23 Indians.

. . ." The 1840 report indicated that "on the whole," prospects were encouraging. In the fall of 1840 the Rev. Nathaniel M. Talbott (of nearby Peoria Methodist Mission) was assigned to minister also to the Pottawatomies. (The Peerys were reassigned to Delaware mission.)

Pottawatomie Methodist Mission was maintained till the Indians removed (in the latter 1840's) to a reservation on the Kansas river. Mackinaw Beauchemie and his family continued to occupy the mission house till the deaths of both Beauchemie and his wife in the early part of 1849.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 211, 212, 226, 227; *Christian Advocate and Journal*, v. 12 (February 16, 1838), p. 102 (for Johnson letter of December 27, 1837), v. 13 (November 9, 1838), p. 28 (for 1838 report), v. 14 (November 22, 1839), p. 54 (for 1839 report), v. 14 (March 20, 1840), p. 122 (for 1840 report); *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs for 1839*, p. 518; *Isaac McCoy's Annual Register for 1838*, p. 59; *Christian Advocate and Journal*, v. 13 (September 21, 1838), p. 18, for a Thomas Johnson letter of August 17, 1838.

☪ Pottawatomie Catholic Mission (present Miami county) had its beginning on October 2 when the Rev. Christian Hoecken reached the Pottawatomie creek settlements to serve the Indians of Catholic persuasion already there, and await the arrival of the "Wabash and St. Joseph" Pottawatomies (then en route from northern Indiana). The location, by Father Hoecken's description (in an 1837 diary) was southwest of present Osawatomie—five miles from the mouth of Pottawatomie creek.

Chief Nas-waw-kee's new cabin served as Father Hoecken's headquarters for over a month. The large immigrant party reached Pottawatomie creek on November 4—see pp. 160, 161. (They were accompanied by Father Benjamin-Marie Petit, who remained two months—in poor health.) The newcomers "immediately constructed a church 40 feet long and 22 feet wide; and by means of wood and bark and canvas they raised shanties for a temporary shelter, until they could select a fixed abode." In January, 1839, Father Hoecken reported there were 600 Catholics among the Pottawatomie creek Indians, and that his mission was thriving.

See March 10, 1839, annals for continuation of Pottawatomie Catholic Mission at a new site—on Big Sugar creek (in present Linn county).

Ref: Christian Hoecken's "Diary" of 1837 (at St. Mary's College, St. Marys), and of 1838 in Kinsella, *op. cit.*, pp. 226, 227; Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 193, 194, 200; *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, v. 14 (1941), especially p. 131.

☪ MARRIED: James Hays, "agriculturist for the Kansas Indians," and Rebecca Lemons, of Jackson county, Mo., on October 13, by the Rev. William Johnson, of Kansa Methodist Mission.

Ref: Jackson county, Mo., marriage records. The place of the ceremony is not indicated.

☪ October 15.—Contracts were let (at Independence, Mo.) to (1) Aaron Overton and (2) D[aniel] M[organ] Boone and others, by Capt. George H. Crosman (AQM), for the "construction and completion" of the 72-mile section of the Western military road between Fort Leavenworth and the Marais des Cygnes (in present Linn county). Work was started at once, but not completed till the fore part of 1839. (See, also, October 29, 1839, annals entry.)

Ref: 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 194* (Serial 346), p. 57; 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. No. 2* (Serial 344), p. 122; *KHQ*, v. 11, pp. 123, 125.

☪ **DIED:** White Plume (principal chief of the Kansa for at least 13 years), also four Kansa braves, during the Indians' autumn hunt. (Some died of fever, others of whiskey, as reported by Missionary William Johnson).

(A year earlier, the aging chief had made his last visit to St. Louis. There is a record of payment on November 11, 1837, by the Indian department, of \$36 to "E. Flenister" for "transportation of White Plume, principal chief of the Kanzas, and six Indians, from St. Louis to Liberty, Mo.")

Commenting on the Kansa Indians, after an April, 1839, visit to their villages, the Rev. Henry Gregory wrote: "An old chief [White Plume], who was opposed to the abandonment of their Indian habits, recently died, and now the two principal chiefs, both active and intelligent men, are in favor of civilization."

Whereas Isaac McCoy, in his *Annual Register of Indian Affairs* for 1835, 1836, and 1837, had listed "Nam-pa-war-rah or White Feather" [White Plume] as principal chief for the Kansa (followed by "Ka-he-ga-wa-ta-ne-ga" [Fool Chief], and others), in the 1838 edition (not published till early 1839?), there was a significant change—with "Nam-pa-war-rah, (Fury)" [or, White Plume, II] as first chief, followed by "Kia-he-ga-wa-ta-in-ga (Reckless [or, Fool] Chief)," "Kia-he-ga Wah-cha-ha (Hard Chief)," and "Me-chu-shing-a (Little White Bear)," as second, third, and fourth chiefs.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 16, p. 230 (for William Johnson's statement); 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *House Doc. No. 174* (Serial 347), p. 52 (for Capt. E. A. Hitchcock's disbursement of November 11, 1837); *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Boston, v. 20 (February, 1840), p. 42 (for Henry Gregory's statement); Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register* for 1838, p. 66. White Plume, first mentioned in these annals in 1815 (see *KHQ*, v. 27, p. 377), was head chief, apparently, by 1825, since he was the first to sign the June 3, 1825, Kansa treaty. For C. B. King's 1821(?) portrait of White Plume, see cover of *KHQ*, v. 28 (Spring, 1962).

☪ October 19.—At the Great Nemahaw Subagency (present Doniphan county), John Dougherty (as commissioner for the United States) concluded a treaty with the Iowa Indians which confirmed cession of all claims by them to lands between the Missouri and Mississippi which had been held in common with the Sacs & Foxes.

In return, the government was to invest (at not less than five per cent interest) \$157,500 for the tribe's use; and to pay the income annually, in October, to the Iowas (less a \$50 lifetime annuity to their interpreter Jeffrey Dorion); also, 10 houses were to be built for the Iowas (in addition to the five promised under the treaty of September 17, 1836).

Heading the 13 Iowa signers were "Frank White Cloud" (*i. e.*, young Mahaskah, or White Cloud) and "Non-gee-ninga, or No Heart" (second chief, whose name also appears as "Nacheninga," etc.).

Ref: C. J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 518, 519; *Report of the Comm'r of Indian Affairs for 1839*, p. 328; T. L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America* . . . (Edinburgh, 1834), v. 1, pp. 283, 301, 303, v. 2, pp. 110, 111, 114 (for biographical data on the chiefs White Cloud and No Heart).

☪ October 30.—Maria Pensineau, daughter of trader Paschal Pensineau and a Kickapoo(?) woman "Dutchi," was baptized by

the Rev. Anthony Eysvogels. Joseph Robidoux (of Blacksnake Hills, Mo.) was sponsor.

Maria, or Mary Pensineau (born June 25?, 1838) apparently did not have the same mother as Brigitte Pensineau (*see* July 23, 1836, annals entry). In the 1850's Mary Pensineau married Tom Whipple. In 1883 she was living in Mexico, separated from her husband (who was residing with the Cherokees); and their son, aged 26 (born in 1857?) was on the Kickapoo reserve in Kansas.

Ref: "Kickapoo Register," St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kan.; Paschal Pensineau's dictation, in KHI ms. division. Indications are that Paschal was *not* the son of Kickapoo trader Laurence Pensineau. His parents, it appears, were Louison and Lizette Pensineau, of Cahokia, Ill.—*See* "Remsburg Clippings," v. 1, p. 147 (in KHI library). In the dictation, Pensineau says only that his father was a Frenchman, and that his mother had some Pottawatomie blood.

¶ **MARRIED:** William Turner and Mary Bowers, on November 1, at Ottawa Baptist Mission, by Missionary Jotham Meeker, in the presence of about 30 Ottawa Indians.

(After the wedding dinner, the couple removed into their own house. Both had lived with the Meekers for over four years. Turner, on January 15, 1838, had received permission to settle on the Ottawa reserve, and that same day had selected a site for a cabin and a field near the mission.)

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," January 15 and November 1, 1838, entries.

¶ **November 4.**—Some 750 emigrating Pottawatomes (of Wabash river, Ind., and St. Joseph river, Mich.), under the conductorship of William Polke, arrived at the settlements of their kinsmen on Pottawatomie creek (near the present Miami-Franklin county line), after a two-months' overland journey.

Their trip had begun on September 4, from a camp near Plymouth, Ind., where *some* of the reluctant-to-move Pottawatomes had been collected forcibly by a volunteer militia force headed by John Tipton (U. S. senator from Indiana). The emigrating party (by report over 850 persons) had been escorted to the Illinois line by Tipton and a few militiamen, and turned over to Polke's charge on September 20 near Danville, Ill.

Among the chiefs who made the journey were Ash-kum, I-o-weh, and Pesh-kay. Father Benjamin-Marie Petit accompanied the Indians, and his presence helped to reconcile the Catholic bands to the move westward. (Menominee, Black Wolf, and Pepinowah—all "improperly called chiefs"—leaders of these bands, had been among those in militia custody early in September.)

The Pottawatomes crossed the Mississippi at, or near, Quincy, Ill., on October 8, and the Missouri at Lexington, Mo., on October 27. (At the end of October, Ass't Conductor Jacob Hull, with 23 Pottawatomes, caught up with Polke's party.) The company which crossed the Missouri line on November 2 (some 18 miles southwest of Independence) totaled about 750 Pottawatomes. (On the long march some had dropped out because of illness; others had "deserted"; and around 43 persons had died.)

On November 3 the immigrants camped near the Wea settlement on Bull creek (present Miami county); on November 4, at 2 P. M., they began



Reproduced here is an enlarged segment of Hutawa's map (1842) of the "Platte Country." East of the Missouri (in the dark background) is shown a part of Platte county, Mo. (organized following the 1837 Platte Purchase addition to the state of Missouri). West of the river, in present Leavenworth county, is Fort Leavenworth, and to the north, a part of the Kickapoo Indians' reserve.

ON THE "KANSAS" SIDE: Fort Leavenworth was founded in May, 1827 (see KHQ, v. 28, pp. 34, 35); the Kickapoo Village[s] were of May, 1833, origin (see KHQ, v. 28, p. 326); Pensineau's trading post was opened about October, 1833 (see KHQ, v. 28, pp. 338, 339); Kickapoo [Methodist] M[ission] was founded in November, 1833 (see KHQ, v. 28, p. 344); Kickapoo Catholic Mission ("Cathc. Ch. [and] Missionary Estbt.") was begun in June, 1836, and closed in December, 1840 (see KHQ, v. 29, p. 51). Mill cr[ee]k presumably was so labeled by Hutawa because the Kickapoo's mill (built in 1835-1836—see KHQ, v. 28, p. 513) was located on it, but the stream's name, at least as early as 1833 (see KHQ, v. 28, p. 338), was Salt creek. (The 18th century French post, Fort Cavagnolle, of 1744 origin, was located near the mouth of Salt creek—see KHQ, v. 27, p. 88.) The large island in the bend of the Missouri (opposite Weston, Mo.) is Kickapoo Island. On maps of later decades it appears in varying shape and size.

ON THE MISSOURI SIDE: The U. S. Military Reserve (a tract of some 6,840 acres) was created June 21, 1838, to prevent whisky sellers and other undesirables from settling opposite the fort. It was reduced in size, in 1844, to 936 acres. Rialto (or, "the Rialto"), at the mouth of Pensineau's creek, was also known as Pensineau's Landing. Weston, selected for a town site in 1837 by ex-soldier Joseph Moore (for whom Moore's creek evidently was named), had a population of some 300 persons in 1839 (see KHQ, v. 29, p. 176). Ellis ferry was licensed on March 11, 1839 (see KHQ, v. 29, p. 166).



Pawnee Rock. From the Santa Fe Road
16 1/2 miles from Ft. Zarah
April 6th 1867

Ado Hunnius

PAWNEE ROCK, FAMED LANDMARK ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

To Jacob Fowler (in 1821) it was "the Red Rock," in a region otherwise "level as fare as the Eye Can see." To Matt Field (in 1839) it was "like a huge wart" in the prairie, some 30 feet high, and about 100 feet in circumference; with "one tall, rugged portion . . . [standing] totally inaccessible and alone." The Ado Hunnius sketch reproduced above shows Pawnee Rock as it appeared in 1867 before the settlement of southwestern Barton county and the subsequent stripping of some of the rock for building materials.

crossing the Marais des Cygnes; and around 3:30 P. M. they reached the end of their journey. Subagent A. L. Davis being absent, Conductor Polke (and his son Benjamin C. Polke, an assistant conductor) remained in the Indian Country till Davis' return at the beginning of December.

Ref: *Indiana Magazine of History*, v. 21 (December, 1925), pp. 315-336, v. 44 (December, 1948), pp. 393-408, v. 45 (September, 1949), pp. 285-288; *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, v. 14, no. 1 (1941), especially pp. 87-110; *Reports of the Comm'r of Indian affairs for 1838, 1839, and 1840*; *Indiana Historical Collections*, v. 26, pp. 659-769; *Niles' National Register*, Washington City, v. 55 (October 6, 1838), p. 88.

¶ November.—As reported by the army's commander-in-chief, Fort Leavenworth's garrison consisted of six First U. S. dragoon companies—with Col. Stephen W. Kearny's command having an aggregate of 329 (24 commissioned officers and 305 troops); additionally 99 recruits were "on march." (The other four First dragoon companies were at Fort Gibson [Okla.])

On August 31 Lt. Col. J. B. Brant had arranged (by contract with J. P. Moore) for transportation of four officers and 190 recruits from Jefferson Barracks, Mo., to Fort Leavenworth; and on October 8, had made a contract with T. Dennis for carrying up to Fort Leavenworth two officers, one surgeon, and 180 recruits. (The November report obviously did not include all the late arrivals.)

Ref: 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. No. 2* (Serial 344), table between pp. 120, 121; 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 94* (Serial 346), pp. 50, 58.

¶ November 14.—The Gabriel Prudhomme estate—a 257-acre Missouri river front property which included "Westport Landing," was sold for \$4,220 to a hastily-organized town company of 14 persons, who were: William L. Sublette, of St. Louis, Moses G. Wilson, John C. McCoy, William Gilliss, Fry P. McGee, Abraham Fonda, William M. Chick, Oliver Caldwell, George W. Tate, Jacob Ragan, William Collins, James Smart, Samuel C. Owens, and Russell Hicks, all of Jackson county, Mo.

The proprietors reached an agreement that their projected town (the future Kansas City, Mo.) should be called "Kansas." John C. McCoy made out a plat for about 15 acres of the "Westport Landing" area, which William S. Donohoe (his brother-in-law) then surveyed. Because the legality of the Prudhomme estate title sale was undetermined till 1846, little was done in the intervening eight years to develop the town of "Kansas."

Nine town lots were sold in May, 1839, but these sales were never effective. Some time in 1839, Thomas A. Smart located at Westport Landing (operating the first trading house in that vicinity). The steamboat *Pizarro*, in October, 1839, delivered some Indian goods at the "upper landing" and placed it "in charge of Mr. Smart." It may be that he occupied the small (20' x 40') hewed-log warehouse which the town company built (in 1838?, or 1839?) at "Kansas."

In 1843, according to the later recollection of Washington H. Chick (son of W. M.), aside from the warehouse, the only building within the original

15-acre town limits was a two-story double log house built by William B. Evans and "occupied by him as a dwelling and hotel." Joseph S. Chick (son of W. M.) wrote, in 1906: "At that time [1843] there was, as I remember, the Evans tavern at the foot of Main Street and Levee, a warehouse and two other houses [not in the 15-acre area?]. My father built the next houses, a warehouse [in the winter of 1843-1844] on the Levee and the first residence on the hills in Kansas City [Mo.]"

By 1846 instead of 14 town of "Kansas" shareholders there were only seven: Robert Campbell, of St. Louis (four shares), William Gilliss (three shares), Fry P. McGee (two shares), John C. McCoy (two shares), Jacob Ragan, William B. Evans, and Henry Jobe, each one share.

Ref: *The History of Jackson County, Missouri* . . . (Kansas City, Mo., 1881), pp. 396-398; C. C. Spalding's *Annals of the City of Kansas* (reprint of 1858 edition), pp. 15-20; Superintendency of Indian Affairs (SIA), St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, p. 55 (for item on Smart); letter of February 22, 1963, James Anderson (historian of The Native Sons of Kansas City, Missouri) to L. Barry, and enclosures with the letter; John C. McCoy's statements in *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, February 17, 1884; W. H. Chick's recollections, and J. S. Chick's letter of May 3, 1906, are in the KHi ms. division. In v. 32 of the Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts" (in *ibid.*), is a fragment of what may be J. C. McCoy's original(?) outline plat of "Kansas" which, on the back, records 15 lot numbers with corresponding names of would-be(?) purchasers, and the price to be paid. The names on this list are: D[aniel] Yoacham, J. C. McCoy, J[il]ton McGee, C. Young, W. L. Sublette, H. Weymeyer, [W. S.] Donohoe, E. Downing, J[acob] Ragan, A. Justice, O[liver] Caldwell, J. C. McCoy, Jr. [?], and _____ McGee.

☪ For use at the Kansa Methodist Mission, 300 copies of a 24-page book in the Kansa language were published, probably in the latter part of the year, by the Shawnee Baptist Mission press (John G. Pratt, printer).

No copy is known to exist. Isaac McCoy, in his *Annual Register* for 1838 (published in late 1838, or early 1839) stated: "A small book in the Kauzau language, upon the New System, has been published and brought into use."

Ref: *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 19 (June, 1839), p. 125; McCoy, *Annual Register*, 1838, p. 67; D. C. McMurtrie and A. H. Allen, *Jotham Meeker* . . . (1930), p. 125.

☪ December 17.—Newly arrived Rev. Henry Gregory, of the Protestant Episcopal Church was appointed chaplain at Fort Leavenworth, by the council of administration. He was the first chaplain there (*see* July 5 entry), and the first resident Episcopalian clergyman in "Kansas." (He resigned September 30, 1839.)

During his brief tenure, Chaplain Gregory officiated at four marriages, and three funerals; baptized one child; distributed Bibles, prayer books, and tracts—in addition to preaching. Also, he made two tours into the Indian country (visiting the Kansa in April, 1839, with Agent Cummins; and accompanying Colonel Kearny's party to the Otoe and Missouri village, and to the Pottawatomie settlements around Council Bluffs, [Iowa] in September, 1839).

Ref: *KHC*, v. 16, p. 355; David C. Skaggs, Jr.'s, thesis "Military Contributions to the Development of Territorial Kansas" (microfilm, KHi); *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Richmond, Va., v. 4 (September, 1935), pp. 201, 202; *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 20 (February, 1840), pp. 42-44 (for Gregory's account of tours in the Indian country).

☐ **DIED:** Auguste P. Chouteau (long-time trader with the Osages, and other nations on the frontier), on December 25, at Fort Gibson (Okla.). He was 52 years old.

(For first mention of him in this chronology, see 1807 annals entry in *KHQ*, v. 27, p. 362; and see his portrait [together with a summary of his connection with "Kansas" history], facing p. 361 in the same volume.)

Ref: Grant Foreman's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, p. 239.

☐ December 31.—An act by the general assembly of Missouri to organize the counties of Platte and Buchanan (both bordering on the Missouri river; and formed from the "Platte Purchase") was approved on this date.

Ref: *The History of Buchanan County, Missouri* . . . (St. Joseph, Mo., 1881), pp. 152-154.

☐ Between December, 1838, and March, 1839, over 11,000(?) Cherokees, removed *by force* from their southeastern United States homes, arrived in "Oklahoma" to join the Western Cherokees (residents for more than 20 years in the Indian country—see *KHQ*, v. 27, p. 380), and some 3,000 other Eastern Cherokees (arrivals in late 1837 and during the summer of 1838), on the large Cherokee reserve (see *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 39 and 514).

The Indians in the 13 detachments which made the late 1838-early 1839 journey overland endured hardships, which caused them much misery and distress. (Chief John Ross placed the number of deaths en route at 424.) The Cherokees' phrase for this trek, "the Trail of Tears," has endured as a fitting description for an event of great tragedy in their history.

Ref: Grant Foreman's *Indian Removal* (Norman, Okla., 1932), pp. 229-312; Grace S. Woodward's *The Cherokees* (Norman, Okla., c1963), pp. 192-218; *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 56 (January, 1962), pp. 156-167 (article by B. B. Lightfoot, "The Cherokee Emigrants in Missouri, 1837-1839"); *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs, 1839* ("Of the Indians removed last year [1838-1839] there are now . . . upon subsistence . . . 10,000 Cherokees, whose 12 months will expire at different periods from December [1839] to March, next.")

☐ Employed in "Kansas" by the Indian Department during all, or part of the year 1838, were the following:

FORT LEAVENWORTH AGENCY—*Agent* Richard W. Cummins; *Interpreters* Henry Tiblow and Clement Lessert; *Gun and blacksmiths* William Donalson (for Shawnees), Robert Dunlap (for Shawnees), James M. Simpson (for Shawnees), Andrew Potter (for Kickapoos), William F. Newton (for Delawares), and Nelson A. Warren (for Kansa); *Assistant gun and blacksmiths* Mathew King (for Shawnees), Wilson Rogers (for Shawnees), Charles Fish (for Kickapoos), Paschal Fish (for Delawares), J. Bezain (for Delawares; appointed in October), William Pechalker (for Kansa); *Farmer* James Hays (for Delawares; appointed January 30, 1838, subsequently, farmer for the Kansa); *Teacher* David Kinnear (for Kickapoos); *Millers* James Allen (for

Delawares), Edward Brafford (for Delawares), and Azariah Holcomb (for Shawnees).

GREAT NEMAHAW SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Andrew S. Hughes (with notation: "Discontinued"—John Dougherty "acting temporarily"); *Interpreter* Jeffrey Dorion; *Gun and blacksmiths* Hiram W. Morgan (for Iowas) and James Gilmore (for Sacs & Foxes); *Assistant gun and blacksmiths* Francis Brishnell (appointed in April), Benjamin F. Catlett, and Samuel M. Gilmore; *Farmers* William Duncan (for Iowas) and Leonard Searcy (for Sacs & Foxes); *Teacher* Aurey Ballard (for Iowas; appointed May 31).

OSAGE [MARAIS DES CYGNES] RIVER SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Anthony L. Davis; *Interpreter* John T. Jones; *Blacksmith* William Carlisle; *Assistant blacksmith* Perry G. Crafton; *Clerk* (in payment of goods) Joseph N. Bourassa.

OSAGE SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Paul Liguette Chouteau (with notation: "Resigned—Mr. [Robert A.] Calloway [of the Neosho River Subagency] acting temporarily."); *Interpreter* Baptiste Mongrain. [No other employees listed.]

Ref: 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. No. 103* (Serial 346); OIA, Letters Received from SIA, St. Louis (Maj. E. A. Hitchcock's disbursements for July, 1838)—National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 751; John Dougherty's requisitions, for quarters ending June 30, and September 30, 1838, in *ibid.*, Roll 752; Isaac McCoy's *Annual Register* for 1838. Also, see, October 13, 1838, annals entry.

1839

☾ January 11.—At Fort Gibson [Okla.], Brig. Gen. Mathew Arbuckle (as U. S. commissioner) negotiated a treaty with the Osage Indians. The government, taking cognizance of the long-neglected Osages' destitute condition (*see KHQ*, v. 28, p. 320), found it imperative to (1) induce the Osage bands still living on the Verdigris (in the Cherokees' reserve), to join the rest of the nation, and (2) to extinguish title to the half-breed tracts (of 640 acres each) granted under the 1825 treaty. By the above negotiation these purposes were accomplished.

The Osages ceded all claims under the treaties of 1808 and 1825 (except Article 6 of the latter); and the bands on the Verdigris promised to remove to the reservation in "Kansas." The government agreed to pay the Osages annually, for 20 years, \$12,000 in money and \$8,000 in goods; and to furnish blacksmiths; mills and millers; stock; agricultural tools, etc.; also to furnish each of 22 chiefs with a house worth \$200. (The first eight chiefs on this list were: Pa-hu-sca [White Hair], Clermont, Chiga-wa-sa [Shingawassa], Ka-he-gais-tanga, Tawan-ga-hais, Wa-cho-chais, Ni-ka-wa-chin-tanga, and Tally.) Also, the United States arranged to buy the half-breed tracts (some in "Oklahoma" on Grand, or Neosho river; others on the Marais des Cygnes, or Osage, in "Kansas") at \$2 an acre (and specified that the fund of \$69,120 should be invested to produce annual income of \$3,456 for the Osages).

Sup't William Armstrong (of the Western Superintendency), in his report for 1839, stated that the Osages were "concentrating in their country, where, with the attention of an agent lately appointed for them [Congreve Jackson], they will probably turn their attention to labor. . . . Their character has been greatly misunderstood. They are represented as fierce, and disposed to war; they are on the contrary civil and easily governed. They are a fine looking race of Indians, but little removed in point of civilization from the

prairie Indian. They have been reduced very much in numbers within a few years. . . .”

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 525-527; Comm'r of Indian affairs *Report for 1839*.

☐ January.—The steamboat *Kansas*, upbound on the Missouri, stopped at Jefferson City, Mo., on the 20th, and the local paper commented on “the novel spectacle of a steam boat landing at our shore in January.”

During the last week of January, the *Pirate* (a new craft) ascended the river (above Jefferson City), and the *Kansas* came down. Floating ice was thick in the Missouri, and the water level low.

Ref: *Jeffersonian Republican*, Jefferson City, Mo., January 26 and February 2, 1839.

☐ January.—A petition (relating to withheld annuity funds) from the Pottawatomies of Pottawatomie creek, Osage River Subagency, which Subagent A. L. Davis forwarded to Washington on January 22(?), was signed by about 110 Indians.

The principal chief of the Pottawatomie Nation—To-pen-e-bee headed the list. Other leading chiefs who signed were O-ke-mas, Che-bas, Pash-pa-ho, We-we-say, Ash-kum, Sin-ba-nim, Au-be-nah-ba, and I-o-way. Louis “Bernott” [Burnett?] and Abraham Burnett were 14th and 15th on the list of chiefs. Among the prominent Indians in the section headed “young men” of the Pottawatomie Nation were J[oseph] N[apoleon] Bourassa, Luther Rice, and Stephen Bourassa.

Ref: Isaac McCoy “Manuscripts,” v. 26.

☐ February.—The last day of the month, the *Kansas* (again upbound—*see* January) was at Jefferson City; and departed March 1 for Independence, Mo. The Missouri was reported “higher than in many months,” and excellent for navigation.

(In the latter part of February, the *Howard*, going downriver, sank and was “entirely lost.”)

Ref: *Jeffersonian Republican*, March 2, 1839.

☐ March 4.—Joshua Pilcher was appointed to head the superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis (as successor to William Clark, deceased).

Ref: 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 126* (Serial 357), p. 5; OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 752) contains Pilcher’s March 13, 1839, letter of acceptance.

☐ March 10.—With their missionary, the Rev. Christian Hoecken, the Catholic band of Pottawatomies (600? Indians—*see* p. 158) moved, in a body, from Pottawatomie creek to a new home 15 miles southward, on (Big) Sugar creek, present Linn county. A small log church (replaced in 1840 by a larger one) was built immediately after they were settled, the Indians erecting it in three days’ time. Thus the Pottawatomie Catholic Mission of October,

1838, origin was re-established on Sugar creek, where it would remain till 1848 when the Indians again moved—to a Kansas river reserve.

The location of these Pottawatomies was approximately four miles (in a direct line) northeast of present Centerville, Linn co. (The government survey plat of the 1850's, shows an "old Indian field" in Sections 12 and 13, T. 21 S., R. 22 E., which coincides, generally, with the above description.) In 1843 Father Felix Verreydt wrote that the mission was "about 15 miles directly west from the point where the military road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott crosses the Osage River" (*i. e.*, 15 miles west of present Trading Post, Linn co.—*see* July, 1839, annals entry, p. 177).

On April 26, 1839, Father Herman G. Aelen and Brother Francis Van der Borgh arrived at Sugar creek. For two months Aelen worked among other tribes (Peorias, Ottawas, etc.). But when Father Hoecken left the Indian country in July, because of illness, Father Aelen took charge of Pottawatomie mission. It is recorded in Hoecken's diary that after he left the Indians "were sorely tried by sickness and disease" and "being without medicines, they died in great numbers in . . . [1839] and . . . 1840." (Hoecken returned to Sugar Creek mission in 1841.) A school for Indian boys was opened July 7, 1840.

Ref: Christian Hoecken's "Diary," in Kinsella, *op. cit.*, p. 227; Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 194-196; Felix Verreydt's report in *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs for 1842*. In Kinsella, *op. cit.*, the location of the Pottawatomie settlement of Sugar creek is stated as "Five and a half miles northeast, on the Michael Zimmerman farm, but about four miles in a direct line from Centerville."

☪ March 11.—At the first term of the Platte county (Mo.) court, Isaac M. C. Ellis was licensed to keep a ferry on the Missouri between the Platte county side and the Kickapoo village in "Kansas." His location, it appears, was some three and a half miles above Weston, Mo.

Ref: The name is "Isaac McEllis" in W. M. Paxton's *Annals of Platte County, Missouri* (Kansas City, Mo., 1897), p. 26, and in the *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri* . . . (St. Louis, 1885), p. 572; but in Edwards Brothers' *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Platte County, Missouri* (Philadelphia, 1877), p. 10, a tax list of 1839 lists "Isaac M. C. Ellis," and several other taxpayers with the surname "Ellis." *See, also, KHQ*, v. 2, p. 25.

☪ In the spring (March?, or April?), Capt. John D. Keiser's new steamboat *Shawnee*, built for the Missouri river trade at Pittsburgh, Pa., and chartered there early in the year by the Rev. Jerome C. Berryman, arrived at Westport Landing, Mo., with a load of materials for the new Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian manual labor school, in present Johnson county. (*See* May 23, 1839, annals item, p. 171.)

Berryman, sent East (by Rev. Thomas Johnson) to make the purchases, had spent a month at Pittsburgh on this mission.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 18, p. 219.

☪ April 6.—A commission as subagent for the Osage Indians was forwarded from St. Louis to Congreve Jackson, of Howard county,

Mo. (The Osages, since the resignation of their long-time agent-subagent Paul Liguette Chouteau, had been in the temporary charge of Robert A. Calloway, head of the Neosho River Subagency [in northeastern "Oklahoma"].)

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 2, 3; 25th Cong., 2d Sess., H. Doc. No. 135 (Serial 326).

☐ April.—The American Fur Company's *Antelope* (Edward F. Chouteau, master) left St. Louis April 4 on the annual journey to the upper Missouri trading posts. She carried about 12 clerks and 120 hands. Around midmonth this steamboat passed along the "Kansas" shore.

French scientist Joseph N. Nicollet (in U. S. government service) was aboard, and in his party were Lt. John C. Fremont (of the U. S. Topographical Engineers), Charles A. Geyer (botanist), Etienne Provost (mountain man), Louis Zindel (former Prussian soldier), and one other person. (They were to be convoyed to Fort Pierre [S. D.]; there to begin an overland journey which would take them as far as Devil's Lake [N. D.], for the purpose of collecting data for Nicollet's subsequently-prepared map of the "Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River.")

Company employees making this journey (or part of it) included John F. A. Sanford, William Laidlaw, and James Kipp. From Council Bluffs (Iowa) as far as the Vermilion river (some 360 miles upstream), Father Pierre-Jean De Smet was also a passenger on the *Antelope*.

In a report (dated September 13, 1843), Nicollet observed that they were 69 days (April 4-June 12) in ascending a distance of 1,271 miles (from St. Louis to Fort Pierre), "which, on the Mississippi, and with a steamboat of the same power, could have been accomplished in twelve days." Neither Nicollet's report or his journal (begun April 21, 1839, in the Council Bluffs vicinity) contain mention of the "Kansas" area of the Missouri.

Ref: 28th Cong., 2d Sess., *House Doc. 52* (Serial 464), for Nicollet's report; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, April 5, 1839, item, as quoted in Nebraska Historical Society *Publications*, v. 20, p. 97; *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Pierre, v. 10, pp. 98-129; *North Dakota History*, Bismarck, v. 21, pp. 75-82; Annie H. Abel, editor, *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark* (Pierre, S. D., 1932), p. 270 (Note 257); John C. Fremont's *Memoirs* . . . (1887), pp. 30-54; Chittenden and Richardson, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 179-182; Susan D. McKelvey's *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West* . . . (1955), pp. 659-667.

☐ April 20(?)—The *Pirate*, which had started up the Missouri from St. Louis on April 2, hit a snag and sank about seven miles below Council Bluffs (Iowa).

The total damage was estimated at \$40,000. She carried government provisions for the Council Bluffs Pottawatomies, and for scientist Joseph N. Nicollet's party (traveling on the *Antelope*). Supplies for Father De Smet's Catholic mission at Council Bluffs also were lost.

Ref: Chittenden and Richardson, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 183; Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 441; Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 270 (Note 257). In OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 752), Agent John Dougherty's requisitions for the quarter ending June 30, 1839, include one of April 8 date for transportation (upriver) of himself, John Gantt, and Jeffery Dorion on the *Pirate*. In *ibid.*, is Dougherty's letter

of April 4, 1839, from Liberty, Mo., referring to his impending journey to the Council Bluffs with the disbursing agent. He *planned* to go up on the *Antelope*.

¶ April.—After a journey to the Kansa villages, in company with Agent R. W. Cummins (and five other persons), Fort Leavenworth's chaplain, the Rev. Henry Gregory, wrote:

"The number of the Kauzas, as ascertained from the pay roll, during my visit, is 1588. They are settled principally in the eastern part of their country, on the Kauzas river, and continuously[?] to each other, as respects the three several villages. . . . Their missionary [the Rev. William Johnson], his assistant[?], and the farmer [James Hays] are Methodists, and speak more or less of the Kauzas language.

"The U. S., within the last two or three years, have made . . . [the Kansa] several fields for corn, and have furnished them with a farmer and blacksmith. (The assistant blacksmith [Charles Fish] is a Shawanoe Indian, and a good workman too.) . . . nearly every head of a family is beginning to engage in agriculture. . . . They are abandoning their filthy wigwams of earth, and beginning to erect dwellings of logs. Several of them have recently fenced and cultivated little fields of their own."

(Agent R. W. Cummins, in his annual report for 1838, had stated: "This tribe number about 1,700; they are divided into three bands, each band having a village or town, all located on the Kansas river; two of which, one on the north [Fool Chief's] and the other [Hard Chief's, apparently] on the south bank [are] nearly opposite each other. . . . [The third] is on the north bank, about 30 miles higher up. . . ." In February, 1839, Missionary William Johnson had written: "The Kansas . . . number two thousand souls. . . .")

Ref: *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 20 (February, 1840), p. 42 (for Gregory's letter reprinted from *Spirit of Missions*). As quoted above, the order of the letter's contents has been altered. See Comm'r of Indian affairs *Report* for 1838 (for Cummins); and *KHC*, v. 16, p. 230 (for Johnson). The chief, in 1839, of the "third" village (which soon changed location again) is not known. By 1841 Chief E-ya-no-sa had a village eight miles *above* the Kansa mission, on the *south* side of the Kansas river, near the mouth of present Mill creek, Wabaunsee co.—See *KHC*, v. 16, p. 264.

¶ May 1.—Bound for Chihuahua, by way of Santa Fe, Josiah Gregg's trading caravan (fitted out by Gregg and George C. Pickett), left Van Buren, Ark., to follow a route across "Oklahoma," on the north side of the Canadian river. There were 34 men, 14 road wagons (carrying about \$25,000 in goods), half drawn by mules, half by oxen, a carriage, a Jersey wagon, and two swivels on one pair of wheels.

Lt. J. M. Bowman and some 40 First U. S. dragoons were detailed to meet the traders at Camp Holmes (see location in *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 510) and escort them westward (to the boundary?). If the dragoons actually performed this service, Josiah Gregg signally failed to mention it in his *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844).

Gregg's caravan reached Santa Fe on June 25; subsequently departed for Chihuahua in August; arrived on October 1; left there October 31; and was back at Santa Fe on December 6. Leaving Santa Fe on February 25, 1840, 47 men, Gregg's 27 wagons, one belonging to Samuel Wethered and James

R. Ware, and some 200 mules made up the returning caravan. The route was "in the vicinity" of the 1839 journey west, except that the party traveled much of the way on the south side of the Canadian. On April 22 the caravan reached Van Buren, Ark.

Ref: *Arkansas State Gazette*, Little Rock, May 15, 1839; Gregg, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 9-155; M. G. Fulton, editor, *Diary & Letters of Josiah Gregg* . . . (Norman, Okla., 1941), pp. 43-69; Grant Foreman's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, pp. 241, 242. See Carl I. Wheat's *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (San Francisco, 1957), v. 2 (1958), pp. 174-176 for the Garland-Gregg map of 1841 and comment on it. Gregg's route to Santa Fe in 1839, and his return route of 1840 are shown on this manuscript map. The dragoon escort is noted in the *Arkansas Gazette* issue (noted above); also, Maj. Gen. Alexander Macomb in his 1839 report (26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 1* [Serial 354], p. 56) mentioned the two squadrons of the First dragoons "currently engaged" in building Fort Wayne. "These squadrons," he wrote, "also furnished last spring an escort to a caravan of traders to Santa Fe in Mexico."

¶ May 4.—At Sapling Grove (about eight miles from Westport, Mo., in the Shawnee reserve) the various persons—27 in all—who were to comprise the American Fur Company caravan of 1839, gathered for their first overnight camp. (Most of them had set out from Westport—the organizing point—that morning.)

Moses ("Black") Harris headed the expedition. There were eight other Company hands; and an outfit of four two-wheeled mule-drawn carts, plus pack animals. (The mules and horses of the entire party totaled between 50 and 60.)

Two independent Oregon-bound missionary couples made this trip: the Rev. John S. Griffin and his bride Desire C. (Smith) Griffin; Asahel Munger (a carpenter) and his wife Eliza. (The Munger's diary is one source of information on the journey.) With the missionaries was Paul Richardson, hired as hunter.

Another cotraveler was Dr. Frederick A. Wislizenus, of St. Louis (who had been at Westport since debarking from the *St. Peters* at Chouteau's Landing sometime in mid-April). The narrative of Wislizenus (as translated from the German) states: "All the rest [including himself] joined the expedition as individuals," and most were headed for the Columbia, or California "actuated by some commercial motive." (See, also, September 17 entry.)

Sapling Grove, says Wislizenus, was "in a little hickory wood, with fresh spring water." From the Grove, on May 5, the company "marched over the broad Santa Fe road, beaten out by the caravans." Then, turning to the right, they "took a narrow wagon road, established by former journeys to the Rocky Mts., but often so indistinctly traced, that our leader at times lost it, and simply followed the general direction . . . through prairie with many undulating hills of good soil . . . [and through a region] watered with a few brooks and rivulets. . . ." [Wislizenus thus pictures for us "Sublette's Trace" as it was in 1839, just prior to becoming known as the "Oregon trail."]

On the fifth day of travel (May 8) the caravan "reached the Kansas, or, as it is commonly called, Ka River . . ." [Wislizenus]. Camp was made "on an elevation near the river," to await the arrival of the Company's "canoe" (bringing supplies up the Kansas). Wislizenus says this camp was "some miles" below the Kansa village, and implies that they had traveled about 100 miles to reach the crossing point. [This fits the general description of

the American Fur Company's 1838 crossing place—*see* p. 148.] But Asahel Munger wrote that the camp (the missionaries' camp, at least) was "within 2½ miles" of the Kansa village. This would *seem* to place the crossing higher above present Topeka than is indicated by the other accounts.

For about two and a half days the caravan remained on the Kansas river's south bank. On May 9 the Mungers visited Missionaries William and Mary Jane (Chick) Johnson at the not-far-distant Kansa Methodist Mission (*see* p. 43, and p. 149), where they exchanged three horses for two horses and two mules. Next day, the Griffins called on the Johnsons.

Doctor Wislizenus, too, made a "side trip"—to the deserted Kansa village. ("The greater part of the inhabitants were hunting buffalo. The rest had gone to our camp.") This settlement—presumably Hard Chief's town—was "on an elevation from which one can enjoy a pleasant and wide view." "The whole village consists of 50 to 60 huts, built, all in one style, in four somewhat irregular rows. The structure is very simple. On a round, arched frame of poles and bark, earth is placed with grass or reeds; at the top, in the middle, an opening is left for light and smoke; in front, at the ground, a similar opening as an entrance; and the shanty is finished. At the open door there is usually a reed-covered passage, extending a few steps into the street. There are about twelve cut braces inside the house; the fireplace is under the opening in the roof; at the side are some bunks of plaited strips of wood. The whole is rather spacious."

The "canoe" having arrived, the American Fur Company caravan crossed the Kansas river on May 11. The boat was utilized to carry the baggage over; the carts (empty) were driven across, and the animals swam the river. The travelers repacked and "drove on 3 hours and camped." From this point they were again on "Sublette's Trace."

Apparently, on May 23d the expedition crossed from the Little Blue to the Platte; on June 14 Fort Laramie was reached; and on July 5 this company arrived at the Green river rendezvous. The missionaries eventually reached their "Oregon" destination. Of the noncompany travelers, Dr. Frederick A. Wislizenus, Paul Richardson, and two others reappear on the "Kansas" scene—*see* September 17, entry.

Ref: *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, v. 8 (December, 1907), pp. 387-405 (for the Mungers' diary); F. A. Wislizenus, *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839* (St. Louis, 1912), pp. 27-105; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, April 12, 1839, item on the Griffins (reprinted in *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 102); De Voto, *op. cit.*, pp. 379, 380; H. H. Bancroft's *History of Oregon* (1886), v. 1 (1834-1848), pp. 239, 240, lists a number of the "individuals" in the party.

☪ May 7.—Julius C. Robidoux was licensed by the Buchanan county (Mo.) court to keep a ferry on the Missouri river at Robidoux's Landing (at, or near present St. Joseph, Mo.).

Ref: *The History of Buchanan County, Missouri* . . . (St. Joseph, Mo., 1881), p. 167.

☪ May 11.—In Platte county, Mo., William Hague was granted a license to operate a ferry on the Missouri at the Fort Leavenworth crossing.

Ref: Paxton, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

☪ May-June.—The annual spring caravan which crossed “Kansas” to Santa Fe contained, by one report, “93 men with 53 wagons.” (Another traveler wrote that the train contained about 40 “immense waggons” and nearly 400 mules.) Dr. David Waldo and Manuel Alvarez headed the caravan, and presumably were the principal proprietors.

On June 19, after this wagon train had corraled for the night on the east bank of Pawnee Fork (near present Larned), the “Peoria party” (*see* p. 172) came up and joined the traders, to travel in company as far as the Arkansas crossing—a point which was reached on June 28. (The Kansa Indians, on their summer hunt, were on the west bank at Pawnee Fork crossing.)

Solomon P. Sublette (youngest of the five Sublette brothers) may have been with this wagon train. It is known that he left Independence, Mo., by the late spring of 1839, to return to Santa Fe.

The ledgers of Manuel Alvarez seem to indicate that he had (during his trip East in the winter of 1838-1839) purchased goods in New York, Philadelphia, etc., valued at \$9,411.93, which were carried to Santa Fe in the above caravan; and that his wagons, teams, and other equipment were given a valuation of about \$2,500 (at Independence, prior to starting on the overland journey).

Ref: R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-1906), v. 28, pp. 80-93 (for Thomas J. Farnham’s account); L. R. and Ann W. Hafen, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-45, 100-102, 297; *New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fe, v. 21 (April, 1946), p. 136 (for Alvarez ledgers), and v. 36 (January, 1961), p. 52 (for item on Solomon P. Sublette).

☪ In early May, by report, Captain Kelly’s train (14 wagons; about 30 men) started from Independence, Mo., for Santa Fe. But this company did not leave Council Grove till early June. (Untrained mules, and a “long . . . spell of rainy weather” contributed to the delay.)

On June 12, at Cottonwood Crossing, the mounted “Peoria party” (*see* p. 172) overtook and passed Kelly’s wagon train.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 28, pp. 57, 68 (for Farnham’s mention of Kelly and company); L. R. and Ann W. Hafen, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 34, 35 (for Oakley’s account), p. 71 (for Sidney Smith’s mention); J. E. Sunder, editor, *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail* (Norman, Okla., c1960), p. 81.

☪ May.—New missionaries at Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county) were: the Rev. Francis Barker (who began work on the 20th), and Elizabeth Churchill (who arrived on the 25th). (*See, also*, October 23 entry.)

Ref: *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 19 (September, 1839), p. 228.

☪ May 23.—At the site of the new Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian manual labor school (present Johnson county), about 40 men were at work on the project (which had been started late in January).

The location (as described by Agent R. W. Cummins in October, 1838, when he and the Rev. Thomas Johnson chose it): about six miles nearly due

south of the mouth of the Kansas river, and about half a mile west of the Missouri line. (By current survey description: the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 3, T. 12, R. 25 E.) "The site," he wrote, "is on a beautiful elevated rich prairie near & adjoining a beautiful grove of timber on the south on a small creek known by the name of brush creek . . . there are also three springs which are in a line in the edge of the timber. . . ."

Accomplishments on the project, as of May 23, by Cummins' report: 400 acres of land rail-fenced (12 acres in orchard, and in vegetables; 176 in corn, 85 in oats; "five ploughs . . . breaking the balance . . . which is intended for timothy and blue grass"). "The buildings are under way," he wrote, "mechanics preparing brick, 30,000 feet of lumber at the place, 15,000 of it dressed ready for laying floors, 2,500 lights of sash made, stone quarried for the first building, nails, glass, hinges, locks &c ready on the premises."

See, also, October 22-29, 1839, annals entry.

Ref: R. W. Cummins' letter of October 18, 1838 (photostat from National Archives, in KHi ms. division); SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, pp. 4, 5 (for Cummins' May 23, 1839, report); *Christian Advocate and Journal*, v. 13 (March 8, 1839), p. 113 (for Johnson's January 22, 1839, letter).

☐ May 29.—With Thomas J. Farnham as captain, 18 mounted men (mostly from Peoria, Ill., and all novices in the West), set out from a camp west of Independence, Mo. (Seven pack mules carried provisions.) Oregon was their destination (they called themselves the "Oregon Dragoons"), but their pathway (on the advice of traders Andrew W. Sublette and Philip F. Thompson) was the Santa Fe trail and upper Arkansas route.

[A book Farnham subsequently wrote, together with the journals of Obadiah Oakley and Sidney Smith, and Robert Shortess's later-written narrative, give detailed information on the experiences of this company.]

The Peoria party crossed the Big Blue (of Missouri) on May 31 and encamped that evening at Elm (or Round) Grove [about 33? miles west of Independence] in the Shawnee reserve. By the evening of June 7 (after several days of delays) they were at 110-Mile creek. Next day three men turned back (accompanying a returning wagon party which had been out to Council Grove). At Cottonwood Crossing the Peorians overtook, and passed, Captain Kelly's train (*see* p. 171); on June 13, about eight miles east of the Little Arkansas, they met Charles Bent's Missouri-bound wagons (*see* p. 173); on the 16th a hunting detachment of the Peorians caught up with the large Santa Fe-bound traders' caravan (headed by Dr. David Waldo and Manual Alvarez); and on the 19th, at Pawnee Fork, the rest of the party joined this wagon train to travel in company as far as the Arkansas crossing (*see* p. 171).

On June 21, in a gun accident, Sidney Smith severely wounded himself. (Doctor Waldo removed the bullet, and gave other assistance.) At the Arkansas crossing (on June 28) three more of the "Oregon Dragoons" deserted—to head for Santa Fe with the caravan. A man named Blair (from the wagon train) joined the dissension-split Peoria party, which with this accession,

totaled 13. Continuing up the Arkansas (Smith despite his wound managed to ride a mule) the group traveled together as far as Bent's Fort—reached on July 6.

Robert Shortess headed the party of eight which then proceeded to Fort St. Vrain on the South Platte. (Eventually six of these men arrived in Oregon—five, at least, in 1840.) Farnham, Smith, Oakley, Joseph Wood, and Blair, hiring a trapper named Kelly to guide them across the Rockies, made their way to Fort Davy Crockett on Green river. There, Oakley and Wood turned back, but the other three went on to Oregon.

Ref: L. R. and Ann W. Hafen, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-120 (Obadiah Oakley's journal, pp. 25-64; Sidney Smith's diary, pp. 67-93; Robert Shortess's narrative pp. 94-120). Thomas J. Farnham's *Travels in the Great Western Prairies* from the London, 1843, edition (as reprinted in Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 28). The Shortess narrative was also published in 1896, in the *Transactions* (24th annual reunion) of the Oregon Pioneer Association.

☪ June-October.—G. S. Tuttle's contract with the war department called for delivery at Fort Leavenworth of 1,000,000 "well-burnt bricks"—200,000 each month beginning June 1—for which he was to receive \$7.39 per thousand.

(In November, 1838, the quartermaster general had noted the satisfactory progress "during the past season in the work of enlarging and repairing the quarters at Fort Leavenworth, and in the erection of stables, rendered indispensably necessary by the increase of the dragoon force stationed at that post. . . .")

In November, 1839, the quartermaster general reported: "The barracks at Fort Leavenworth are in rapid progress; and if an adequate appropriation be made, they may be completed during the next year."

(At the end of 1840, out of an 1840 appropriation of \$30,000 for barracks, quarters, etc. at Fort Leavenworth, \$10,000 had been spent.)

Ref: 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 2* (Serial 344), p. 123 (for 1838 report); 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 89* (Serial 365), p. 19 (for Tuttle contract, made by Capt. Thomas Swords, AQM, on December 31, 1838); 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 1* (Serial 354), p. 113 (for 1839 report); 26th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 74* (Serial 383), p. 4 (for 1840 item). For a sketch of Fort Leavenworth in 1838, see *KHQ*, v. 22, facing p. 113.

☪ BORN: on June 9, at Delaware Baptist Mission (present Wyandotte county), Olive Ann Blanchard, daughter of Missionaries Ira D. and Mary (Walton) Blanchard.

Ref: A. J. Paddock correspondence, in KHi ms. division.

☪ June.—En route from Bent's Fort to St. Louis, Charles Bent, and "Larout" [Antoine Leroux?], with 30 to 35 men, 10 ox-and-mule-drawn wagons (carrying peltries), and 200 "Santa Fé sheep," crossed "Kansas" on the Santa Fe trail. On June 13, in present McPherson county, the west-bound "Peoria party" met this east-bound train. (Bent, earlier, had lost 30 mules and seven horses. These strays were found by the Peorians and taken to Bent's Fort.)

Ref: Thomas J. Farnham's *Travels in the Great Western Prairies* (as reprinted in Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 28, p. 71); L. R. and Ann W. Hafen, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37, 40, 50 (in Obadiah Oakley's journal); Oregon Pioneer Association, *Transactions* (24th Annual Reunion), 1896, p. 95 (Robert Shortess narrative).

☐ **MARRIED:** the Rev. Jesse Greene (a presiding elder in the Methodists' Missouri conference) and Mary Todd (teacher at Shawnee Methodist Mission), on June 21, by the Rev. Thomas Johnson, at the "old" mission (present Wyandotte county). Mary Todd had come to Shawnee mission late in December, 1838.

Ref: Belle Greene's letter of November 13, 1906, in KHI ms. division; Jesse Greene's [Note Book], in *ibid.*; Jackson county, Missouri marriage records (where the date is given as June 25—perhaps the date of recording?); *KHC*, v. 9, p. 165 (footnote), v. 16, p. 196; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 23, 1925 (remembrances of T. J. Greene).

☐ **BORN:** on June 22, at the "old" Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county), William Thomas Johnson, son of the Rev. Thomas and Sarah T. (Davis) Johnson.

Ref: 15th *Biennial Report of the Kansas State Historical Society*, p. 35; *KHC*, v. 12, p. xii. This infant died less than a year later—on April 2, 1840.

☐ June 24.—Agent R. W. Cummins reported the completion of a house for the Shawnee blacksmiths [who were, in 1839, Robert Dunlap and James M. Simpson]. J. J. Edwards had built this residence at a cost of \$650.

(Cummins, in 1838, had stated: "The Blacksmiths' shops are located about six miles southwest of the northeast corner of [the Shawnees'] lands." This seems to be the same location referred to by Dr. Wilson Hobbs [who was at Shawnee Friends Mission in 1850]. He recollected that: "Adjoining us [the mission] on the east was the government blacksmith and shop.")

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, p. 12 (and *see* v. 7, typed copy, p. 28); *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs for 1838* (for Cummins' 1838 statement); *KHC*, v. 8, p. 255 (for Hobbs). For names of blacksmiths *see* last 1839 annals entry.

☐ June 27.—Joseph V. Hamilton (sutler, and postmaster, at Fort Leavenworth) was appointed agent of the Council Bluffs Agency (for the Otoes, Missourias, Omahas, and Pawnees) to succeed John Dougherty.

On August 1 Sup't Joshua Pilcher wrote Hamilton: "so much has the public service suffered on the Upper Missouri for months past, that it is found necessary to order you *forthwith* to your post. . . . You will please proceed immediately to Bellevue . . . & receive from Major Dougherty . . . [if he is there] all books, papers [etc.]. . . ." Agent Hamilton reached Fort Leavenworth about August 12, and left for Bellevue on the 24th(?).

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 32, 33, v. 8, pp. 8, 11; 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 126* (Serial 357), p. 6; *KHC*, v. 14, p. 638.

☐ About July 1 a small caravan (18 men, with a few wagons) left Independence, Mo., for Santa Fe. In the company were several Mexican citizens—among them Don Antonio José Luna and Captain Branch (José de Jesús Branch, of Taos). There were also a

number of Americans, one of whom was actor Matthew (Matt) C. Field.

[A journal Field kept, mostly in verse, provides an account of the party's progress from Cottonwood Crossing to Bent's Fort; and his later-written series of 85 "Sketches of the Mountains and the Prairies," based on his experiences in 1839, contain much Santa Fe trail information and description, as well as some fiction.]

Matt Field and his companions came to the great bend of the Arkansas on July 21; at rain-swollen Walnut creek (reached on the 22d) they were delayed three days; on the 28th they passed near Pawnee Rock. [Later, Field wrote of this landmark: "Pawnee Rock springs like a huge wart from the carpeted green of the prairie. It is about thirty feet high, and perhaps an hundred around the base. One tall, rugged portion of it is rifted from the main mass of rock, and stands totally inaccessible and alone. Some twenty names are cut in the stone, and dates are marked as far as ten years back." In another of his "sketches," he recounted a "Legend of Pawnee Rock."]

At Big Coon creek, on July 31, these travelers were delayed by heavy rains; next day they came to the Arkansas again, and continued up its north bank, arriving at Fort William (Bent's Fort) about mid-August. Several days later they crossed the Arkansas and continued the journey. Matt Field reached Santa Fe after a stop-over at Taos. The caravan, taking a direct route, arrived there in the fore part of September.

(See October annals entry for Matt Field's return journey.)

Ref: Sunder, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii-xxix, 3-50, 60-142 *passim* (especially p. 100, for Pawnee Rock description). The sketch on Pawnee Rock was published in the *New Orleans Weekly Picayune* of November 9, 1840. All 85 "sketches" appeared in both the daily and weekly issues of the *Picayune* between December, 1839, and October, 1841.

☪ **DIED:** Daniel Morgan Boone "one of the two surviving sons of [famed frontiersman] Daniel Boone," on July 13, "near West Port, Mo.," reportedly of cholera(?). He was about 71 years old. (From 1827-1831 he had been a "Kansas" resident, as government farmer for the Kansa Indians.)

Ref: *Jeffersonian Republican*, Jefferson City, Mo., August 31, 1839 (which gave his age as 72); Hazel A. Spraker's *The Boone Family* . . . (Rutland, Vt., 1922), pp. 65 (where his birth date is listed as December 23, 1769), and 123, 124 (where it is stated he was aged 71 years, 1 month, and 19 days on July 13, 1839); Samuel Lewis' letter of March 16, 1839, from Westport—see *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 4, p. 114—referred to Boone's "feeble health." A list of Daniel Morgan Boone's children (with birth dates) is in *KHC*, v. 8, p. 434. In *Vital Historical Records of Jackson County, Missouri*, compiled by the Kansas City chapter, D. A. R. (c1934), p. 411, Boone's birth date is given as December 23, 1769, and death date as July 13, 1839; and his wife, Sarah Griffin (Lewis) Boone is stated to have died June 19, 1850.

☪ **BORN:** on July 13, at Fort Leavenworth, Mary Kearny, daughter of Col. Stephen W. and Mary (Radford) Kearny.

Ref: D. L. Clarke's *Stephen Watts Kearny* . . . (Norman, Okla., c1961), p. 77.

☪ **MARRIED:** Martin Greene and Sarah Ann Pugh, both of Shawnee Methodist Mission, on July 14, by the Rev. Thomas Johnson, at the "old" mission (present Wyandotte county).

Ref: Jackson county, Mo., marriage records.

☪ July.—Weston, Mo. (as later recollected by W. M. Paxton, who had been there from July 14 to 20), was a “busy, bustling town of three hundred people.”

(Early-day histories state that Joseph Moore, ex-soldier, from Fort Leavenworth, selected the town site in the fall of 1837; that in 1838 Bela M. Hughes [then just 21] purchased a half interest in it; that after he took control, in the winter of 1838-1839, the town began to prosper; and that the plat of Weston was recorded in 1839.)

In May, 1840, Weston was reported to have 400 inhabitants.

Ref: Paxton, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24; *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri* . . . , p. 561; *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 119.

☪ July 16.—Andrew Potter, recently blacksmith for the Kickapoos, was stabbed and killed by a drunken Indian named Wapuatuck (a son of Kennekuk, the Prophet) at the subagency building on the Kickapoo reserve, in the presence of Potter’s family and others (white men and Indians).

Dragoons arrested Wapuatuck and he was put in the Fort Leavenworth guardhouse. (In April, 1841, he was sentenced to 18 months’ imprisonment, and fined \$500. Apparently he was given clemency by the President in May(?), 1841.) One result of the incident, as reported by Agent R. W. Cummins, was the subsequent “backwardness in some of the parents of the children in sending or letting them remain at the school [for the Kickapoos, supported by the government, and taught by a Methodist missionary].”

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, “Records,” v. 7, typed copy, p. 65, v. 8, pp. 9, 10, and in typed copy, p. 129; *Report of the Comm’r of Indian affairs, 1839; KHQ*, v. 28, p. 345; “Remsburg Scrapbook,” v. 1, p. 200 (in KHi library), or *Atchison Daily Globe*, June 19, 1908; OIA, “Letters received from SIA, St. Louis” (Microcopy 234, Roll 752, National Archives), see secretary of war’s letter of May 17, 1841; *New Orleans Weekly Picayune*, June 28, 1841.

☪ July.—The trading licenses issued by Joshua Pilcher (sup’t of Indian affairs, St. Louis) in 1839 *which had a “Kansas” connection* were all issued during this month:

Joseph Robidoux	July 17	At Robidoux’s trading house “five miles west of Blacksnake Hills,” Mo.; and, on the south [Kansas] side of the Missouri, with the Iowas, Kickapoos, and Sacs & Foxes
Joseph Lafleche	July 23	With the Iowas and Sacs of Missouri at their villages [in Kansas]; also with the united Pottawatomies at their [Council Bluffs, Ia.] villages; at Bellevue, Cabanne’s post, and at the Pawnee villages [all in present Nebraska]
P[ierre] Chouteau, Jr. & Co.	July 25	With the Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawatomies at their villages [Council Bluffs, Ia.] and on the Marais des Cygnes [in Kansas]; and with the Osages near their villages on Grand [Neosho] river [in Kansas]

The license for Pierre Chouteau, Jr., & Co. is notable for mention of the location *on the Marais des Cygnes*—the American Fur Company’s *new* post (of 1839 origin?) for the *newly arrived* Pottawatomies’ trade, on the river’s south bank at the ford on the *new* Fort

Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road, about three miles west of the Missouri line, where now is the village of Trading Post, Linn co. Michel Giraud headed this establishment, and for some years it was known as Giraud's trading post.

(Trading Post was the locale of the May, 1858, "Marais des Cygnes massacre" in which five Free-State men were murdered and five wounded by a Proslavery gang from Missouri—see *KHQ*, v. 10, p. 356 for historical marker text. William P. Tomlinson who visited "Chotteau's Trading Post" [his spelling] in 1858, wrote: "It is an old place, having been established as a frontier post to trade with the Indians long before Kansas was organized as a Territory. The buildings are chiefly log—long, low, and ruinous. . . .")

See February 21 and August 10, 1840, annals for other information on Giraud, his associates, and an early marriage at "Trading Post."

Ref: OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 752), Pilcher's abstract of licenses granted in SIA, St. Louis for the year 1839; William P. Tomlinson's *Kansas in Eighteen Fifty-Eight* . . . (New York, 1859), p. 62; M. Giraud is mentioned in Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 and 407; W. A. Mitchell's *Linn County, Kansas* . . . (c1928), pp. 197, 198, contains an account of the Giraud-Chouteau trading post.

¶ In July, *apparently*, a party of 159 Shawnees from "Neosho, Arkansas," arrived to join their kinsmen on the reservation in "Kansas." Agent R. W. Cummins wrote, on July 23, that he had made a contract with John C. McCoy to "furnish and issue provisions" to these Indians, and was forwarding a muster roll of the immigrants to Sup't Joshua Pilcher.

As Cummins explained it, the Shawnees west of the Mississippi [*i. e.*, those living in Missouri] who made the November 7, 1825, treaty (see *KHQ*, v. 27, p. 540) had separated afterwards; some (Fish's band) had moved to the reservation in "Kansas"; Lewis Rogers' party had stopped on the Osage river till 1832(?); a third party (the above band) had gone to Arkansas.

In his annual report for 1838, Cummins had stated: "This tribe [Shawnee] numbers about 975, besides those who still remain on the Neosho, Arkansas"; yet in his 1839 report (*after* the above 159 Shawnees arrived in "Kansas"), he gave the number of Shawnees in his agency as 963! (Perhaps he meant to write "including" rather than "besides," in 1838.)

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 15, 16; 26th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 161* (Serial 378), p. 57; *Reports of the Comm'r of Indian affairs for 1838 and 1839*.

¶ July 25.—A delegation of five or six Wyandots from Ohio arrived at Westport, Mo., to explore possible locations in "Kansas" to which their people might emigrate.

This party, which paid its own expenses, returned to Ohio without making a decision, but according to Isaac McCoy, who assisted them, they inclined to a location which included parts of the Shawnee and Delaware reserves. (See, *also*, November 7 entry.)

Ref: *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs, 1839*; Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 559.

¶ About July 26th trader Lancaster P. Lupton left Independence with six goods-laden, ox-drawn wagons and a small party of men, taking the Santa Fe road to head for his trading post "Fort Lupton," on the South Platte (some 50 miles north of present Denver).

On the upper Arkansas, on August 30, Vasquez & Sublette's faster-moving company overtook and passed Lupton's outfit. Presumably Lupton reached his destination in mid-September.

Ref: L. R. and Ann W. Hafen, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-167 (E. Willard Smith's journal).

¶ July-August.—Two-year licenses to trade with the Indians in the Fort Leavenworth Agency, as issued by Agent R. W. Cummins, were as follows:

C[yprian] Chouteau	July 25	with the Delawares, Shawnees, and Kansa
Charles Finley	August 21	with all agency tribes [<i>i. e.</i> , the above, plus
[Findlay]		the Kickapoos]
James M. Hunter	" "	" " " "
Robert Johnston	" "	" " " "
William McCoy	" "	" " " "
T[homas] J. Guthrie	" "	" " " "

Ref: OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 752), Abstract of licenses granted in SIA, St. Louis for 1839. William McCoy (and his brother John) arrived in Independence, Mo., in 1838—see *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 4 (April, 1948), p. 188—but McCoy is not listed in the 1840 U. S. census of Jackson county, Mo. Nor are James M. Hunter or Robert Johns(t)on in that census; but Findlay and Guthrie are.

¶ Among the steamboats plying the Missouri during the middle and late summer, as reported at St. Louis, were the following:

In July, the *Shawnee*, *Wilmington*, the *Smelter* (which departed on the 25th for Independence, Mo.), and the *General Leavenworth* (which arrived from Independence on the 30th, with 50 cabin and 36 deck passengers).

In August, the new *Naomi* (George Taylor, master), the *St. Peters*, *Kansas*, *Wilmington*, *Pizarro*, the *Smelter* (which arrived from Independence on the 15th), *Rhine*, *Malta*, and *Shawnee*.

In September, the *Rhine* (which reached St. Louis on the 7th, had met the *Pizarro* at Glasgow, Mo., on the 4th, the *St. Peters* on the 5th, aground at Pinkney bar, and the *Malta*, near the Missouri's mouth on the 6th). The *Rhine* reported the river very low and falling. However, the *Pizarro* (Cleveland, master) advertised to leave for Weston, Mo., on the 14th.

Ref: *Missouri Daily Argus*, St. Louis, issues of July 23 through September 13, 1839 (microfilm, KHi).

¶ August.—On the 6th partners Louis Vasquez and Andrew W. Sublette, with four goods-laden wagons, and a party totaling 32 men, took the Santa Fe road out of Independence to head for "Fort Vasquez" on the South Platte (some 10 days' journey north of Bent's Fort). The teams (and most of the mounts) were mules. Sublette, at least, had a fleet horse.

Trader Philip F. Thompson (of Fort Davy Crockett, on Green river, beyond the continental divide) was in this company. (Apparently he had his trading goods on pack animals.) Baptiste Charbonneau (son of Sacajawea) was one

of the two half-breeds employed as hunters. Another traveler was E. Willard Smith (a young civil engineer), whose journal is the chief source of information on the journey.

The Vasquez-Sublette party arrived at Council Grove on August 15. Four more persons joined the group on the 16th. West of the "Kansas" boundary, on August 30, this cavalcade overtook trader Lancaster P. Lupton (whose ox-teams moved slowly). On September 3 the company passed Bent's Fort; and on the 13th reached Fort Vasquez.

(On August 2, west of the continental divide, Obadiah Oakley of the "Peoria party" met some of a company of 10 men under "Captain Craig" [one of Philip F. Thompson's partners at Fort Davy Crockett]. The party of 10 was en route to the South Platte to meet Thompson, who, as noted above, was on that date about to leave Independence, Mo.)

Ref: L. R. and Ann W. Hafen, *op. cit.*, p. 56, and pp. 151-195 (for E. Willard Smith's journal); *The Colorado Magazine*, v. 27 (July, 1950), pp. 161-188, contains the same material; and the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, v. 14 (September, 1913), pp. 250-279, also contains Smith's journal (but with some slight variations). *The Colorado Magazine*, v. 29 (January, 1952), p. 20, has information on Philip F. Thompson. "A. Sublette and Phil Thompson" had arrived at Independence, Mo., from the mountains late in May, 1839—as noted by Robert Shortess in *To the Rockies and Oregon* (cited above), on p. 98. See, also, D. B. Nunis, Jr., *Andrew Sublette* . . . (Los Angeles, 1960), pp. 59, 60.

☪ BORN: on August 19, at Fort Leavenworth, Clifton Ormsby Wharton, son (and first child) of Maj. Clifton and Oliveretta (Ormsby) Wharton.

Ref: *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Philadelphia, v. 2 (1878), p. 217; Wharton biographical data (in KHi ms. division and in KHi library). [Henry Shindler's] "History of Fort Leavenworth" (ms., in KHi library) states that all six Wharton children were born at Fort Leavenworth. The first reference above names four other Wharton children (without giving birth date) as Oliver Franklin, John Burgwin (died young), Josephine, and Mary Etta (died young).

☪ August.—A party of 108 Ottawa Indians from the Maumee Valley of Ohio, in charge of R. A. Forsyth, arrived at St. Louis, by steamboat on the 14th. It appears they were then transported by steamboat up the Missouri to Chouteau's Landing; and that the last stage of the journey was made in wagons. These Maumee Ottawas reached the reserve (in present Franklin county) before August 29. (See earlier—1837—migration of the Maumee Ottawas to "Kansas," on p. 75.)

As reported, two chiefs were with this band—Autokee (the head chief), and Petonoquette "a much younger man," half French. Both were said to be "very good men, well informed, and not much inclined to barbarity." Autokee was a son of the "celebrated chief" Tushquaquier, whom the Ottawas looked upon as "the father of the tribe."

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, p. 37, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 70, 71, 100, 101; *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs, 1839; 26th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. No. 126* (Serial 357), p. 8 (for emigrating officers); Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Personal Memoirs* . . . (Philadelphia, 1851), p. 666; 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 89* (Serial 365), p. 3. By inference, the war department contracts from this last reference, as listed below, relate to the Ottawas of Maumee: (1) J. Throckmorton, August 15, 1839, Transportation of "Indians, &c" to "Chouteau's Landing" as "soon as practicable"; (2) W. M. Chick, August 22, 1839, Transportation of "Indians" from "Chouteau's Land-

ing" "to their homes, west," \$4.50 for each wagon per day. Grant Foreman's *The Last Trek of the Indians* (c1946), pp. 91, 92, contains some additional information about the early stages of the Ottawas' journey, but is incorrect as to their trip west from St. Louis and the Indians' experiences after reaching "Kansas." *Niles National Register*, v. 57 (October 12, 1839), p. 112, says R. A. and D. C. Forsyth were the conductors.

¶ During August and early September "Señores Thompson and Cordero" crossed "Kansas" with a large trading caravan (reportedly over 100 wagons) en route to Santa Fe.

"Cordero" was José Cardero of Chihuahua, Mexico—and presumably he was bound for that place. Thompson's identity seems to be in question. It is possible he was P. W. Thompson, agent for the St. Louis trading house of Powell and Lamont.

Matt Field, eastbound on the Santa Fe trail, noted the meeting of his party with the Thompson-Cardero wagon train on September 29, at a point within a week's travel of Santa Fe. In his diary he referred to the caravan as "Senór Cordero's Companero," and mentioned that he dined with the "American Drivers."

Ref: Sunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 277. The Philip Thompson who was at Independence in June, 1839, left there August 6 (*see* annals entry) with the Vasquez-Sublette party; and therefore was not the same Thompson who went to Santa Fe.

¶ August-September.—The Santa Fe-bound 36-wagon caravan of Hicks & Marney which, on October 1, was approaching Rabbit Ear creek, and then within 10 days' travel of its destination, apparently crossed "Kansas" in late August and the fore part of September.

East-bound traveler Matt Field noted the meeting of his party with the caravan. He recorded the traders' names as "Hick & Barney."

Ref: Sunder, *op. cit.*, p. 54; James J. Webb, in *Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844-1847* (Glendale, Calif., 1931), p. 133, refers to traders "Hicks and Marney."

¶ September 5.—From Fort Leavenworth, Col. Stephen W. Kearny, Maj. Clifton Wharton, and two First U. S. dragoon squadrons commanded by Capts. Nathan Boone and James Allen marched northward on the "Council Bluffs road" (across Leavenworth, Atchison, and Doniphan counties of today) toward the Platte.

(Other officers on this expedition were: Surg. Edward Macomb, and Lts. Philip R. Thompson [Adj.], Enoch Steen, Levi P. Davidson, Robert H. Chilton, and William Bowman. Chap. Henry Gregory was along, too.)

At the Council Bluffs Agency, Bellevue (Neb.), on September 16, Colonel Kearny counceled with the Otoes and Missourias (against whom complaints had been made). The Indians' new agent, Joseph V. Hamilton, assuming responsibility for their future good conduct, dissuaded the colonel from punishing them.

On the 17th the dragoons crossed the Missouri and camped at a Pottawatomie village (at the Council Bluffs, Iowa, settlements) for the night. Next day Kearny counceled with some of the chiefs. The expedition then began the homeward march (the route is not recorded). On September 25 Kearny and his command returned to Fort Leavenworth.

Ref: Louis Pelzer's *Marches of the Dragoons* . . . (Iowa City, 1917), pp. 82-85; *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, December 25, 1839; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, pp. 8, 11, 56; 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 1* (Serial 354), p. 56; Chittenden and Richardson, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 176, 177; *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 20 (February, 1840), pp. 42-44 (for Gregory).

☐ September 6.—In a report on his summer's work for the Indian department, Dr. Joseph R. De Prefontaine, of Westport, Mo., stated he had given smallpox vaccinations to 517 Delawares, 809 Shawnees, and 237 Kickapoos in the Fort Leavenworth Agency; also, to 312 Pottawatomies, 90 Ottawas, 44 Peorias & Kaskaskias, and 33 Weas & Piankeshaws in the Osage River Subagency.

The Pottawatomies, suffering from the prevalent fever and ague, had been too ill to assemble for vaccination. De Prefontaine had visited as many Indian dwellings (in July) as time permitted. The Kansa (out hunting) could not be reached as a body, so had been omitted (but their agent stated they had been vaccinated in 1838).

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 20, 21 (in KHi ms. division); Jotham Meeker's "Diary," July 17 and 18, 1839, entries; OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 752), for De Prefontaine's report, with Joshua Pilcher's letter of September 27, 1839.

☐ BORN: on September 18, at Ottawa Baptist Mission (present Franklin county), Emeline (Emma) Meeker, daughter of Missionaries Jotham and Eleanor (Richardson) Meeker.

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary"; 15th *Biennial Report of the Kansas State Historical Society*, p. 35. On December 22, 1859, Emeline Meeker married Peter Byram, of Atchison. She died April 22, 1880. See L. A. Alderson's *A Brief Sketch of the Life and Character of Mrs. Emma Meeker Byram* . . . (1880), pp. 2-5.

☐ The regular autumn east-bound Santa Fe caravan, numbering 20 wagons, crossed "Kansas" during September and reached Missouri early in October. By report, the traders brought back close to \$200,000 in specie.

Ref: John E. Sunder's statement in *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail*, p. xxiv (in which he used as reference the *Daily Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 4, 5, and November 12, 1839); *Niles National Register*, v. 57 (October 19, 26, 1839), pp. 128, 133.

☐ On September 17 a small mounted party—Dr. Frederick A. Wislizenus, Paul Richardson (the leader), Charles Kline, "Mr. Koontz," and a French trapper ("Swiss")—with pack animals, set out from Bent's Fort (Colo.) to follow down the Arkansas river and the Santa Fe trail to Missouri.

(For the journey of Wislizenus, Richardson, Kline, and Koontz to the mountains, see May 4 annals entry. After reaching Fort Hall [Idaho] in late July, they, and two others, had determined to return to Missouri, but by a different route. Joined by "Swiss" they had traveled across the Rockies and down to Bent's Fort by way of Fort Davy Crockett [on Green river] and the trading posts on the South Platte. They arrived at "Penn's Fort"—as the doctor termed it—on September 15.)

These five men crossed the present Colorado-Kansas line about September 20; by the 26th they had reached Pawnee Fork; on the 27th they passed Pawnee Rock ("which is accounted as half way between the boundary of Missouri and Penn's [Bent's] Fort," wrote Wislizenus). On the 28th, after

they had crossed Walnut creek, the doctor became lost (in foggy weather) from his companions, veered several miles north of the Santa Fe road and found himself in "a great swamp" [the Cheyenne Bottoms in Barton county of today]. With his riding horse, pack horse, and dog, he crossed this "swamp." Wislizenus described Cheyenne Bottoms and his experience as follows:

"Toward north and south I could see no end to . . . [the swamp], but it seemed to extend only a few miles toward the east. The water was not very deep and the ground pretty firm. . . . I rode my horse forward at the slowest pace, but it often slid down on grass and reeds. My pack animal I led after me with a rope. All sorts of water birds swarmed around from all sides. Never have I seen together such quantities of swans, cranes, pelicans, geese and ducks, as were here. The swamp was fairly covered with them, and they seemed to feel themselves so safe that I could have killed hundreds of them with the shot barrel of my double-barreled weapon. . . . I finally reached . . . [some] tall reeds, and the second half of the swamp still lay before me. My horse now would not budge for either whip or spur; so I dismounted and dragged it after me by the bridle. The water sometimes reached to my chest. With slow and measured step I moved onward; my dog swam usually in the rear of our stately procession. The sun was sinking when I finally reached the other side of the swamp."

After camping overnight, Wislizenus continued eastward; finally, on the fifth day of his solitary travel, he came out on the Santa Fe road. The next day he "went 25 miles on a stretch to Cottonwood Creek" where he caught up with his companions. (This was on October 4.) Reaching Council Grove on October 6, these travelers stayed three days (because of continuous rains), and set out again on the 9th. On October 14 they rode into Westport, Mo.

Ref: Frederick A. Wislizenus, *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839* [as translated from the original German edition of 1840] (St. Louis, 1912), pp. 85-147 (the Cheyenne Bottoms account can be found on pp. 143, 144); L. R. and Ann W. Hafen, *op. cit.*, p. 62 (for Obadiah Oakley's list of persons with Wislizenus); Walter H. Schoewe (in *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, v. 56, June, 1953, p. 164) states: "The Cheyenne Bottoms are in Barton County, primarily in T. 18 S., Rs. 12 and 13 W., about six miles northeast of Great Bend. Hoisington is in the northwest corner of the Bottoms, Ellinwood lies to the southeast. . . ."

¶ In the late summer and during the autumn the Kansa "suffered dreadfully with sickness," and perhaps 100, or more, of the nation died. Commenting on this in February, 1840, the Rev. Thomas Johnson also wrote: "They left their villages in the time of their sickness and have not all returned yet."

Agent R. W. Cummins, in his October, 1839, report, stated, of the Kansa: "This tribe has been exceedingly sickly this season; many of them died; their number at present is 1,602. (See April, 1839, entry for other comment on the Kansa population.)

Ref: *Christian Advocate and Journal*, v. 14 (March 20, 1840), p. 122 (for Thomas Johnson's statement—his source it may be assumed was either his brother William [missionary to the Kansa], or Agent Cummins); Lorenzo Waugh in his *Autobiography* (2d, enlarged edition, 1884), p. 126, stated that when he arrived at the Kansa mission [either in 1839, or 1840] to serve as assistant missionary for a few months, "sickness was prevailing among these Indians at a terrible rate, and many were dying off." The latter part of 1840 was also a time of much illness among the Kansa—see *KHC*, v. 16, p. 231.

☪ BORN: on September 30, at Kickapoo Methodist Mission (present Leavenworth county), John Wesley Berryman, son of the Rev. Jerome C. and Sarah C. (Cessna) Berryman.

Ref: 15th *Biennial Report* of the Kansas State Historical Society, p. 35.

☪ October 5.—About this date, apparently, Ewing, Clymer, & Co., opened a store and trading establishment in Westport, Mo. An extant account book (October, 1839-October, 1840) of the firm states, on a front page: "These Books commenced October 5th 1839."

"Clymer" was Joseph Clymer ("of the firm of Ewing Walker & Co.," of Logansport, Ind.), who had arrived in western Missouri in the spring(?) with letters of introduction from Sen. John Tipton and George W. Ewing, both of Logansport.

The largest (and longest) accounts in this record are labeled "Sugar Creek outfit" (*i. e.*, the Pottawatomie Indians of Sugar creek, present Linn county), to whom were sold blankets, scarlet cloth, calico, shoes, gloves, coats, bridles, spurs, beads, knives, axes, pans, kettles, salt, flour, bacon, etc.

Listed below are the names of individuals (largely Westport residents) who purchased goods (gloves, coats, fur caps, blankets, and a wide variety of merchandise items) from Ewing, Clymer, & Co., in 1839:

Daniel Yoacham, Johnston Lykins, Allen McGee, James Johnston, Jos. R. De Prefontaine, A. L. Davis [Indian subagent], Allen McGee, James McGee, Joseph Parks [of the Shawnee Nation], Robert Weathered, Jonathan J. Piert, Boone Hays, A. B. Van Bibber, William M. Chick, John C. McCoy, Samuel C. Roby, William Parks [of the Shawnee Nation?], John W. Polke, Baptiste Peoria [Indian interpreter], Francis Philibert, Lewis Vogel, Jacob Ragan, Andrew J. Stinson [brother-in-law of A. L. Davis], Seth Hays [later trader at Council Grove], Greenup Dodson, David H. Burnett, Hamilton McDowell, Luther Rice [part-Pottawatomie], Wesley Mulkey, William Bowers, David Lock, Stephen Bourassa [part-Pottawatomie], James B. Devenport, Robert Wilson, John ["Tauy"] Jones, Samuel J. Hensley, John B. Young, William Pelott, Isaac McCoy, George W. Yoacham, John Self, Charles Cummins, Samuel Wade, Walter Bales.

Ref: Ewing, Clymer, & Co., account book (microfilm, KHi). (The original is in the archives of The Native Sons of Kansas City, Missouri.) An account item of April, 1840, date "Reed De Smith" (for six yards of "Canadian Jeanes," etc.) may represent a sale to the Rev. Pierre-Jean De Smet. The Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 26 (1839), contain the Tipton and Ewing letters of February 28 and March 16, 1839, respectively. "J. Climer" and "G. N. Ewing" (as transcribed) are listed in the 1840 U. S. census of Jackson county, Mo. *The History of Cass and Bates Counties, Missouri* . . . (St. Joseph, Mo., 1883), p. 807, lists Joseph Clymer as an early resident of West Boone township, Bates co.—near the "Kansas" line—and states that he moved to Texas after the Civil War.

☪ In a small (five-wagon) eastbound caravan of Mexican merchants (one of them Don José Chavez) which crossed "Kansas" in October, Matthew C. Field was the only "American." From Council Grove, on October 24, he and three Spanish companions (also three servants) rode on ahead to Independence, Mo., arriving there October 30.

This party, which left San Miguel, N. M., September 23 to take the Cimarron route, had been accompanied to the Arkansas crossing by a military escort (25 mule-mounted soldiers) headed by Lt. José Hernandez. A brass cannon served the traders as protection from that point to Cottonwood Grove, where it was cached.

Matt Field, in his journal, recorded Spanish names (and translations) for "Kansas" streams and places: *Nepeste* [Arkansas] river, *Rio de Pananas* [Pawnee Fork], *Rio de Nuezes* [Walnut creek], *Punta la Circuila* [Plum Buttes], *Rio de Nepestita* [Little Arkansas river], *Rio de Alamos* [Cottonwood river], and *Concilio Arboleda* [Council Grove].

Ref: Sunder, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiv, 50-59 (for the journal), 288-293, 304-311. On p. 300, Field states: "The party was composed entirely of Mexicans, the writer forming one solitary exception." Evidently Dr. David Waldo (*see* p. xxiv) traveled in company only as far as San Miguel. *Niles' National Register*, v. 57 (November 30, 1839), p. 217, stated that the *Pizarro* which reached St. Louis on November 11, had on board \$60,000 in specie brought from Santa Fe; and that her passengers included Matt Field and five Mexican gentlemen from Santa Fe.

☪ October 22-29.—In this interval, the following events occurred at the *new* Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian manual labor school (present Johnson county):

On the 22d the Rev. Thomas Johnson moved his family down from the old mission (some six miles northwest, near present Turner, Wyandotte co.—*see* *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 178, 179) to the new location. (A report of October 15 had stated that a frame building sufficient for two families was nearly completed; and a brick building, intended for a boarding house, cook room, and family residence, was in progress.—*See, also*, May 23, 1839, annals item.)

On the 23d the Indian students were moved to the new institution. On the 25th the centenary of Methodism was celebrated there. On the 29th the Indian manual labor school opened. The missionaries were ministers Thomas Johnson (and his wife), Jesse Greene (and his wife), Wesley Browning (who arrived on October 14), David Kinnear (formerly at Kickapoo mission), and Elizabeth Lee (recently of Kickapoo mission).

Ref: Martha B. Caldwell, compiler, *Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission* . . . (Topeka, 1939), pp. 31, 32; also, Miss Caldwell's typescript compilation (with sources of data), which was the basis for the published *Annals* (on file in KHi ms. division).

☪ MARRIED: the Rev. Francis Barker, and Elizabeth Churchill, both of Shawnee Baptist Mission, on the evening of October 23, at the mission (present Johnson county), by the Rev. Jotham Meeker (of Ottawa Mission).

Ref: *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 20 (March, and June, 1840, pp. 58, 126; Jotham Meeker's "Diary," October 23, 1839.

☪ MARRIED: Patrick Brown (son of Jacob and Maria Henry Brown), of Fort Leavenworth, and Catharine Sweany (daughter of Hubert and Johanna Boys Sweany), on October 27, at the home of the groom, by the Rev. Anthony Eysvogels, S. J., of Kickapoo Catholic Mission.

Ref: "Kickapoo Register" (at St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kan.), *courtesy* of the Rev. Augustin C. Wand, S. J.

¶ October 29.—At Fort Leavenworth contracts were let for construction of sections of the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road principally in the area between the Marais des Cygnes and Spring river crossings. (*See, also*, October 15, 1838, annals.)

In the middle of 1840, when Capt. Thomas Swords returned to Fort Leavenworth after inspecting the road as far as the Arkansas river crossing (in present Oklahoma), he reported it "very nearly finished."

Ref: 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 89* (Serial 365), p. 41; F. P. Prucha, *op. cit.*, p. 86; *KHQ*, v. 11, pp. 124, 125.

¶ Late in October(?) 62 Chippewa Indians of the Swan Creek band, conducted from their Michigan homes by Albert J. Smith, arrived at their small (two by six mile) reserve on the Marais des Cygnes (west of the Ottawas' lands), in present Franklin county. In the party were Chief Esh-ton-o-quot (Clear Sky), or Francis McCoonse, his family, some relatives, and a few followers.

Of their journey to "Kansas," no account has been found. Sup't Joshua Pilcher, at St. Louis, learned of their emigration *after* the Chippewas reached their destination. Abraham S. Schoolcraft and William P. Patrick assisted Smith in conducting the party to the Indian Country.

By report, these Chippewas "immediately began to clear lands and make preparation for building and fencing. The mildness of the climate permitted them to labor uninterruptedly through the winter. . . . By the 20th of April, 1840, each head of a family had cleared and fenced and planted a number of acres, and most of them had built comfortable log cabins. . . . The chief had from twelve to fifteen acres enclosed, and had completed a good log dwelling. . . ."

(For the confederation of the Munsee Indians with these Chippewas, in 1859, *see* December, 1837, annals entry on p. 79; and *see, also*, August 30, 1837, annals entry on pp. 72, 73.)

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, p. 60; *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs for 1839*; Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Personal Memoirs* . . . (1851), p. 670; *KHC*, v. 11, pp. 314-316; 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 126* (Serial 357), p. 8 (lists Smith, Schoolcraft, and Patrick as emigrating officers; and gives October 29, 1839, as the date their service ended).

¶ November(?).—Col. S. W. Kearny and five companies of Fort Leavenworth's First U. S. dragoons journeyed to Fort Gibson [Okla.] and home again over the new military road. Factional difficulties in the Cherokee Nation prompted this hasty trip. As Colonel Kearny put it, concisely, in a letter he wrote in December:

"Genl. [Mathew] Arbuckle, assisted by the Arkansas people, tried hard to get up an alarm against the Cherokees. I marched down with 250 Dragoons, found all quiet but the Genl. and then marched home again. Great men have done the same before me. . . ."

Ref: 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 1* (Serial 354), p. 56; *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs for 1839* (*see* Secretary of War J. R. Poinsett's letter of November 9, 1839, to Brig. Gen. Mathew Arbuckle); *The Trail Guide* (published by the Kansas City posse, *The Westerners*), v. 1, no. 3 (July, 1956), p. 19 (for quote from Kearny's letter

of December 17, 1839, to Maj. E. A. Hitchcock); *Niles' National Register*, v. 57 (December 14, 1839), p. 241.

☪ About November 2(?) Nicholas Boilvin (agent to explore lands for a Winnebago reserve) debarked at Westport Landing, Mo., from the *Malta*. (The Winnebagoes who were to have accompanied him had decided it was too late in the year for such a tour.)

The prospective reserve (suggested by Isaac McCoy) was north of the Delawares, south of the Otoes, and west of the Kickapoos, Iowas, and Sacs & Foxes (see map in *KHQ*, v. 28, facing p. 177 for visual reference). McCoy later wrote: "early in November, I gave direction to a tour of exploration by N. Boilvin, Esq. . . ." and "I spent seven days in the wilderness at the commencement of this tour."

Other facts about the trip can be deduced from Boilvin's expense account. At Westport, on November 9, he settled with Daniel Yoacham (for board and room?). This was likely the starting date of his late-in-the-year overland journey. On November 25 (having concluded his exploration of the prospective reserve?) he paid the Rev. William Hamilton (of the Iowa, Sac & Fox Mission) for expenses "at Great Nemahaw." On November 30 (back at Kansas river?) he paid out nine dollars to "C[yprian] and F[rederick] Choteau" for blankets. On December 2 he settled with William M. Chick (at Westport) a merchandise bill of \$235.23, paid "Tom Captain" for the use of a horse for 22 days, and paid Benjamin Lagoterie (see p. 54 for item on "Lagautherie," an Iroquois) \$22 for his services (at a dollar a day?) as guide. On December 21 Richard Brooks received \$33 for his services as a "hand" for one month.

Ref: Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 26 (for Boilvin's letters of October 20 and November 4, 1839; also McCoy's letter of November 5, 1839, to J. C. McCoy); Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (1840), p. 558 (for quotes, above); 28th Cong. 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 161* (Serial 378), p. 47 (for Boilvin's disbursements).

☪ November 7.—Seven Wyandots from Ohio (described as "Hicks & Co.") arrived at Westport, Mo., to consider a location for a reserve in "Kansas" which an earlier delegation (see July 25 entry) had reported as desirable. Probably Francis A. Hicks, aged 39, headed this group, rather than his father Chief John Hicks. U. S. Comm'r William H. Hunter (congressman from Ohio) joined them later in the month, with instructions to purchase land from the Delawares and Shawnees, contingent on the Wyandots' acceptance of it as their future home.

When negotiations ended, in December, both the Delawares and Shawnees had agreed to sell certain acreage from their reserves. But the Wyandots failed to carry the matter further. Four more years elapsed before they made a treaty for removal.

Ref: *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs, 1839*; Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (1840), p. 559; *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 82-85, 225. In the Ewing, Clymer, & Co. (Westport, Mo.) 1839-1840 account book (microfilm, KHi) an entry under December 10, 1839, is for halters, saddles, bridles, etc. sold to "Hicks & Co. ('Wiandott') . . . Bording at D[aniel] Yoachams."

☪ November.—In his annual report the army's commander-in-chief in Washington listed Fort Leavenworth's garrison as six First U. S. dragoon companies—with Col. Stephen W. Kearny's command having an aggregate of 436 (23 commissioned officers and 413 troops). This compared with a six-company aggregate of 329 in 1838 (*see* p. 161).

Ref: 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 1* (Serial 354), table pp. 72, 73.

☪ November 30.—Indian department disbursements of this date show payment to the following persons for services to the Iowas, and to the Sacs & Foxes in "Kansas," as fulfillment of some September 17, 1836, treaty terms—*see* pp. 55, 56.

For the *Iowas*: to J. T. V. Thompson "for breaking up and enclosing grounds," \$2,800; to W. J. Norris "for live stock," \$1,163.62; to R. B. Mitchell "for erection of houses," \$3,500; and to Garnet M. Hensley "for a ferry boat," \$100.

For the *Sacs & Foxes*: to William J. Norris "for livestock" \$1,163.62; to R. B. Mitchell "for erection of houses," \$2,100; to J. T. V. Thompson "for breaking up and enclosing grounds," \$2,800; also, on November 16, to Garnet M. Hensley "for erection of mills, etc.," \$2,786. (This last item may have been for both the Sac & Fox and Iowa mills.)

Ref: 26th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 161* (Serial 378), p. 55.

☪ BORN: on December 3, at Pottawatomie Methodist Mission, present Miami[?] county, James Andrew Peery, son of the Rev. Edward T. and Mary S. (Peery) Peery.

Ref: Si and Shirley Corn's *Our Family Tree* (1959), Section IV; U. S. Census, 1850, Jackson County, Mo., Kaw township, no. 86 (for Edward T. Peery family). James Andrew Peery died February 28, 1853.

☪ December 5.—Albert G. Wilson was appointed postmaster at Fort Leavenworth. It is probable that Wilson had received appointment as sutler at the military post some weeks earlier.

The preceding postmaster had been Joseph V. Hamilton (*see* an item on his sutlership in *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 501; also the April 3, 1838, item on his appointment as postmaster; and the June 27, 1839, item on his appointment as Indian agent at Council Bluffs). According to Col. S. W. Kearny, the Fort Leavenworth council of administration nominated "a Mr. Miller [Daniel Miller?], a young Country Merchant" to succeed Hamilton as sutler, and Miller subsequently was appointed [temporarily?] against Kearny's wishes. But Kearny states: "I insisted upon my right to have a voice in the appointment. . . ." Apparently, then, Albert G. Wilson, was Kearny's choice. Wilson was succeeded in mid-1841 by Hiram Rich.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 1-2, p. 255 (or, v. 7, p. 441); *The Trail Guide* (Kansas City posse, The Westerners), v. 1, no. 3 (July, 1956), p. 18 (for Kearny's letter of December 17, 1839). For a comment on "Daniel Miller," *see* *KHC*, v. 14, p. 649.

☪ December 5(?)—With John W. Newcom (a Stockbridge, of Buffalo, N. Y.) as their conductor, a party of Stockbridge and

Munsee Indians from Wisconsin territory arrived at Westport, Mo.; and on December 6(?) reached the Delaware reserve, north of Kansas river.

The *Munsees* joined their people—the 72 Munsees who had come to “Kansas” in December, 1837 (*see* p. 79)—at the “Westfield” settlement (where Muncie, Wyandotte co. is today). Newcom stated 84 Munsees were in his party. Agent R. W. Cummins, in February, 1840, put their number at 105[!] (In September, 1840, he reported the total Munsee population in the Fort Leavenworth Agency as about 183 persons.)

The *Stockbridges* (84 by Newcom’s count; 74 by Cummins’ reports), after councils with the Delawares, were given permission to settle on the latter’s reserve (if the Stockbridges would see that the government added a tract of land to the Delawares’ original holdings). On February 4, 1840, Cummins wrote that the Stockbridges would “in a few days remove from where they are now encamped and settle near Fort Leavenworth”—nearly 20 miles from the Munsees. In September he described the location as “about four or five miles below . . . Fort Leavenworth.” Among the heads of families in the Stockbridge emigrating party (as listed on a roll accompanying the Stockbridge and Munsee treaty of September 3, 1839) were: Thomas T. and Eli Hendrick, Robert Konkapot (also, other Konkapots), John W. Newcom (who brought his family from New York, later), Jonas Littleman, Henry Skickett (or “Skiggett,” who had been in “Kansas” prior to 1839), Eli Williams, and James Rain (a Munsee, but enrolled with the Stockbridges).

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, “Records,” v. 7, typed copy, p. 181, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 32-34, 43, 60, 76; Isaac McCoy “Manuscripts,” v. 26 (draft of December 26, 1839, letter, and a December 31, 1839, memorandum), v. 27 (January 2, 1840, item); *Report of the Comm’r of Indian affairs for 1840* (for Cummins’ September, 1840, report); *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 20 (March, 1840), p. 58; Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 529-531; *Report of the American Board of Comm’rs for Foreign Missions for 1840*, pp. 184, 185; 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc.* 42 (Serial 355); 26th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc.* 161 (Serial 378), pp. 54, 55.

¶ Employed in “Kansas” by the Indian Department during all, or part of the year 1839 were the following persons:

FORT LEAVENWORTH AGENCY—Agent Richard W. Cummins; *Interpreters* Henry Tiblow and Clement Lessert; *Blacksmiths* Robert Dunlap (for Shawnees), James M. Simpson (for Shawnees), William F. Newton (for Delawares), John Van Horn (for Kansa); *Assistant blacksmiths* Wilson Rogers (for Shawnees), Benjamin Rogers (for Shawnees), John Pemesco (for Delawares), Charles Fish (for Kansa); *Farmer* James Hays (for Kansa); *Teacher* David Kinnear (for Kickapoos).

Within the “discontinued” GREAT NEMAHAW SUBAGENCY—John Dougherty, acting, succeeded by Joseph V. Hamilton, acting; *Blacksmiths* Hiram W. Morgan (for Iowas), Stewart M. (or L?) Reynolds (for Sacs & Foxes); *Assistant blacksmiths* John B. Rubetie (for Iowas) and Andrew Gilmore (for Sacs & Foxes); *Farmers* James Duncan (for Iowas) and Benjamin F. Catlett (for Sacs & Foxes); *Millers* William P. Trippets (for Iowas) and D. Smith (for Sacs & Foxes).

OSAGE [MARAIS DES CYGNES] RIVER SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Anthony L. Davis; *Interpreter* Luther Rice; *Issuing agent* (at \$3 per diem) Andrew H.

Stinson; *Blacksmiths* Jesse King and Robert Wilson; *Assistant blacksmith* Andrew Fuller. (The three smiths, all for the Pottawatomies, were appointed April 16, 1839).

OSAGE SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Congreve Jackson. [No other employees listed.]

Ref: 26th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 126* (Serial 357), pp. 5, 6; 26th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 161* (Serial 378), pp. 42, 43, 50, 55; SIA, v. 7, typed copy, pp. 5, 13, 14, 40; Letters received by OIA (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 752), R. W. Cummins' return for September 30, 1839.

(Part Eleven Will Appear in the Autumn, 1963, Issue)

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by ALBERTA PANTLE, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books the Society's library is receiving, a list is printed annually of those accessioned in its specialized fields.

These books come from three sources, purchase, gift, and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on American Indians and the West, including explorations, overland journeys, and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on 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.

The library also receives regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribes to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were received from October 1, 1961, through September 30, 1962. 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 Society's secretary printed in the Spring, 1963, issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

KANSAS

- AMON CARTER MUSEUM OF WESTERN ART, *Inaugural Exhibition. Selected Works, Frederic Remington and Charles Marion Russell*. Fort Worth, Tex., 1961. Unpaged.
- ANDERSON, E. T., *A Quarter-Inch of Rain*. Emporia, 1962. 220p.
- AVENARIUS, G. A., *Ellsworth, Kansas, Photo-Gravures*. No impr. Unpaged.
- BABA, MIKE J., *Are They Really Clean?* [Wichita, c1962.] 16p.
- BAILES, KENDALL E., *Rider on the Wind; Jim Lane and Kansas*. Shawnee Mission, Kan., Wagon Wheel Press (5832 Woodward), 1962. 228p.
- BARNES, ELIZABETH, *Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society Completes Thirty Years of Service*. No impr. 20p.
- BARNES, ST. PETER EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1883-1958*. No impr. Unpaged.
- BAUGHMAN, ROBERT W., *Kansas Post Offices, May 29, 1828-August 3, 1961*. N. p., Kansas Postal History Society [c1961]. 256p.
- BAXTER SPRINGS, FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH, *History of First Christian Church, Tenth and Park Avenue, by Claude H. Nichols*. No impr. 40p.

- BEATIE, RUSSELL HARRISON, JR., *Road to Manassas* . . . [New York] Cooper Square, 1961. 285p.
- BELOIT, FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, *From These Stones, 1871-1961, a History* . . . No impr. Unpaged.
- BETHANY COLLEGE, LINDSBORG, BETHANY TEACHERS' WIVES, comps., *Measure for Pleasure* . . . Lindsborg, Compilers [c1961]. 175p.
- [BINDERIM, COZIE ELLEN], *The Joy of Verse*. No impr. 32p.
- BIRD CITY, METHODIST CHURCH, *Historical Booklet of the Seventy Fifth Anniversary* . . . 1886-1961. N. p., 1961? 28p.
- [BLACKBURN, MRS. ANONA], *Kansas Centennial, 1861-1961: Courtland, Kansas*. N. p., 1961. Unpaged.
- BRANCH, E. DOUGLAS, *Hunting of the Buffalo*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1962. 239p.
- BREIHAN, CARL W., *The Day Jesse James Was Killed*. New York, Frederick Fell [c1961]. 235p.
- BREUKELMAN, JOHN, and RALPH P. FRAZIER, *Offerings and Enrollments in the Secondary School Sciences in Kansas in 1960-1961*. Emporia, Kansas State Teachers College, 1961. 48p. (*The Emporia State Research Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1.)
- BURR OAK, METHODIST CHURCH, *History of the Methodist Church of Burr Oak, Jewell County, Kansas*. N. p. [1962]. Typed. 15p.
- BURRES, PAUL WILLIAM, *Downstream; a Modern Story of Men and a River*. Saint Louis, Concordia Publishing House [c1961]. 248p.
- CAPE, WILLIAM H., *Child Labor in Kansas*. Being a Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty of the Fort Hays Kansas State College in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Science. N. p., 1948. Typed. 128p.
- [CARDWELL, MRS. HOMER, and others, comps.], *New Scandinavia's Ninety-Three Years, 1868-1961. From Indian Days to Space Dreams*. No impr. Unpaged.
- CARMAN, J. NEALE, *Foreign-Language Units of Kansas. Volume 1, Historical Atlas and Statistics*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1962. 330p.
- CASTEL, ALBERT, *William Clarke Quantrill, His Life and Times*. New York, Frederick Fell [c1962]. 250p.
- CATHOLIC CHURCH, DIOCESE OF SALINA, *Diamond Jubilee of the Diocese of Salina, August 2, 1887-August 2, 1962*. N. p. [1962?]. 38p.
- CLAPPER, OLIVE, *One Lucky Woman*. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday & Company, 1961. 503p.
- [CLEAVER, CHARLES], *Dedicated to My Grandchildren* . . . No impr. Mimeographed. 30p.
- COFFIN, ELIJAH, *Life of Elijah Coffin; With a Reminiscence by His Son Charles F. Coffin* . . . N. p., E. Morgan & Sons, 1863. 307p.
- COOPER, C. M., *History of the Agricultural and Industrial Institute (Nigger Hill), Crawford Township, Cherokee County, Kansas*. No impr. 55p.
- CORLEY, WAYNE E., *County and Community Names in Kansas; How the 105 Counties and Over 1000 of the Communities Got Their Names*. Denver, c1962. Mimeographed. 82p.
- Courtland Story*. N. p. [1961?]. Mimeographed. Unpaged.

- COWGILL, DONALD O., and F. SAMUEL OSTERTAG, JR., *People of Wichita, 1860 . . . Wichita*, 1962. 79p.
- CUBA SUNFLOWER HOME DEMONSTRATION UNIT, *Kansas Centennial, 1861-1961: Cuba, Kansas*. N. p. [1961]. Mimeographed. [72]p.
- CUTLER, BRUCE, *A West Wind Rises*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press [c1962]. 105p.
- DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, FLORES DEL SOL CHAPTER, WICHITA, *Tombstone Inscriptions From Greenwood Cemetery, Formerly Cartwright Cemetery, Located Southwest of Wichita, Kansas*. N. p., 1961. Typed. [37]p.
- , MARTHA VAIL CHAPTER, ANTHONY, *Harper County Cemetery Records . . . [Compiled by Mrs. Hugh Ransom and Mrs. W. J. Greve]*. N. p. [1960]. Typed. Unpaged.
- DAVIS, JED H., and MARY JANE LARSON WATKINS, *Children's Theatre; Play Production for the Child Audience*. New York, Harper & Brothers [c1960]. 416p.
- DE POY, JOSEPHINE VERHAGE, *Kansas, Where the East and West Clasp Hands*. Downs, De Poys [c1961]. 2p.
- DERBY, FLORENCE, *Greater Love, an Inspiring Message From a Gold Star Mother*. No impr. 39p.
- DIGHTON, FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH, *75th Anniversary, 1886-1961*. No impr. Unpaged.
- DOWNES, METHODIST CHURCH, *90th Anniversary of the Downs Methodist Church, Downs, Kansas, 1962*. N. p., 1962. Unpaged.
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- DRURY, JAMES W., *Government of Kansas*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1961. 393p.
- EASTON, ROBERT, and MACKENZIE BROWN, *Lord of Beasts; the Saga of Buffalo Jones*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press [c1961]. 287p.
- EATON, FRANCES QUAINANCE, *Opera Production, a Handbook*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press [c1961]. 266p.
- EDWARDS, PHILIP S., *Medicine Lodge Indian Peace Treaty . . . Kechi*, Mid-America Publications [c1961]. 46p.
- EVERHART, CHARLES DON, comp., *Our Heritage; the History of Hillsdale, Kansas*. N. p. [1961]. Mimeographed. 43p.
- EWY, MARVIN, *Charles Curtis of Kansas: Vice President of the United States, 1929-1933*. Emporia, Kansas State Teachers College, 1961. 58p. (*The Emporia State Research Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2.)
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- [FORBES, DELORES STANTON], *They're Not Home Yet, by Forbes Rydell*. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday & Company, 1962. 189p.
- Fort Leavenworth; From Frontier Post to Home of the United States Army Command and General Staff College*. No impr. 63p.
- FOWLER, SINA FAYE, and others, *Food for Fifty. Fourth Edition*. New York, John Wiley & Sons [c1961]. 446p.
- FOY, EDDIE, and ALVIN F. HARLOW, *Clowning Through Life*. New York, E. P. Dutton & Company [c1928]. 331p.

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- FUSON, BEN W., ed., *Centennial Bibliography of Kansas Literature, a Supplement to Centennial Literary Map of Kansas: 1854-1961*. Salina, Kansas Wesleyan University, 1961. Mimeographed. 100p.
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- GILLEN & DAVY, *Atlas of Jewell County, Kansas* . . . Chicago, 1884. 95p.
- GILMORE, JULIA, *We Came North, Centennial Story of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth*. N. p., 1961. 538p.
- GOOD, CHARLES M., *Parables of Jesus*. Boston, Christopher Publishing House [c1961]. 142p.
- GOOD, FRANK, comp., *Rare Recipes and Budget Savers* . . . Wichita, *Wichita Eagle and Beacon*, c1961. 112p.
- GOODLAND, FIRST METHODIST CHURCH, *75th Anniversary, Sunday, May 7, 1961*. No impr. [12]p.
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- GREENE, ZULA BENNINGTON, *Kansas Women of Medicine*. N. p., 1961. Typed. 17p.
- Guide to Fort Riley, Kansas*. No impr. 42p.
- HARGER, CHARLES MOREAU, *Cattle-Trails of the Prairies*. [Dallas, Highlands Historical Press, 1961.] [12]p.
- HATFIELD, DOROTHY KERSEY, *Faith; and Other Poems*. No impr. 17p.
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- HOWE, EDGAR WATSON, *The Story of a Country Town, Edited by Claude M. Simpson*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1961. 347p.
- HUGHES, EVERETT CHERRINGTON, *Students' Culture and Perspectives; Lectures on Medical and General Education*. Lawrence, University of Kansas School of Law, 1961. 59p.
- INGE, WILLIAM, *A Loss of Roses*. New York, Random House [c1960]. 127p.

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- IOLA, FIRST METHODIST CHURCH, *First Methodist Church, Iola, Kansas, 1860-1960. A Century of Christian Service*. Iola, First Methodist Church, 1960. 34p.
- JARRELL, ARCH W., *Strictly Personal, 1939-1961*. No impr. 32p.
- JEFFERSON, JOHN C., *Adventures of Jason Smith & Joe Dirringer Along the Republican River in the Winter of 1836 and 1837*. No impr. [32]p.
- JOHNSON, DANIEL THOMAS, *Pardee Butler: Kansas Abolitionist*. A Master's Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts, Department of History. Manhattan, Kansas State University, 1962. Mimeographed. 74p.
- JUNCTION CITY, FIRST SOUTHERN BAPTIST CHURCH, *Years of Hope and Fulfillment; a History of the First Southern Baptist Church, 1954-1961*, by J. R. Huddleston. Junction City, First Southern Baptist Church [c1961]. 28p.
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- PAOLA, METHODIST CHURCH, *Centennial Year, 1858-1958; Souvenir Handbook and Historical Sketch*. No impr. Mimeographed. [28]p.
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Bypaths of Kansas History

AN OUTLANDER VIEWS KANSAS CITY

From the *La Cygne Weekly Journal*, June 18, 1870.

Kansas City is a great institution. It is as full of holes as an ordinary colander—vacant lots are used for public cisterns; they make good ones too, and “no expense out” to the city. The streets are all up hill or down, and its citizens all have patent brakes attached in order to navigate them successfully. Strangers, unaccustomed to the ways of the city, are often “found dead” in the streets, having got under such momentum in their peregrinations that they have the breath of life crushed out of them by contact with some of the sharp corners and abrupt street terminations. Preachers always “stick to their text,” clay is so abundant. Lots are always sold with the specification “in a straight line across,” else the unwary would be taken in by measuring “down and up,” making double the number of “feet front.” Surveyors in order to “take a level” have to grade down. It is all hollows and hills, bluffs and bottoms. What a splendid place it would have been to make a strategic display of earthworks during the late war. Bastions and redoubts could have been formed at very little expense. Indeed, we are half inclined to believe that its inhabitants are in ignorance of the close of the war yet, they are so busily engaged in “throwing up earthworks.”

—It is bound to be a “big thing”—indeed, it is that now, but it will be bigger as it gets older; and if it is *ever* finished it will be beautiful, we suppose—although its beauty now is very much like that of a man who has had the small-pox—but it has fine dwellings, and finer business blocks and “more coming,” and energetic and shrewd business men.

IT WAS THE LAW IN CHETOPA IN 1880

The State Historical Society recently received a manuscript volume of ordinances for the city of Chetopa, 1879-1881. The book was lent for microfilming by Mrs. Maxine L. Kinton, Mansfield, Ohio, whose grandfather, A. R. Bell, was city clerk of Chetopa for 34 years. Among the “thou shall nots” were these:

No. 8, Sec. 3. For throwing any stone, brick, club or other missile in or across any street or alley of this city; or in any public place, or at any house or building; [punishable] by fine, not less than three, nor more than ten dollars. . . .

No. 8, Sec. 6. For leaving any horse, mule or other beast of burden in the streets without being hitched to some substantial place of fastening; [punishable] by fine, not more than five dollars; and for any fast or reckless driving or racing [punishable] by fine, not exceeding twenty-five dollars. . . .

No. 8, Sec. 8. For setting on foot, promoting or engaging in, as umpire, judge or witness, any premeditated fight between persons, trained animals or trained fowls; [punishable] by fine, not exceeding one hundred dollars, nor less than

twenty-five dollars; or by imprisonment, not exceeding three months; or both, with costs; with judgment of imprisonment until the fine and costs be paid or satisfied. . . .

No. 17, Sec. 1. It shall be unlawful for the owner of any horses, cattle, sheep, goats or swine to allow or permit the same to run at large, within the corporate limits of the city of Chetopa.

ADVICE TO CHURCH GOERS OF 1880

From *The Daily Republican*, Parsons, December 13, 1880.

There is room enough in the Parsons churches for all the people who desire to attend, but not room enough for their *dogs*. It seems absolutely ridiculous that any one should go to church with a filthy cur following. It may be congenial to the taste of those who allow dogs to follow them, to allow them to associate themselves with them during divine worship, but it is exceedingly offensive to the average church goer. Go to church but leave your dogs at home.

A CHURCH GOER.

"Church goer" is right. The lovers of dogs when they go into the presence of their Divine Master should leave their curs at home, as a church is no place for these brutes; and it is hoped that hereafter they will be kept at home. We take this occasion to suggest to the person who has charge of the M. E. church that it would add more to the Godliness of the place of worship, if the cobwebbs (which are thicker than sinners) were swept from the walls. It looks bad, as one expects to see everything in order in the House of the Lord. Dogs, cob webbs and other filth should never be allowed to cross the threshold of the house of worship, and we hope that the duster and broom may be vigorously applied to the woodwork and walls of the largest and best church we have in our city. Besides the dogs there is another class of nuisances to church congregations. It is a class of people who make a practice of leaving church during divine service, and on leaving it seems they try to see how much noise they can make to disturb the minister and the worship of the congregation. Such people as well as the dogs should remain at home, for they never can remain long enough in one place for the Lord to gather them into his fold.

AN EASTERN VIEW OF THE FOUNDING OF A WESTERN TOWN

From the *Dodge City Times*, July 16, 1885.

The founding of a western town is a very simple matter when one understands it. A New Yorker, who was in Kansas when a town was founded, says that two men drove out on the prairie, and stuck some stakes, and took a drink of whisky and called the town "Pawnee City." Then they organized a city government and granted themselves charters for a street railway and gas company, established a couple of banks, donated a couple of lots towards building a court house, and rushed the following through the common council:

"RESOLVED, That eastern capitalists have their attention called to Pawnee City as a place offering superior advantages for manufacturing."

Only twenty-two minutes were consumed in the whole business and half a pint of cheap whisky constituted the sum total of expenses.—*Wall Street News*.

WHY THE 1890'S WERE GAY?

Some "gems" from *The Side Splitter*, a hand-written newspaper from Ellsworth county. This issue, dated March 21, 1891, was written by Sam Livingston. It was brought recently to the State Historical Society for copying by George Jelinek of Ellsworth.

We would like to say something on woman's rights in this issue, but time and space forbid, although we would ad, that the woman has a right to do as they please, thats if their men will let em. . . .

We herd our clirk and devel counting over how many grass widows there were around this neighborhood and visinity, it was ether three or five but we can only think of three, two on the west branch of pig creek, and one at the head waters of goos creek. . . .

there are no use crying over spilt milk for it may be three parts water. . . .

minnie, said John Gilkison, will you be mine, no said minnie I dont want to belong to any man, but you can belong to me if you wish. . . .

Jake Kline says to Myrtie. are you sure that I am the first and only man who ever kissed you. of course I am sure, you do not doubt my word do you? Of course I do not doubt you my darling. I love you too madly, too devotedly for that. But why, oh why did you reach for the lines the very instant I ventured to put my arm around you, if you had never been there before. . . .

I cannot give you a definite answer to night, Mr. Cline, said Minnie softly; you must give me a month to think it over. Very well was Ben's reply, and in the mean time I can think it over myself. . . .

Had enough?



DO-IT-YOURSELF RAINMAKING?

From the *Daily Drovers Telegram*, Kansas City, May 26, 1893.

BOMBARDED THE SKIES.

JUPITER PLUVIUS BLUFFED INTO DROPPING HIS GRIPSACK.

WICHITA, KAN., May 26.—By preconcerted arrangement between the mayors of the cities of Wellington, Winfield, Arkansas City, South Haven, Caldwell, Hutchinson and Newton, a simultaneous bombardment of the heavens was commenced about noon yesterday, and whether as a result or not, all the country between and for some miles beyond the radius marked by these towns was deluged with the heaviest rain that has fallen for eight months.

Enormous cannons and every explosive within reach were brought into requisition and hundreds of men and boys with rifles and guns cannonaded the skies for a couple of hours, until about 2 o'clock the clouds opened their reservoirs and drenched the earth.

The rain continued for about four hours. Yesterday's bombardment was suggested by Mayor Savage, of Wellington, who tried it successfully on a small scale last week. Crop prospects in the eight counties over which the rain fell have been wonderfully improved.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

"Ft. Larned: Guardian of the Old Trail," a history and description of the historic fort, by Edna Walker Chandler, was published in the August, 1962, *National Parks Magazine* of Washington, D. C.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* in recent months included: "Kansans Recall Terror of the Last Indian Raid [in 1878]," by Fred Kiewit, September 23, 1962; "A Century's Changes Evident in Emporia Stories," by Everett Rich, October 4; "Dying, He [the Rev. Samuel M. Irvin] Led a Kansas Faith," by Paul Stubblefield, October 13; "Daughter [Grace Fox] of Stagecoach Manager Lives in Same House [in Humboldt] 80 Years," by Marjean Phillips, December 2; a brief history of Kansas' first hospital for the mentally ill, an old farmhouse near Osawatomie, January 16, 1963; and "Life an Adventure to Famous Kansas Editor [William Allen White]," by Ruby Holland Roseberg, February 9. Among historical articles in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Town [Freeport] Dwindles on Prairie," by James J. Fisher, September 13, 1962; "Custer: Victor in Kansas, Vanquished in Montana," by Robert Pearman, September 20; "When Kansas School Bus Was a Covered Wagon," by Marguerite Kingman, October 10; "A Senator Out of the Records," a review of Homer E. Socolofsky's *Arthur Capper*, by Alvin S. McCoy, October 15; "New Light on a Heroic Marine [Lt. Col. Earl H. (Pete) Ellis] From Kansas," by Robert Pearman, October 30; "Century-Old Family Link to Kansas City Ending," the Johnson county property settled by Thomas Cross Moody in 1857 now the site of a new housing development, by Henri Van Brunt, November 17; "L Road Made Kansas City Up to Date in 1886," by Calvin Manon, December 29; "Girl of 1860's Recounts Pioneer Life in Kansas," by the late Sallie Hutsell Crane, February 1, 1963; "At 82, He [Glenn Stanley] Remembers Boyhood Days in House of Walt Whitman," by John Edward Hicks, February 20; "When Kansas Tried to Control Labor Disputes [in Early 1920's]," by Calvin Manon, March 16; "Old Ft. Larned Unique Relic of Indian Wars," by Robert Pearman, April 2; and "Bloody Quantrill: A Researcher's Unbiased Look," a review of Albert Castel's *William Clarke Quantrill: His Life and Times*, by John Edward Hicks, and "After Six Decades, a Claimant [Kate King or Clarke] to Role of Quantrill's 13-Year-Old Bride," by Donald R. Hale, April 6.

Indian legend concerning the naming of the Marais des Cygnes river was discussed in the September 27, 1962, issue of the *Journal of La Cygne*. The name is interpreted "Marsh of the Swans."

Early Pratt county history was featured in an article in the Pratt *Daily Tribune*, October 1, 1962. The first white settler in the county was A. J. "Skunk" Johnson who arrived in 1873.

"Brown County Banking Pioneered in 1871 by [E. N.] Morrill and [Lorenzo] Janes," a history of the Morrill & Janes Bank of Hiawatha, was published in the Hiawatha *Daily World*, October 3, 1962.

Wagon Bed Springs, on the Cimarron river in Grant county, was the subject of an eight-page section in the Garden City *Telegram*, October 5, 1962. The text, by Bob Greer, was accompanied by numerous pictures relating to that historic spot. The springs was an important watering point on the dry route of the Santa Fe trail and has also been said to be the place where Jedediah Smith was killed by Indians.

The history of the Cherryvale *Republican* was reviewed in its issue of October 24, 1962. The paper was started in 1877 as the *Cherryvale Globe*.

In observance of the centennial of the U. S. National Cemetery No. 1 at Fort Scott, the Fort Scott *Tribune*, October 25, 1962, began publication of a series of historical articles about the cemetery.

Some of the early history of Sterling College, Sterling, was sketched in the October 25, 1962, issue of the Sterling *Bulletin*. The school recently celebrated its 75th anniversary.

A history of salt mining at Lyons was printed in the October 30, 1962, issue of the Lyons *Daily News*. Salt was discovered under Rice county in 1887 and in 1890 mining operations were started.

Heritage of Kansas, publication of the Department of English, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, featured the Iowa, Sac and Fox Indians of Kansas in its November, 1962, number.

Mount St. Scholastica College, Atchison, was featured in a 12-page section of the *Daily Globe*, Atchison, November 11, 1962. The school is currently celebrating its centennial anniversary.

On November 22, 1962, the Hoisington *Dispatch* reprinted from a Dubuque, Iowa, newspaper a brief history of the Kansas settlement of Dubuque. Now a ghost town, Dubuque was located on the Barton-Russell county line.

Beginning in the issue of November 29, 1962, the *Free Press-Tribune*, Colby, published a series of articles, by Keith Willoughby, on lawyers who have practiced in Thomas county. W. G. Porter is credited with being the first lawyer in the county, settling there in 1880. He also published the county's first newspaper, the *Thomas County Cat*, Colby, for a time.

"College Hill, Past and Present," by Hermione van Laer Adams, was the feature of the December, 1962, *Bulletin* of the Shawnee County Historical Society, Topeka. Other stories and biographies, all related to the College Hill area of Topeka, included: "College Hill Livery Stable," by Lena Baxter Schenck; "Charles M. Sheldon—World Citizen," by Carmie S. Wolfe; "Margaret Hill McCarter," by Jessie McCarter Creitz; "The Whittemore House . . .," by Laurens E. and Margaret Whittemore; excerpts from the *College Hill Booster* of 1922; "The Thurston-Van Petten Home," by Alice Van Petten Lyon; "Central Park School," by Chas. F. Hardy in 1933; "Westminster Presbyterian Church," by Raymond H. Gilkeson; "Euclid Methodist Church," by Anna Taylor Galloway; "Central Park Christian Church"; "Miss [Maude] Bishop," by Ruth E. Hunt; "Number Five Fire Station," by Lena Baxter Schenck; "G. L. Jordan, and the Jordan Bakeries, Inc.," by Nancy Veale Galloway; "Early Recollections of College Hill," by Lilian Stone Johnson; "The Mohlers [Martin and Jacob Christian]," by Mary Neiswanger Ihinger; "The Neiswanger Family," by Laura Neiswanger; "Some Memories of College Hill," by Don M. Neiswanger; "The McEachrons," by Jean McEachron Caldwell; "'My' Central Park School," by Mabel Heil Abbot; "Central Park School," by Mrs. Barton Griffith; "Memories as Principal of College Hill School," by Henry Wallace Corbett; "The Nautilus Club"; and biographical sketches by Maude M. Bishop of the following: Dr. Peter McVicar, Joseph Taplin Lovewell, Franklin George Adams, Everett Brooks Merriam, and William Asbury Harshbarger.

"Kansas Crusade: Eli Thayer and the New England Emigrant Aid Company," by Horace Andrews, Jr., was published in the December, 1962, issue of *The New England Quarterly*, Brunswick, Maine.

The reminiscences of Charles M. Black, written by Sue Gilmore, appeared in the *Wichita Eagle and Beacon Magazine*, December 2, 1962. Black came to Wichita with his parents by covered wagon in the early 1880's.

Excerpts from Winifred Brown Burtis' *Growing Up With Kansas*, published in 1953, began appearing serially in the *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, December 3, 1962. Mrs. Burtis' family, the George Browns, settled in Wilson county in 1868.

Among the histories of Kansas churches appearing in newspapers in recent months were: First Baptist, Blue Rapids, *Blue Rapids Times*, December 6, 1962; First Congregational, Russell, *Russell Record*, December 24, and *Russell Daily News*, December 7; Bridgeport Methodist, *Salina Globe-Sun*, December 13, 20, and 27; Pleasant Home, *Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, December 27, and *Goodland Daily News*, December 28; Trinity Lutheran, Greenleaf, *Greenleaf Sentinel*, December 27, and *Linn-Palmer Record*, December 28; Hesston Evangelical United Brethren, *Hesston Record*, January 24, 1963; Muscotah Congregational, *Atchison Daily Globe*, February 3; First Methodist, Great Bend, *Great Bend Tribune*, February 28; Muscotah Methodist, *Atchison Daily Globe*, March 3; Sherman county churches, *Goodland Daily News*, March 3, and *Sherman County Herald*, Goodland, March 7.

"Sixty-Two Years of Telephone Service in Kinsley, Kansas," is the title of a full-page history of Kinsley's telephone service published in the *Kinsley Mercury*, December 6, 1962. The history is largely a compilation of news items concerning the telephone service which have appeared in the *Mercury* since 1899.

A history of the Lower Big John school district of Morris county, prepared by the Morris County Historical Society, was published in the *Council Grove Republican*, December 6, 1962. On February 5, 1963, the *Republican* printed a sketch featuring the biographies of W. H. and Sarah White, pioneers in the Council Grove area.

Gordon S. Hohn was the author of the following historical articles in the *Marysville Advocate*: "New [Union Pacific] Train Service on Topeka Cut-off Started in Face of Great Blizzard [in 1912-1913]," December 13, 1962; "Lee Holloway of Marysville Once Had Job With Oregon Trail Wagon Trains," January 3, 1963; "Winter of 1917-18 Saw War Fever Rise Here, Former Soldier [Carl E. Miller] Writes," January 17; "Telegraph Lines Westward Built in 1862, Ending Era of Pony Express," January 24; "The First County Railroad Depot at Barrett Mills Was Built in 1869," January 31; "Bank Robbers Active in Snowy Winter of 1911-12, Make Get-Away," February 7; and "Disastrous Mortuary Fire in 1928 Was Followed by Later Re-Building," February 28.

"Once a Railroader . . ." a biographical sketch of Claude "Sam" Cravens, Ashland, was reprinted from the *Santa Fe Magazine*, Chicago, April, 1962, in the *Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, December 13, 1962. Cravens operates a railroad museum in Ashland. On January 3, 1963, the *Clipper* reprinted from the *Santa Fe Magazine*, August, 1962, a history of Ashland.

"Mary Yelm of Scott City Is Area's Senior Citizen," was the title of a biographical sketch of Mrs. Mary Yelm Norman, 103 years of age, in the *Hutchinson News*, December 14, 1962. On December 16 the *News* published "Trail City: the Town Fiction Writers Shunned," by Bill Leonard.

"Industrial Elk City 50-60 Years Ago," a description of the business firms and other institutions of the town after the turn of the century by R. R. Painter, was published in the *Elk City Sun*, December 14, 1962.

"Topsy" school, Lincoln county District No. 18, was the subject of a short history by Arthur J. Stanley, Sr., in the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican*, December 20, 1962. The school had its beginning in 1875 in a dugout.

Railroad building into Arkansas City in 1882 and on into Oklahoma territory six years later was the subject of an article in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, December 20, 1962.

Historical information on the school, churches, and pioneer families of Highland township, Morris county, was included in a history of the township, compiled by Mrs. J. H. Comp and printed in three parts in the *White City Register*, December 27, 1962, January 3 and 10, 1963.

Inaugural ceremonies and receptions of several Kansas governors were discussed by Ron Kull in "100 Years Show Inaugural Change," printed in the *Topeka State Journal*, December 31, 1962.

"Eli Thayer and the Kansas Crusade," by Kenneth S. Davis, comprised *Random Readings in Worcester History*, No. 3, published in January, 1963, by the Worcester Free Public Library, Worcester, Mass. The paper was originally presented at the annual meeting of the Worcester Historical Society, May 23, 1961.

Historical Wyoming [County], Arcade, N. Y., published in its January, 1963, issue a biographical sketch of Robert Smith Stevens by Harry S. Douglass. Stevens came to Kansas in 1856 where he remained until the 1870's. He was in Lawrence during Quantrill's raid and described the experience in a letter included in the sketch.

Later he became a railroad promoter and was manager of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas company during its construction period.

Orville W. Mosher's "Museum Notes . . .," in the *Emporia Gazette*, recently included the following articles: "Organizations of Civil War Flourished in Lyon County," January 2, 1963; "Emporia Stonemason [W. A. Patch] Helped Build Streets, Walks Here," January 14; "History of G. A. R. . . .," January 23; "G. A. R. Performed Services for Veterans and Families," January 29; and "Tragic Story of Indian [Jane Goodell] Is Suitable for Opera Theme," February 12. A two-part history of Allen, by Esther Haas, was published in the *Gazette*, February 11 and 12. Articles and pictures pertaining to the history of Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia appeared in the *Gazette*, March 1 and 2. The college recently observed its centennial.

Standing on a hill west of Stockton are the ruins of an English castle built in 1880 by Enos and Eliza Good. Some of the story of this couple and their home is told by June Van Dyke in the *Plainville Times*, January 3, 1963.

Excerpts from a letter by W. S. Broadsword, concerning the life of Israel Broadsword, were printed in the *Phillipsburg Review*, January 3, 1963. Israel Broadsword came to Kansas in 1856, was active in the Free-State cause during the border troubles, served in the Civil War, and homesteaded in Phillips county in 1871.

"Carl A. Swensson Helped To Put Lindsborg on Map," a biographical sketch of Swensson by Selma Lind, was printed in the *Lindsborg News-Record*, January 3, 1963. Swensson was an early Lindsborg minister and founder of Bethany College.

Over 100 historic sites of Kansas are listed in an article by Ruth Meyer in the *Wichita Eagle and Beacon Magazine*, January 6, 1963. Markers have been placed at these sites by the Kansas State Historical Society and the State Highway Commission.

La Harpe's history was reviewed in the January 10, 1963, issue of the *Iola Register*. This Allen county town was founded in the early 1880's. It experienced great expansion after 1900, but by 1917 had reverted to small-town status.

"A Chronicle of the Moody Family and Their Johnson County Farm," by Dorothy B. Moody, was published in two parts in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, January 14 and 21, 1963. The land, near Lenexa, was first settled by Thomas Cross Moody and his sons in 1857.

Kittie Dale is the author of the following articles in recent issues of the Hays *Daily News*: "Another Legend of Round Mound [Near Ellis]," January 20, 1963; "The Old Union Pacific Band [of Ellis]," February 3; and "Only Memories Can Now Recall Work Put Forth by Homesteaders of '70's," March 10.

The *Alta Vista Journal*, January 24, 1963, printed a history of Dwight and northern Morris county, by Keith Kahnt and Mrs. Arthur Pierson.

"Progress" editions have been published recently by the following Kansas newspapers: *Kansas City Kansan*, January 27, 1963; *Newton Kansan*, February 2; *Daily Journal*, Coffeyville, February 24; *Daily Courier*, Winfield, February 26; and *El Dorado Times*, February 28.

Notes on Everest's newspaper history, by Mrs. R. C. Irsik, were published in the *Everest World*, January 31, 1963. The first Everest newspaper was the *Post* which made its appearance in the early 1880's, shortly after the town was organized.

Two articles of historical interest appeared in the *Butler County News*, El Dorado, January 31, 1963: a story of the Matthew D. Cowley family, Butler county homesteaders, by Mrs. Oscar F. Stewart and W. Harry Bradley, grandchildren, as told to Dora Foster; and an article on David L. Payne's attempt to establish a settlement in Indian territory in 1883.

Historical articles appearing recently in the *Pittsburg Headlight* include: a history of the Crawford County Community High School at Cherokee, now abandoned, February 14, 1963; and an article by Harold O. Taylor about a log cabin on the John Denham property southeast of Pittsburg, March 13. The cabin was discovered when a larger building which had been erected over and around it was razed.

"Old Times at Walnut City" is the title of a series of articles by Ivan Glaze commencing in the *Douglass Tribune*, February 14, 1963.

Special editions, commemorating the centennial of Kansas State University, Manhattan, were published by the *Kansas State Collegian*, Manhattan, February 15, 1963, and the *Manhattan Mercury*, February 17.

An illustrated history of the Gilt Edge ranch, Russell county, by June Van Dyke, appeared in the *Salina Journal*, February 17, 1963. The ranch, once 6,640 acres, was started by A. G. T. Cooper

in 1878. It will be covered by water from the Saline river when the Wilson reservoir is completed.

Evaline Edmiston's recollections of events in the Towanda area were published in the *Augusta Daily Gazette*, February 21, 1963. Miss Edmiston was born February 13, 1873, near Towanda.

"Some Western Editors View the Mormon War, 1857-1858," an article by Robert W. Richmond, archivist of the Kansas State Historical Society, comprised the March, 1963, number of *The Trail Guide*, Kansas City, Mo., publication of the Kansas City Posse of the Westerners.

In its March 7, 1963, issue the Toronto *Republican* published a history of the Woodson county community of Finney, by Lester A. Harding. Other articles by Harding, on the history of the cattle industry in Woodson county, appeared in the *Republican*, March 7 and 14.

Historical sketches of the Montezuma State Bank and "Recollections and Reminiscences," by Helen Ward Rennie, appeared in a six-page bank anniversary supplement of the March 13, 1963, issue of the *Montezuma Press*. The bank was founded in 1912 and moved into its present quarters March 13, 1913.

The March 29, 1963, issue of the *Gove County Republican Gazette*, Gove, included articles on the newspaper's own history. The establishment of the *Gazette* at Gove in 1886 was the beginning of the present *Republican Gazette*.

Kansas Historical Notes

The 1962 annual meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society was held October 23 in Abilene. Officers elected at the business session included: Lester Green, Abilene, second vice-president; and Mrs. Walter Wilkins, Chapman, treasurer. B. H. Oesterreich, Woodbine, is president of the organization.

Nathaniel Armel, Humboldt, was elected president of the Allen County History Society at a meeting of the board of directors in Iola, December 4, 1962. Dave Munson was chosen vice-president; Judge Spencer Gard, Iola, secretary; and Mary Hankins, Iola, treasurer. Judge Gard was the retiring president.

The Harvey County Historical Society, informally organized at Newton two years ago, completed its incorporation in December, 1962. C. G. Hornbaker is the president; Lawrence Hauck, vice-president; W. J. Sage, secretary; and Herbert Alumbaugh, treasurer, of the society.

Officers elected by the Santa Fe Trail Association at its annual meeting December 9, 1962, in Council Grove, were: William Whitecotton, Elkhart, president; Mrs. Helen Pfaff, Hugoton, vice-president; and Elmer Newacheck, Larned, secretary-treasurer. Retiring president was Sen. William Wheatley of New Mexico.

The Cloud County Historical Society held its annual meeting and election of officers December 20, 1962, in Concordia. The new officers are: Ernest W. Powell, president; George Dutton, vice-president; Waneta Philbrick, secretary; Mrs. Ada Hendrickson, membership secretary; Ernest Swanson, treasurer; and Mrs. Wilfred Trembley and Robert Hanson, directors. Hanson was the retiring president.

Officers of the Republic County Historical Society for 1963 include: Homer Cardwell, Republic, president; Mrs. Wesley Walenta, Belleville, first vice-president; Arch Thompson, Agenda, second vice-president; Mrs. Madge Dickerhoff, Norway, third vice-president; Mrs. V. A. Berggren, Republic, secretary; Mrs. Matthew Baxa, Belleville, treasurer; and Mrs. Anona Blackburn, Courtland, historian.

The Argonia and Western Sumner County Historical Society has purchased the former Argonia home of Mrs. Suzanna Medora Salter, first woman mayor in the United States. The society

plans to restore the building as a historical shrine and museum. Mrs. Salter was elected mayor of Argonia in 1887. Officers of the society for 1963 are: Orié Cleous, president; Mrs. Carl Earles, first vice-president; Mrs. Paul Phillippi, second vice-president; Mrs. Grace Handy, secretary; Mrs. J. W. Hart, treasurer; Mrs. Margaret Reest, corresponding secretary; and Harold Walker, Chester Mansfield, and Kenneth Briggs, directors.

Mrs. Vern Maupin was re-elected president of the Reno County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting early in 1963 in Hutchinson. Other officers are: Everett Dunsworth, first vice-president; Judge John F. Fontron, second vice-president; Mrs. T. J. Whetstone, secretary; Mrs. Edward Moore, treasurer; and Brice Proffitt, membership chairman.

Henry W. Gauert was re-elected president of the Wyandotte County Historical Society at its annual meeting January 10, 1963, in Kansas City. Other officers chosen included: William E. Carson, vice-president; Mrs. Orin L. Moats, secretary; Mrs. Harry M. Trowbridge, treasurer; Harry H. Richardson, historian; and Harry Hanson and Don Ballou, trustees. Construction of a new building for the society's museum got under way early this year.

Mrs. Henrietta Boyd was chosen president of the Mitchell County Historical Society for a three-year term at the group's annual meeting January 27, 1963, in Beloit. Alan Houghton was the retiring president. Winners of the society's essay contest were announced at the meeting. First place went to Cathy Carrico, Beloit, for her essay "The History of St. John's Parish."

Frank Peppiatt was re-elected president of the Rice County Historical Society at a meeting in Lyons, January 28, 1963. Other officers chosen were: Mrs. Charles Richards, vice-president; Mrs. John Sayler, secretary; Mrs. Frank Peppiatt, treasurer; and Paul Jones, director.

Dr. Rees H. Hughes, president emeritus of Kansas State Teachers College of Pittsburg, was named Kansan of the Year at the annual dinner meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas in Topeka, January 28, 1963. Marshall G. Gardiner, Leavenworth, and Mrs. Everett Steerman, Emporia, were elected presidents of the Native Sons and Daughters at the business meeting. Other officers chosen by the Native Sons were: Glenn D. Cogswell, Topeka, vice-president; Sen. Glee Smith, Larned, secretary; and Doral Hawks, Topeka, treasurer. Officers elected by the Native Daughters were: Mrs. J. E. Beyer, Sabetha, vice-president; Mrs.

B. J. Lempenau, Topeka, secretary; and Mrs. Dane Bales, Logan, treasurer. Emery E. Fager, Topeka, and Mrs. Glenn Henry, Oskaloosa, were the retiring presidents.

"Lawyers Through the Years" was the program theme of the 1963 meeting of the Woman's Kansas Day Club in Topeka, January 29. Material gathered through the year pertaining to this theme was presented to the State Historical Society library. Mrs. Roy S. Gibson, Chanute, was chosen president at the business session. Other officers elected included: Mrs. Paul Wedin, Wichita, first vice-president; Mrs. F. Sharon Foster, Ellsworth, second vice-president; Mrs. Russell Dary, Manhattan, treasurer; Mrs. Thomas H. Finigan, Kansas City, historian; Mrs. Joseph Henkle, Great Bend, auditor; and Mrs. Ray Schirkofsky, Topeka, registrar. New district directors include: Mrs. Percy Converse, Pawnee Rock, first district; Mrs. L. E. Parrish, Topeka, second district; Mrs. Wesley Fry, Lenexa, third district; Mrs. M. A. Koopman, Wichita, fourth district; and Mrs. George Myers, Fredonia, fifth district. Mrs. Frank Huffman, Topeka, was the retiring president.

Officers elected by the Rawlins County Historical Society at a meeting in Atwood, January 30, 1963, were: Mrs. Ruth Hayden, president; Mrs. Dolores Luedke, vice-president; and Mrs. Barbara Creighton, secretary. Mrs. Ivy Yoos is curator of the society's recently opened museum in Atwood.

M. L. Morton was elected president; Dale Fairchild, vice-president; and Mrs. Joe Lewis, secretary-treasurer, of the Safari Museum, Chanute, at the museum's annual meeting January 31, 1963. Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Kenneth Horton were elected to the board of directors. Phillip Cooper was the retiring president. It was reported at the meeting that 15,600 visitors had registered at the museum during 1962.

The Ellsworth County Historical Society re-elected all officers at the annual meeting of the society February 14, 1963, in Ellsworth. They are: Francis Wilson, president; Mrs. Martha Andrews, vice-president; Mrs. Paul Aylward, secretary; and A. H. Barofsky, treasurer.

Officers of the Ford Historical Society were re-elected at a meeting March 8, 1963. They are: Mrs. Walter Umbach, president; Mrs. E. H. Patterson, vice-president; Mrs. Addie Plattner, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. W. P. Warner, custodian and reporter; and Mrs. Lyman Emrie and Mrs. Bill Fowler, historians.

The history of Moundridge is told in pictures in a 40-page pamphlet, *A Pictorial Review—Moundridge, Kansas*, published in observance of the town's recent diamond anniversary.

American Firearms and the Changing Frontier, a 99-page booklet written by the late Waldo E. Rosebush for the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, was published by that society in 1962. The booklet traces the historical and mechanical development of firearms made or used in North America.

A history of Neodesha entitled *Cho o-nee to High Iron*, by Joseph W. Allen, was published in 1962. The 116-page volume covers the period of 1867-1886, "from the wilderness days to the coming of the railroads."

Agnes Tolbert is the author of a 56-page booklet entitled *The Rock Houses of Minersville*, published in 1963 by Adams Press, Chicago. Histories of the towns of Minersville, Cloud county, and Talmo, Republic county, and of Zion cemetery, Republic county, were included in the booklet.

In 1962 the Champoeg Press, Portland, Ore., published the *California and Overland Diaries of Count Leonetto Cipriani, From 1853 Through 1871*, translated and edited by Ernest Falbo. The 154-page volume is Cipriani's account of his cattle drive from Missouri to California in 1853, a visit with Brigham Young in Salt Lake City, and the assembling of his home in Belmont, Calif.

Pioneers of Western Kansas, a 281-page volume by Myrtle D. Fesler, was published by Carlton Press, New York, in 1962. A history of Rooks, Ellis, Graham, and Trego counties, the account deals with "the white man's makeshift settlements, rude school-houses and primitive churches and with the gradual emergence of law and order, civilization and prosperity."

As a memento of the centennial of Kansas State University, Manhattan, 192-page volume entitled *Kansas State University—A Pictorial History, 1863-1963*, compiled and edited by Charles C. Howes, was recently published by the university.

Frederick Merk is the author of *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History*, published in 1963 by Alfred A. Knopf, New York. The 280-page work is a reinterpretation of the doctrine, proclaimed especially in the 1840's and 1890's, that the United States was destined to acquire a continental and overseas empire.

Great Gunfighters of the West, a 176-page work by Carl W. Breihan, was recently published by the Naylor Company, San Antonio, Tex. In addition to biographies of a number of well-known gunmen, the book includes descriptions and pictures of some of their weapons.

The book is a well-written and interesting study of the lives and careers of some of the most famous gunfighters of the Old West. It includes biographies of such men as Wild Bill Hickok, James W. Coy, and others, and also provides a detailed account of the various types of firearms used during that period.

The author has done a thorough job of research, and the book is a valuable addition to the literature on the Old West. It is well illustrated with numerous photographs of the men and their weapons, and the text is written in a clear and concise style.

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THE KANSAS
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE EARLY CAREER OF ABRAHAM L. EISENHOWER, PIONEER PREACHER	<i>Gladys Dodd</i> , 233
With pictures of Dr. and Mrs. Abraham L. Eisenhower, a G. A. R. reunion in front of the Eisenhower store at Hope in 1887, and the Eisenhower home in Abilene, <i>frontispiece</i> .	
AT WHAT AGE DID MEN BECOME REFORMERS?	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 250
NORTH CENTRAL KANSAS IN 1887-1889: From the Letters of Leslie and Susan Snow of Junction City (in two installments, Part One), Edited by <i>Lela Barnes</i> , 267	267
KANSAS BEFORE 1854: A Revised Annals, Part Eleven, 1840-1841	Compiled by <i>Louise Barry</i> , 324
With portraits of Jacques Ash-Kum, the Rev. Felix L. Verreydt and John Tecumseh "Tauy" Jones, <i>facing</i> p. 328; and Jerome C. Berryman and picture of the Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School, <i>facing</i> p. 329.	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	360
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	361
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	365

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Correspondence concerning articles for the *Quarterly* should be addressed to the managing editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

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THE COVER

This post card scene depicts a soldiers' reunion in the city park at Dodge City. Post card art can be tricky. While this particular picture is reproduced from a card announcing the 1910 encampment, the Kansas State Historical Society also has an almost identical card heralding the 1914 gathering, with the car painted out! If one were to rely on the dates, it would seem that none of the persons shown on both cards had moved a muscle for four years!



The David J. and Abraham L. Eisenhower Brothers store at Hope, with Dr. Abraham's veterinary shingle hanging from a corner of the porch. The occasion was a Grand Army of the Republic reunion, Memorial day, 1887.



Giving up his store, and finally much of his veterinary activities, Dr. Abraham Eisenhower also left his comfortable home in Abilene in the 1890's, and with his wife took to the road in a Gospel wagon. The couple later settled near Thomas, Okla., where they made their home into an orphanage.

The Abraham Eisenhower home at Abilene, which was bought by David J. Eisenhower, became the boyhood home of young Dwight and his brothers.



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The Early Career of Abraham L. Eisenhower, Pioneer Preacher

GLADYS DODD

I. INTRODUCTION

IT IS well known that most of former Pres. Dwight Eisenhower's adult years were spent outside organized religion. He was 63 before joining a church. His views on religion indicate, however, his preference for the informal church service. He likes vigorous singing and vigorous preaching. "I like to be enthusiastic in church," he once said.¹ On another occasion he told a preacher, after a particularly forceful sermon, that he liked a man "who shoots from the hip."²

Dwight D. Eisenhower's paternal family had at least four clergymen—his great-grandfather, Frederick Eisenhower; his grandfather, Jacob F. Eisenhower; and two uncles, Abraham L. and Ira A. Eisenhower. The first two were prosperous Pennsylvania farmers who regarded the soil of men only a little less precious than the souls of men; Abraham was a veterinarian; Ira, a painter and paper hanger. River Brethren ministers were self-supporting; none received salaries. While the man of God preached the Word on Sunday, he plowed or plied a trade on Monday. The Eisenhower preachers represent a combined ministry of well over 100 years.

Jacob Eisenhower and his two sons, Abraham and Ira, were pioneer preachers in Kansas at a time when Texas cattle trails were still so hard-packed that wheat could not sprout in them, although

MISS GLADYS DODD, native of Eureka, is presently a teacher in American history at the high school in Westminster, Colo. This paper is excerpted from her bachelor of divinity thesis, "The Religious Background of the Eisenhower Family," submitted to the Nazarene Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Mo.

1. Paul Hutchinson, "The President's Religious Faith," *Christian Century*, Chicago, March 24, 1954, p. 369.

2. Merriman Smith, *Meet Mister Eisenhower* (New York, Harper and Bros., 1955), p. 7.

the turbulent days of gun-toting cowboys and marshals like "Wild Bill" Hickok were forever gone from Abilene.

Like the Jacob in Genesis, Jacob Eisenhower heard that the corn was good in another country and he led his household and some of his Pennsylvania-Dutch friends to prairie lands south of Abilene in the spring of 1878. Eisenhower's vanguard constituted the first of several River Brethren contingents migrating to central Kansas, where their Dutch diligence was soon rewarded by bountiful harvests of the Mennonite wheat which was to make Kansas the breadbasket of the world.

The River Brethren were similar to the wheat-growing Mennonites in more ways than in their agrarian economy. Like the bonneted and bearded Mennonites, the Brethren were a "plain people." Prayer veilings for their women and flowing beards for their men proved to the world that they were a separated people. They shunned "worldliness" like the plague, and their most worldly ambition was to make an honest living from the prairie soil. Only their great barns and well-filled corncribs and haymows hinted at prosperity, as their homes were virtually bare of the comforts of life. Even carpets were regarded as being "worldly."

Jacob Eisenhower was the first River Brethren minister to reside in Kansas, and it appears that his home was the Brethren's first regular meeting place in the state. Until their first church building was erected at Abilene in 1885, the Brethren worshipped every Lord's day in the parlor of his farm home in the Belle Springs community. Here he preached God's love to all mankind, the heinousness of war and of bearing arms and of taking oaths. He preached separation from the world—in spirit, in conduct, and in dress. He preached the ordinances of the church—baptism, the love feast, and feet washing.

In this parlor meetinghouse, Abraham Lincoln Eisenhower began his active religious life, which was to result in a ministerial career. Converted as a boy, Abe joined the church in his father's house at the age of 14, after being baptized in the mode prescribed by the River Brethren. He was immersed three times forward by Bishop Jesse Engle, the first overseer of the Kansas colony, and later the first foreign missionary in the Brethren church.³ The shallowness of Kansas streams was no real deterrent to Brethren baptisms, since candidates knelt in the water to receive the ordinance.

3. *Evangelical Visitor*, Nappanee, Ind., January 15, 1945.

II. DR. A. L. EISENHOWER

Except for occasional love feasts in neighboring barns⁴ and weekly marketing trips to the county seat, Abe's boyhood world was enclosed on all four sides by the endless hedge rows bounding the family's Belle Springs farm. The farm held a single attraction—animals, particularly horses. Five days between the plow handles could be endured if only on the sixth he could hitch his father's team of fast ponies to a light buggy and race over the unfenced prairie, to trade butter for a bushel of 50-cent potatoes and four-dollar flour.⁵

It was the natural thing for Abe to gravitate from farm to animal doctoring, and soon after his marriage to Anna Long in 1885 he set up his veterinary office in a corner of his oldest brother Dave's general merchandise store at Hope, Kan. A photograph of the Eisenhower building of the period shows a small board sign on the store front reading, "A. L. Eisenhower, D. V. S."

Although Abe did not attend a veterinary school until he began his Abilene practice, he gained quite a reputation in Hope, as a horse doctor,⁶ where he became known as the "genial veterinarian."⁷ The Hope *Herald* which carried his ads contains many news items about the young veterinarian.

In the early days Abe may have learned his practice from a local veterinarian, possibly J. D. Fike, a veterinary surgeon, of Lost Springs, whose name appeared in the local news of the Hope *Herald*;⁸ or perhaps J. D. Stroup, of Hope, whose card appeared in the *Herald* during 1885.⁹ But whatever Abe lacked in formal training at this time, he made up in ingenuity, an inventive cleverness which served to squeeze him through many a knothole in the years to come. His nephew, Bishop Ray Witter of Navarre, Kan., tells how in those early days before his practice was established, Abe would trot up and down the dusty roads in his two-wheeled gig in a most urgent manner, causing farmers to marvel at the industrious young veterinarian. Since he was that busy, he must be good and

4. These two-day religious gatherings were usually conducted in barns, as early day Brethren did not believe in worshipping God in a specially built meeting house. The love feast consisted of psalm-singing, testimonials, and sermons, and, on the evening of the second day, a simple meal eaten by candlelight, after which the ordinance of feet washing was observed.

5. Kenneth S. Davis, *Soldier of Democracy* (Garden City, Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1945), p. 27.

6. Hope *Herald*, September 1, 1887.

7. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1889.

8. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1887.

9. *See, e. g.*, the issue of July 4, 1885.

they began to employ his services for their ailing stock.¹⁰ And he proved to be a good vet, his nephews, two of them still living at Hope, agree.¹¹

In addition to his veterinary practice, Abe undertook to carry on the general store with his brother Dave, Dwight Eisenhower's father. This was after the co-partner, Milt Good, described by the *Hope Dispatch* as "one of the best merchants that ever measured off a piece of bacon or weighed a yard of calico,"¹² had left Dave and Hope with a lot of unpaid bills.¹³ Thereafter, the store was known as Eisenhower Brothers,¹⁴ with Dave continuing to act in the capacity of buyer in Kansas City while Abe stayed in Hope to clerk and drive the delivery wagon.¹⁵

A survey of the Eisenhower ads in both Hope newspapers makes an interesting study, for it can be seen that from the first Dave's store catered to the "worldly" trade, showing he had broken with Brethren principles of conservatism. Although he endeavored to attract the German people (both he and Milt Good were fluent in the German language, *i. e.*, Pennsylvania-Dutch),¹⁶ his shelves were lined with stocks "inconsistent" with Brethren beliefs—laces, silk, and velvet trimmings, carpets, and cigars. He went so far as to allow a milliner, Miss T. Caldwell, to set up her millinery display in the window, a row of the latest styles of ladies' hats complete with flowers and ornaments.¹⁷ This, according to a plain people, would be sinning in a highhanded manner.

Although the establishment carried "elegant stock" equal to any found in any general mercantile house, and the prices so low as to "make your pocket-book laugh,"¹⁸ and the Eisenhower brothers' honesty so apparent that the editor of the *Hope Dispatch* wrote that they were known to "deal squarely with a child as well as a grown person,"¹⁹ the store venture failed. Dave went to Texas in the fall of 1888, where he found employment in the Missouri-Kansas-Texas railroad shops,²⁰ leaving Abe to handle the store alone until it could be sold early the next year.²¹

Abe then moved to Abilene, the county seat, and located on a

10. Interview with Bishop Ray Witter, October 25, 1958.

11. Interview with John and Harry Haldeman, Hope.

12. *Hope Dispatch*, November 12, 1886.

13. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

14. *Hope Herald*, November 25, 1886.

15. *Ibid.*, December 2, 1886.

16. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1885.

17. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1886.

18. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1888.

19. *Hope Dispatch*, November 4, 1887.

20. *Hope Herald*, October 18, 1888.

21. *Abilene Weekly Reflector*, February 7, 1889.

three-acre tract south of the tracks. After graduating from the veterinary college in Chicago, which he attended the winter and spring of 1889 and 1890, he continued to practice as a veterinary surgeon.²² At the pinnacle of his barn roof, a good 30 feet from the ground, Abe hung his shingle, a large square sign which read, "Dr. A. L. Eisenhower, Veterinarian." That immense barn, one of the largest in the community, housed stalls for many horses, and the hayloft could hold seven or eight tons of prairie hay. His house was a two-story white frame structure, with an attic for overflow household goods. A large back yard contained a smokehouse and a place for Anna's chickens and a nice-sized plot for her vegetable garden.

Dr. Eisenhower did well in Abilene as a veterinarian. But in 1892 something happened to turn the horse doctor in a different direction. That spring, an itinerant evangelist came to Abilene, pitched a tent, and held a protracted meeting.²³ It was at this time that Abe obtained what he termed "full salvation."²⁴ Following this tent meeting, he felt the call to the ministry so strongly that he "left the oxen and ran after. . . ." ²⁵

Before Abe could become detached from his practice, he had first to dispose of his Abilene property. This was not difficult to do, for his brother Dave's growing family was already bursting the seams of their little house on Second street and they needed more room. Dave had returned from Texas in 1891 (with Dwight, the baby), and had found employment as night watchman and mechanic in the Belle Springs Creamery. Abe rented the house to him with an option to buy which he did later.²⁶

Abe could not have known (he died in 1944) that the place he gave up in order to go into Gospel work would some day be a national shrine dedicated to the honor of his illustrious nephew. Beside the house stands the Eisenhower Museum, housing historical items valued at well over \$2 million, including the famous Eisenhower family Bible in which Abe's own birth date is recorded.

And Abe's wife, Anna, perhaps could not have known altogether what it meant to "turn their backs upon the world." For in 1902 she could look back and write:

I never will forget what it meant to die out and say, "Yes," to all the will

22. *Hope Dispatch*, December 5, 1889.

23. *Evangelical Visitor*, January 15, 1945.

24. *Ibid.*, Abilene, April 1, 1892.

25. *Ibid.*, January 15, 1945. [I Kings 19:20.]

26. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

of God: to have husband give up his medical profession, which was so highly esteemed by the world, and go out and preach the Gospel without charge. I turned all we possessed over to the Lord. God asked me to give things away, to which my heart responded freely. He took us out of our home to a Gospel wagon.²⁷

III. THE HIGHWAY AND HEDGE CALL

The Gospel wagon was a covered wagon equipped for a small party of gospel workers to move rapidly about the country, preaching as they went. The call to this type of ministry was, as Anna Eisenhower aptly described it, a "highway and hedge call." That first season, 1896, Abe and Anna accompanied the Brethren preacher D. H. Brechbill, who had been on a previous Oklahoma mission. Only three years earlier, the Cherokee Outlet, Indian lands in present northwest Oklahoma, had been opened to white settlement and many a homesteader had rushed in to stake claim without capital, and with no religion other than a get-rich-quick philosophy.

The Eisenhower-Brechbill party left Abilene June 10, 1896. Crossing rivers torrential with flash floods and treacherous with quicksand, they arrived on the field of labor. A protracted meeting was started in a schoolhouse 13 miles northwest of Medford, Okla. House to house visitation—mostly dugouts—was carried on by day, while revival meetings were held by night. Oklahoma homesteaders were desperately poor, their poverty wringing the hearts of the workers, and desperately wicked as well. The Gospel team was in a much better position to help the homesteaders with their spiritual poverty than with their temporal impoverishment, so they preached, according to their own report, messages of "real death, resurrection and separation from the world."²⁸ Although the schoolhouse was packed nightly, the number of converts seems to have been surprisingly small.

Years later, Abe scored evangelists who expected "big collections" when the home minister suffered want. He reminded the *Evangelical Visitor* reading public that in the old days when he and Brother Brechbill labored in Oklahoma, they lived very economically, and upon returning to Kansas they turned over every penny of their small collections to Bishop Samuel Zook, keeping not one cent for themselves.²⁹

The next year, 1897, Abe, improving the weaknesses of the cumbersome covered wagon, designed his own Gospel wagon.

27. *Sent of God*, Tabor, Iowa, October 2, 1902.

28. *Evangelical Visitor*, July 15, 1896.

29. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1909.

The *Visitor* editor described it as a unique "house of pilgrimage."³⁰ Measuring 7 x 14 x 6½ feet and built at a cost of \$80, the house, equipped for four workers, was furnished with chairs, tables, four cots, and a gasoline stove. Sliding curtains divided the wagon into two sleeping compartments, one for the men, the other for the women. On June 26, it was driven, sparkling new with glistening black paint, from Abilene the 13 miles to the Belle Springs church. The next day the wagon was properly dedicated, and the workers—Abe and Anna Eisenhower, J. H. Eshelman, and Barbara Hershey—shook hands all around in a gesture of farewell. Two of the first three Brethren preachers in Kansas—Jacob Eisenhower and Benjamin Gish—stood there in the church yard to give the young workers a hearty send off.³¹

Friday, July 2, found the Gospel wagon tied to a hitching post in Herington. Here, the evangelists held a street meeting on a busy corner and had a good meeting "in spite of the opera only a stone's cast away."³²

It was at Herington, according to one account, that Abe broke up a Fourth of July parade. A man with a megaphone was shouting directions to a parade of marching celebrators. Seizing the opportunity to end the pompous show (parades were "worldly"), Abe fell in step with the megaphone man and shouted at the top of his lungs, "This way to heaven!" A part of the confused crowd followed the wiry little preacher to an outside stairway attached to a two-story building. Halfway up the steps, he turned around to face the congregation he had siphoned from the parade, and, like Paul on the castle stairway, he preached to them the gospel of Christ.³³

The next stop east was the historic town of Council Grove. It was Saturday, the farmers' market day. A curious crowd turned out to see what new thing by way of religion the bonneted and bearded Brethren had to offer. "We here met with opposition by some Sons of Belial," one of the workers reported. Denied the privilege of preaching on the streets, they thankfully entered a hall proffered to them by a good man, and in this building three meetings were held. "We found a few souls in this place who are willing to take the death-route to heaven," they jubilantly informed the readers of the *Visitor*.³⁴

Upon leaving Council Grove, they headed the wagon southeast

30. *Ibid.*, July 15, 1897.

31. *Ibid.*, October 21, 1912.

32. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1897.

33. Interview with Bishop Ray Witter.

34. *Evangelical Visitor*, August 15, 1897.

to Americus where for seven nights they preached on the streets, "holding forth the Word of Life with no uncertain sound."³⁵

On they traveled, west to Reading, northeast to Osage City, where eight days among the coal miners produced results—"real penitence and godly aspirations were some of the fruits of our labors at this place"³⁶—and on to Scranton where they preached to a crowd of 100 persons. Drunkenness, lodge-joining, women tending bars and employing their own children to help mix and sell whisky—all this was too much for the good Brethren, and they prepared a banner boldly emblazoned with "Prepare to meet thy God" and hung it on the wagon for all to see the solemn warning.³⁷

At one of these towns Abe Eisenhower had great difficulty in drawing a street crowd. Never lacking for ways and means, he flopped down on his stomach, and propping his heels on the side of a building, stretched across the sidewalk. Keeping one eye on the open Bible before him, and the other on the curious passersby who paused to watch him read in this strange manner, he waited until a sizeable crowd had gathered, then bounding to his feet, began to preach to his startled audience with all the torrential fervor of an Old Testament prophet.³⁸

At about this time, Abe and Anna left the party and went to Topeka to lay plans for a sidewalk battle there. Earlier, the Salvation Army had been to the state capital and had been forbidden to go on Kansas avenue with their drums and tambourines and psalm-singing. By the time the Gospel wagon pulled into the city, however, permission had been granted for street services, and the Brethren, rejoicing over their good fortune, held the enemy at bay until midnight.³⁹

September found the team at Silver Lake, west of Topeka, with plans to make stopovers at Rossville, Wamego, and Manhattan. The workers urged *Visitor* readers and the Brethren at home to pray regularly every night from eight to nine, the zero hour when they made nightly raids on the enemy's territory. Pacifists one and all, the Brethren ended their *Visitor* correspondence with the words, "Yours in the war for souls. . . ." ⁴⁰

The following winter Eisenhower itinerated new Kansas areas, becoming known as "Holiness Evangelist A. L. Eisenhower."⁴¹ On

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1897.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Interview with Bishop Ray Witter.

39. *Evangelical Visitor*, September 15, 1897.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1898.

January 31, 1898, he and Anna were at Sabetha. For the first three days, Abe's preaching "wonderfully stirred up" the people as he directed almost every message to church members. "Our brother," wrote Peter Keim of Sabetha, "taught the 'new birth' very plainly and the second work of grace was made so plain that it caused those of us who had gone through the experience on the same line that our brother had taught, to shout, Hallelujah!"⁴² Not all Sabethites by any means belong to this pious ejaculatory group, however, for certain ones found fault with Abe's emphasis on "entire cleansing of the spirit, soul and body." The meeting closed on February 15, after a "grand victory" the ninth night.⁴³

In July Abe and Anna attended a camp meeting at Forest City, Mo., a Missouri river town 27 miles northwest of St. Joseph. This incident seems to mark the beginning of their rather loose affiliation with the Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association of Tabor, Iowa. (HFMA permitted one to belong to his own church and to the HFMA at one and the same time.) Some time earlier, the Eisenhowers had gone to Iowa, where they met Mother Wheaton of Tabor, home from her prison tours. The widowed Mother Wheaton, primarily known as a prison evangelist but equally at home preaching in logging camps, Southern stockades and sugar camps, coal mine prison camps, and railroad coaches,⁴⁴ traveled from coast to coast, through the courtesy of railway officials, on free train passes. She had, moreover, the privilege of taking, free of charge, two workers with her wherever she went. She asked the Eisenhowers to accompany her to the Forest City camp meeting, which they gladly did.⁴⁵

Enroute to Tabor, Abe held meetings on the way. After leaving Tabor he went to Bellevue, Neb., where he was "deeply impressed" by a mourner's bench, 30 feet in length.⁴⁶ In the Brethren church, while it was considered consistent "for ministers to invite seekers to come forward," a ruling was made in 1882 that "no special bench shall be set out for the seekers."⁴⁷

IV. "MR. JABBOK"

The year 1899 ushered in a phase in Abe's ministry. It soon found them in a Brethren settlement in Oklahoma territory, living

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Good Tidings*, Tabor, Iowa, August 16, 1923.

45. *Evangelical Visitor*, October 15, 1898.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *General Conference Index*, Article 5, 1882, p. 86.

in a dugout gouged from the side of a hill.⁴⁸ Their objective was to prove that their homestead was something more than 160 acres of unimproved land, situated between the wide sandy bed of the South Canadian river and the new railroad 18 miles away. They had dedicated themselves to making it a home, with bed and board and love, for as many orphans as they could possibly accommodate, plus the one more they could never turn away. Thus, by a childless couple, the Jabbok orphanage, was begun. In the 10 years during which they operated the home, they took in 35 of these unwanted and homeless waifs.⁴⁹ This is an area which was as tough and colorful as the blanket Indians that still roamed it. Among them were palefaces, poverty-stricken. And the Eisenhowers themselves, despite their Dutch labor and frugality, suffered many privations.⁵⁰

Some time in 1901, some Kansas friends of the Eisenhowers, the J. M. Zooks, came to Thomas, a tiny village near Abe's farm. Seeing great possibilities in Jabbok, they, with the Eisenhowers, filed at Guthrie, the capital of Oklahoma territory, the following charter:

To All to Whom These Presents Shall Come, Greeting:

Whereas, A. L. Eisenhower, J. M. Zook, Anna B. Eisenhower and Mary E. Zook, all of Thomas, O. T., have filed in the office of the Secretary of the Territory of Oklahoma certain articles of organization with a view of forming a corporation to be known as Jabbok Faith Missionary Home and Orphanage, for the purposes as follows:—The preaching of the Gospel in every land and to maintain a Missionary Home for training and Bible School for the training of Missionary Workers, for Home and Foreign Mission Work.

Also to maintain an Orphans' Home; a Holiness school and also to maintain the publication of Christian Religious Literature. And those desiring to cooperate with the association can be received as Missionary Evangelists and other Gospel Workers, provided they are deemed worthy. All monies and property donated shall be used expressly for the purpose designated by the donor. With the principal place of business at Thomas, O. T. To exist perpetually.

And having complied with the provisions of the Statutes in such cases made and provided.

Therefore, the Territory of Oklahoma hereby grants unto the above named persons and their associates, successors and assigns, full authority by and under the said name of Jabbok Faith Training Home and Orphanage, to exercise the powers and privileges of a corporation, for the purposes stated and in accordance with their said articles of organization and the laws of this territory.

In Witness Whereof, These presents have been attested with the Great

48. Interview with Mrs. Frank Miller, Herington, an orphan raised by the Eisenhowers.

49. *General Conference Index*, Article 12, 1910, p. 77.

50. *Evangelical Visitor*, anniversary number, August 28-29, 1937, pp. 58, 59.

Seal, and signed by the Secretary of the Territory of Oklahoma, at Guthrie, the Twenty-sixth day of August in the year One Thousand Nine Hundred and One.

Signed: WILLIAM GRIMES
Secretary of Oklahoma Territory.⁵¹

From the beginning the work outgrew the limited physical plant. As many as five little girls were cared for at one time in the unfinished four-room cottage (two rooms were not yet plastered), and when two more applied for admission the children pleaded their cause. "Mamma," they begged (the children at Jabbok called Abe and Anna Papa and Mamma), "take them, we will make room for them somehow."⁵² Perhaps because of its smallness, the Zooks did not remain with Jabbok long. After traveling through the Territory in a Gospel wagon, evangelizing Negroes and Indians⁵³ and pastoring in Beaver county, they returned to Tabor, Iowa, where for the next 30 years J. M. Zook ably served the educational and missionary interests of the HFMA.⁵⁴

For the Eisenhowers, Jabbok was ever a "distributing" center, rather than a permanent home for orphans. They would have liked to fill their house several times a year if they could have found proper homes readily enough.⁵⁵ "It is very hard these days to find homes fit for children," Abe wrote, "so I make a plea to the church as we feel we would rather put children into homes among the Brethren than any other place."⁵⁶ In addition to being Christian and preferably Brethren, the family wishing to adopt a Jabbok child should be of "fair financial ability" and able to "conquer and train children."⁵⁷

The Eisenhowers believed that the private home was decidedly superior to the best orphanage and afforded advantages which the institution could not. Knowing that such institutions existed of necessity, however, they entertained decided opinions as to how the orphanage should best be operated. In the first place, the institution should be rural rather than urban to discourage the world-owes-me-a-living attitude accruing from doled out charity. On a farm a child could share in producing his own food and clothing, thus showing his economic importance, and gain thereby that feeling which the moderns call "belongingness." In the second place, the larger institution should consist of several small homes,

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1905.

53. *Sent of God*, February 19, 1903.

54. *Good Tidings* . . . , June 1, 1944.

55. *Evangelical Visitor*, December 15, 1906.

56. *Ibid.*, September 10, 1906.

57. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1906.

each housing about ten children, and manned by proper personnel, preferably a husband and wife team, with a superintendent in charge of the whole. Thirdly, orphans should be adopted as young as possible. Some of the applicants for admission to Jabbok were as young as three days old.⁵⁸ Abe and Anna personally placed the children, bearing all the expenses of railway transportation to and from the place of their adoption.⁵⁹

In the course of time, so many little children came to the Eisenhower's cottage that Abe was soon convinced that there were more orphans in Oklahoma than in any other state, and so informed the *Evangelical Visitor*. In the article "Orphans in Oklahoma," he informs the subscribers why he believed this to be so:

Our state is a place of great immigration of poor and rich. . . . widows leave other places and come here with large families and sharpers rob them and they are left in destitute circumstances. . . . men who were addicted to drink come to this place and of course here it flows free and breaks up homes. Wife and sister were out visiting and they found several women with families of little children in filth and rags who with tears told how husband got away and had not seen or heard of him for six months or two years. . . .⁶⁰

Abe often received letters addressed to "Mr. Jabbok," appealing for aid. A typical example of his correspondence at this time was a letter received from a destitute widow at Caldwell, Kan. En route to Oklahoma, her consumptive husband died near the Kansas boundary line, leaving her with eight children, the oldest only 14. After disposing of her team and wagon and the wagonload of furniture to pay for the coffin and burial plot, the widow was penniless. "Please let me know by return mail whether you could take several of my children and I will try and support the rest," she wrote "Mr. Jabbok."⁶¹

Most of Jabbok's orphans came from broken homes, particularly homes wrecked by whisky, and from unmarried girls who freely abandoned their offspring.⁶²

Little Eva, a baby with a spinal "condition," had to be held most of the time. This constant care was "wearing Anna down," and Abe appealed through the pages of the *Visitor* for a woman helper, as his wife had not had one good night's rest in 20 months, and they were expecting, moreover, a blind girl to arrive in a few days. They

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1906.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1907.

62. *Ibid.*

also needed a man to help care for the children while they were out-of-doors. Abe promised them nothing but equality. He wrote:

Any one coming here will be counted as one in the Home, bed and room furnished, eat at same table and if they need anything the same pocketbook buys for papa, mamma, children and all. When there is nothing they are expected to pray in faith with us.⁶³

“Pray in faith”—that was the keynote of Jabbok policy—prayer for the sick, the stock, and the home. When one of the babies took sick, the Eisenhowers sent word to the brethren that a certain hour they should unite with the home in prayer for her recovery. Fever rebuked, the child was restored to them, they felt, through the power of prayer.⁶⁴ Likewise, prayers were made over ailing livestock, when Abe’s veterinary skills failed.⁶⁵ A poor farmer could ill afford to lose a valuable Jersey cow if he had a dozen mouths needing the milk and butter.

A wagon rated a high place on their prayer list. The need for a larger and covered conveyance to taxi the children to church became a real must. The nearest Brethren church was at Bethany, three and a quarter miles across country, and the only way the home had of going was via a two-seated open spring wagon. Never could all 11 of them go to church at the same time.⁶⁶ Crowded conditions were bad enough, but rain, coming only occasionally but still too frequently for a topless carriage, pouring down on their blanket-covered heads was just too much.

The purchase of a suitable wagon was finally made possible through many donations. When it arrived, Abe set to work increasing the vehicle’s passenger capacity by putting the back seats along the sides. On a spring day the wonderful wagon halted in front of the home, and although Anna was elbow-deep in a wash tub of laundry suds, children, mamma, papa, and all piled in and took a merry jaunt across the prairie.⁶⁷

If Abe Eisenhower was president of Jabbok, its founder and organizer, his wife Anna was its secretary, keeping careful books and conscientiously informing the *Visitor* reading public of its current financial standing. Giving credit where credit was due, she often itemized gift and giver. Thus it can be seen that Brethren in Brown county, Kansas, were the donors of a box of bedding, clothing, and dried fruit; one man donated a barrel of apple vinegar;⁶⁸

63. *Sent of God*, January 19, 1905.

64. *Evangelical Visitor*, March 15, 1905.

65. Interview with Mrs. Frank Miller.

66. *Evangelical Visitor*, January 15, 1908.

67. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1908.

68. *Ibid.*, January 15, 1908.

Ben Kraybill quit playing pool and gave one dollar toward the orphanage wagon;⁶⁹ and a class of Sunday school boys in Upland, Cal., chose to do without Christmas presents for themselves and sent \$29.19 to Jabbok for gifts for the "friendless waifs."⁷⁰

Donations did not always come in so freely, however. One of Anna's reports in 1909 shows that the total offerings received between May 21 and August 23 was \$15 in cash and some fresh meat. In good years, of course, the farm produced most of their own foodstuff.

Thirty-five children in 10 years—that many waifs lived in Anna's home and learned to call her mama. Although her womb was barren, the fecundity of her heart fructified a hundredfold. Foundlings found in her an asylum after desertion; orphans, surcease after death; waifs, home after homelessness. When the physical body protested after endless rounds of diapering, darning, and dusting, washing dirty clothes and dirty faces, to say nothing of caring for chickens and cream, and minor cuts sustained in children's foolhardy play, love took over. When the physical said, "You cannot take in another child," love said, "By God's grace I will."

Christian workers came in occasionally to lift the load. But when they went on their way, pondering the avalanches of grit and grace needed for orphanage work, Anna carried on with fortitude between the four walls. Meanwhile, Abe farmed the quarter section and cared for the Jersey herd which supplied their tables and the town of Thomas with milk, and supplemented their uncertain income by performing veterinary services.

One Christian sister, Mrs. Amanda Dohner by name, visited the home early in 1908. After a restful night, she accompanied Mrs. Eisenhower to town the next morning, and kept the team while her hostess delivered butter, milk, cream, and eggs to Thomas residents. Not all the butter and cream and eggs were sold, she noted, for the home table was amply supplied with both. With the money received from her dairy and poultry products, Anna then went to a dry goods store and purchased some warm clothing for the children. Mrs. Dohner was mightily reminded that day of the words of Jesus: "I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me. . . ." Her conclusion to the whole matter was:

I am very much pleased with the Jabbok Home. Brother Abraham and Sister Eisenhower manifest as much loving interest in the children as I see

69. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1908.

70. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1909.

anywhere by parents, and, I think, is worthy of a word of praise and a helping hand by the church. They now have a comfortable house, but not yet well furnished. They move along strictly on the line of economy, and teach their children industry and economy, next to obedience to God and parents, and love and kindness and order among each other.⁷¹

Jabbok orphanage was an Eisenhower venture, unrelated to any church affiliation or organization until late in 1906. But in December of that year it became a recognized institution of the Brethren in Christ Church (River Brethren) and continues to remain so.⁷²

By that time Abe's health, always somewhat frail, began a rapid decline, and he wished to dispose of his responsibilities. The Brethren, in their general conference of 1909, meeting at Abilene, accepted Jabbok from the Eisenhowers, with the provision that a certain sum of money be paid annually to them as long as they lived. Sections of Article 43 of that conference read as follows:

ARTICLE 43. An Act of Conference considered and accepted an offer from Oklahoma District Council of the Brethren in Christ, Feb. 25-26, 1909.

Whereas, Brother and Sister Eisenhouer [sic] do not feel able to carry on the Orphanage and Missionary Training Home under present conditions; therefore,

SEC. 1. *Resolved*, That we do heartily recommend their proposition to General Conference for acceptance, and if necessary, we do hereby obligate ourselves to assume at least \$300 per annum. . . .

SEC. 2. An Act of Conference considered the above resolution, and the two wills made by Brother and Sister A. L. Eisenhouer, of Thomas, Oklahoma, in which they willed and conveyed a plot of ground consisting of 150 acres near Thomas, Oklahoma, together with farm implements and livestock and deeded a plot of ground consisting of ten acres, whereon at present is conducted the Jabbok Faith Orphanage, with good buildings, together with a complete outfit of farm implements and livestock for the consideration of one dollar on condition that the ten acre plot, together with the personal property can be sold and the proceeds applied wherever the Church sees proper with the further condition that the plot of 150 acres, together with the proceeds of the Church, shall be used for the support, of the aforesaid Orphanage. . . .

In consideration of the generous spirit manifested in the donation of Brother and Sister A. L. Eisenhouer,

SEC. 5. *Resolved*, That this Conference expresses her appreciation of the spirit of consecration in the act of donating the aforesaid properties, together with the appurtenances belonging thereto; and,

SEC. 6. *Resolved*, That the expression of Conference is that a noble work has been done in the Orphanage effort and that it should be continued.⁷³

With these sentiments, and a promise to pay the donors a sum of \$500 per annum (\$300 with the obligation of the Oklahoma church with the balance being paid, as per agreement, by the gen-

71. *Ibid.*, January 15, 1908.

72. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1906.

73. *General Conference Index*, Article 43, 1909.

eral church), Abe and Anna Eisenhower turned Jabbok over to the church.

In 1924, because of social welfare agencies and home finding societies, who thought nothing of placing Jabbok children in non-Christian homes, the orphanage phase was discontinued. The next year the conference laid plans for a Bible School and Missionary Training School which had been provided for in the Eisenhower-Zook charter of 1901. Missionaries going out from Jabbok school included Sadie Book Brechbill to Africa, Harvey C. Lady to Portuguese East Africa, and Mary Lenhart Eshleman to Rhodesia.⁷⁴

By 1937 Jabbok had become an important dairy enterprise. Abe's Jersey herd, which supplied milk for Thomas, had become capable of supplying 4,000-5,000 quarts of milk per month.⁷⁵ This little community of 1,300 could not soon forget the couple, who, childless themselves, had made a home for the Oklahoma orphan. In the decade he worked the homestead, Abe had set out acres of orchards and put whole fields into berries. Though the Eisenhowers left before the orchard began to bear, long after they had moved to California, Thomas residents would come out in the spring to view pink acres of peach blossoms and the white blooms of a hundred pear and apple trees. And they knew that when the fruit that Jabbok students picked would be dried, crated, and shipped to mission fields across the sea.⁷⁶

V. CONCLUSION

For six years after the Eisenhowers left Jabbok they did home missionary work in Ohio and Iowa. In the summer of 1915 they moved to Upland, Cal., where an early Brethren colony from Kansas had transformed the desert foothills into citrus groves and vineyards. Here, Abe and Anna met old Kansas friends, and here among the Brethren they lived a while, and performed, as they said, "what we can in a quiet way."⁷⁷ Later, when the altitude seemed to affect Abe's frail health, they moved down on the coast to Long Beach,⁷⁸ and then to Pasadena, where they remained many years. Both worked to supplement the \$500 annual stipend they got from Jabbok. They took care of Pasadena homes when their owners were away.⁷⁹ They operated a home laundry, doing both

74. Anna R. Engle, John A. Climenhaga, and Leoda A. Buckwalter, *There Is No Difference* (Nappanee, Ind., E. V. Publishing House, 1950), pp. 369-373.

75. *Evangelical Visitor*, August 28-29, 1937, p. 58.

76. Interview with Mrs. Frank Miller.

77. *Evangelical Visitor*, May 17, 1915.

78. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1916.

79. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1917.

washing and ironing. Abe was adept at salvaging old and worn Bibles, binding them with the skill of a craftsman. Though their active church work was over, they felt they reached many in their "secret life of prayer."⁸⁰

Abe rarely felt at home in any church. He no more belonged to Los Angeles than Daniel Boone would have belonged to Philadelphia. It was to him a religious no-man's-land, and for this reason he floated from place to place, endlessly looking for the old landmarks of yesteryear. It is told how, wherever he went to church during the war years of the 1940's, Abe had one special request: "Remember the General in prayer." One California pastor recalls that "during the war, while Dwight was yet a general in the army, Abe often stood up and requested prayer for him; he was burdened for his salvation, safety and usefulness."⁸¹ After the conquest of North Africa, prayers and letters from Abe and Anna followed their nephew. Besides corresponding regularly with Dwight, Abe kept a wall map in his room on which he recorded the progress of the Allied forces with colored pins.⁸²

Abe did not live to follow the last campaign. Old and ailing, he was taken back to Upland, to the home of Elder and Mrs. E. J. Broyles, where he spent his few remaining days. From his death bed, he looked up at the picture of his nephew, and said, "God has his hand on this boy. You will live to see him President of the United States."⁸³ On December 13, 1944, the *Evangelical Visitor* reported, "God saw fit to answer his prayer 'to open the skies and let me through.'"⁸⁴

Anna lived in the Broyles home for eight years. When she died there, October 13, 1952, the tribute from the Brethren read: "Precious will be the memories of this outstanding life."⁸⁵ Three weeks later, Abe's prophecy of eight years before was fulfilled, when Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected President of the United States.

80. *Ibid.*, June 11, 1923.

81. The Rev. William H. Neff, personal letter, November 11, 1958.

82. Pasadena (Cal.) *Independent*, December 15, 1944.

83. Interview with the Rev. Mrs. Jemima Walker Mitchell, June 1, 1958.

84. *Evangelical Visitor*, January 15, 1945.

85. *Ibid.*, October 27, 1952.

At What Age Did Men Become Reformers?

JAMES C. MALIN

I. INTRODUCTION

ONE OF THE suggestions that inspired this study was a remark of E. W. Hoch, owner and editor of the *Marion County Record* of Marion, upon visiting the Alliance legislature of 1891: "The first thing that impressed us was the large number of gray heads. We guess the average age of the members [of the House] is at least ten years more than that of the last House. . . ." ¹

Unfortunately for verification of Hoch's guess, no tabulation of the ages of the members of the lower house of 1889 is available. The question raised by his observation is larger, however, than the particular house upon which he was commenting, and substantial data are readily available to establish some perspective. Selections have been made for study of several legislatures, both house and senate, and of all of the Kansas delegation to congress 1888-1900 inclusive. The selection of legislatures has been governed primarily by availability of data, but where alternatives are available, campaigns have been used when the canvass involved national issues and/or in which a state political upheaval occurred. For better or worse, therefore, the ones used are 1867, 1869, 1875, 1877, 1889 (incomplete), 1891, 1893 (incomplete), 1895, 1897, 1899, and 1901.

II. THE LEGISLATURES

The election of 1866, at which the legislature of 1867 was chosen, occurred under peculiar circumstances. Discharges from the military services had been substantially completed. To some degree, therefore, most men had had some opportunity to make adjustment to a civilian position in society. Unusually disturbing politically, however, was the crisis in relations between Pres. Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republican contingent in congress, the explosive element in particular being a choice between the presidential policy of an easy peace with a rapid restoration of civil government in the South; and the Radical Republican hard peace, with the meting out of punishments to the ex-rebels.

In Kansas, the suicide of James H. Lane, and the end of his

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1. Reprinted in the *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, February 5, 1891.

virtual political dictatorship, left his followers leaderless in the midst of the conflict. In addition, an unusual number of newcomers were voting in Kansas to whom the old leaders and local issues meant little or nothing. The consequences of these complicating factors permitted no simple, clear cut issue in the campaign around which to concentrate votes, especially in the local Kansas area. Under these circumstances, any attempt to interpret the election would appear little less than foolhardy. All that is attempted here is to describe factually some of the results as evidenced in the composition of the legislature which was elected in 1866 and convened in January, 1867. The legislature of 1869 was elected along with Gen. U. S. Grant as president, and the national issues dominated. These first two legislatures selected were Republican.

In the analyses beginning with the legislature of 1875, the party designations were used and the age distributions tabulated on that basis. For all, the extremes or ranges of ages were indicated as well as the median age rather than the average age. Exceptions do occur, but they are labeled. When the numbers were very small, peculiarities occurred, as in the case of two Democrats in 1875, aged 34 and 50 years respectively. In cases where several kinds of reformers were present, because of the small numbers and the slight differences on issues, all groups were treated under the head of reformers.

The legislatures of 1871 and 1873 would be of particular interest because of the so-called purification of politics movement in Kansas, which eliminated Sidney Clarke in 1870, and Samuel C. Pomeroy in 1873. Also, nationwide, the Liberal Republican movement occurred in 1872, which caused major confusion in Kansas politics because many sincere reformers were caught in the dilemma of how the better to accomplish reform; within the party or by the creation of a third party. The third party failed in Kansas, and nationally, but some substantial purification resulted nevertheless. Reform was continued both within the Republican party and by bolting in 1874 and 1876, but still consequences were not decisive. The major issue about procedure, to reform from within the party or by third parties, was still undecided, as well as the larger question about how much and how rapidly any substantial reform was possible. Men were men,—yet!

The revolt against Gov. John P. St. John and the third term, reinforced by the first reaction against prohibition, had elected Gov. George W. Glick, but had not substantially disturbed the Repub-

lican party hold on state government. To be sure the Democrats were given some encouragement, which was reflected in the legislature, and the Republican party was put on notice. This warning was reinforced by the victory of the Democrats in making Grover Cleveland president in 1884. In 1886 the Democrats again showed some strength in the election of the legislature and some independent reform candidates were in evidence.

By 1888 another round of reform began in earnest, running its course partywise by 1900. Among other things, during this later period, the young men became active in agitating for a larger share in politics. This was supplemented by a tradition that the younger people were innovators and the older people were conservators of the past. In other words, you cannot teach an old dog new tricks. As facts of history, what validity was there to such generalizations? The present study of age distribution within Kansas legislatures is limited in scope, and purposely, because it is only a phase of a more comprehensive study, being made by the present author, of change and the succession of generations.

A word must be said about the incompleteness and limitations of the data available. In some cases where age records for legislatures were compiled at the time, the data on a few individuals were not forthcoming, either from neglect or refusal to reveal age. For three legislatures critical to this study no contemporary handbooks have been found which recorded ages for the lower house; the legislatures of 1887, 1889, and 1893. The legislature of 1887 was filled in largely from newspaper sketches. In the case of the senate in some instances, except in individual cases where changes in personnel occurred, the ages can be calculated from the other session of the senators' four-year terms. Many legislators and delegates from the unrepresented counties were in the public eye too brief a time for such biographical data to appear in the public records, unless in the manuscript census enumerations in Kansas and elsewhere. For obvious reasons that onerous search has not been undertaken.

Note should be made of a few problems of procedure which may explain some apparent conflicts in age data; age calculations as of November or the following January when the legislature convened; calculations of the nearest birth anniversary; or raw data resulting from simple subtractions of year dates regardless of month of birth, of election, or of swearing in. Probably most calculations reflect some different answers on these points. While the deficiencies in data result in errors in some cases of one year plus or minus, they

do not invalidate the general picture of the legislative body as a whole, but they do serve as a warning not to split hairs too dogmatically in making interpretations of minor age differences.

The accompanying tabulations tend to explain themselves. The Republican party, although split into factions, held a virtual monopoly on the two legislatures, 1867 and 1869. The accent was conspicuously on men in their 30's or less, and little distinction was evident between the house and the senate. The legislature of 1875 reflected a substantial change in the situation, with Democrats and reformers conspicuously older, not younger, than regular Republicans. Two years later in the first biennial legislature, 1877-1878, this age difference had largely vanished but was still present, except for the house Democrats.

The legislature, in the special session of 1886, passed a law requiring that in public employment, other things being equal, ex-Union soldiers be given a preference. Although not applicable to elective office, there is no reason to believe that Union military service disqualified a man for nomination and election to the legislature later that year. The lower house of the legislature of 1887 included 57 Union veterans, and age data were compiled which applied to 54 of them.² Three delegates from unrepresented western counties were included in a separate list; ages 43, 57, and 61. The age range of the ex-soldier members was 38 to 75, and the median fell between the 45 and 46 year old groups. This soldier median was five years higher than that of the Republican house of representatives of 1877. Of the nonsoldier 68, age data were available for 56, with an age range of 25 to 66, and a median of 38. This was some two years below the 1877 Republican median.

A special analysis of the nonsoldier element is imperative to any meaningful interpretation of ages. The low median age as well as the low end of the range indicated that young men were involved. The critical question was, how young must a man have had to be to be substantially ineligible for military service in the Civil War? A man born in 1848 or later would have been in 1886, 38 or under, and in 1865, 17 or less. There were 32 of these. The youngest ex-soldier in the house was 38. A man born between 1845 and 1847 inclusive would have been in 1886, 39 to 41, and in 1865, 18 to 20. There were seven of these nonsoldiers. Adding these groups, 39 men were 20 years of age or less as of 1865, or 41 or less in 1886. Among the ex-soldier members the younger group, born in 1848,

2. *Sketches of Ex-Soldiers of the Kansas House of Representatives, Legislature of 1887* (compliments of George W. Crane, Topeka., 1887).

numbered two, and the older group seven, or nine together. These were the age groups that were becoming restive among the non-soldier element as a lost generation in the matter of political preferment, and were an important factor in the growing demand for a broader base of participation in political affairs, in both party and public offices. This was one of several kinds of reform that was in the air during the late 1880's. To this young nonsoldier group, increasing in numbers among voters year by year, the veterans' preferment act of 1886 was anathema.

One further group in the legislature of 1887 remains to be considered, the 21 older men who had been of full military age, 1861-1865, yet had not served as Union soldiers. Obviously an occasional ex-Confederate soldier was present, but there were several possible reasons why Northern men had not performed Union military service. Two supposedly "good reasons" were health and family obligations. The remarkable aspect of this 21 is the smallness of the number, and this quantifying analysis emphasizes, as no other kind of description can, how completely the "old soldier" concept was integrated into the fabric of the society of the time and place.

Viewed in the conventional sense as political parties, the Republican, Democratic, and independent age distributions were commonplace. The medians for both regular parties were age 43. The three independents 31, 41, and 46 were not out of line with the regulars. By coincidence the house of representatives as a whole, age data being available for 110, had the same median of 43.

The age data for the house of representatives for 1889 are not available. A direct testing of Hoch's impression that it would average 10 years younger than that of 1891, therefore, was not feasible. In the senate elected in 1888 the one Democrat, Edward Carroll of Leavenworth, banker, did not reveal his age, and there were no members labeled reformers. The range of age, 28 to 54, was wide, only the highest bracket, 61 and over, was not represented. The quite young had a substantial representation, but the largest group was that of 41-45 inclusive, and the median age was 43.

Some indirect and impressionistic evidence about the lower house of 1889 emphasized that it was made up almost altogether of new men. Marsh Murdock was gratified that so few of the "Fool Legislature" of 1887 were returned to either house, a half dozen or so. Cranks and third party men were left at home, and he thought "the conservative and level-headed elements" of the state were represented. The new men were not necessarily inexperienced, how-

ever, and he pointed to "a big squad of young fellows. . . ." The Lawrence *Daily Journal* commented that the farmer and labor movements had given warning to Republicans, resulting in the election to the legislature of men representing farmers and not connected with the "monied organizations." When these comments were written the performance of the lawmakers was still prospective.³

In the legislature of 1891 the senate of 1889 was in office, only two years older. In the lower house, the Alliance, People's party, or reformer revolution had occurred from the election of 1890. This reform house of 1891 requires a fairly full analysis. The age range of 23 Republicans was wide, 31 to 66, with emphasis on the 51 to 60 year group, the median being 50. The 5 Democrats were too widely scattered and too few to provide a pattern, the age range being 29 to 49. The age range of the 81 Alliance men was 32 to 67, and the median fell between the 46 and 47 year groups. Similar to the regular Republicans, the age distribution was heavy on the upper end, the largest single group being that of 41-45. The 19 delegates from the "unrepresented" far western counties were important; nine each Republican and Alliance, plus one Democrat. The regulars were decisively younger men than the Alliance contingent; 29 to 56, compared with 33 to 60 in age range, and 35 and 44 for median ages. The Republicans were mostly town professional and business men, while the Alliance men were predominantly of the farmers' not citizens' (town) Alliance kind.

In the session of 1893 the Populist-Republican legislative war occurred, with victory of a sort to the latter. One of the casualties of the confusion was the failure of news agencies to collect data for biographical sketches of either the contending parties or the victors. By the time the seating of the members was settled, apparently there was no point to such a laborious effort. Just at the time when a careful analysis of the structure of this legislative body would be most useful to the historian, the age data and other pertinent information was not made a matter of record. In the senate the 23 Populists ranged from 31 to 58 years of age, and the Republicans from 32 to 63. The Populist median was 46, and the Republican median was 49, or three years older.

In the "redeem Kansas" campaign of 1894, the Republicans captured the lower house, the median age of 89 members of that party being 45 years. For the Populist and Fusion membership of

3. *Wichita Eagle*, November 16, 24, 1888; Lawrence *Daily Journal*, January 10, 1889.

28, on whom data were available, the median was four years younger. In the election of 1896 Kansas went Populist or Fusion, both at the national and state levels, that element for the first time controlling both houses of the legislature. In the lower house of 1899, of the 67 Fusionists for whom age data were available, the median age was 46, and for the 45 Republicans, the median was 44. Notable in both, however, was an appreciable number of quite young men. In the new senate, there were 27 Populists, two Democrats, and 10 Republicans of recorded ages. Among Republicans none were in the 41-45 year group where the median would fall, five being younger and five being older than that bracket. The Populist or Fusion group in this senate was definitely older, the median falling among the 47 year olds.

In the Spanish-American War election of 1898, the Populist holdover senate obscured somewhat the extent of the Republican victory, which more than reversed the Populist majority of 1896 in the house of representatives. For age distribution analysis of the house, 88 Republicans and 32 Fusionists were available. The age range was 21 to 73 for the Republicans and 29 to 64 for the Fusionists, and the Republican median fell between the 44 and 45 year groups and the Fusion median on the 44 year group. But in view of the fact that the Republicans outnumbered the Fusionists more than three to one, attention is called to the unusual aspects of age distribution at the extremes. In the "elder statesmen" group, the Republicans outnumbered the Fusionists between four and five to one, and the 50-year-olds were four to one. In the boy population, 30 and under, the Republicans numbered seven to one Fusionist, and the second youngest age group, 31 to 35, more than four to one. The relatively greater Fusionist strength was with the middle-aged groups.

In the holdover senate of 1899, a few changes in personnel had occurred. The age ranges and medians were nearly the same, but again great divergences were conspicuous in the internal distribution. Above 40, the Fusionists numbered near three to one instead of near two to one. The numbers in both parties were the same for the groups 40 and younger, and the two straight Democrats were 37 and 40 respectively. The young men were holding their own among Fusionists.

The election of 1900 re-established full Republican party control in Kansas, although, in the house of representatives the party yielded ground slightly. The age ranges of the house of representa-

tives of 1899 and 1901 were similar, but the Fusionist median of 1901 was 46 compared with the Republican 45. The big differences were again in the internal distributions which were not reflected in the range and median figures. Among 86 Republicans there were a substantial number of quite young men; 16 who were 35 years or less in age, but the Populists had only three. The figures reflect clearly the fact that the very young were not entering into reformer service under the Populist or Fusion label. Young men were not gaining experience to replace their elders and carry on that particular third party tradition of reform.

III. THE KANSAS DELEGATION IN CONGRESS

Admittedly the age relationships of Republicans and reformers were a bit peculiar, one generalization was clear: third party reformers were not necessarily young men. Among the members of the Kansas congressional delegation no serious complications stood in the way of a single, simple generalization. Reformers were substantially older than regular Republicans. Straight Democrats also were younger, on the whole, than reformers, including Fusion Democrats. The accompanying table reveals the main facts without the necessity of much explanation or interpretation.

The average ages were used here, the obvious reason being that the median was virtually meaningless with the small number of seats involved. The arrangement in two columns tended to visualize the contrasts, and the third element in analysis of house ages, emphasizes the age of the displaced person at the time of his elimination, the first and second columns being average age at the time of election. In some respects that contrast of age is more significant of voters' choices where the displacement was subject to the ballot than to the comparison of ages at the time both were elected—which was a two-year time difference. Thus, in 1890 five Alliance men of 55 years average age displaced the same number of Republicans of an average age, in 1890, of 50 years. In 1892 the Republicans added a seat, Charles Curtis, 32, at the expense of Populist Otis, 54. The two Republicans re-elected were of course two years older than in 1890. Among the Populists they secured the new eighth seat with a 55-year-old. One Populist, Clover, 55, was displaced by another Populist, Hudson, 48.

In 1894, the redeemer campaign, the Republicans captured four seats, the new Republican average age being 44, replacing the four Populists of 55 years average age. The one lone surviving Populist

had attained the age of 63. In the McKinley-Bryan gold and silver campaign of 1896 Kansas went Populist or Fusion, the Republicans retaining only two seats in congress with men averaging 46 years—Curtis and Broderick. The all-new Populist delegation of six men averaged 49 years of age, one of these being a 65-year-old Populist replaced by a 49-year-old. The five displaced Republicans, age average in 1896 being almost 46, gave way to five Populists of almost 50 years average.

The election of 1898, under the influence of the Spanish-American War enthusiasm, replaced all but one of the Populists, E. R. Ridgley, 54, the six new Republican incumbents averaging 50.5 years of age. Obviously this was not a young man's revolution any more than the Populist victory of two years earlier. In 1900 the whole Kansas delegation was Republican—49 years old.

In varying from mere quantification to interpretation of data, a time perspective is essential. In that context the extension of life expectancy was becoming conspicuous in the late 19th century United States. Without going into a discussion of the matter, that fact as fact is recognized here as tending to emphasize the role of the older men, regardless of other elements of causation. Many factors, of course, entered into the distribution of reformers and into the demise of the Populist party, but one aspect was related to age. To say that the Populist party died of old age would tell only a part of the story. A somewhat more accurate statement would be that the Populist program and leadership did not inspire young men to risk their future on the so-called People's party. Also, the decline and death of the People's party did not necessarily mean the decline of reform. The urge to reform was spending itself in numerous ways. At this particular time, the later part of the decade of the 1890's, not only was reform undergoing a significant shift in geographical distribution (a subject which is not at issue here), but more reformers, where they were in evidence, were choosing to take their chances within the regular parties.

IV. WHISKERS, REFORMERS, AND AGE

The wearing of whiskers or other conspicuous facial adornments, especially when neglected, tended to give an impression of greater age than would have been the case with groomed, clean-shaven men. Hoch's impression of the house of representatives of 1891 as being ten years older than that of 1889 has not been verified or disproven explicitly by the records, but the group photographs do afford indirect evidence and suggest the explanation just offered.

In other words, not the number of beards, nor the age of the wearers, but the condition of the clothing, the beards, and the mustaches appeared to justify the impression of greater age. Also, the subjective element of political prejudice probably played a part.

The Topeka *Lance*, January 17, 1891, commented on the whiskers:

It is very evident that Mr. Whiskers is a member of the house . . . occupying at least three-fourths of the chairs, and displaying an assortment of colors and cuts that must be very delightful to the winds that play through them. Another peculiarity of this body is that it contains so very few young men, nearly all the members being well advanced in years, whereas at former sessions the younger members have shared the honors with the older ones. . . .

To these the reporter added a third peculiarity, "very few of the 125 members are bald headed," and he suggested that outdoor work may have accounted for this condition.

Again on August 22, 1891, the *Lance* writer returned to the theme of whiskers for facetious comment: "They talk of dehorning the cattle and detasseling corn, and pretty soon they will commence speaking of dewhiskering the alliance." Wisely, at this point, he desisted from further pursuing the trimming process.

Fortunately for the historical record the photographers were persistent in recording the appearance of Kansas state legislatures, and from such materials the historian can quantify his description and verify the impressionistic verbal accounts of the pencilpushers. The accompanying tabulations report on three classes of faces: beards, mustaches, and clean shaven. For the critical years of Alliance-Populist-Fusion membership, the data are given by party designations as well as totals. Not much commentary is necessary. Every imaginable kind of beard was represented, and some of the mustaches were very nearly as abundant, shaggy, and unkempt as any of the beards. Others of both types were carefully clipped and waxed. Most of the members, those who had hair on their heads, parted it on the left side, a few parted on the right side, and even a very few, braving the epithet of dudes, parted it in the middle. A very few had hair cut short, brushing it back without parting.

Comparing the whole number of regular members and delegates of 1889 and 1891, the figures were almost identical for the distribution among beards, mustaches, and shaven faces. The plurality lay with the beards. The senate personnel was substantially the same for both sessions, but the mustaches had the plurality. The analysis of votes for James J. Ingalls and William Alfred Peffer for senator showed the beards of the house overwhelmingly for Peffer, the

Ingalls followers being nearly evenly divided between beards and mustaches, but in the senate the mustaches were in the majority for Ingalls. Clean-shaven men were scarce in both houses both sessions. Evidently the basis for the ridicule of "Mr. Whiskers" in the legislature of 1891 as an Alliance man was not statistical, but subjective and colored by political feeling. Had enough of these same men voted for Ingalls to have elected him, one wonders what the writers would have had to say about "Mr. Whiskers."

In the lower house of the legislature of 1893, the beards and mustaches were equally divided with a marked gain in the number of shaven men. On the Populist side of the house the beards had it overwhelmingly, and in the Populist senate only slightly.

In the Populist house of 1897, the mustaches predominated over beards nearly two to one among that party, being almost evenly divided among Republicans. In the Populist controlled senate the mustaches were in the plurality among the party members while they were overwhelmingly in the majority among Republicans. In the Republican controlled lower house of 1899, mustaches led beards among Republicans by two and one half to one, but among Fusionists nearly five to one. In both houses of 1901 the clean-shaven men were for the first time more numerous than bearded men. This trend of the decade 1893-1901 had moved for the most part in a nonpartisan fashion from beards to mustaches to clean-shaven faces.

This discussion may be closed appropriately by the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, May 16, 1900, report on the Republican state convention:

. . . Only the absence of sandburrs deprives it of the aspect of an old fashioned Farmers' Alliance meeting. Whiskers float and toss over the vast sea of upturned faces as bunting on Fourth of July and the patriots who possess them are very proud, too. It probably is the finest aggregation of beards ever collected under one roof. They are of all styles and patterns, of all colors and hues—red, black, tawny, gray, white and yellow, iron and brown and some barber dyed.

In the strictly descriptive sense this account of a political gathering of 1900 was strikingly similar to those of 1891 quoted earlier. The difference was equally notable, the subjective coloring—ridicule in 1891, but good natured banter in 1900. Furthermore the writer did not refer to these men of 1900 as old, merely because they wore beards.

In one respect, however, the decline of the fashion of wearing beards and the rise in the fashion of clean-shaven faces was reflected

partywise in a strictly descriptive sense. In the age tabulations dealing with the legislatures, note was made of the absence of young men among the reformers and of their increasing presence among the Republicans. These young men, under 36, regardless of party or reformer rating, were usually either clean-shaven, or cultivated a well-trimmed mustache. And then in 1898 a sharp impetus was given to the clean-shaven fashion by the Spanish-American War. The 20th Kansas Volunteer infantry set the pace in Kansas, except its colonel, Frederick Funston, who featured a closely clipped beard. Thus, the mere presence or absence of beards was not necessarily related to the theme of reform as that much abused word was wont to be used, the tradition to the contrary notwithstanding.

V. LEGISLATURES OF KANSAS: AGE DISTRIBUTION

	21-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-60	61-70	Range	Median
1867 H. R. (84)	17	21	24	11	3	7	1	22-66	37-
Sen. (25)	3	9	5	5	2	1	0	28-55	40
1869 H. R. (81)	16	19	21	8	8	7	2	26-68	36+
Sen. (25)	4	8	6	2	1	2	2	27-65	36
1875 H. R.									
Repub. (74)	11	14	20	11	7	7	4	24-69	39
Demo. (10)	0	3	3	2	2	0	0	31-59	ca. 40
Reform (20)	1	3	3	4	3	6	0	30-58	46-47
Sen.									
Repub. (21)	0	8	5	5	1	2	0	31-57	39
Demo. (2)	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	34, 50	ave. 42
Reform (9)	0	1	0	3	1	4	0	31-56	46
1877 H. R.									
Repub. (108)	12	23	20	25	13	15	0	26-59	40-41
Demo. (15)	3	6	4	0	1	1	0	28-52	35
Reform (3)	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	38-46	42
Sen.									
Repub. (38)	2	11	10	9	3	2	1	28-68	38
Demo. (1)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	39	39
Reform (1)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	58	58
1887 H. R.									
Repub. (88)	5	11	18	21	18	13	2	25-66	43
Demo. (20)	2	2	3	8	2	2	1	28-75	43
Indep. (3)	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	30, 41 & 46	ave. 39
Ex-Union									
Soldiers (54)	0	0	6	20	19	6	3	38-75	45-46
Non " (56)	8	13	15	8	4	7	1	25-66	38
Total (110)	8	13	21	28	23	13	4	25-75	43
Sen.									
Repub. (36)	1	2	7	15	4	4	3	30-68	43
1889 H. R.									
Repub. (118)								Age Data Missing	
Demo. (5)								Age Data Missing	
Fusion (2)								Age Data Missing	
Sen.									
Repub. (37)	2	5	6	11	6	7	0	28-54	43
1891 H. R.									
Repub. (23)	0	2	3	3	5	8	2	31-66	50
Demo. (5)	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	29-49	
Reform (81)	0	5	9	23	17	21	6	32-67	46-47
Delegates (19)									
Repub. (9)	2	3	2	1	0	1	0	29-57	35
Demo. (1)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	41	41
Reform (9)	0	3	1	2	0	3	0	36-60	44
Sen.									
Repub. (37)	1	4	5	10	10	7	0	30-56	45
Demo. (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	data missing	

V. LEGISLATURES OF KANSAS: AGE DISTRIBUTION—*Concluded*

		21-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-60	61-70	Range	Median
1893	H. R.	Age Data Missing								
	Sen.									
	Repub. (14)	0	3	1	2	2	4	2	32-63	49
	Populist (23)	0	1	4	7	8	3	0	31-58	46
1895	H. R.									
	Repub. (89)	3	12	15	15	18	20	6	28-61	45
	Demo. (1)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	45	45
	Populist (28)	0	5	8	6	2	7	0	32-58	41
	Sen.									
	Repub. (14)	0	2	1	2	1	6	2	34-65	51
	Populist (23)	0	1	2	5	10	5	0	33-60	48
1897	H. R.									
	Repub. (45)	3	6	9	6	3	15	3	23-64	44
	Demo. (1)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	40	40
	Populist (67)	3	8	9	13	14	18	2	25-64	46
	Sen.									
	Repub. (10)	0	1	4	0	4	1	0	33-51	between 41-45
	Demo. (2)	0	0	2	0	0	0	0		37,40
	Populist (27)	0	2	4	4	8	7	2	31-65	47
1899	H. R.									
	Repub. (88)	7	13	12	15	8	24	9	21-73	44-45
	Fusion (32)	1	3	7	8	5	6	2	29-64	44
	Sen.									
	Repub. (12)	0	1	3	1	3	4	0	35-53	48
	Demo. (2)	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	37,40	37,40
	Populist (26)	0	1	3	4	8	8	2	33-67	47-48
1901	H. R.									
	Repub. (86)	8	8	14	16	10	24	6	25-69	45
	Demo. (2)	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	30,51	
	Fusion (35)	2	1	4	6	8	11	3	29-63	46
	Sen.									
	Repub. (32)	3	2	7	3	2	12	2	25-67	46
	Fusion (6)	1	0	2	1	2	0	0	25-50	ave. 40

VI. KANSAS MEMBERS OF CONGRESS: AVERAGE AGE

ELECTION	H. R.			Sen.		
	Age			Age		
	Repub.	Reform	Displacing	Repub.	Reform	Displacing
1888 Repub. (7) Reform (0)	49	53
1890 Repub. (2) Alliance (5)	52	55	50	53	59	Peffer, for Ingalls 57
1892 Repub. (3) Alliance (5)	46.6	55	Curtis 32 for Otis 54 2 re- elected 54 Hudson 48, for Clover 55	50	59 (61)	Perkins apptd. 50, for Plumb 54 John Martin elected Jan. 93-95 Peffer cont.
1894 Repub. (7) Populist (1)	44	63	4 dis- placed Populists ave. 55 yrs.	48	(63)	Lucian Baker Peffer cont.
1896 Repub. (2) Populist (6)	46	49		(50)	55	Harris for Peffer 65
1898 Repub. (7) Populist (1)	49	5		(52)	(57)	
1900 Repub. (8) Populist (0)	51			51	(59)	J. R. Bur- ton for L. Baker 54 Harris cont.

VII. BEARD DATA

LEGISLATURE	Beard	Mustache	Clean Shaven
1889 H. R. (141)			
(Members and Delegates).....	71	64	6
Sen.....	17	19	4
1891 H. R. votes for:			
Ingalls (23).....	11	10	2
Peffer			
Alliance (98).....	62	34	2
Demo. (2).....	0	2	0
Blair (3).....	0	3	0
Totals.....	73	49	4
Delegates (18).....	3	15	0
H. R. Totals (145).....	76	64	4
Sen. votes for:			
Ingalls (35).....	14	19	2
Peffer (2).....	1	1	0
Baker (1).....	1	0	0
Kelly (1).....	1	0	0
Morrill (1).....	0	0	1
Totals.....	17	20	3
1893 H. R.			
Repub. (66).....	29	29	8
Demo. (3).....	1	1	1
Populist (69).....	40	27	2
H. R. Totals.....	70	57	11
Sen. (40).....	21	17	2
1897 H. R.			
Repub. (43).....	18	16	9
Demo. (1).....	0	1	0
Populist (68).....	22	42	4
H. R. Totals.....	40	59	13
Sen.			
Repub. (11).....	2	7	2
Demo. (2).....	0	1	1
Populist (27).....	10	14	3
Sen. Totals.....	12	22	6
1899 H. R.			
Repub. (91).....	22	53	16
Fusion (34).....	5	23	6
Totals.....	27	76	22
Sen.			
Repub. (12).....	4	6	2
Demo. (2).....	0	1	1
Fusion (26).....	10	13	3
Totals.....	14	20	6
1901 H. R. (125).....	27	68	30
Sen. (40).....	6	23	11
1903 H. R. (93).....	14	53	26
Sen. (18).....	4	10	4

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The data for the analyses of the legislatures are derived from Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (1886); The Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, November, December, 1886, January, 1887; Admire's *Political and Legislative Handbook, 1891*; and handbooks and bluebooks of the Kansas legislatures for the later legislatures. The record of beards, etc., is derived from photographic panels of the several legislatures (KHi) and from the later bluebooks.

North Central Kansas in 1887-1889

From the Letters of Leslie and Susan Snow of Junction City

Edited by LELA BARNES

I. INTRODUCTION

LESLIE PERKINS SNOW (1862-1934) came to Kansas in November, 1887, as an examiner for the U. S. bureau of pensions and continued in this position until May, 1889. His headquarters were in Junction City.

He was a native of New Hampshire, the only son of Edwin and Helen Perkins Snow of Snowville. It had been expected that Leslie would succeed to the management of his father's sawmill, general store, and 1,800 acres of forest and farm land, but after attending Fryeburg and Bridgton academies in Maine, he went to Dartmouth and was graduated in the class of 1886. He was a member of the New Hampshire house of representatives, 1887-1888, and served six months before going to Washington to begin the study of law. At this time, he also worked in the offices of the pension bureau and was given the appointment that brought him to Kansas.¹

The letters here reproduced were written by Leslie to his fiancee, Susan Eliza Currier of Haverhill, N. H., and by Susan to members of her family after she came to Kansas late in 1888 as Leslie's bride. Like her husband, Susan came from conservative New England stock, and both viewed the Kansas scene with amazement, delight, and occasional shock. It is possible that in informing Susan about people, conditions, and experiences in his Western location, Leslie was mildly influenced by the rather free presentation of facts he sometimes encountered.

In 1889 Leslie and Susan went to Washington to live while Leslie finished his legal education at the law school of Columbian University (now George Washington University). He was graduated with the class of 1890. After a year in the lumber business with

Mrs. LELA BARNES, member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society from 1931 to 1962, and the Society's treasurer, 1940-1962, is now in semiretirement, enjoying the opportunity to finish some projects she was unable to complete during her busy office tenure.

1. In the *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Pensions* for 1887, 1888, it is stated 17,481 persons in Kansas were awarded pension payments in an amount totaling more than \$500,000 for the quarter ending in June, 1887; in the corresponding quarter of 1888, the number of pensioners had increased to 18,743, with payments rising more than \$48,000 above the figure for 1887.

his father in Snowville, he passed the New Hampshire bar examination and began the practice of law in Rochester in that state. His distinguished career in both civic and public affairs included service as a justice of the New Hampshire supreme court, 1921-1932. Susan bore him two sons, Conrad and Leslie. She died in 1892 and her sister, Norma, came to care for the two small boys. She and Leslie were married in 1894.

The letters were graciously lent to the Society by the elder son of Leslie and Susan, Conrad E. Snow, a practicing attorney residing in Gilmanton Iron Works, N. H. Like his father, Conrad Snow has served in many fields with distinction. He provided valuable information and suggestions for the editing of the letters.

Passages omitted in the printed letters were mainly comments on family and personal affairs. Some of Susan's letters in the series were omitted altogether because they were not relevant to her life in Kansas.

II. THE LETTERS OF LESLIE PERKINS SNOW, 1887, 1888

WASHINGTON, D. C. November 27, 1887

MY DEAR SUSIE:

Another week has gone very quickly and one event has succeeded another so closely that I can hardly recollect a spare moment. It has been a week so well filled that I may as well give you a brief history of it. I seldom write history—and the meanest of all is for one to write his own. Yet I'm equal to the task. One week ago this evening I attended a sacred concert given by the artist cornetist Levy (by the way his real name is Levi—he's a Jew). He was splendid. It would have done your soul good to have listened—the rest of the troupe was "rats."

Monday morning I hied me to the Pension Office where my supervisor Dr. Browning kindly took me to the Navy & Survivors' where a correspondence is kept up with all the old soldiers and Grand Army organizations so as to know the whereabouts of soldiers in order to facilitate in settling pension claims. We then went to the Recording division where a record of all the proceedings of the Pension Office are kept.

Then to the Adjudicating division where the cases are made up and prosecuted, and finally to the Law & Medical divisions which decide respectively the Law & Medical questions.

Tuesday afternoon I obtained leave of absence by consent of Gen. Mc. E. Dye, and visited the White House. I was unfortunate

however in the fact that Mr. Cleveland, I should say President, was in Cabinet meeting and so I did not see him. I however visited the great East room which is quite an interesting thing in itself though I understand by no means as richly furnished as the Green, Blue or Red rooms.

I then went to the Corcoran Art Gallery.² This is very fine. The building cost \$350,000. The basement is occupied by the sculpture and bronze works mostly of the ancient order. It is a very fine collection. The next floor is occupied by paintings; these are grand and well worth a long and careful study while I spent only an hour in their midst.

But I must stop and describe one painting— It was that of "Charlotte Corday in Prison" by Charles Louis Muller. She is the character in history of the French Republic who stabbed the blood-thirsty Marat to the heart while making out a fresh list of victims for the guillotine. The painting represents her in prison while awaiting her death as punishment for her deed. It is the most touching thing I ever saw in a picture. Her drooping head rests languidly against the rusty bars of her prison window which she clasps in her delicate hand. The guide describes it just right when he speaks of the "noble, pale face looking through the grating with a *thrilling* earnest mournfulness." It touched even my stony nature. But this is only one of hundreds of paintings of which I presume this is considered an inferior one. Well Wednesday morning Mr. Browning took me to the Board of Review where Mr. Van Mater let me into the workings of that department. As Wednesday was a day before a holiday we were dismissed from office at 3 o'clock. I went directly down to the Smithsonian Institution, which you will remember is devoted to science. Here is a wonderful array of taxidermy,—birds of every kind and clime, all sorts of fishes, mummies, Indian antiquities—the product of the Western mounds—unearthed remains of bygone generations of red men. Weeks might profitably be spent there.

Thanksgiving!! A holiday! I determined to celebrate this by a visit to the Mecca of America—the tomb of Washington. 10 o'clock Thursday morning found me on board the steamer *W. W. Corcoran* and steaming down the broad Potomac. It is I think from one to

2. Construction of the Corcoran Gallery of Art was begun in 1859 by William Wilson Corcoran. It was not completed until 1872 having been occupied by the quartermaster general's office during the Civil War. Corcoran's own collection formed the nucleus of the gallery collection. The building, at Pennsylvania Ave. and 17th St., was purchased by the government by an act of March 3, 1901, and is now occupied by the U. S. court of claims. The new gallery, on 17th St., between E St. and New York Ave., was opened in 1897.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), v. 4, p. 440.

two miles broad. As we glided down the river we passed the U. S. Arsenal and Barracks with its frowning guns and piles of cannon balls. Alexandria with its old buildings was soon at our right. I saw the hotel from which Col. Ephraim Ellsworth was shot while taking down the Rebel Flag. It is said that this town has not seen a new building since the war while before it was one of the most promising towns in Virginia.

We passed Forts Foot and Washington. The latter is a venerable old stone structure which in my opinion would stand about ten minutes bombardment.

It was about 12 noon when we landed on the Virginia shore at Mt. Vernon. It must be just a lovely place in midsummer but even now is pretty. We first visited the tomb. It is plain but substantial. Looking through an iron barred gate we see the two sarcophaguses containing the Father & Mother of our Country. We then went to the house which is a grand old mansion of wood in imitation of stone. It is left as nearly in the condition in which Washington last saw it as possible. Upon the walls are the pictures as they were then. The key to the French Prison Bastille which was a present from Lafayette hangs upon the wall. There is also to be seen a model of the prison made from a stone which was taken from the ruins.

Notable among the articles in memory of Washington was the old compass which Washington used in his younger days. The suit in which he made his farewell address—his sword etc. There was also to be seen a chair which was a part of the furniture of the *Mayflower* in its first trip to America. The bed upon which Washington died is there. The furniture is all antique. We then went to the greenhouse and grounds where we were shown a hedge planted by Lawrence Washington a brother of Washington in 1741 which is still growing. Also a sago palm which Washington prized very highly. The top of this plant was burned up with the greenhouse but sprouted again. I took my Thanksgiving dinner in the old kitchen in which Washington's food was cooked one hundred years ago. It consisted of a sandwich and cup of coffee. We returned to Washington where we arrived at 3.30. But on the way we were entertained by a violinist. I must say this his music was beautiful. I think it must have eclipsed even your Mr. Miller. On my arrival in Washington I went to the National Museum. This is the most extensive of all the public buildings I have yet visited except the Capitol itself. This museum covers 2½ acres. The build-

ing cost \$250,000, while its contents are valued at \$800,000. In it is almost every conceivable animal living or extinct, i. e. they are extinct now and prepared by the taxidermist. It also contains all the presents which other nations have made us, plans of all the noted ships, casts of all races, while botony and mineralogy are extensively represented. I think I could profitably have spent two weeks in looking it through. Friday afternoon I was sent out with Mr. Theodore Smith a special examiner here in town to see him about his business and to "catch on" to the *modus operandi* of special examining.

He seems to be a fine man—is married—and I should think spends his money as he goes. He took us in his own conveyance—I say "us," Mr. Harnsberger and myself, to the Arsenal where we took the deposition of Major Somebody(?). As he had no other work which we could proceed with at once he said we would see the town so we rode for the P. M. And I assure you Washington is a town of fine residences and beautiful avenues. I could not describe all to you.

Friday evening by the kindness of Mr. Neas an employee of the Pension Office I went with him to a lecture at the Georgetown Law School where I listened to a very fine lecture on Real Property.

Saturday P. M. I got through work as usual at 3. I went down to the old theater where Lincoln was shot but as they are at present moving the contents to the new building, I could not see the Medical Museum which has been there since Lincoln's death. I missed a great treat. I went to the Capitol where I visited the Senate Chamber, Hall of Representatives, Supreme Court Room, Hall of Statuary etc., etc. At least I spent the hour which I had in walking through the grand old halls, rooms, and corridors.

I then went to the Botanical gardens where I saw trees and plants from all parts of the world.

Saturday evening I called upon Mrs. Howes to return a book, John Logan's "Conspiracy" which is a history of our late war.³ It is a book of 500 pages. I have read it this week during my spare moments. This morning, I went to church again at the President's church. President and Mrs. were not there but Mrs. Cleveland's Mother was "present" viz. Mrs. Folsom.

This P. M. I'm going to the St. Augustine colored Roman Catholic Church where I expect to hear the finest music in the city.

Now I will leave it to your candid judgement if this has not been

3. John A. Logan, *The Great Conspiracy: Its Origin and History* (1886).

a week of experiences. It certainly has been an intellectual feast. I've thought of you many times and wished you could be enjoying it with me. It would have been so very pleasant and I know from your disposition you would have enjoyed much more than I. But we will hope that sometime you may have the opportunity to see all this and much more.

Well I have another bit of news which will, I think, interest you. I've been informed quite positively of my field. I expect to go to Junction City, Kansas. This city is situated at the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers. It is a center with four RR's running one for each point of the compass. I am to have ten counties under my charge mostly west of Junction City. Junct. City has from 2 to 3 thousand inhabitants. This is as far as I could judge without having been on the ground just where I would like to go. It is on the Union Pacific. I hope to go this coming week. I will however let you know if I start. . . .

I met Congressman McKinney from N. H. last evening on the street.

Since writing this I've been to St. Augustine. The services were very entertaining.

Very Truly
L. R. SNOW

If I've written too much at length scold me.

WASHINGTON, D. C. December 1st, 1887

DEAR SUSIE

Leave Washington via Baltimore & Ohio R. R. via Cincinnati, St. Louis Kansas City—for Junction City at 9.40 this evening.

Address

L. P. Snow
U. S. Pension Examiner
Junction City
Kansas

Very Truly but Hastily
LESLIE

P. S. Called on the President yesterday and on Congressman McKinney last evening.

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., Dec. 4th 1887

MY DEAR SUSIE:

I am at last at my headquarters—after a long but I assure you a very pleasant journey. I set out from Washington Thursday evening at 9.40. I intended to have taken the Penn. R. R. via Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Pa., Columbus, Ohio, etc., but I concluded in consideration of the company of Mr. Harnsberger who came west the same day to come by the B. & O. R. R. which goes up the Potomac through West Virginia [Grafton & Parkersburg], Cincinnati, Ohio, St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo.

Mr. Harnsberger came with me as far as Cincinnati, Ohio, when he left to go to his home in Ill. where he would stop and visit Mrs. [omission] over Sunday and then set out for his headquarters which are to be at Emporia, Kansas.

Well of course we are entitled to the first class service and determined to have a pleasant journey. This was marred only for a short distance. We retired soon after we got aboard Thursday evening but the B. & O. (Baltimore and Ohio) R. R. is a very peculiar road. It is built through a very hilly country—a country passable for R. R.s only by numerous curves and tunnels. I don't believe there can be two miles of straight road the whole distance from Washington to Parkersburg on the Ohio River. Every body seemed seasick in the morning and I must acknowledge I felt something that way myself but it lasted but a little while. By the way the principal cause of the sickness which all seemed to suffer from was the gas which filled the cars as we plunged into the tunnels. This is a peculiarity of the B. & O. R. R. by common repute. But this over and the remainder of the trip was just magnificent—one vast panorama—a grand natural theater which I enjoyed as much as any play I ever saw. I must say of West Virginia that it possesses the meanest residences I ever saw. Small, scarcely large enough for one room, old, dirty huts. I doubtless did not see the most prosperous part of the state. When we got to Parkersburg which is the point where we crossed the Ohio river it was eleven o'clock; after we had crossed it was only 10 o'clock so everybody set their watches back and lived the hour over again.

In West Virginia & Ohio a light snow had fallen but southern Ohio was a very fair country by way of contrast with West Virginia at least.

We stopped at Cincinnati for supper where I separated from my friend. It was rainy the remainder of my journey nearly to Kansas

City when it cleared off nicely. We left Cincinnati at 9 o'clock. I slept like a log all night and thus passed through Indiana and nearly through Ill. without being any the wiser for my visit. But be assured I was up in season to witness our passage over that famous bridge over the Mississippi at St. Louis. It is a grand thing. I believe including abutments it is a mile in length. After crossing this we plunged into the tunnel and passed under the city of St. Louis coming up at the Central Depot.

Here I breakfasted and set out for Kansas City. This day (Saturday) was the most beautiful of all. We were given car with beautiful reclining chairs and everything made comfortable. After we had left the city of St. Louis we found ourselves upon a vast prairie cut up into farms, cornfields and the like. On all sides the horizon seemed to be on a level with us. This to me was a sublime scene. The dwellings small but they looked very cosy. I can't describe to you the beauties of this scene to me. Your mother doubtless is familiar with this country. We ran very fast, making 276 miles St. Louis to Kansas City in 9 hours and 40 minutes. Taking out the time we stopped at Montgomery for dinner made our speed 30 miles per hour. And as we made many stops we must have been going much of the time 40 to 50 miles per hour. It seemed much different than our Eastern trains.

At Kansas City I waited some over two hours and employed my spare time in calling upon a witness in a pension case which had been put into my hands to be examined some 300 miles west of here. I was not expected to trouble myself about this witness but I discovered that he might be of great importance in the case.

After some little search in a strange city and a dark night without a guide, I found my man. But he couldn't even remember the soldier—so much for my pains. But he put me on track of a clue which I think will develop into evidence. In my effort I was rewarded by a ride on the Kansas City Cable R. R.⁴ which enabled me to make a long distance in a short time. And in the meantime saw the city fire department in full display to fight fire which was not entirely without interest. I set out for Junction City at 9.40 after having spent nearly three quarters of an hour coming the red-tape act of procuring government R. R. transportation, filling out some six or seven papers and being sent from one official to another till I got my ticket and check. I took sleeper and slept

4. Previous to 1885, all street cars in Kansas City were operated with horses or mules. The Kansas City Cable Railway Co. was chartered in 1883; the first car was operated over the road in June, 1885.—Theo. S. Case, ed., *History of Kansas City, Missouri* (Syracuse, N. Y., D. Mason & Co., 1888), p. 409.

soundly till 2 o'clock this morning when the conductor gave me the warning that we were approaching Junction City.

I came to the Bartell House where I put in four hours more sleep.⁵

Have been out surveying the landscape and made a tour of the city—yes city—but I can walk right out of it into the country in any direction in five minutes.

The average house is about large enough to hold my trunk and boots.

The Fire Department building is the largest building in the city and finest. The hotels and public buildings are the only large buildings in the city.

Streets broad, muddy, and dirty sidewalks to correspond. But this is unavoidable so must make the best of it. Am nicely and am enjoying everything thus far.

A man tried to run off my hand bag at St. Louis but got sadly left.

Please address me as

U S Pension Examiner
Junction City, Kansas

Very Truly

LESLIE

P. S. I find I have enough on hand to do.

The gentleman who came here before I did had on his hands some 8 cases when he first came here. He was a steady worker but there accumulated on his hands in spite of his efforts 60 cases. So you see I have all I can possibly do in six months if I did not receive any more till I was even with the board. I have also been given three extra cases outside of my territory which will doubtless cause me several hundred miles travel especially as one of them is in Western Kansas.

I expect you are on a visit and will not get this in a hurry so I shall not look for a letter at once.

I won't bother you with any more recital of these matters of business now.

It would be convenient to have you here to keep my papers straight—perhaps me too.

5. The Bartell House was considered the "best arranged and most convenient edifice of the kind in the state."—Junction City *Union*, February 28, 1880. The hotel was opened on February 23, 1880, and a special railroad coach was operated between Kansas City and Junction City for the benefit of invited guests. Invitations to the opening were issued to officials of various railroads, state officials, leading newspaper editors throughout Kansas, commercial travelers, officers at Fort Riley, citizens of surrounding towns, and their ladies.—Kansas State Historical Society clippings, Geary county, v. 3, pp. 186-188. The hotel was bought by the Lamer chain in 1954 and the name was changed to Lamer.

However we can't always consult our convenience. I hope this will find you much better. Please take care of yourself. I will do likewise as a consideration.

Have engaged a room at this house. I had no alternative as the private residences are so small that they have no spare room.

Shall be in town tomorrow docketing cases and getting ready for work—then to biss. with a vim.

Meanwhile goodby

L.

ABILENE, KANSAS, Dec. 12th 1887

DEAR SUSIE:

I am what you may call nomadic in my habits—believe that means wandering. I can hardly locate myself long enough to write a letter.

I believe I wrote you last at Junction City. Well I left Junction City Tuesday Dec. 6th and went north about 30 to 40 miles to Clay Center, Clay Co., Kan. It was a beautiful ride through a beautiful country. Stopped at the Comstock House—that is I stopped there while I *stopped* anywhere.

Hired a team the next morning (Wednesday)—by the way a team consists here of a span always. A few single teams are to be seen about the cities but none out in the country. So I hired a “rig” which consists of two horses and a light buggy and being “rigged out” I set out.

The livery man told me I could find no one without a guide but as I like to hunt I thought I would be my own guide.

I went that day East to Grant Township to find one Frank Sheinkonig. I succeeded in finding my man but after a great many turns and “bouts.” It was a beautiful day and such a lovely ride. I wished you were along with me. A gay little span, a light buggy, a smooth road and away we went at a “right smart gait.” The country is not level as one might be inclined to suppose but “rolling.” It lies in great waves. When on the top of one wave you can see many miles each way. The crests of these waves seem some four or five miles apart—the hollows between are not deep—very few hills but you can make at a trot.

Well as I said I found my man and took my *first deposition*. I took the whole family by the way. Frank Rodrigo and Josephine—three depositions. Sheinkonig is a German. I was told that he was “well fixed” so I can tell you what that means: A house twenty by ten feet, two rooms one story high, enter cellar by trap door, a

windmill to pump water some seventy feet from the subterranean regions; a haystack for a barn—large stock of cattle, hogs, hens & horses; a wooden cage to scare crows or put corn in I don't know which. These constituted what I could see of his "well-fixedness."

I went into the parlor among the furniture of which were the cook-stove & bed. Mrs. S. sat on the bed and told me her knowledge of the soldier's blindness, how she gave him the first dinner he had after he got out of the Army and other valuable information. She served me up a dinner of "one course"—white bread and butter and good milk. She was so delighted to see a real live man who had seen the president and actually been in the White House that she wouldn't take any pay. I've tried to work the same racket on some of the 3.00 per diem hotels but they don't catch on.

I returned to Clay Center after searching for Patrick [illegible], but Pat. was away. He called on me at the Comstock next day and I "took him." I believe his story is false; I made him contradict himself three times and snarled him all up.

I went that day to the East to see a Dr. Lanning. Found the Dr. and took him. I also took a young man along with me for company who is asst. postmaster at Clay Center. He seemed very nice and jovial. We went to Green to see another man whom I found. His name is peculiar—"Iam." And so he was.

The next day Friday I went S. W. to Exeter township and to Idana where I took two depositions. Saturday I went S. E. to Bala, Riley Co., and got Jim [illegible]. This man lived in the ground, couldn't write his name—said he was "no scholar." I returned to Clay Center that night in time to call upon an old dutchman Klipsche and then take night train to Junction City where I arrived 10 o'clock.

I averaged to ride 25 miles per day and take two depositions while north. Despite the fact that yesterday was the Sabbath I had to attend to writing. Wrote all day and this A. M., and took noon train for Abilene where I am for the night. Shall go to Enterprise several miles East tomorrow morning then back tomorrow night directly on to Salina—then south to Pliny—back at night and right on to Sylvan Grove. Then after doing what I may find there, back to Abilene and to Junction City for another Sabbath.

No end of work, 60 cases on hand to begin with: others have been sent till I now have 75. Can't handle more than four or five per week. So you can see I've enough on hand.

This is indeed a lovely country. I'm enjoying it thus far very much. No time to study now. Your very nice letter awaited to

greet me on my return to Junction City I enjoyed it very much. Are you still feeling very poorly? You must get strong. It would do me worlds of good to step into Haverhill over Sunday. I think it much better to do house work but you must not over-do in that. . . .

All you write me about Haverhill is very nice and very interesting to me. Please don't think you must write as much as I scribble. Every thing is new here to me and I see so many things to write about that I have no end.

There is no need of a dugout in the Winter. There are no cyclones this season but in the summer. They have blizzards in the winter—cold piercing winds which nearly freeze for days together. I've not experienced one yet. Though I have needed two overcoats riding all day. Shall wear a rubber overcoat outside of these later. . . .

Have not yet seen a familiar face since left Washington and only two Cong., McKinney & W. M. Hatch, '86 (and his bro.) since I left Boston. They call easterners "tender feet" here.

I find great friends among the postmasters who are Uncle Sam's property. They are all very kind and obliging.

Well I don't have the least idea what I've said but it is what it is as I'm what I am.

Very Truly with Love

LESLIE

Address Junction City as usual.

Hal Hal

I didn't notice I'd left a blank. This is too bad—something interesting might have been said here for aught I know but it can't be helped, it's a blank in my "history" Remember me in your dreams.

ABILENE, KANSAS, Dec 17th 1887

MY DEAR SUSIE

I wish you a merry Xmas although I suppose I am rather in a hurry but you know real enthusiastic good wishes burst out spontaneously and don't wait for dates.

This has been a week of activity for me as usual. Left Junction 12 Monday. Historian again! Well never mind. Came to this little town and a pretty little town it is, too. Think I'll have to pick out a home here, but that is the thought of a moment. It is the cleanest—best houses—nicest looking people I've seen. When East to Enterprise Tuesday found my men 14 miles into country, took

dinner at a farm house. Real nice old people; set out in old age to make their fortune in West. Mrs. thought it cruel—wanted to go back to Ohio. They sat for an hour after dinner and told me stories of blizzards, cyclones etc. A near neighbor's house was taken up by wind one night—turned half about and set down on other side of road—he waked up next morning and started off in wrong direction to town. When he found out mistake said "he felt something jar in the night." One farmer had a tin pan blown ten miles.

A woman clung to tree during a cyclone—wind blew her dress all to shreds. etc., etc.

The teller of this asked the blessing on the wheat cakes and butter which I ate, and has the best of standing in community.

Came back to Abilene Tuesday night, off to Pliney Wed. morning, South twenty miles by R. R. I found that no such a town existed; it had been swallowed up in Gypsum City. Let me remind you that Kan. has no villages. Only cities and single dwellings. Stopped of course at Gypsum House. This is a town of rapid growth such as is very common in Kan. 18 m. ago one house occupied the present city location. The old resident was the very man whom I wanted to see. He had risen suddenly from a simple farmer 20 miles from R. R. station to grand nabob of a city. His principal business was to stand and loaf about town and sell lots. This city (?) was about twice as large as Snowville—contained fifty houses. Has a bank, hotel and brass-band. Corner lots \$500. Pigs in street. Citizens say it is to be the metropolis of the world. Came back to Salina on night train. Do you remember that Geo C. Stebbins was from Salina? Well I didn't take pains to hunt him up. When up to clothing house with a young man (clerk) whom I met at hotel. Here I saw the first familiar face seen since I left Washington. It was *Dr. Brown*. Doct., '86, left college before completing course—we called him "Wreck" for short—fine dress—beautiful office—claims to have \$6,000 practice.

West to Lincoln Co. & Russell Co. Thursday morning—train crawled along 9 miles per hour. Engineer stopped train and went out shooting quail—no hurry—no danger of blocking track—one train a day. Every ten miles or such a matter a new town. Some of these cities are yet to be, the depot being the only building in town yet built but the town all laid out and named—the position of the public buildings all designated.

I stopped at a town, Lucas, six months old. Of course I stopped at "Lucas House"—a rough board but dirt everywhere despite

newness. All the people in town boarded at hotel. Saw three women in town. About ten buildings. All the people were Missourians and Kentuckians—roughs I called them. Stayed all night with them. Rough boards hung for doors. Last and cheering remark of landlord, "You *probably* won't be murdered."

Got three depositions of an old doctor. Had perfect confidence of community (?) but told me that on one occasion he held a whole tribe of Indians, over 100, at bay—and fought the whole crowd.

Took two more depositions and set out for Salina. Passed evening then took midnight train for Abilene. Shall take midnight train to Junction City tonight—R. R. connections are superb here in west ?????? It is most train time; will write you again sometime during week.

Sent a little package by ex. which you will doubtless rec. all right.

Very Truly

LESLIE

I hope you admire my penmanship.

DOWNNS, KANSAS, Dec. 21st, 1887

MY DEAR SUSIE:

I left J. City Monday P. M. and came via Abilene & Solomon City to Beloit, stopped over night there. At this time a blizzard set in. Now I presume that does not convey a full knowledge of what the experience is. A blizzard is simply a cold northern terrific and steady wind. The thermometer only 4 below but no clothing would keep the cold wind out. I had started for Smith County but concluded to stick by the cities while the wind was up. So stopped at Cawker City. Tuesday & Wed. forenoon and then at Downs Wed. P. M. & then to Gaylord Smith Co. Thursday.

This letter was interrupted two lines above by the arrival of train which took me from Downs to Gaylord. Am now at Beloit.

But I'm there no longer: that is not where I was—I'm at the depot putting in some heavy waiting—I'm smaller than I was a few moments ago—being consolidated by the jolting of an old stage coach.

But to return to the history. The "blizzard" lasted from Monday till Wednesday P. M. In the mean time I hung about the towns doing cases I had taken along for such an emergency. It (the wind) let up Wednesday P. M. and Thursday I went to Gaylord and took a span ten miles into the country only to have the satisfaction of not finding my man— he was "out west" at work on

the R. R. A very pleasant drive was my only reward for Uncle Sam's \$3.00 paid for livery.

The waiter at the hotel at Gaylord had a peculiar history as given me by the landlord. She has been brought up with the cowboys on a ranch in western Kansas till she was 16 yrs.—an outdoor life—and on horse back most of time. She keeps two ponies now and had taken a \$200. prize at a jockey-cap race only a few days before. This was the occasion of the landlord's remarks—"a fearless rider."

Came back to Cawker City same night and to Beloit next morning Friday—took a deposition in town—then drove fifteen miles into country & back at 4 P. M. in season for another deposition before tea.

Still another in the evening. This morning (Saturday) I drove into country nine miles & ret. and obtained a deposition. I think hereafter I will write that word dep. for short— this life is too short and sweet to waste in long words.

Well while I was taking that dep. the cat had a fit—that is it seemed so to me. The farmer caught her by the nape of the neck and threw her down with the remark that "it was only a sandburr under her lip." I will enclose a specimen which said farmer donated to me if I don't forget it. They are very plenty and materially interfere with the bare-footed small boys' comfort. The cat seemed to enjoy it—she was particularly lively and playful. You might experiment on your pet cat if the specimen doesn't lose its shape before it reaches you. I wish you a happy new year (excuse change in subject) and hope you had a merry Xmas.

I am now bound for Junction City where I will arrive tomorrow morning (Sunday) 2 o'clock providence permitting.

Providence permitted.

JUNCTION CITY, KANS. Dec. 26, 1887

MY *Dear* SUSIE

I can not tell you how much I enjoyed your letter which was a sufficient Xmas present in itself. After mail hour yesterday 4 o'clock I forgot my business and sat down to enjoy my Xmas. The enjoyment was "keen." I can't tell you how much I really enjoyed my mail—and I really think it was the first time since I came to Kansas that I gave loose reins to my thoughts and wandered way back to New Eng. That doesn't mean that I've not thought of you all—very much—but that I haven't just given away to my feelings before and just devoted myself to thinking.

Your letter—a letter from your mother—one from my home— letters from my sisters— It was a grand reunion. Even Uncle Sam didn't forget to send me six new cases (or two weeks work) with lots of other official communications. You speak of a box—it did not make as good time as the letter, but I trust will arrive safely. If it comes in the morning mail I will make mention of it— if not you must describe the package to me as there are several packages in the office with the names torn from them and it will be necessary to describe the box in order to claim it.

It must have been a very pleasant surprise indeed to listen to the music which you love so much and enjoy a call from the Doctor. . . .

Your fair certainly was a success. I present myself as an available heathen. Fifty-six—that's about my size. I prefer the coin—no tracts please.

Susie I didn't give you credit for all my Xmas enjoyment which was due to you. I received *two* letters from you and the first was as nice as the last. Especially as it gave me an idea of Mrs. J. M. — small is she? Well John and I have a mania for little folks it seems. Hope John doesn't look as thin as he did when I last saw him. I hope he is happy. I know I would be if I could have my little girl with me as he has his. I din'a ken (if that's right) how long it will be but I wish it were right now. But there, it is nice to know that it "*can be*" whenever we say. But it is a little harder to say when it "*best be.*" If I were at one place all my time I'm thinking I'd *make* it to be "*best*" right away, but one day out of seven wouldn't make home very pleasant I fear now. If time is passing slow with you and you have decided wishes I hope you will be frank with me and tell me all. I would not let my selfish ideas in regard to circumstances keep us separated if I thought you were suffering because of them. You must be just as frank with me as you would be with another self.

But Susie, you *have* a shadow and distance doesn't make it any less *substantial* and *reliable*. Though I do wish sometimes that the *distance* wasn't quite as substantial. . . .

Please excuse my change of stationery. I write on whatever I find at hand. I must sit back and laugh—the idea of my writing to you, the best friend I have on earth, on any old scrap that came to hand as though the idea were not choice enough to merit good paper.

I am loafing today at Uncle Sam's expense. I have a right to take the day in lieu of Christmas so I've taken it. Tomorrow I go South

to Council Grove, Morris Co. to investigate a poor old father's claim.

Please a happy new year to all. I started to write you something of the experiences of the week while at Downs & afterwards at Beloit but fate seemed to be determined I shouldn't. I will enclose the fragments in order to lend variety to the stationery.

I will have to close now but in doing so I want to tell you what I have many many times before—that *I love you with all my heart*. There is no other who shares with you the kind of love which I have for you or who ever shall.

I am as ever
Very truly yours,
Leslie.

P. S. I write your mother today.

ABILENE, KANSAS, Jan 2nd 1888

MY DEAR SUSIE:

As usual a 7 has to [be] transformed to an 8. This is the season of such mistakes.

I have to say first, that I am *very very* sorry but I fear that box is *lost*. It is too bad but it hasn't yet put in its appearance, but I will not give up till another week when I will return to J. City hoping it will have come.

Well I agree with you that 1887 has been a generous year. Full of experience and pleasure at the same time. I began it in Haverhill by putting in two months of *legal* study under circumstances which are sufficiently well known to yourself already. Three months in the quiet of Snowville where one could almost bear himself dream. Then six months of legislative experience—amid the thunder and smoke of railroad warfare. One month at the gay metropolis of Washington. One month of—how *shall* I describe it—wind and blizzards in what would otherwise be a lovely country.

This then is a most important epoch in my experience but you are to blame for the most important element in this experience—something which is to control not the experience of a single year but for all future. What a difference might the slightest circumstance have made.

You may realize with me how different “things might have been.” Follow me!—To a fitting school with no intention of taking a regular course—a series of events causes one to take one step after another till graduation—no intention of a college course—a letter

from a friend suggests it after a year in business—three days after said letter enroute for Hanover—by mere chance finds one whom he likes as a chum—four years [at Dartmouth]—chum decides against all expectation to study law—the two deliberate long upon the next year's course—finally decide to study at homes—toss up coppers to see which place first—decide upon Haverhill.

I will not go farther I think you could supply some circumstances which determined subsequent events.

As I look back and think of all this it seems a little strange that this is thus. It would seem that some agency was directing everything for my good—and our happiness. But I'm not at the end, what will the future do for us? How will 1888 use us?

I believe that depends much upon us. And why should we let it be otherwise than propitious?

I have set out on another week's trip. My plan is—tomorrow to Enterprise— Wed.—to Delphos (that is north in Ottawa County), Thursday to Meredith (Cloud county) and in that vicinity the remainder of the week if necessary. New Years I spent at J. City and such a night!!!

It was a real pandemonium. At twelve o'clock the fire bell rung—guns—pistols—cannons and snapcrackers made the town ring—no sleep till late in morning. It appears that the boys made a real 4th of July of New Years.

In the morning the street was full of every sort of conveyance imaginable. Threshing machines, mowing machines, plows, hay rigs, wagons, buggies—everything in fact that lay about loose within a mile of town.

They were worse than college boys—I would call them a cross between college boys and cow-boys.

Last week I spent my time in Morris Co. mostly at Council Grove—glad to be in town all I could—the wind was up and the thermometer down.

Examined the case of an old father who has been a minister—married an English nobleman's daughter—she was the idol of his heart—the type of perfection—the loveliest prettiest best educated etc., etc. He talked to me all the time I would listen—when he got out of history he would give me advice “Never marry for beauty but for personal worth, I did.” “Be careful young man, go slow.” “Take an old man's advice, I've been through it all.”

The post-master at that town came from Westmoreland, N. H.

His head is a peculiar sight—gray in streaks down one side of head. It is said that this turned gray in a single night. His little son of whom he thought his life was run over three years ago and killed. He is said to have run his hand up through his hair and it left its mark.

What a picture of a blizzard! Ha, ha, ha! Overtaken by a blizzard—no, you are thinking of coyotes—but they won't chase a man—they love dead horses.

Lawyer has grit has he? We boys used to call it sand. All the same.

I have a fur cap and three overcoats—the fourth one is planned for extra flannels.

I asked the conductor of Jay Gould's road to wait his train for me while I called on the post master at Parkersville the other day and he did so. Isn't that exercising a good deal of authority though!

One of the men I was to call on had recently shot "his man" and been sent up for three years, so I could not see him.

Hope a happy new year has begun with you. Remember me to all who care to hear from me.

Very Truly

LESLIE.

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., Jan. 8th, 1888

MY DEAR SUSIE

I have the pleasure of beginning this letter by acknowledging the receipt of the box. It is just too bad that I let my anxiety loose to disturb you and make you think it was lost. It arrived in Junction City on Jan. 3d the next day after I left last week.

But I am fully —yea bountifully repaid for my anxiety. It is *just splendid—lovely*—just like yourself—there that hits it in three words.

And the wishes it brings to one; such wishes as have their source only in the truest sort of a heart. "Love"—"Life"—"Health"—"Joy"—"Fortune"— What a sequence! The first is already mine and I trust her to the extent that I would wager the other four that she will be "true to him." The second and the third are as yet mine and as sure as they remain to us the fourth *shall be* "ours."

The fifth is very fickle. The least important of all! But we'll trust her and take such as she gives—only we will use her for all she's worth. . . .

It has seemed like I was in New England today. The sleigh bells have been ringing all day. And it seems so strange for there is scarcely a half inch of snow. The first of the week there came a storm of sleet which froze to the ground and later a little snow and rain covering the ground with a half inch layer of snow and ice, fast to the ground as though it were a part of it and as there are few or no stones a sleigh goes nicely.

I will just describe the locality here to you. By the way I will send a map which will enable you better to see what a meandering course I take.

My room faces the east. So you see I can look in the direction my heart yearns to be. Just here at Junction City all railroads run north & south. The Union Pacific turns after it gets out of town going easterly and westerly. Another branch of the U. P. goes up the Republican River. The Missouri Pacific goes south.

As I look out of the window and a little to the north I see Fort Riley which is Uncle Sam's property and is supposed to be the geographical center of the U. S. So you see I'm located in the central part of Uncle's farm. There seems to be some doubt about this center business as I find each farmer claims the center is somewhere on his farm.

Well the fort is defended by about 400 soldiers. They are building preparatory to increasing the number to 1,000. The existence of this fort is the life of this city as this particular vicinity is a little too "bluffy" for farming. On all sides of Junction City at a distance of from 5 to 10 miles are bluffs so that this town sits in a valley and is said to be "fire proof" against cyclones. But I wouldn't want to be here when it was tested all the same.

It is Junction City because it is at the junction of the Republican and Solomon rivers.

On the map I will mark a double red line about the counties which I have to visit, I will put some fine red lines for some new railroads. If you wish to follow where I have been you can read this page, if not skip it. First week north to Clay Center and out to Green, Springfield, Bala, Exeter & Idana. Second week west to Abilene, Enterprise, Salina, Gypsum City, Lincoln, Sylvan Grove, & Lucas. Third week west & north to Abilene, Solomon City, Minneapolis, Beloit, Cawker City, Downs, Gaylord & Clifford & Saltville. Fourth week south to Council Grove, Dunlap, White City, Skiddy, & Parkersville. Fifth week west & north to Abilene, Enterprise, Solomon City, Delphos, Meredith & Minneapolis. Have

named simply the towns at which I stopped and in the order in which I visited them.

Tomorrow I intend to go to Mankato, Jewell Co., via Clay Center & Concordia, and during the week expect to stop at (if I have time) Corvallis, Smith Center, Lebanon, Burr Oak, Omio & Jewell.

The first part of book gives a ready index to the location of any town—and you can tell something of the size and accommodations of the town. If I were to choose a town for a home now it would be Abilene, Dickinson Co.

It is a pretty, neat, little town—nice people—nice houses, etc. . . .

With regard to the Civil Service an examination for the clerkships in Washington requires no study of law. For Special Pension Examiner one has to be familiar with "Laws of Evidence," "Competency of Witnesses," and "Statute Pension Law." This knowledge can however be acquired in a short time. A familiarity with U. S. War history is also necessary. . . .

Thanks for your frankness. I wish I could solve the question at once and be very definite. But I will only say now that our union is the one event of the future nearest my heart and shall not be delayed beyond what I believe our best good demands.

So you are keeping a diary are you. Another historian! Well so I have kept a sort of a diary—a skeleton—since I left Snowville. I suspect it will be interesting reading for my grandchildren.

No I was so wicked I didn't make any new resolutions. To tell the truth, Susie, I haven't stopped to think of myself long enough to think whether I was good, bad or indifferent. I'm going to "let up" a little now I've got through my first month, and shake hands with myself and get acquainted. I'm my best friend in Kansas and I think it a pity to be strangers.

Please remember me to all. *Many thanks* for the handkerchief box and contents and much love in return.

Very sincerely

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., Jan. 15th, 1888

DEAR SUSIE:

Your letter awaited me as usual upon my return to J. City. This has been a delightful week—for polar bears but not for pension examiners. Monday night found me in Smith County at Smith Center. This town had just got its railroad—i. e. only a few weeks since.

The coach which waited for us at the depot consisted of a boy with a lantern. Well I rode over to the Sherman House where I found the genial landlord after whom the house was named and who had run the hotel since the town started many years ago. I was told before I went that it was his characteristic fault to have a standard joke—one joke does for several years. I was told what the present edition was and after a cordial “good evening landlord” and a response of “how-de me boy” I quietly sat down to wait for the perpetration of the joke. The landlord related some of the early experiences of the west and finally related some experience of his that very day closing with the remark “that’s pretty good for a man in his 80th year isn’t it?” “Why, Colonel” replied an unsuspecting traveling man (or one who wanted to humor the joke) “you certainly don’t look that old.” “Wall! wall I haven’t always been carousing and fooling my life away like you fellows do. I’ve always been an industrious and sober man.”

The joke was perpetrated and we were free from further restraint. This title “Col.” had a savor of Canada in this case.

Well I went west into the country, a drive of some 20 miles in the A. M., and another north some 15 m. in the P. M. In the last I took my first deposition in a “sod house.” The house was very neat, clean and cozy. These houses are built of turfs which are very thick. The sod is cut up into pieces of perhaps 18 in. by 36 in. and then the walls of the house are built of these as of bricks by laying one above another. The house is then plastered on the inside and the roof covered first with boards or brush and then with sod and finally with a kind of lime which they have here, which runs the water off and washes down the sides of the house making it white. I don’t know though as you are interested in architecture. Some of these are built into the side of a bank so that if you are driving across the country you might drive right on top of the house before you saw it.

I came back from Smith Center to New Lebanon on the 5 o’clock A. M. train.

This little town presents an interesting phase of western growth.⁶ Eighty days ago there was not a building on the present site. Now there are 150 inhabitants doing a thriving little business. The old town of Lebanon was some four miles south west of N. L. I had occasion to go out by the old site and it looked as

6. The Rock Island railroad went straight west from a point two miles east and two miles north of old Lebanon. The new townsite was laid out in 1887.—Smith Center Review, December 26, 1935.

though a cyclone had swept across the country and taken all away except the cellars. The old town had all moved up to the new one. Each man took his little house right along with him and arranged them in line on either side of Main St. of the new metropolis. Did you ever read *Metropolisville* (by Edgerson I think)?⁷ That is a picture of the rise & fall of a western town. I read it many years ago. The hotel which I patronized was one which had been drawn up from the old town. Office 10 x 15, parlor 10 x 10, sleeping rooms up stairs partitioned with bed quilts. Grub, fish hash, tough beef stake.

Thursday morning I waked up to find a blizzard well underway. By a sharp run through the snow drifts I got to the train bound east to Mankato. It snowed the most of the A. M. I wanted to go out into the country in several directions from 8 to 20 miles and as I saw the sun come out and a prospect of a pleasant P. M. I went to the livery stable to engage a team and congratulated myself on the prospect of a good afternoon. While the team was getting ready I went to the P. O. to make inquiries. I hadn't gone two blocks when the wind had changed from the south to the north and the air was so full of snow that I couldn't see a half block. This was in three minutes after sunshine. It remained like that all the afternoon and evening. The R. R.'s abandoned all trains except the engine and one coach and I couldn't get out of town till the next day when I came to Concordia and to Junction City Friday evening.

You may "bet" I keep close when the thermometer runs 20 below and a high wind.

What a veteran Bible reader you are getting to be. I haven't read much of anything since I've been scouting about Kansas. Went to church today at the Presbyterian. Twenty members were admitted— mostly small boys. Four admitted by letter— one from Ind., one from Pa., one from Iowa, one from J. City.

By your definition I'm not brave yet for I'm not yet a lawyer but I'm getting braver everyday. Brown and blue are your colors. I think I could tell much better how I like the change if I could see you a moment. However its some consolation that you've got over being "blue." I expect to go west tomorrow as far as Abilene—I may stop there a day and go north to Miltonvale, Cloud Co.

Then on west to Salina—then north west to Shady Bend, Tescott & Beverly. I doubt if I'm able to get back here by next Sabbath.

7. The reference is to Edward Eggleston's *The Mystery of Metropolisville* (1873).

I must say *this* is a beautiful day. The thermometer at midday is 10 above zero—no wind for a wonder. Your sympathetic nature would be thoroughly aroused if you were to see the cattle standing out this weather without the least shelter. That is the case with some farms, though most farmers now manage to get a shelter from the wind if it is nothing but a haystack.

Your nice letters are very interesting to me and are lots of consolation to my loneliness. It is very pleasant to come home at the close of the week and find a letter from you, one from home, and nearly every week one from one of my sisters.

Remember me to all as usual.

Very truly and sincerely

LESLIE.

SALINA, KANSAS, Jan. 22nd, 1888

MY DEAR SUSIE

I am for the first Sabbath away from headquarters. Came to Abilene Monday and went north in the night to Miltonvale where I stopped till Wed. morning. I found a hotel quite as good as an Eastern barn. Found "my man" in town, luckily, as a blizzard was on. Came back to Abilene and stopped there Wed. night. Wed. I had a very nice sleigh ride. The blizzard had ceased for the time being and it was very pleasant for a ride (of twenty five miles) north to Cheever & return.⁸

Listened to a farmer's dinner. Immensely entertained by a livery man who could talk faster than I could hark. Found a peculiar witness who when I asked him if the soldier was a sound healthy man said it made a difference whether he was to answer as a physician or as a comrade. As a physician he said "yes" as a comrade "he didn't know."

In the evening Mr. Cowles and I beat Mrs. Cowles & Mr.—Mr.—what was his name?—O! McPhaerton— at a game of whist. Came to Salina Thursday morning and after an hour set out for Lincoln County (Beverly), was overtaken by a blizzard. "My man" had removed so I removed back to Salina by the next train. But was obliged to thus stop over night. But this hotel was worse than a barn— Slept with my clothes & two overcoats on and tied myself to the bedpost to keep myself from blowing through the walls— I make this statement as a commercial tourist.

Came back to Salina Friday morning and have stopped here

8. Cheever, a location in Dickinson county, was about 12 miles north of Abilene. The post office was discontinued in 1885.

since, getting acquainted with this metropolis. It is a great R. R. Center and a very flourishing town.

Met a young man by the name of Jackson who was formerly an employee of the Pension Office. Have found him a very pleasant and entertaining friend. He just got a letter from his wife and another from his mother. Says his mother was his best girl till he married and now is his second best. He took me up to his room and showed me photos. of his parents, wife & others. He seems to be a great admirer of Mrs. Jackson and well he might if her photo. is a good one. He is a journalist.

Called on my classmate Brown who seems to enjoy his title of M. D. hugely.

Took the deposition of Col. Phillips an ex-congressman who is an intimate friend of our New Hampshire Bill (Chandler). He has a library worth several thousand and evidently has other property to match.⁹

Monday Jan. 23d, 1888

Went to church yesterday at the dedication of Methodist church. We raised \$100 by the contribution box. My part was 10 cts.

Went to the Lutheran Church in the evening. . . .

As I am away from J. City I shall not receive your letter till I return the middle of the week. Expect to ride into country today, and tomorrow go south to Langley, Ellsworth county, returning here Wed. which day will complete my work in this vicinity.

I would like to be present at Haverhill for a good sleigh ride. We would review the Pine Woods if we could manage to find our way and the sleigh would hold together.

Of course I always wish to be remembered to all—

Very truly

LESLIE.

ABILENE, Monday, Jan. 30th, 1888

DEAR SUSIE:

I wish you could be here and appreciate the Summer weather. It has been very nice here for a whole week and today it is just

9. William Addison Phillips (1824-1893) was a native of Scotland. He came to Kansas in 1855 and was appointed a special correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, having had both journalistic and legal training. In 1858 he headed a party which founded Salina. He served the Union with distinction in the Civil War and was a congressman from Kansas, 1873-1879. His *The Conquest of Kansas* (1856), was an important book of the period.—*Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 18, p. 55.

Phillips' library of approximately 1,000 volumes in the fields of economics, history, and the sciences, including an important group of ethnological works, was bequeathed to Kansas Wesleyan University, Salina. The story of the ultimate disposal of the greater part of the collection including the ethnological studies, is told by Frank J. Anderson, librarian of Kansas Wesleyan University, in an article, "A Man and His Books," in the *Mountain-Plains Library Quarterly*, Wichita, for Spring, 1962.

like Summer—no fires, and uncomfortable with one's winter clothing. The snow has all disappeared.

I believe I wrote you from Salina last. Monday last I got left by my train and so took livery to see another man, whom I saw. Tuesday I went south by rail to Lindsborg. This was a little town of Swedes; I think I must have been the only Angle among them. To express their language as it sounded I would say it was the most jagged chatter I ever attempted to listen to. I stopped there a couple hours and then went west on the Railroad which isn't laid down on your map. You can "build" some geography if you choose by running a railroad from Gypsum City through Lindsborg to Marquette. Well at Marquette I took livery to Langley a town of ambitious inhabitants. As yet they are all contained in a depot, a store, and two sod houses. I went north two miles and found "my man" whom I had chased from Orworth to Beverly and now to Langley. Thank fortune he had frozen his feet during the recent blizzard or I wouldn't have found him here.

On this ride I saw a peculiar sight. The people were out "mining for fish." You see it had been so cold that the "Smoky" had frozen to the bottom. Of course the fish were made prisoners and the people had only to cut the ice open and help themselves.

You ask me—or rather remark, "I wonder what you are busy about this time 8 P. M., Jan. 24." if you could have seen me at that moment you would have seen me sitting down for a game of whist. Mrs. McCommick and I got beaten by Mr. McCommick & a travelling man.

Said McCommicks are the proprietors of the Merchant House. Their accomodations were limited so they put me into a room with another man who proved himself to be a veteran (not pensionable) snorer. "40 horse power" was about his capacity. I got up and shook him once but it only rested him for a new effort.

Came to Salina Wed. To New Cambria & return in the P. M. Met "my man" on the road and took his dep. in the carriage.

Wed. evening I took my friend Jackson to see Jules Verne's "Around the World in 80 Days." It was very good considering the western conveniences for a play. It represents the hero attempting a circuit of Mrs. Grundy's waist for \$50,000 wager which he wins after a combination of seemingly insurmountable obstacles.

Came to Abilene Thurs. and missed my train for Manchester, a

town (not laid down on your map) which lies two or three miles east of Poplar Hill just north of Abilene 15 miles. It wasn't my miss but the bus man's miss.

Friday I went south to Carlton with a team. You should have seen some of the immense flocks of birds—snow birds. They seemed like a cloud, they were so thick. After a drive of 15 m. I had to return without finding my man. Uncle Sam \$10 poorer for no good. Went to J. City 12.10 A. M. Saturday and out into the country 15 miles to the dirtiest hovel I have yet visited. Hens & pigs in the kitchen.

Perhaps you have enough of this sort of descriptive geography.

I expect to take evidence today which will send a man to state's prison for forgery. It seems rough to do but we have to make an example of some of them.

Tomorrow I go to Beloit to demand \$250. from a man who has succeeded in cheating Uncle Sam to that extent.

I expect to put in a week in the vicinity of Beloit.

Next week I expect to "go out west" to Gove & Logan Counties—some 200 miles. Buffalo Park, Gove City, etc.

Have not yet been in Marion Co. but very likely shall have to go there yet. . . .

Excuse my haste in closing— I have some important mail which must go to the office.

Very Truly
LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY KAN Feb. 4th '88

MY DEAR SUSIE:

. . . Another Sabbath finds me again at Junction as you see. One day of the week spent in Abilene & the remainder in Beloit.

I believe this week has not been marked by anything out of the ordinary experiences. I did expect to go to Colorado next week but I concluded it was too far to warrant my going without a special order. I'm waiting for that. O no—I don't mean "waiting." There is no occasion for my waiting any where in Kansas for I have enough else to do while Uncle Sam is issuing his order.

There is an interesting little fight going on out in Western Kan. You turn to your map and note Sherman County. These western counties have not until recently been organized for the good and simple reason that there has been no one there but Buffalos, Prarie Dogs & Rattle Snakes to organize them.

Near where Sherman Center is marked on the map is the present

town of Goodland (it is probably a misnomer). This Goodland "absorbed" Sherman Center. You also see the little town of Eustis. Goodland & Eustis are about 1½ miles apart.

Now the county seat in the west is sure to be a good town and there is much rivalry between towns here. The fight which I mentioned above is the fight between these two towns for the county seat.

It seems that what is marked as Sherman Center, now Goodland, is the oldest town and expected to be the county seat when an Eastern syndicate comes out and builds the town of Eustis and brings in so many people that they control the county vote and at the organization of the county get the seat. The people of Goodland arm themselves and charge on their opponents and secure the county papers or a part of them. Where upon the other town arms its citizens. Each town barricades itself and builds a breast work and they storm away.¹⁰

The Gov. has ordered the militia of the state to be in readiness to be called out at once.

A similar contest took place several years since in a southern county when quite a number were killed.¹¹

I'm going to rove out through those counties later I've got to go to Gove City, Gove Co. very soon. I also have a case at Leoti, Wichita Co.

Your nice letter giving me a description of the "three pretty maids from School" is very interesting. So you have discovered that one who can discourse sweet music can be wicked still—wicked enough to play cards on Sunday. Those girls were very bad—were there three cards missing? Well well you should have exercised a better influence over your junior sister.

O! now. How about your blizzard. We haven't got any snow here—O I wouldn't live in such a country. And earthquakes I understand you have been having—Kansas doesn't have earthquakes.

The weather which we have had for the past week here would relieve you of some of the snow. . . .

10. In the spring of 1885 a group of investors, headed by P. S. Eustis and O. R. Phillips, organized the Lincoln Land Company and laid out the town of Eustis. For a detailed account of the county-seat war in Sherman county, see "Sherman County and the H[omesteaders'] U[nion] A[ssociation]," an address by E. E. Blackman, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, pp. 50-62. Goodland became the county seat.

11. This is probably a reference to the county-seat war in Wichita county between Leoti and Coronado, 1885-1887. Three Leoti men were killed during the prolonged contest. For details, see "The End of Coronado," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12, pp. 441-447.

I expect to stay at Junction City for a day or two this week. . . .

Let me tell you the secret of letter writing: "when you have nothing to write write it."

I think I've succeeded admirably well in this letter under the rule.

Have been to church three times today. The minister said that "if our feet were printing presses and every time we stepped we left our thoughts printed in the track many of us would prefer to stand still." It occurred to me that the amount of thought would usually be the inverse ratio to the number of squares inches covered by the printing press.

Perhaps I haven't hit upon the moral of the sermon.

Well I must bid you good night and happy dreams

Very truly Yours

LESLIE

1000 Miles from Washington, D. C. Feb. 12th, 1888

at JUNCTION CITY KAN.

MY DEAR SUSIE:

Your very nice letter reached me in the usual good season.

This week I have remained at the place and vicinity going out only ten or fifteen miles to "Whiskey Point" & "Dry Creek." Extremes.¹²

Have been taking Irish testimony the most of the time and it would please you to listen to them talk. Let me call in to take Mr. McMurphy's test, and one question winds up the tongues of the whole family and it is somewhat difficult to keep in mind whose testimony I'm taking. They are only equaled by the Germans.

At Washington they evidently thought I had too much to do and have seen fit to slice off a part of my territory. They ordered me to send what work I had in Clay, Riley & Cloud Co.s to A. M. Spoveszer at Atchison. Isn't that a pretty name? They say he has to lie awake nights to remember his name. You see this relieves me of some large towns like Clay Center, Concordia. I don't like to be relieved of towns. I expect it will result later in giving me the Wild West, i. e. all of Kan. west of me. But now that it is getting warmer I don't care.

Monday 2 o'clock A. M. I expect to take a trip west 200 miles to Gove City, Gove Co., then back to Salina and to Lincoln Center

12. Whiskey Point was a local name for a now extinct location in Geary county. Other names were West Point and Riley City. It has been reported that barrels of whisky were spilled there in 1855 by troops from Fort Riley.

& back to S. again and then to Abilene—then north to Poplar Hill. That is my programme for the week. . . .

I am very happy to know that you are “getting very strong and well”! Now let me tell you that you will please me *very, very*, much by keeping so. I don’t believe you can do it and teach. That’s my opinion—which owing to our friendly relations I will not charge you any thing for. I am not always that free with my advice. . . .

I received a letter this week from my Uncle (a great one) at Hastings, Neb., inviting me to call on my neighbors (only 150 miles). I think I will run in some day. . . .

My “vacation.” Well I will tell you what my plan has been, which is always subject to a change however. It is to come to N. H. about Nov. this year. Does that seem long? It does to me but then time moves very fast, after all. You see I want to vote for Cleveland next Fall. It will be more easily determined however later. Your wishes will, I think however, be the only force which I will allow to change that plan. Be good etcetera. I will have to close.

Very Truly Yours

LESLIE

“Mumps, mumps”—is the cry on all sides. Several cases in the house. When will be my turn?

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., Feb 19th 1888

MY DEAR SUSIE

I am in debt to you for a very nice letter. Nothing would please me better. Except you presence. . . .

I should have been an interested listener, I know, if I could have been present at his (Junior’s) sermon. You may give him my best wishes if you choose. Why: of course I have no objection to your riding with Jimmy or any other nice fellow—and I’m confident you wouldn’t ride with any other class. . . .

This week has been an interesting one. I left here 2 o’clock Monday morning and went west to Gove City. I stopped at Ellis for breakfast. On the train was a little boy who had got lost off the train of the day before and all his friends had gone on. The passengers took pity on him and cared for him all the way.

I stopped at Grainfield for dinner. At this place over the table in the dining hall was written on a banner.

We may live without books; what is knowledge but grieving,
 We may live without hope; what is hope but deceiving,
 We may live without love; what is love but pining.
 But where is the man that can live without dining?

If there was any place where I have stopped in Kansas and "lived without dining" that was the place. Who is the author of the first part? ¹³

I took livery across the country to Gove City. This was a new town—less than one year old. The buildings built of a stone which when it first is taken from the quarry can be whittled with a jackknife but which hardens as it is exposed. I returned to Grainfield in season for train back to Salina Monday night.

Does it not seem to you that one ought to be able to see a great distance on a perfectly level country? It did to me. But it is a good view when one can see off 10 miles to distinguish a—no, I didn't mean a blot but a town. Five miles is about the usual distance one sees about him. I first saw the mirage on my ride to Gove City. It was a very warm day—so warm that it would have been uncomfortable without a top to the buggy. As one looked off to the horizon it looked as if a train of cars had gone along and left a strip of smoke from east to west. And then it settled down and the motion of the air from the heat arising from the ground gave it the appearance of billowy waves—so it seemed as though one could see ocean along the horizon. They say at times it will seem to project any object near the horizon up into the air so one can see a town—too distant for them to see at other times.

I saw the first work oxen out there I've seen since I came to Kan. They were harnessed in horse-collars bottom side up and were driven with bits in the mouth like a horse.

Along the R. R. occasionally one will see a huge pile of bones. They are picked up from bygone generations of buffalo and cattle who have left themselves on the prairie. The bones are shipped east for fertilizers.

I worked at Salina Tuesday and at Lincoln Center Wednesday.

13. The following lines appear in the poem, *Lucile*, written by Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton in 1860:

We may live without poetry, music and art;
 We may live without conscience and live without heart;
 We may live without friends; we may live without books;
 But civilized man can not live without cooks.
 He may live without books,—what is knowledge but grieving?
 He may live without hope,—what is hope but deceiving?
 He may live without love,—what is passion but pining?
 But where is the man that can live without dining?

Again at Salina & Abilene Thursday, and Friday I took a team and went north to Keystone and Vine Creek some 30 miles. I drove from Keystone to Vine Creek in the night and sad to relate got lost and had to hunt my way in the prairie for about two hours.¹⁴ When I got to Vine Creek all were abed. There are scarcely one half dozen houses and no real hotel. I found out where he lived and waked him up. "Yes" he said he could fix a place for me. So when I got my team fastened up and went to the (apology for a) hotel, he quietly pointed out a pile of quilts in one corner of the room and told me I might sleep there.

Saturday there came on a drenching rain. I rode 30 miles and took seven depositions. I came to J. C. two o'clock this morning. I wish you were here for a little while. But alas you can not. I am not homesick but I would like to see you very much. Well I will have to say goodnight.

Very Truly
LESLIE

OSBORNE, KAN., Feb. 26th, 1888

MY DEAR SUSIE:

I am spending this Sabbath about 150 miles from home—that is my western home. Tuesday I went to Logan, Phillips Co., where I took a man before the Medical Examining Board and submitted him to a rigid examination. The case has already been examined by seventeen special examiners. I am going to exhaust the evidence before I return the papers.

Thursday I took a thirty mile drive through the country. This part of the state is yet thinly settled and there are very few houses outside of the towns of any other material than sod. I took my dinner that day in one of these houses of sod architecture. The walls were in this case nearly four feet thick—one story high. Across the top of the end walls was placed a huge log of cottonwood for a ridge pole. Over this was laid brush twined together thickly upon which was placed a layer of turf to run off the water. The walls on the inside were nicely plastered. They seemed like nice people and served me up a nice dinner of pork steak. The young ladies of whom there were two were talking about the leap year's ball. The idea of having a ball in a sod house of one room which room answered the purpose of parlor, sitting room, bed room and kitchen!

14. Key Stone and Vine Creek were locations in Dickinson and Ottawa counties, respectively.

How would you like such a mansion? There are lots of farms that can be bought cheap. It takes only a few days to build a sod house.

Friday I went to Edmond, Norton Co—took two depositions and came back to Marvin, Phillips Co., and by stage to Phillipsburg. By the kindness of Dr. Taylor, one of the examining surgeons, I went to Mr. Lowe's residence instead of the hotel. Mr. Lowe is an ex-county clerk and has a very pleasant home. I found it very pleasant. Saturday I came to Downs and took the deposition of *Andrew Jackson* and stopped at the Fremont House which is run by an old maid with stentorian voice—and muscular tongue. This morning I came to Osborne City where I find my mail which I ordered forwarded from J. C. Your letter is a part of this. . . .

The depot at the next station, Alton, was robbed and burned last night. I go there I expect tomorrow. I have several cases on Kill Creek and one witness in the southern part of Rooks County. I then go back to Cawker City and Beloit and expect to be at Junction City another Sabbath. . . .

Well I must say good night

Very Truly Yours

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., Mar 4th, 1888

MY DEAR SUSIE:

I am in receipt of a nice letter from you and also one from "The wife of good Saint Valentine." The two bear the stamp of the same genius. Your description of the Chautauquan masquerade was exceedingly interesting. I regard that course a very instructive and interesting one, especially for ladies. . . .

The wonderful description of Kansas which you enclose in your letter is quite in accordance with the reputation of Kansas among Kansans. It is doubtless true for I was told by a gentleman—whose veracity ought not to be doubted—that in certain sections of the state they could not raise pumpkins because the vines grew so rank that the pumpkins were worn out from dragging on the ground. Another gentleman told me that he had seen a single vine grow through a fence faster than a cow could eat it. It is a wonderful state. This however is not the season of the year for anything to grow except to "grow cold." It is said one is never safe in Kansas without a fan an umbrella and an overcoat. I would also add a dugout and lightning rod.

We have had one warm day—one thundershower—one storm—and one cold wave this week.

I wrote you last from Osborne I believe. Monday morning I took livery and went N. W. 7 miles then turned south through Bloomington to Kill Creek. It was quite a long half day's drive but I had a loquacious liveryman and I pumped him for stories of cyclones, etcetera, and kept myself warm trying to believe an occasional one. We put up for dinner at 3 o'clock on Kill Creek. The only man at home was a "small boy" who had been sick. He threw together something in the way of bread eggs & ham which refreshed me somewhat but the liveryman could not stand it. I am blessed with a cast iron appetite and have a capacity of shutting my eyes and accepting such as is offered. We journeyed in the P. M. to Laton, Rooks Co., where we arrived at 8 o'clock in the evening. There is no town there. But we found a place to stop at one Hermond Ham's. He was the witness I was after. Mrs. Ham was a sister to the claimant's wife. This gave rise to a joke on me which the liveryman enjoyed immensely. I didn't tell them what my business was at first but simply asked to be put up for the night. Upon conversation with them I suppose I showed such a familiarity with the past history of Mrs. Ham's folks that I excited their suspicion. My investigation of the case had given me the full history of the family. Now it so happened that the claimant's daughter had recently married and Mrs. Ham had never seen the young man. It just dawned upon her that I was the fellow. "There now I know who you are." "Ah yes, we are glad to see you. But why didn't you bring the old folks along? We would like to have seen them so much." Here I attempted to explain. "O no its no use for you to attempt to fool me. You might just as well own up. Where do you live? Why didn't you bring her along?"

All this time the liveryman was just shaking with laughter. This convinced her that she was right and had caught on to my little joke. It was only after quite a firm denial that I could satisfy her as to my identity.

I came back via Alton— stopped at Cawker City—Beloit—Minneapolis—Solomon City—and then to Manhattan. Returned from there Friday.

On my way from the latter place I had the pleasure of the company of three murderers who had cut a young man's throat and slung him into the river, while out riding—all for the small sum of \$100.

Today I listened to a sermon in which the minister did not

justify any one who did not make a practice of giving the tenth of his earnings to benevolent purposes. How few are justified. . . .

Well, Susie, do you think that the first anniversary of that red letter day Mar. 2nd has come and gone? It doesn't seem as though it could have been one whole year does it? Time doesn't wait even for you and me.

2 o'clock A. M. Mar. 2nd '88 I was at Manhattan. Just got there from the train. I could not help thinking of the past year. What a peculiar year in my experience—so much different than any previous year of my life. It has been nevertheless a pleasant, exciting, constantly changing year. I have however had more of an aim in life than before. This the anticipation of settling to some definite purpose—of having a home has constituted a great part of my enjoyment. I wish we could have celebrated the anniversary by being together. However we must submit to circumstances.

Let me thank you again for your thoughtfulness in sending me that very pretty reminder of St. Valentine.

I hope this finds you nicely. You must try to be anyway.

Very Truly Yours

LESLIE.

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., March 11th, 1888

MY DEAR SUSIE:

Your very nice letter of one week ago is right here. I really pity you people drifted about with snow. I am enjoying a beautiful day; as nice as N. H. affords during the months of May or June. But I must confess that this is the exceptional day thus far in March. Very cold till now this month. The proprietor tells me that when he came to Kansas eleven years ago today peach trees were in blossom. Nary a peach this month. . . .

I have been to Council Grove, Dwight & Parkersville, Morris Co., and Russell, Russell Co., and Milford this Co. and Wakefield, Clay Co., this past week. I go to Beloit Monday and during the week go out to Osborne Co. but shall spend the most of the week at Beloit and vicinity. . . .

What changes Haverhill is undergoing! People changing names and residences. If I stay away long enough I won't know where to find any body or what to call them when I find them. I would enjoy the Musicales very much if I could annihilate space for the purpose but I never "fly."

You did not tell me which side of the question you had. Now that it will be all over when you get this I might express my opinion upon the question. I consider the question as expressed so very broad and open to so many interpretations that it could be easily decided either way. The word "better" is too indefinite. The literature of the nineteenth century is "better" in one sense than that of any previous age from the fact that it is broader, and more abundant, satisfying a greater variety of wants. In another sense it is not "better" but poorer because of this same broadness—being less grand and elegant.

If you compare the master works of the different ages with simply an eye to the depth of thought and beauty of style we are behind the past ages. If you compare the mass of literature, the abundance of trash of our own time makes the average worth of our literature less than that of any previous age. But I will not have the presumption to discuss this question to one who has given it more consideration and listened to a debate upon it.

With my understanding of the question I would answer it—the negative.

No the farmers are not planting but they have been plowing warm days for a month and wheat fields are green. But the ground has been frozen for more than one week.

I wish you were here today. If you were I would not have stayed in the house as I have done all day—we would have taken a beautiful drive. There are many about J. C. This town sits in a valley and the county more broken about than in most parts of the state.

I see many a young fellow and his girl go by today. Sunday is always the best day for the livery barns.

Well I must cease scribbling just now till some more convenient season.

Good bye

Very Truly Yours

LESLIE

BELOIT, KANSAS, Sunday Mar. 18th, 1888

MY DEAR SUSIE:

I have not yet received my usual nice letter from you this week. You see I am not at J. C. and my mail has not come to me yet.

I found it inconvenient to go to headquarters this week. I left there Monday & came here. Tuesday I took livery northwest to find a witness. But Mrs. Ritter said "John has gone across the

country to yender stone house to a public sale." So I attended the sale. Now a sale partakes very much the nature of a circus. Some man had got tired of his Kansas life and decided to improve his condition by a change of base—so he wants to sell out. He has his handbills printed setting out the numerous articles which he proposes to knock down to the highest bidder. For the want of something more substantial than a wire fence to post his hand bills on he is compelled to invent and posts his list of curiosities on a shingle and sticks it up at the cross roads. Well circus day comes. I was on hand early. From all directions the country folk were pouring in. Old men, young men, women & children came together to witness the sale, to gaze and gossip. Boys on horseback, pony back, mule back. Old men came in the chaises which had doubtles been brought from the East where they had done duty among more aristocratic surroundings. Men & boys gathered in knots or groups doubtless for purposes of gossip. My appearance upon the scene caused a slight ripple and I overheard one lusty youngster in the nearst group remark, "Wall I reckon that fellow's got a mortgage on some of Tom's steers." After gazing upon the multitude for a bit I sallied up to one of the knots of humanity and enquired if John Ritter happened to be at the sale. I was greeted by a stout big-fisted youth—"Well I reckon John Ritter has sold out and gone west. If it's old John you want to see that's him." And he pointed to a long-haired archaism who stood with both hands well planted in his pockets, the center of an admiring group who were listening to the wise sayings of the old soldier. After a casual remark or two he was wound up to tell me his experiences from his childhood—of all the narrow escapes he had had, the number of rebels he killed, the wounds received and disabilities he had contracted and how grateful Uncle Sam ought to be to him.

He seemed to feel hurt when I told him I was not looking up his case but simply wanted him as a witness for a comrade.

We went into the house for a chance to write but there was scarcely room to sit. All the women in the country had come in and brought their babies. I didn't stop to count but from the volume of their voices I would put it at 100. But I doubt if you enjoy these details. Wednesday I went west to Stockton, Rooks County. After one deposition I went N.W. to Ashrock Township and after about a 40 mile drive through the country reached Kirwin in the evening. Scoured the country to the north for a

witness and came back to Downs on evening train. Friday went south to Delhi thence west to Cedron & back to Downs (a distance of about 60 miles) in season to take evening train to Beloit. Yesterday I went to Scottsville & back.

It is just like summer today and has been all week. It is uncomfortably warm in the sun with no overcoat on. I am sitting without any coat and no fire. The grass in most places is green. But there is a very strong wind and the atmosphere uncomfortably dusty.

I went to church here at the Presbyterian. A young man with a ministerial voice discoursed. People don't go to church as much here I believe as they do in New Hampshire.

Travelling men never go. Hotel proprietors don't know what churches are in town. The church is usually full of ladies and children. . . .

The engineers on the railroads here are all threatening to strike. If they should I would have to take a trip across the country so I'm hoping they will come to terms.

I wish I could visit you or you me. I rather think the former would be the most pleasant to all concerned but I believe Kansas the pleasanter State just now. Well I will visit you I guess—but not just now. I will let you know before I call.

I must close now and write my mother. I expect she would worry very much about me if she did not get a letter from me every week. Rather a big boy to be an object of care to his mother?

Please remember me to your Father, Mother, Sisters.

This is always to be understood if I fail to mention it.

Very Truly Yours

L. P. SNOW

JUNCTION CITY, KAN., Mar. 25th, 1888

MY DEAR SUSIE:

Owing to the great snow storm which has afflicted the East and detained my mail I am well entertained today. Two letters from you, two from home—sisters, uncles, aunts & cousins. All represented more or less.

Your two letters are as full of meat as an egg—excuse the expression but it applies. They were very entertaining. I would like to have looked in upon the snowed-in occupants of New Eng. Westerners chuckle in their sleeves and remark about the Great Eastern Blizzard. Western daily papers came out with great type

announcing great suffering and destruction in the East. Some have even gone so far as to propose subscriptions to the suffering Easterners.

The most of the towns in our part of New Hampshire—so E. S. [Edwin Snow] writes— failed to even meet and adjourn their town meetings. Father had such duties in Eaton to perform. Horses could not move. He set out with an ox team for the town house but that had to be abandoned. But the squire was undaunted— sent the men back with the ox team and set out across the country two miles. He “got there” and with five citizens close by the town house adjourned.

How much difference there must be in the complexion of N. H. and Kan. Kansas wheat fields look like a green velvet carpet and today the grass upon the common is looking quite nice and green. Farmers are sowing their oats. Wild geese are crying above me nearly every day I drive. The larks are stationed every few rods upon the fence posts and greet me with a sweet little note. Well, well I would not add to your home sickness. . . .

One uncle Alvin F. Perkins, Brownfield, Me., was elected supervisor of schools. He says they waited till he went home and then elected him. He didn't have a chance to resign as he says he would have done. He writes me and wants some practical suggestions about teaching school. . . .

Truly I have not been weighed since I left N. H. I think I hold my own about. I am *very* well thank you. As to my appetite I can furnish certificates of some fifty “hosts” who will certify that they haven't made anything off of my patronage. I am not afflicted with colds or chills. I am some what nervous and rather fretful. I think that diagnoses my case.

I now ought to have the liberty to inquire for your avoirdupois. Did that yellow jaundice decrease the amount of attraction which mother earth has for you? Do you grow any?

Mother and little sister went to Portland, Me., one week ago about to have the little girl's teeth carpentered. They had a very pleasant trip and got back before the snowstorm. They fear that they were exposed to the scarlet fever. I trust their fears are groundless. I was at a house where they were suffering from that malady the other day. I concluded I would take their word for it without stopping to take their evidence. Small pox and mad dogs are quite thoroughly scattered in Kansas. I suggest this as a topic for you to worry about.

I am getting better acquainted as time wears on—principally with postmasters, bankers, county clerks, hotel keepers, etc. I have made one very pleasant acquaintance at Abilene. A Mr. & Mrs. Cowles board where I stop when there and I have come to like them very much. I did not like her at all when I first met her. But I think they are both very nice. They have been very kind to me. They always get up a game of whist when I go there and especially when I have to sit up to take the 12 o'clock train to Junction City they sit up and play at that time. Mr. Cowles and I usually play against Mr. Gulick & Mrs. Cowles. Mrs. Cowles is a peculiar lady. She ran on the Dem. ticket for reg. of deeds for Dickinson Co. last year and rode about the county as a politician but, as do all democrats in Kan., she got left. She is about your age & Mr. Cowles about twenty eight. He is a loan agent & insurance agent. She also works in the office with him.

I did not go to church today—that is till this evening.

You must excuse me again for using this sort of stationery but do you know I have got so accustomed to this size that to write on a small sheet seems very strange.

Susie, you must not be homesick. It will never do. There is too much to think of to afford time for homesickness. . . .

Yes, if I had been at home I presume I would have been voted for moderator—high & dignified office. I have acted in that capacity for the two elections that I have been in my town since twenty one.

I would like to see my little girl tonight very much. It would be a great treat wouldn't it though. It is a very easy thing to sit and wish isn't it, but not so easy to satisfy our wishes. Well I will have to bid you good night and sleep myself. My eyelids are getting heavy from my late hours last evening. I got here at 2 o'clock this morning.

good night dear

LESLIE.

JUNCTION CITY, KAN., Apr. 2nd, '88

MY DEAR SUSIE:

This is a lovely Monday morning after a lovely Sabbath. Such beautiful days as we have in N. H. the first of June. I have sat and wrote—all day yesterday and some of today with my window up and no fire and with no coat on. People sought the shade yesterday for comfort. My heart goes out in sympathy toward the

frozen granite hills. But I am in a state of anxiety about my home. It proves to be that the alleged scarlet fever was the small pox. The parties who came up on the train with mother and Bertha have died and all parties exposed are quarantined. Mother writes that she and Bertha have not been out of doors nor does any one come into the house except father. But when she wrote me last it had been fifteen days since they were exposed. So I have good reason to believe they did not take the small pox as fourteen days is the usual limit. . . .

Mr. & Mrs. Cowles planned a game of whist as usual at Abilene Saturday evening to keep me company till my 12 o'clock train.

There is one characteristic which will strike you as peculiar I think. All the ladies chew gum in the West. I have seen some of the most nicely dressed ladies out riding and on the streets with their mouths full of gum. I watched the banker's wife at Abilene make out a postal note with five cents worth in her mouth—I was at the time taking advantage of the P. M.'s easy chair.

Vanity Fair. Let's see, is that by Thackeray? If so that's my favorite. Blackstone is my favorite author now. I'm doing him very slowly. I really am not well read in Thackeray's works. I will get my knowledge of him and his works by communion with you—as I will also many other instructive lessons. I expect I'm getting to be a harsh and unrefined barbarian. I need some milder and more refined associations—I have lots of rugged corners in my disposition.

Susie you should have gone to the ball if you cared to. You must not deprive your self of any pleasures like that. They are your right. Certainly I would have been most delighted to have come under your protectorate and revived some of my experiences of one year ago and above. But we could not.

I attended church yesterday. Flowers were in abundance. Everybody seemed to be happy. All the churches in the towns have splendid singing—usually accompanied by organ, cornet and tenor horn. I haven't planned just what I will do this week, but I will have to close and do so now

Very Truly Yours

LESLIE

TESCOTT, KAN., Apr. 10th, 1888

MY DEAR SUSIE:

Owing to an accumulation of things necessary to be done I did not write any of my usual letters before starting from Junction City yesterday morning.

Your very nice letter greeted me as usual at headquarters on my return from my trip to Council Grove, Morris Co. By the way this is an historic little town, *id est* Council Grove. "Council" comes from the fact that the Indians for many years used the shade of the rather extensively wooded ravines for the assembling of their chiefs or old men in council. Here the plans to slay, butcher and pillage were made. Here the scalps were returned as evidence of prowess. Even after the whites settled that part of the country, the U. S. Gov. made a reservation of the country south of the town and built stone houses to protect the "poor Indians" of a cold winter. These houses still stand and are to some extent occupied by the farmers. The reservation has long since been opened to settlement and the "poor Indians" gone west and south.¹⁵

I took a deposition in one of these houses. They are very comfortable and consist of one story and one room.

When at Council Grove I stop at the Cottage House. There I have made quite a number of friends. Mr. & Mrs. Gale run the house and Mr. Marks helps officiate. Mr. Root is the comical genius. He came to Kansas with \$0.00 and has now quite a little laid up and holds the position of asst. cashier in a bank. You can't look at him without laughing. He is one of those long lean men who can set a whole audience "aggrinning" by a look. He laughs heartily and eats loudly. He always carries a cheery countenance and a good supply of jokes, puns and witticisms though he never drinks, swears, plays cards, dances, and I may add, never does any thing else that would cost him a cent. He talks of getting married but hasn't yet courted the favor of the future Mrs. Root.

Mr. Marks and I drove all about the country. In fact, not knowing where "our man" was we drove some 15 miles to get there. But such a pretty drive. We came through the Aldevista—a beautifully wooded ravine.

I came to Tescott yesterday P. M. Last evening, my eyes being bothered by the lights so I could not work, I thought I would go hear the famous "Blind Robert" who was to lecture, etc., at the

15. See "The Kaw or Kansa Indians," by Frank Haucke, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20, pp. 36-60.

school house. By the way Tescott is a little town of very humble pretensions. So it was much like going into a New Hampshire back woods school house entertainment. He talked about 10 minutes of the Paleozoic and Carboniferous periods of the world's life in a sort of guttural tone which no one could understand. Then proposed to present a prize to the "ugliest" man present—to be determined by the vote of the ladies. As my name was not known I escaped. The prize was a pair of baby's socks. Next came the prize of the laziest man. It cost five cents to vote this time. I paid a nickle for another man to vote and we elected our man. He received a pair of slippers. But then succeeded the tug of war. The prettiest girl was to be determined by ballot of the young men at 10 cts. a vote. Now if they had stood the beauties up in a row where I could have seen them I might have felt like voting but I looked about but could see nothing pretty to the extent of 10 cts. worth. So I told a small boy if he would tell me whom he liked best I would vote for her. I deposited my ballot and came away satisfied that I had just saved missing a great deal in attending the lecture of the famous "Blind Robert."

My people at home are no longer liable to have the small pox from the exposure I mentioned in my last. Kingman Co. cyclone—I hadn't heard of it—doubtless a fiction of the east.¹⁶

Deacon Snow. That must have been me or my grandfather probably the latter. At any rate he was the best man that ever lived. The Mr. Perkins was a great uncle of mine and died two years ago.

Yes the immortal Daniel [Webster] taught at Fryeburg—which by the way is a beautiful town. Yes I have some things in common with Dan. We have in fact taught in the same institution. I once taught a primary arithmetic class in the [*ms. illegible*] during the absence of the assistant. I have also been in Daniel's old home at Franklin, N. H., where Miss Mack runs the orphan asylum. I have also seen Daniel's big plough. There may be some other trait that we have in common but if so it doesn't occur to me now.

I am rather hesitating whether to send this hurriedly written and illogical sheet to you in return for your nice letter but perhaps it will be better than nothing to decipher.

I am as ever very truly yours "my dear," believe me.

LESLIE

16. On March 24, a tornado hit Cunningham (Kingman county). There was no loss of life, but many buildings were damaged.—Kingman *Weekly Courier*, March 29, 1888.

JUNCTION CITY, KAN., Apr. 15, '88

MY DEAR SUSIE:

I am as usual—well—and at J. C. There has been nothing particularly exciting during the past seven days—though variety is one of the ingredients of my present existence. The minister said today "The experience of your life is constant activity." . . . I don't suppose he was alluding to me in particular but it hits—as perhaps many other expressions not quite as complimentary would.

Well at Tescott my host was a newly married man and what of pet names and other kind words were wanting were too few to be missed. That sentence is not a quotation if it does sound a little mythical. But I amused myself (when I wasn't otherwise busy) watching the smiles and other outward expressions of the bliss and confidence which vibrated between the Snooks for that was the name.

I then handled the claim of Squire Apple. He was as well a square sort of a man. I delight to examine a real worthy claim. We had to drive quite a good deal through the country for witnesses and we stopped for dinner one day with one of the numerous Smith family. It was an ideal hour. Every thing was neat and all were happy in a little house 15 feet square. You could almost see your face in the floor, it was scrubbed so clean—although in a land of mud. I came to Abilene Thursday and went to Manchester, the new town on the new R. R.—a junction of two branches of the Santa Fe. One year ago no houses were to be seen on the present site. There are one hundred now scattered over a territory sufficiently wide to accommodate a city of moderate size. The grass still grows in the streets and everything has a sort of new and fresh aspect. They are always glad to see a stranger for it adds for the time being another atom of activity. They always try to persuade him to buy a few town lots and never forget to tell what a smart town they have and what a city it's going to make by and by.

I go to Salina next week.

You have heard a great deal of L. P. Snow the special examiner. Do., the private citizen and admirer of your own sweet self. But did you ever wonder how L. P. S. the embryo lawyer was progressing.

He still survives. Though I think his growth is a little slow at times. He however recently again began his development a little.

I have been studying for about one month. My Blackstone is my subject at present and liable to be for some time to come.

I registered with Judge Mahan (Abilene) some time since and have been progressing to the extent of one month's work at the rate of 100 pages a week.¹⁷ This is rather slow but when it is remembered that Chum (the dear boy) and I used to accomplish only about 50 pages per diem or 300 pages per week when constantly occupied it will not seem so very bad.

I recited on my first 135 pages last night, that consuming all of the Judge's spare time. I was prepared on nearly 400. Well enough of that.

It is like mid June today. Stoves all taken down and put away for another winter. The trees are all budding and leafing—Kansas is becoming more and more "verdant." "Life everywhere," to quote again from the minister, "Think of the infinite, quiet, peaceful power that lies behind nature."

I enclose two dainty violets which have grown this year upon the wild prairie. They probably will have lost their fragrance ere they reach you.

Your very nice long letter is a very welcome messenger.

My folks are all very nicely now and past of course the possibility of having the small pox from the exposure which I mentioned to you. In the adjoining town of Brownfield (Me) there are several cases still. I am thoroughly protected against the disease as far as vaccination can protect me. . . .

I will have to scratch my last marks for this epistle in the form of a

Goodby for the present

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KAN., Apr. 22, '88

MY DEAR ELSIE

How does that seem—I believe I rather like it. How do you? That is an immensely pretty name and as you by intent or mishap signed your name Susie Elsie I make bold to use it. I would not be understood as casting any reflections on the remainder of the name but that part seems to touch a peculiar chord at this particular moment.

Well another of those seven day periods of our lives has rolled into eternity and we are no nearer together than we were a week

17. John H. Mahan, Abilene, served as judge of the court of appeals, northern department, 1879-1901.

ago, are we? It would be supreme bliss to take you today to a walk in the grove and to sit and bask in this beautiful summer air. It is just lovely—that expresses it imperfectly. You can sit in the wind here and not suffer exposure as the atmosphere is so dry and warm.

I spent the most of last week at Culver a little north of Salina where I investigated a somewhat complex claim. But of all the ignorance—I actually found a woman that could not tell her own age nor that of any of her children or family nor when her husband died nor when she got married the second time. The only thing she could seem to remember distinctly was that she got married soon after her husband died.

The train is just passing west. This is the Union Pacific and goes through here from St. Louis to California and every passenger train is loaded down with about ten coaches crowded full—the great stream of human life going west *a la* Horace Greeley.

Saturday I went down the Saline River from Salina to see a man and found after getting the requisite distance from town that my man lived on the other side of the river and we had to go clear back to town to get across the river unless we could invent some way to get over.

We (the livery man and I) searched the bank among the bull rushes, weeds & vines, and at last found an old mud scow and we had a delicious boat ride, the first I have had since on the “smiling spirit” or rather “smile of the great spirit.” But alas our ride was not as agreeable as those of a year ago. We had to wade in the mud to get on board and to shore and make our way by means of some rude sticks which bore the names of oars. The water was so muddy you could not see an inch into it. The banks so high you could not see out and the river so crooked you could not see either way to any great extent. But we “got thar” and that was all we wanted.

So old Hulda has succumbed to the inevitable and taken her last voyage to the land of departed horse spirits. Some how that doesn't sound as elegant and pathetic as I thought it would.

You should have a glance at the Kansas verdure now. The fields of wheat wave with the wind. The grass and grains are all well under way. The trees are now nearly all leafed out and afford a shade which is rather acceptable at times. The small fruit trees are in blossom.

Well Susie, my dear girl, I am very glad you concluded not to

teach this spring. I will always remember you did this to please me and you shall not regret it.

My work still continues abundant and pleasant. I expect to go to Council Grove again the next week. I have a special case there that demands immediate attention.

I will think of the wild Indians and bloody deeds this time.

Well I will be obliged to draw my somewhat lengthy remarks to a point. My best wishes to all and love to you

Very Truly Yours

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KAN., Apr 29th, '88

MY DEAR SUSIE:

Again the clouds hang over the country and everything wears a gloomy aspect. But all things are green and promising of sunshine later.

Nothing particularly new or exciting. I can not say that I saw anything in Council Grove that looked particularly bloody and warlike.

I had the claim of a widow from New H. Her husband was from Westmoreland, Chester Co. and she too was from that vicinity. Her name was Dunbar but I learned not related to our acquaintances by that name.

A widow up in Ottawa Co. told me if she didn't get her pension I'd better not show myself up in that neighborhood again. She looked very cross.

Another lady refused to testify to me in a pension claim. I reminded her that we all owed a duty to Uncle Sam and that if she could not willingly testify I would be obliged to have her arrested and fined for contempt. She concluded to testify. Her son was present and tried to keep her from answering but was finally convinced that it was none of his business. They had been having trouble with the claimant in the pension case and didn't want to assist her. I submitted her to a doubly rigid cross-examination for her behavior. Wasn't that right? I rather think it (the deposition) will be interesting to those boys in the office at Washington as I took her answers exactly as she replied—and they were full of bitterness, anger and malice bordering on profanity.

Who is *Miss Stoddard*? And will she be "Missed" much longer.

That attempt at wit reminds me of a little conversation that I was just reading

Small boy to father: Say pop they ain't goin to have lamp posts any longer.
 Father. Why not my son?
 Small boy. Cause they are long'nuf now.
 Whiz, whiz, whack.
 Oh!

Do you have any larks in N. H.? (I refer to the bird) I do not recollect having seen any. They are very plenty here and beautiful singers. There are also large flocks of black birds and also snow birds. So that we are well supplied with music.

Father writes me Apr. 22nd that there are two feet of snow in Eaton.

Next week I expect to go to Clyde then west to Glen Elder and back to Glasco and thence to Abilene. I was at Abilene yesterday and last evening I went to a drama. Haverhill local talent could beat it.

Blackstone contains almost 2000 pages. Quite a stint isn't it? Mr. Mahan is a very majestic man, rather stern and is counted a very fine lawyer. . . .

I see you quite a defined conception of law questions. You will doubtless sometime (that sounds indefinite doesn't it, but 'tis now what it sounds) have an opportunity to hear more law and perhaps hear more legal slang than will really be entertaining. Of that later. Well my dear, be good to my Elsie. Don't let her be gloomy and sad and she will be grateful to you by and by.

Very truly Yours
 LESLIE.

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., May 6th, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

Please don't think I am tired of the name Susie. Of two stars one may be a bit the brighter you know.

Well yes another month gone and I don't know as I am any wiser than thirty days ago, yet perhaps worn a little brighter by the friction of my meetings and movings. I move often and meet many. I moved through the towns of Clyde, Concordia, Jewell, Concordia, Miltonvale, Concordia, Glen Elder, Beloit, Glasco, Abilene this last week stopping in several towns.

At Clyde I interviewed an old German to whom I had to talk four stories high and then not make myself definitely understood. At Jewell I met a minister who preached me a sermon about his own experiences—which had "nothing to do with the case."

At Concordia I rested from the fatigue of the sermon. At Milton-

vale I witnessed a prairie fire endangering the town. All hands (except my two) fought fire. The ice-house was all that burned. The ice luckily didn't catch on fire and they managed to save it though the building & straw were burned to the ice itself. At Concordia I went to the station to take train at 6 o'clock A. M. and waited momentarily expecting the train till 4 P. M. We passed the time in a political discussion in which I of course assumed the defense of the administration.

At Glasco I posed in front of a new hotel (being the only guest) while they took a photo. I suppose to send back east to fool people with and show how the town is crowded with visitors.

At Abilene Mr. Gilbert of the 1st Nat. Bank invited me to tea with him. He boards (being a great friend of) with Mr. Cowles. Not the Cowles of whom I have spoken but a brother of his. Mr. Cowles has one of the finest residences in Abilene and is *very* wealthy. He is the representative of the Traveler's Ins. Co. Mrs. Cowles is a splendid musician. We all spent the after-tea at a very pleasant game of croquet.

It is very kind of you to remember me with the mayflower bud and the patterns.

No indeed! I am frank to admit that the realization will eclipse the anticipation in my way of thinking. If not so it always be best to anticipate. That isn't my plan.

They ride horse back lots here but I have not found it convenient to do so and take along my papers.

Geo.'s expression that "it is over between us" would be capable of two interpretations one of which I would not admit to be true. "Over" means "settled" I suppose. I think it is "*settled*" that we are to be o-n-e. It is possible he labors under the impression that these are not the terms of the treaty. He shall see. All is well that ends well—yet wouldn't it be better if it never was to really end. But of course we can't expect any special dispensation of providence in our behalf.

Life is sweet but I am inclined to think two lives in one could be—and will be sweeter, eh?

I have two lines to say *I am very truly yours.*

LESLIE.

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., May 13th, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

I am in receipt of a great long letter and very nice too. It is very full. I am inclined to agree with your mother. That was *too* long a ride for you. You musn't. I am inclined to think you must have suffered a penalty for such exertions.

I took a horseback ride of only three miles the other day, and I couldn't walk straight for the whole next day. . . .

I stopped in Junction till Friday. I had a claim of a lunatic. Had to have a guardian appointed.

He had a record for having been sick in the service. His disease there was nostalgia. I had a case yesterday for examination where a man had a record of hypercorditis. I shall get to be quite a walking dictionary if I would remember all the medical terms I encounter.

I expect to go to see one of the colored brethren this week at Dunlap a little south of Council Grove.

I understand that he is insane so I will have another guardian to appoint.

Then I expect to take quite a long ride west from Council Grove to Barton Co. I have one case at a little p. o. called State Centre.

Whole fields of wheat are headed out and our man has been cutting his hay. Here is a head of rye.

I recited on 150 pages of Blackstone Saturday night and expect to get around for as much more this week.

A clear beautiful sky this week seems to be the promise.

Do you think you would be afraid of cyclones? I met an M. D. & wife who came from Virginia. They are about 40 years apiece. But she is terribly homesick. "Cyclones" was her principal topic of conversation. I never think of such a thing unless some one speaks of it. I dreamed of witnessing one last night.

This is Monday morning and as I take train at 10, and have a quantity of business to transact, will say "good morning."

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., May 20th, '88

MY DEAR SUSIE ELSIE:

The wandering Jew is once more at Junction City. This week's ramblings have been full of variety as usual. I went north to Alida 7 miles Monday. Alida is one of those towns which was nipped in its infancy. It was picked while it was green and before it got its growth. It consists of a store and one house.

Tuesday I went west to Wilson (Ellsworth Co.), and Wednes-

day took a drive S. W. for a witness. I expected to drive only about 18 miles but when the 18 mi. was past then I discovered my man was a Methodist circuit preacher and had moved west some thirty miles.

Well then if there is a time in human events when a man is liable to be irritated it is when he gets to chasing a Methodist minister around his circuit. I have had one trial before.

When I found him—yes I did—he was a queer specimen for a minister. Unshaven, bare foot, ragged and dirty. He had *nine* children any one of whom could walk under my arm. They all lived in a mud dug-out. He preaches three times per Sunday.

On this trip I went past a coal mine and I thought it a nice opportunity while the horses were breathing to take a view of coal-mining. To all appearances the mine was a very tame affair for all one could see was a hole which looked as though it might have been dug by a huge wood-chuck. It was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in diameter. I doffed my toga and borrowing a lamp of a miner began to reconnoitre. I crawled on hands and knees several hundred feet and after a seemingly endless journey found myself at the end of the path. The way was about 18 in. deep at the end and the miners lay on their sides pecking at the coal. It seemed to me a very uncomfortable way to work but they did not seem to mind it at all. The air was rather oppressive but I suppose they were accustomed to that. I found my way out again a wiser and dirtier being.

This day's drive was the longest I ever took. We started at about 7:30 A. M. and rode 74 miles by section line, returning to Wilson about 11 P.M. It was an interesting drive. The people who immigrate are a little clanish and settle in communities or neighborhoods. We went through various groups on the drive. First we went through a Bohemian neighborhood. Here the women were out gleaning the rye out from the wheat. The men were ploughing and planting with oxen—three abreast and driven with bits in their mouths.

Next we came to an Irish neighborhood. Here the women were out herding the pigs. Next came the Germans with which Kansas is well supplied. I stopped to inquire at one old German's but he and I couldn't understand each other very well. He could not talk Eng. at all. I made him understand part of my inquiry but not all. So he called out his daughter who could talk English. She could also talk Bohemian. She told us that she learned to talk that because she had lover who was a Bohemian.

There are also communities made up almost entirely of Danes, of Swedes or of negroes.

Thursday I was at Brookville, Saline Co. Here I saw rather a novel fight between a huge dog and a badger in which the dog got licked. A badger looks very much like a wood chuck only much larger.

At Salina I had several drives and Saturday had a very kind invitation as guest of the Travelers Protective Association. I will enclose the banner [badge]. They were assembled from all parts of Kan. and had a very gay time. The city of Salina entertained them graciously.

I was given a banner, and asked if I had a sister or sweetheart to wear another. I had to answer "not here." They were exceedingly kind and offered to supply the deficiency if I would stop to the banquet but I was not inclined to accept their proffered kindness. So I skipped the banquet and came to Abilene and recited in Blackstone instead. Wasn't that better? . . .

Well I can't say really how many claims of those whom I have examined have been admitted. Those bills or pension claims which Congress passes are exceptions. There is a regular Bureau for granting pensions of which I am a part (small part) called the Pension Bureau.

No it would be no use to undertake to send May flowers clear across the Alleghenies & the Mississippi Valley. They would be wilted stems when they got here.

Going to Boston! Well I certainly wish you a very pleasant trip. I wish I had a few of those R. R. passes to send you.

Well I will have to close and say a "good night"

Very Truly Yours

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., May 27, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

Another ½ of a year rolled into eternity and I am very little wiser. I circuited this past week through the southern part of the district.

At Dunlap I had a case different than I had before handled. It was the case of a negro slave who deserted in the time of the war—that is deserted from his master and joined the Union Army and got killed. His widow who was also a slave claims pension. They were married by another slave so she says. It was very interesting

to hear her tell of the slave times. She had no conception of time. A year was a "crop" with her. She did not know what years the war was but dated everything from Lee's surrender, capture of Port Hudson, et cetera.

At Carlton I stirred up a neighborhood quarrel. Two neighbors hadn't spoken together for 8 years. One claimed a pension and I went to the other for information without knowing of their estrangement. And I got it. He declared his neighbor had received the injury since the war by a fall from his horse. The claimant said he fell off but it didn't hurt him much. So I had to consult the whole neighborhood.

The little town of Carlton has lived only two years and had got to be quite a flourishing little city till the hard times came when the people all failed up and many have left leaving behind a "deserted city." I came to Abilene Friday where Friday evening I attended the graduation of the High School. Their exercises were very nice. I think they beat the east. One of the boys had the same subject that I had at my Academical graduation—"Ambition"—seven years ago.

Saturday I witnessed my first tornado. The clouds came up very black. The wind came on. Loose papers, barrels and boxes came tumbling about the streets. The wind blew so one felt like holding on to something to anchor himself. I was in a large brick building. It rocked perceptibly and the water in the bowls was set in motion from the motion of the house. Only one building of importance was unroofed at Abilene, but north further it seemed that the tornado had more the appearance of a cyclone, for one home was torn to pieces and two or three persons badly injured at Vine Creek, Ottawa Co.

At Manchester 17 miles n. of Abilene the bank building was blown over.

In Clay Co. it turned into a hail storm. Stripped the trees of their leaves and destroyed some wheat and it is said even took the bark off some of the trees. It left the hail piled up in some places several inches deep. . . .

Well I will have to complete this at once so Goodby.

LESLIE.

JUNCTION CITY, KAN.—June 3d, 1888.

DEAR ELSIE:

I am again in my sanctum of sancta with thoughts directed back to N. H. I came near saying "quill in hand" and that reminds me of

an expression made by the orator on Memorial day here. He, in the midst of a pathetic strain spoke of a pen; to wit a quill made from a feather plucked from an angel's wing. It was ludicrous to me. He plucked it solemnly. Yes I attended Memorial services. The speaking was not extra. But they had the advantage of quite an imposing military parade. Ft. Riley is only 3 miles distant and the cavalry came over and marched with the old veterans.

So I presume you rode Maggie to N. H.¹⁸ I have no doubt you enjoyed the day. I had a nice ride that day. I actually took a deposition on horseback, and on my return I fell in with three young men who were out riding about town. And we raced horses about town *a la* cow boys, for about an hour.

Everybody rides here. Kids who don't look big enough to be safely out of their mother's arms. I have actually seen little girls and boys out herding cattle on horseback with nothing but halters on the horses—the little ones so small that I verily believe they could not have reached the stirrup had they stood on the ground.

Two days this week I drove each day over fifty miles or about. And great sport I had. The country is all aroused where I happened to go because of the discovery of a mamouth gang of thieves—a sort of Ku-Klux-Klan. The day before I went into the country the sheriff had been and arrested several. It was expected he would return for more. I was taken for the sheriff and each man on whom I called expected that he was about to have a summons to court. It was amusing to notice the anxious expression they wore when I would drive up, and the smile of relief that would succeed it when I made my business known. I saw several skipping through the woods to get out of my way. I felt very powerful to make people so scared of me.

Saturday I went to Abilene and recited. In the evening I accepted an invitation to tea with Judge Mahan. They—that is—Mr. and Mrs. have had a rather interesting experience as I learned from others. They came west very poor. He was not prepared for the practice of the law. He went to hammering on stone and Mrs. took in washings to earn their living. Now they are very wealthy and Mrs. is one of the first ladies in the town and Mr. Mahan the leading lawyer in the county.

The people at Snowville are all as well as is their usual wont. I receive a letter from Mother as regular as the Sabbath comes. Father never writes anything but business letters and mother is very

18. Maggie was Susie's father's horse, used to carry milk to the creamery and to act as lead for his yoke of oxen. She was also Susie's saddle horse.

different about writing and writes only to her children and always affixes the postscript "burn this letter." . . .

Your nice letter at hand and well noted. . . . Excuse me I just had to stop and see a dog-fight. It occurred under my window. It is all over now and both dogs live. . . .

Well—tomorrow I go to Minneapolis. Where next, I don't know.

I did think to go to St. Louis to the National Convention but I gave it up. I can't go another sheet because it is bed time—so I will have to bite this short off here

Good night

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KAN., JUNE 11, '88

SUSIE ELSIE CURRIER:

MY DEAR LITTLE GIRL.

Another Monday morning has come along and I will soon pack up my cases and set out for another week's tramp— this time to Clay Center, Beloit & Glasco.

I put in a busy week the last week at Minneapolis, Bennington, Sol. City, and Abilene when I closed my week's work by reciting to Mahan in the evening. He gets intensely interested in Blackstone himself and we have some very interesting talks. After we completed our—*tete-a-tete* (is that right?) he treated me to a delicious repast of strawberries.

I told a lie this last week. I always attend church at the Presbyterian Church where they have a choir of young ladies. By constant attendance there I presume my face may have become familiar. But, I had met no ladies in Junction City. It happened that these ladies of the choir were attending the Sabbath School Convention at Abilene and stopped at the same hotel where I usually stop. They asked for an introduction—strange to say. I of course could not refuse. But in the conversation which followed a young man remarked that he supposed that I was "single." I replied that I was not. Wasn't that the best way out of the dilemma? That wasn't a real bad lie and I don't feel one bit condemned for it. In fact I consider myself tied—double—not single. I took a sick man's testimony this week whose only attendant was his deaf and dumb sister. She could not make out what I was going to do to her brother and seemed all overcome with fear till he managed to explain. I had Mr. *John Jones*' pension claim at Abilene. Don't you think I had to inquire for several hours before I could find anyone

who knew anybody by the name of Jones. The family is not well represented. I fear it is becoming extinct.

I had formed quite a friendship with Dr. & Mrs. Richardson of Abilene who had lately come from Virginia. She has got so very homesick that they are about to return to Washington D. C.

I am wondering if my little girl would not get homesick out here among the winds, dust and cyclones.

We had some hail fall Friday larger than robbins' eggs.

Your very nice letter is here and well read. Your "poor scholar" is anxiously awaiting the "rigid course" which you have planned for him. You will find an obedient pupil. He prefers to be ruled however by love rather than by the rod. . . .

Well my dear girl be very good to my teacher. Don't let her tire herself too much by riding—though I consider that as splendid exercise if not carried to excess.

Sincerely Yours

LESLIE.

JUNCTION CITY, June 18, '88

DEAR ELSIE:

Kansas is a part of the torrid zone this week. It is quite too hot to move about. It takes lots of lightning to burn up the heat. We have had several terrific thunder showers as a consequence.

Wednesday we had a hail storm at Glasco. I was not present when it hailed but I saw the effects of it. It utterly demolished some pieces of corn and drove the stocks into the ground. But I was told that that was nothing as only a few weeks ago it peeled the bark off the trees in Clay Co. and the hail stones were as large as hen's eggs. The largest hail stones I have yet seen are only the size of a robin's egg.

I have a very complex and interesting case this week of an old soldier who lives back east in Ohio. He has been totally blind ever since 1866. He has been trying for a pension ever since. His testimony was very conflicting and the case otherwise complicated but we have succeeded in clearing it up and the old gentleman will now probably get about \$14,000 back pension. It will be a great boon to him as he has had to earn his bread thus far by selling peanuts on the street corner where I am informed he still sits day after day.

I am going up to Jewell Co. where I expect to stop two weeks or three possibly before returning.

It, this letter, was brought to an abrupt close upon the arrival

of the train and I begin it again at my destination in Jewell Co. The house is the inn I was "snowed in" last Jany. A remarkable change is to be remarked in the complexion of the country and the state of the atmosphere. General discourse upon this subject—the weather—has however been superseded by political discussion. I hear two violent discussions going on at the moment.

Your very nice letter was duly received. . . .

I had a fine invitation for today which I did not improve. It was to attend a mammoth Sabbath School picnic at Junction City—holden by the Presbyterian people where I usually attend church.

I have no doubt they will have a pleasant time. This is a hotel pen and is terribly poor.

However I must close anyway so a good big

Good By

etc.

LESLIE.

P. S. My P. O. is still Junction City.

(The Concluding Installment, Containing the Letters of Leslie and Susan Snow, 1888, 1889, Will Appear in the Winter, 1963, Issue.)

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART ELEVEN, 1840-1841

1840

☪ **DIED:** Wau-sa-on-o-quet (or "Wossaonukwut"), principal chief of the Ottawas, on January 10, at the Ottawa settlement in present Franklin county.

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," in KHi ms. division, January 10, 1840. As a treaty signer, in 1833, the chief's name was listed as "Wau-sa-on-o-quet."—See C. J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, p. 393.

☪ **DIED:** the Rev. Moses Merrill, missionary to the Otoes and Missourias, on February 6, at the Otoe Baptist Mission (in "Nebraska") which he had founded in October, 1833.—See *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 340, 341.

Ref: *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Boston, v. 20 (June, 1840), p. 129; Nebraska State Historical Society *Transactions*, Lincoln, v. 4, pp. 157-159.

☪ **MARRIED:** John Baptiste Chaurette and Elise Braconier, on February 21, at the American Fur Company trading house of Michel Giraud on the Marais des Cygnes (at present Trading Post, Linn co.), by the Rev. Herman G. Aelen, S. J.

This ceremony renewed an earlier marriage. A son, Jean Baptiste Chaurette, born to this couple on July 5, 1839, was baptized on February 21, 1840, by Father Aelen. Michel Giraud was sponsor at the ceremony.

Ref: "Pottawatomie Marriage Register," and "Pottawatomie Baptismal Register," at St. Mary's College, St. Marys.

☪ **DIED:** Au-to-kee (or, "Ottowukkee"), principal Ottawa chief (since January—see above), on March 18, at the Ottawa settlement in present Franklin county. He had come to "Kansas" in August, 1839—see p. 179.

"Ottowukkee" (according to Jotham Meeker) was much opposed to Christian teachings among his people. Just prior to his death he had been working actively toward the expulsion of the Baptist missionaries (the Meekers) and some of the leading Christian Ottawas.

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," January 10, 1840; *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 20 (June, 1840), p. 128, and v. 21 (June, 1841), p. 173. As a treaty signer, in 1833, the chief's name was "Au-to-kee" (then second chief of the Ottawas).—See Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 393.

☪ **March 25.**—Capt. Nathan Boone, with Companies B and I, First U. S. dragoons, left Fort Leavenworth (crossing the Missouri at the

LOUISE BARRY is a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

post) and began a march up the river's left bank to settle difficulties between northwest Missouri settlers, and the Otoe and Iowa Indians.

The Otoes had raided stock in Buchanan county; while the Iowas (a band living on the "Council Bluffs" Pottawatomies' reserve in southwest Iowa) had destroyed cattle of Nishnabotna valley settlers. By report, several detachments of volunteers joined Captain Boone's troops. The troubles were quickly settled, and on April 10 the dragoons were back at Fort Leavenworth.

Ref: *Missouri Argus* (daily), St. Louis, April 4, 11, 1840; Louis Pelzer's *Marches of the Dragoons* . . . (Iowa City, 1917), p. 86; O. E. Young's *The West of Philip St. George Cooke* . . . (Glendale, Calif., 1955), p. 98.

☪ Spring.—Among the steamboats in the Missouri river trade were the: *Naomi*, *Malta*, *Shawnee*, *Bedford*, *Rienzi*, *Euphrasie* (new; W. B. Miller, master), *Thames* ("splendid, fast-running"; Thomas Denis, master), *Rhine*, *Albany*, *Platte*, and *General Leavenworth*.

On April 25 the *Naomi* sank in about six feet of water at the mouth of Grand river. The *Osceola* (an Osage river boat) took her passengers down to St. Louis.

Ref: *Missouri Argus* (daily), March and April, 1840, issues; *Missouri Daily Republican*, St. Louis, April 30, 1840 (in Nebraska State Historical Society *Publications*, Lincoln, v. 20, p. 108). Though "Euphrasie" in some advertisements, this boat generally was listed as the "Euphrasie." During 1840, 28 steamboats made 147 trips on the Missouri (many in the lower river only), according to a tabulation published in *Niles' National Register*, Baltimore, v. 72 (July 31, 1847), p. 351. In 1838, 17 steamboats had made 96 trips; and in 1839, 35 steamboats had made 141 trips.—*Ibid.*

☪ April 1.—About this date the steamboat *Antelope* (American Fur Company) left St. Louis for the annual trip to the upper Missouri trading posts. Presumably she passed along the "Kansas" shore in the latter half of the month.

Ref: *Missouri Argus* (daily), April 1, 1840. Charles Larpenteur, in his *Forty Years a Fur Trader* . . . (New York, 1898), v. 1, p. 161, implies that the *Trapper* went up to Fort Union in 1840, but he may have meant 1841 for the *Trapper's* first trip.

☪ BORN: on April 7, at "Ioway and Sac Mission" (present Doniphan county), Margaret Elcy Hamilton, daughter of the Rev. William and Julia Ann N. (McGiffin) Hamilton.

Ref: Presbyterian Historical Society, American Indian Missions correspondence, Box 100 (microfilm, KHi), William Hamilton's letter of September 29, 1851.

☪ April 17.—The first issue, dated April 3, of the Independence (Mo.) *Chronicle* (a weekly Democratic paper, published by William C. Reed), received this comment from the editor of the St. Louis *Missouri Argus*:

"The establishment of such a journal within twelve miles of the western limits of the Union, and almost within sight of the wigwam of the aboriginal savage, is a rich illustration of the rapid uniformity with which intellectual culture spreads among the American people. . . ."

Ref: *Missouri Argus* (daily), April 17, 1840; the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., has a copy of the April 3, 1840, issue of the *Chronicle*, according to the *Union List of Newspapers*.

☪ April 19.—Agent Joseph V. Hamilton (of the Council Bluffs Agency) and Missionary (to the Pawnees) John Dunbar, set out from Bellevue [Neb.] to visit the six Pawnee villages (along the Platte and the Loup Fork). They completed the tour, and returned on May 2.

While on this trip Hamilton obtained custody of seven Mexican youths (aged 12 to 16) held by the Pawnees, who had captured them on the south-west frontier. (In late September, 1840, they were still in his care, but were to be sent home at the first opportunity.)

Also, he had a census taken—the first “accurate” count of the Pawnees. (John Dunbar was of the opinion that the figures were “nearly correct.”) The *Pawnee Loups* (836 males and 1,070 females) totaled 1,906; the *Republican band* (775 males and 1,048 females) totaled 1,823; the *Grand Pawnees* (746 males and 1,035 females) totaled 1,781; and the *Tappage band* (380 males and 452 females) totaled 832. The grand total was 6,342.

Hamilton reported that a count of the Otoes & Missourias had been made “recently,” and their number was found to total 943 souls.

Ref: Superintendency of Indian Affairs (SIA), St. Louis, “Records,” v. 8, typed copy, p. 58, or, Comm’r of Indian Affairs Report, 1840 (for Hamilton’s September 30, 1840, letter); *Kansas Historical Collections* (KHC), v. 14, pp. 641, 642; *Niles’ National Register*, v. 58 (June 20, 1840), p. 241, stated of the Mexican youths, “Two of them were . . . drowned.” The Grand Pawnee census totals 1,781, not 1,683 as appears in Hamilton’s report. Thus, the grand total, revised, would be 6,342, not 6,244 as he gave it.

☪ April 22.—Ewing, Clymer & Co. received an Indian department contract to erect a “church and parsonage house” at Sugar Creek (Catholic) Mission for the Pottawatomies (in present Linn county). The buildings were to be completed in four months at a cost of \$1,640.

Arrival of more Pottawatomies (over 500?) early in October, required an enlargement of the new facility; and on October 23 Joseph Clymer, Jr., got the contract for “making certain additions to a church lately built,” to cost \$360.

On December 25 the new log church was blessed by the Rev. Herman G. Aelen, S. J., then in charge of Sugar Creek Mission.

Ref: 26th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 72* (Serial 383), p. 2; 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 34* (Serial 402), p. 39; T. H. Kinsella’s *The History of Our Cradle Land* . . . (1921), p. 227; G. J. Garraghan’s *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), v. 2, pp. 199, 200; SIA, St. Louis, “Records,” v. 7, typed copy, p. 124, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 29, 30. The 1840 federal census of Jackson county, Mo., lists heads of households “G. N[?]. Ewing” and “J. Climer” [Clymer].

☪ Crossing “Kansas” in April, the year’s first east-bound company on the Santa Fe trail, arrived at Independence, Mo., early in May. William S. Messervy was one of the principal merchants in this train of about 40 wagons (some of them from Chihuahua). The traders brought “a quantity of gold and silver.”

See, also, June 30 annals entry.

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 11, 1840 (as reprinted in *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 108); *The Weekly Picayune*, New Orleans, May 25, 1840 (or, see J. E. Sunder, editor, *Matt Field on the Santa Fe Trail* [Norman, c1960], p. xxiv); *Niles’ National Register*, v. 58 (May 23, 1840), p. 192.

¶ April 30.—Andrew Drips headed the American Fur Company's caravan which set out for the Rocky mountains. Cotraveler Father Pierre-Jean De Smet wrote: "I started from Westport on the 30th of April in company with the Annual Expedition. . . ." Joel P. Walker later recollected there were 40 men, 30 carts (two-wheeled; each drawn by two mules *tandem*), and some 60 pack mules, in the traders' outfit. Seven of the carts, and 16 mules (also eight horses), belonged to Henry Fraeb and Jim Bridger (new partners). Some of the 40 men were in their employ.

Father De Smet (en route to explore the prospects for establishing an Indian mission in the northwest) had reached Westport on April 11, and by the 20th had purchased four horses and three mules for the journey. (Walker recollected that De Smet joined them "at Kaw river with six or eight men and pack mules.")

With Joel P. Walker (brother of mountain man Joseph R. Walker) were his wife, Mary (Young) Walker, their four children (John, Joseph, Newton, Isabella), also, Mrs. Walker's sister, Martha Young. They had two wagons. (The Walkers, residents for some years of the Independence, Mo., area, planned to settle in California. One historian has referred to them as the "first family of avowed emigrants that came to Oregon or the Pacific coast.")

Also accompanying the fur traders were six Oregon-bound missionaries: the Rev. Harvey Clark (a Congregationalist) with his wife; and laymen Philo B. Littlejohn and Alvin T. Smith, with their wives. The missionaries' outfit included two wagons.

Of the journey across "Kansas" (over the route of 1839—the "Oregon trail"—see p. 169), Father De Smet wrote: "Until the 17th of May we traveled westward over immense plains, destitute of trees or shrubs, except along the streams, and broken by deep ravines, where our voyageurs lowered and raised the carts by means of ropes. . . . often the thermometer would be as low as 27 in the morning, though it might rise to 90 by noon. The strong winds that prevail unceasingly in these vast plains make the heat supportable. . . ."

On May 18 the caravan crossed the 30-mile plain from the Little Blue to the Platte river; and on June 30 reached the mouth of Horse creek, in the Green river valley, where the 16th (and last) annual trappers' rendezvous was to be held.

Subsequently the three missionary couples, and the Walkers, made their way to Oregon (but in 1841 the Walkers went overland to California). Father De Smet, after traveling as far as Pierre's Hole (where he met the Flathead Indians), came down the Missouri (by horseback, and canoe), to Council Bluffs [Iowa]; left there December 14; reached Westport on the 22d; and arrived at St. Louis on the last day of 1840.

Ref: H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson's *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet*, S. J. (New York, 1905), v. 1, pp. 198-258, 270; Joel P. Walker's narrative, *A Pioneer of Pioneers* . . . (Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1953); H. H. Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, v. 1, 1838-1848 (San Francisco, 1886), pp. 239-241; *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Seattle, v. 35 (January, 1944), pp. 29-43 (especially p. 34, for De Smet's letter dated Westport, April 20, 1840); *Robert Newell's Memoranda* . . ., edited

by Dorothy O. Johansen (Portland, Ore., 1959), p. 39; "Chouteau Account Books" (in Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis), items of March 13-16, 1840 (courtesy of Dale L. Morgan, of the Bancroft Library); *Glimpses of the Past*, St. Louis, v. 8 (January-June, 1941), p. 42; *History of Sonoma County* . . . (San Francisco, 1880), pp. 482-484.

¶ Within this year (in the spring?), it is said, Joseph Papin and his half-Kansa wife, "Josette" (Gonville) Papin (*see* p. 76 for their 1837 marriage) took up residence on Kansa half-breed reserve No. 3 (across the Kansas river from present south Topeka), which had been allotted under the 1825 treaty to "Josette" Gonville.

(For location—on the north side of the Kansas, in present Soldier township, Shawnee co.—*see* outline map in *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 59.)

In December, 1841, Isaac McCoy (employed by the government in an abortive effort to extinguish all 23 Kansa half-breed reserves) indicated that 22 of the 640-acre tracts should be purchased at \$800 (\$1.25 an acre) each; but that Josette Papin had made improvements on her section worth \$250, and ought to receive \$1,050.

Ref: W. W. Cone's *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County* . . . (Topeka, 1877), p. 7; Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 27 (for McCoy's December 22, 1841, report to the secretary of war); A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 531, 532. The fact that Father Point's 1840 list of Kaw's mouth residents (*see* November 1 entry) does not include the Papin name, tends to corroborate the Papins' presence in "Kansas" prior to November, 1840.

¶ April.—The Rev. Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*—a 611-page volume, written from the viewpoint of his more than 20 years of missionary operations, and based upon a journal he had kept during that span of time—was in process of publication at Washington and in New York.

McCoy's preface was dated "Shawanoë Baptist Mission, Indian Territory, December, 1839," and his history was inclusive to that date. A receipt of April 18, 1840 (in the McCoy Collection), shows payment by Isaac McCoy of \$500 to printer Peter Force, of Washington, for his work on the *History*.

Ref: Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions* . . . (Washington and New York, 1840); McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 27, KHi ms. division (for receipt).

¶ May(?)—The spring caravan to Santa Fe—a small one—was made up principally of Mexican proprietors. Don José Chavez y Castillo and his party had merchandise valued at \$75,000 (goods purchased in the East during the preceding winter) which was freighted in 11 wagons. One of the U. S. citizens had three wagons.

The caravan reached Santa Fe in July. Don José Chavez y Castillo paid \$1,200 in duties to Mexican customs officials, but the U. S. citizen with only three wagons was compelled to pay \$1,286. Dr. John H. Lyman perhaps traveled to New Mexico with this company. Darby H. Cantrell was in charge of wagons and some 30 mules belonging to Manuel Alvarez on this trip.



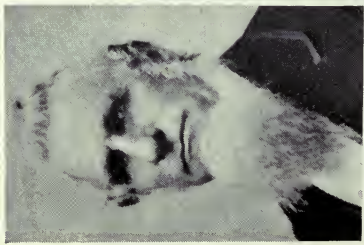
JACQUES ASH-KUM, head of the Pottawatomies' Wabash band, as painted by Indiana artist George Winter, who described him (then about 70) as "an orator of some distinction and possessed [of] some diplomatic qualities." Ash-Kum came to "Kansas" in November, 1838 (see p. 160); and died at the Sugar creek settlement in September, 1840 (see p. 335). Portrait reproduced courtesy of the Tippecanoe County Historical Association, Lafayette, Ind.



The Rev. FELIX L. VERREYDT, S. J. (1798-1883), spent 12 years as an Indian missionary. He was at Kickapoo Catholic Mission in 1837 and 1838 (see p. 151); the superior at Pottawatomie Sugar Creek Mission from 1841 to 1848 (see p. 352); and head, from September, 1848, till autumn, 1849, of the Pottawatomie St. Mary's Mission (built on the site Verreydt selected, at present St. Marys, Pottawatomie co.). Photograph courtesy of St. Mary's College, St. Marys.



JOHN TECUMSEH "TAUY" JONES (1808?-1872), half English, half Chippewa, was born in Canada, and educated at Baptist schools. He came to "Kansas" in 1837(?) as a member of the Pottawatomie nation. In the 1840's he was an assistant Baptist missionary among the Pottawatomie creek Indians. In 1848(?) Jones and his second wife (Jane Kelley) were adopted by the Ottawas. Their home was northeast of present Ottawa. Jones was ordained a minister in 1864.



After visiting SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION and INDIAN MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL in May, 1843, and meeting Supt. Jerome C. Berryman (portrait above), California-bound P. B. Reading wrote: "The improvements are two large brick buildings with a large barn, stables, wheelwright, blacksmith and shoemaker shops. . . . This establishment cost about \$45,000." The illustration (from the Heister and Smith Johnson county Atlas) shows the two large brick buildings erected between 1839 and 1841 (see pp. 184 and 343) as they appeared in 1874.

Ref: *The Weekly Picayune*, June 12, 1840 (or, see Sunder, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv); H. H. Dunham's "Sidelights on Santa Fe Traders 1839-1846," in *1950 Brand Book* (Denver, c1951), p. 286; H. R. Wagner and C. L. Camp, *The Plains and the Rockies* . . . , 3d edition (Columbus, Ohio, 1953), p. 128; Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 301.

¶ May 22.—Edward Papin, son of Pierre Melicour Papin (the American Fur Company's trader with the Osages) and his part-Osage wife Sophie Mongrain, was baptized near the Marais des Cygnes (in present Linn[?] county) by the Rev. Herman G. Aelen.

Edward Papin was born, it appears, July 12, 1838. Sponsor at the baptism was Michel Giraud, of the American Fur Company's Marais des Cygnes post.

Ref: "Pottawatomie Baptismal Register," p. 34, at St. Mary's College, St. Marys.

¶ On May 25 tourist Victor Tixier (young French medical student), three companions (James De Berty Trudeau, Alexandre Guérin, _____ Foureau), and two half-breed Osage guides entered present Bourbon county. Moving southwest, this mounted party camped for the night near the "Pânie-Tanga" (Big Pawnee), now Pawnee creek (a tributary of the Marmaton's South Fork); and on May 27, following several hours of travel (and after fording the "Nion-Chou" [Neosho]), reached the Osage town of *Manrinhabotso* ("The Village Which Scrapes the Sky"—see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 508), and the home of Trader Pierre M. Papin, their host (in present Neosho county).

[Tixier and his friends, while passengers on a New Orleans-to-St. Louis steamboat, early in May, had met Paul Liguiste Chouteau who influenced them to make the journey to the Osages' country. Before May 19 they had reached Independence, Mo. (and made a trip to Westport, and the Shawnee reserve, in search of horses); then moved southward on May 20; and reached George Douglass' Vernon county, Mo., farm (northeast of present Deerfield, Mo.) on the 22d. There they remained two days before starting west into "Kansas."

Tixier's account of his journey to, and subsequent experiences among, the Osages, together with much valuable commentary on the Indians (their situation, civilization, culture, etc.) was originally published in France in 1844, under the title *Voyage aux Prairies Osages, Louisiane et Missouri, 1839-40.*

Besides *Manrinhabotso* (where Baptiste Mongrain was "chief"), there were, by Tixier's description, three other Great Osage towns within a few miles: *Naniompa* ("The Village of the Pipe") where old White Hair (about 80; uncle of the Osages' great chief) and young [George] White Hair (cousin of the Osages' great chief) lived; *Maisons Cailles*, the town of Chief White Hair, the reigning chief of *all* the Osage Indians, who was called Majakita (or, The Lips); *Coeurs Tranquilles* (village of the "Quiet Hearts")—a town of young warriors known as the "Bande-des-Chiens" (Band of Dogs)—whose chief was Man-chap-ché-mani. Also, there was an "independent republic" village not far away, where Ouachinka-lâgri (Bel Oiseau; or, Handsome Bird) was chief.

On June 4 the Osages set out for the summer hunt, heading west (northwest at first) to the Verdigris. At the camp that first night out, there were

some 200 lodges, 1,500 men, the same number of dogs, and 3,000 horses (by Tixier's estimate). Pierre M. Papin, his Indian family, and entourage, plus his four guests, constituted one lodge of some 15 persons.

Several days' travel beyond their fording of the Arkansas, the Osages reached the buffalo country. Near the camp they set up were some 200 lodges of Kansa. Tixier remarked how different "the Kansa lodges were from ours." "Each frame," he wrote, "was covered with skins decorated with red, yellow, blue, and black designs which, through their primitive simplicity, recall the ancient Egyptian paintings." And he noted that the Kansa girls were "much prettier" than the Osage.

The Kansa head chief "White Feather" [White Plume II], invited "Majakita, Baptiste, and some of the principal [Osage] chiefs, and us, the white warriors" to a banquet, wrote Tixier. He described "White Feather" as "a short, wiry man with an aquiline nose and piercing eyes." [White Plume II, leading chief since Autumn(?) 1838, apparently died prior to February, 1841. Tixier's comment, plus Artist Alfred Jacob Miller's portrait—see note in *KHQ*, v. 29, pp. 64, 65, and Isaac McCoy's mention of him (in *ibid.*, p. 159), give the only information known about White Plume II, who was so briefly leader of the Kansa.]

After hunting and traveling together for six days, the two nations separated. The Osages moved on west till near the end of June when they reached the "warpaths." Then they changed course to the southeast so as to approach the Great Saline. Around July 20 they made a one-day, 25-mile-each-way round trip to the Saline for a supply of salt. [See account of G. C. Sibley's trip in 1811, with the Osages, to the "Grand Saline," in *KHQ*, v. 27, p. 370.]

Then the Indians headed for the Arkansas river; and continued eastward to their Neosho river villages. Tixier noted that the Osages had "secured rather large provisions," and that the place where they had found the "largest number of bison" was on the "River Bahabéh" [or, "Pa-ha-bee"?—probably the present Bluff creek (tributary of the Chikaskia), which crosses present Harper and Sumner counties in Kansas, and Kay county, Okla.]. The night before they reached home the Osages camped on the "river 'A-la-bete'" [Labette creek].

On August 8 Victor Tixier and his three companions left Pierre M. Papin's house to retrace their pathway of May to George Douglass' farm in Missouri. Tixier reached St. Louis late in August (he had gone down the Osage to its mouth in a canoe, then boarded the steamboat *Thames*); proceeded to New York; and sailed for France on September 25, reaching home a month later.

Ref: *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies*, edited by John F. McDermott (Norman, Okla., 1940); R. A. Calloway's report of September 1, 1843, in *SIA*, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 228-239, helps to clarify the identity of the head chief White Hair (or, Pahasah).

¶ May-June.—"Messrs. Bent & St. Vrain" arrived in St. Louis at the beginning of July on the steamboat *Euphrasie* with 15,000 buffalo robes and a considerable amount of furs. These traders had left Fort William ("Bent's Fort") in May to bring their laden wagons across "Kansas" on the Santa Fe trail. They reached Independence, Mo., in June.

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, June 12, July 3, 1840 (as reprinted in *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, pp. 108, 109).

☪ BORN: on June 7, at Shawnee Friends Mission (present Johnson county), Nathan Pearson, son of mission superintendent Moses Pearson and his wife Sarah. (See June, 1837, annals entry.)

Ref: *The History of Miami County, Ohio* (1880), p. 849; W. W. Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Ann Arbor, Mich., v. 5, p. 819.

☪ June 10.—At Joseph Robidoux's "Blacksnake Hills" trading post (present St. Joseph, Mo.) a post office was established. Julius C. Robidoux (a son of Joseph) was the first postmaster. (His successor was appointed August 7, 1841.)

Ref: *The History of Buchanan County, Missouri* (1881), p. 413; and see *KHC*, v. 10, p. 319.

☪ June 13.—New superintendents Henry and Ann (Maden) Harvey, with six of their children (aged 3 to 18), from Clinton county, Ohio, arrived at Shawnee Friends Mission (present Johnson county). David Jones, a teacher they had hired, had preceded them—and was at the mission when they arrived.

[The Harveys replaced Moses and Sarah Pearson (see June, 1837, annals, p. 69); they stayed two years; and were succeeded in 1842 by Thomas and Esther (Cattell) French.]

By July 1, the mission school (with 27 pupils) had been resumed. (It had been discontinued in March with the departure of teacher Elias Newby.) At the beginning of September there were 36 children (22 males, 14 females) attending. All except two were Shawnees.

Ref: W. W. Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, v. 5, pp. 544d, 572; *KHC*, v. 8, p. 252, v. 13, p. 348; *Some Account of the Conduct of the Religious Society of Friends Towards the Indian Tribes* . . . (London, 1844), p. 241; Henry Harvey's *History of the Shawnee Indians, From . . . 1681 to 1854* . . . (Cincinnati, 1855), p. 250. The Harveys' children (and their ages) as of spring, 1840, were: George M. (21), who, it appears did not come to "Kansas," Caleb E. (18), Mary (16), Deborah (14), Samuel (9), Henry C. (6), and Ann B. (3). "Maden" seems to be correct as Mrs. Harvey's maiden name, but the common spelling is "Madden."

☪ June.—Dr. Joseph R. De Prefontaine, of Westport, Mo., was employed to give smallpox vaccinations to "such Indians as may stand in need of the Operation" in R. W. Cummins' Fort Leavenworth Agency and A. L. Davis' Osage [Marais des Cygnes] River Sub-agency. (See September, 1839, annals for his work in 1839.)

The Indian department had authorized only \$200 for this purpose. On July 20 the physician visited the Ottawas, who gathered at the Baptist mission for their vaccinations.

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, p. 90 (Joshua Pilcher's May 28, 1840, letter); Jotham Meeker's "Dairy"; 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 164* (Serial 403), p. 20.

☪ June 30(?)—"Hicks and Marney," of Boone county, Mo., arrived at Independence, Mo., from Santa Fe. Between 20 and 30 wagons (as reported) were in the train which they headed.

At St. Louis (in mid-July) it was stated: "This company and the one which

arrived in May have brought about \$200,000 in specie and bullion." (One wagon, from Chihuahua, of the above train, was said to have brought into St. Louis \$50,000 in bullion and \$30,000 in specie.)

Ref: *Missouri Daily Argus*, July 9, 23, 1840; James J. Webb in *Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade* . . . (1931), p. 133, refers to traders "Hicks and Marney."

¶ As July opened it was harvest time at Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian manual labor school (present Johnson county). The farmer in charge, "Mr. Kline," had 90 acres of wheat to cut; and also had the care of 100 acres of timothy and 125 of oats. "Our wheat and oats are first rate," wrote Missionary Thomas Johnson, "and if we can save them will very much lessen the current expenses of the institution."

In mid-September a report of the institution gave these crop statistics: "about 2,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000 bushels of oats, 3,500 bushels of corn, 500 bushels of potatoes. . . ."

Ref: *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York, v. 15 (November 25, 1840), p. 58; Comm'r of Indian affairs Report for 1840 (Agent R. W. Cummins' report). The identity of "Mr. Kline" has not been determined. Perhaps he was Charles Kline who had journeyed to the Rocky mountains with the 1839 American Fur Company expedition, and returned in the autumn, by way of Bent's Fort, and the Santa Fe trail, with Dr. F. A. Wislizenus and Paul Richardson.

¶ July 3.—At Delaware Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county) a newly erected hewed-log meeting house (22' x 27'), which the Indians themselves had constructed, was dedicated.

The Rev. Thomas Johnson (of Shawnee Mission) made the principal address; and the Delawares' second chief (Ketchum, apparently), who was a Christian, also made a speech.

Ref: *Christian Advocate and Journal*, v. 15 (November 25, 1840), p. 58.

¶ July 7.—The Jesuits opened a school for Indian boys at Pottawatomie Catholic Mission, on Sugar creek (present Linn county). (See, also, March 10, 1839, entry.)

The school was maintained at Sugar creek till 1848; then was transferred to the Pottawatomies' new Kansa river reserve.

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 2, pp. 202, 208, 209, 213.

¶ July.—Inspecting at Fort Leavenworth, Col. George Croghan wrote: "The Captain [Thomas Swords, acting quartermaster] has in cultivation a field of about 800 acres in corn, oats, and timothy, which promises fairly. [See June, 1838, annals entry.] When the harvest is gathered in, an estimate of costs may be made out from which a correct decision can be drawn as to the propriety of continuing this system of cultivation."

[In 1842 Colonel Croghan, again at Fort Leavenworth, wrote: "The Farm is still kept up, but as yet without profit, nor need profit ever be expected so long as it is cultivated by soldiers and under the direction of a military officer,

ignorant (as most officers are) of even the first principles of farming. There are a few hired citizens at work on the farm. . . ."]

See, also, October 11, 1842, entry.

Ref: F. P. Prucha, ed., *Army Life on the Western Frontier* (c1958), pp. 86, 88. The colonel's 1842 report was dated August 16.

☐ MARRIED.—John Tecumseh ("Tauy") Jones (well-educated; half Chippewa and half English, but counted as a Pottawatomie), and Rachel Littleman (a Stockbridge Indian), on July 20, at Ottawa Baptist Mission (present Franklin county), by Jotham Meeker, in the presence of 30 Indians. (See Jones' portrait facing p. 328.)

(In his diary entry of July 21, Meeker recorded: "Br. & Sis. Jones leave for Putawatomie"—meaning the settlement at Pottawatomie creek, 12 miles distant.)

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," July 20, 21, 1840; Lewis Henry Morgan's *The Indian Journals 1859-62* (Ann Arbor, c1959), pp. 38, 39 (contains some autobiographical information on Jones, and a portrait).

☐ MARRIED: Jean Baptiste St. Michel (half? Osage), and Elizabeth Quenneville (half Osage), daughter of Francois Quenneville (Canville), on August 10, "a la riviere des Osages, American Fur Compy's trading post" (*i. e.*, on the Marais des Cygnes, at present Trading Post, Linn co.), by the Rev. Herman G. Aelen, S. J.

Witnesses to the ceremony were: Michel Giraud, Marguerite Renaud, Charles Cardinal, Wossosta, Louis Peltier, Thomas Mongeon, Martin Belhumeur, Francois St. Michel, Joseph Marie, Auguste Kans, Antoine Payne, Solomon Bienville, Francois Queneville, A. Janis(?). These persons were dwellers near, or employees of, the American Fur Company's Marais des Cygnes post.

Among the Osage half-breeds mentioned in the treaty of June 2, 1825, who were to be assigned 640-acre reserves on the north side of the Marais des Cygnes, above Harmony Mission (Mo.) were Baptiste St. Michelle, Jr. (also Julia and Francis St. Michelle), and Marguerite Reneau (Renaud).

Ref: "Pottawatomie Marriage Register," at St. Mary's College, St. Marys; also, in Osage Catholic Mission "Records," v. 1 (microfilm, KHi); W. A. Mitchell's *Linn County, Kansas* . . . (c1928), pp. 197, 198, mentions "Jean Baptiste" (whose marriage is noted above), and "Michael Giareau" of the Trading Post; Stella M. Drumm, ed., John C. Luttig's *Journal* . . . (1920), p. 60, has data on Francois Quenneville and his descendants.

☐ August.—Bound for Santa Fe, a small caravan carrying goods owned by U. S. citizens apparently crossed "Kansas" during this month. It reached Santa Fe in October. The proprietors had to pay duties higher than those charged their compatriots in July. (See May annals entry.)

According to Josiah Gregg's statistics, 1840 was a poor year in the Santa Fe trade. Not since 1824 had such a small valuation of goods been taken from Missouri to New Mexico. He estimated the merchandise transported to Santa Fe in 1840 at \$50,000 (perhaps excluding the Mexican nationals' goods?), with five proprietors, employing some 60 men, and about 30 wagons, in the trade.

Ref: 1950 *Brand Book* (Denver, c1951), p. 268; Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* (New York, 1844), v. 2, p. 160.

☪ August(?)—The trading expedition of “Metcalf and Richard” may have crossed “Kansas” during this month. A St. Louis newspaper of July 9 had stated these traders would “depart for the Rocky Mountains in ten or fifteen days.”

Ref: *Missouri Argus* (daily), July 9, 1840. In a journal entry of July 16, 1843, Theodore Talbot (of Fremont's second expedition) referred to “Metcalf, a trader,” as bringing “news from the North Fork of the Platte” to “St. Vrain's Fort” (on the South Platte). In a diary entry on July 5, 1843, Matthew C. Field (with Sir William Drummond's Stewart pleasure party) wrote of encamping “opposite Richard's fort” [“Fort Platte”—purchased by Sibille & Adams in 1842 from Lancaster P. Lupton]. It appears that John Reshaw [or, “Richard”] was, for a time, a copartner with Sibille & Adams. Sources for the preceding: *The Journals of Theodore Talbot* . . ., edited by C. H. Carey (Portland, 1931), p. 23; Matthew C. Field's *Prairie and Mountain Sketches* . . ., edited by Kate L. Gregg and John F. McDermott (Norman, c1957), p. 74; Dale L. Morgan's letters of June 15 and 28, 1963, to L. Barry.

☪ August-September.—Among the Kansa Indians, and at the Kansa Methodist Mission (present Shawnee county), sickness (“fever, and other diseases”) was prevalent.

Residing at, and near, the mission were 14 white persons—the Rev. William Johnson, his wife, and two children; assistant [Martin?] Greene, his wife; a “young lady” (not identified); also, Kansa farmer David Benzley, his wife, and five children. At one time, Johnson and the “young lady” were administering to 10 sick people. The Kansa farmer's wife—[Margaret (Ligget)?] Benzley—died; several weeks later, the Johnsons lost their young daughter Mary Frances.

Wrote Missionary Johnson: “While we were sick at the mission, the Indians were suffering equally as much. In some families as many as five died. [Young Kansa head chief White Plume II may have been one of the victims.] But few families escaped disease; and the number of deaths was great in proportion to the number sick. . . . The Indians were gloomy, and not inclined to do anything but prepare for their fall hunt; believing that they would be better off if scattered in the woods, where fresh meat could be obtained. . . . The last two summers have been sickly here [see Autumn, 1839, annals, p. 182], though we have always considered the country very healthy.”

Ref: *KHC*, v. 16, p. 231 (for William Johnson's December 30, 1840, letter). In the Jackson county, Mo., marriage records, the marriage of David Benzley and Margaret Ligget is entered as occurring on September 10, 1830. It has been assumed she was the Mrs. Benzley who died in “Kansas” in 1840. For the Greens, see July 14, 1839, annals entry. In June, 1840, Victor Tixier met the *then* Kansa head chief White Plume II; but eight months later, in February, 1841, it was “Kihigawatinga” (Fool Chief) who received \$1,000, by tribal order, at the payment of the Kansa annuities—evidently as head chief of the nation.

☪ September(?)—At St. Louis, on August 25, Sup't Joshua Pilcher wrote to Agent R. W. Cummins (in “Kansas”): “A party of men left this city a day or two since for the west, whose object I have casually understood to be an excursion of pleasure towards the Arkansas. . . . the party consists principally of British Officers from Canada. These gentlemen are unknown to me. . . .”

Pilcher's letter to Cummins was to ensure that the tourists were apprised

of the need to obtain a passport (which Cummins could issue) before going into the Indian country, since the intercourse act set a heavy penalty for non-compliance.

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 110, 111.

☪ BORN: on September 5, at the new Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Johnson county), Thomas Johnson Greene and Mary Elizabeth Greene, son and daughter of the Rev. Jesse and Mary (Todd) Greene. They were, so far as known, the first white twins born in "Kansas."

Ref: KHI's 15th *Biennial Report*, p. 36; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, January 23, 1925 (for T. J. Greene's recollections of early days at Shawnee Mission).

☪ DIED: Jacques Ash-kum (chief of the Wabash Pottawatomies), on September 10(?), at the Sugar creek settlement (present Linn county). He was upwards of 70 years old. Burial was on September 11. (*See his portrait facing p. 328.*)

Ref: "Pottawatomie Burial Register," at St. Mary's College, St. Marys.

☪ DIED: Cynthia (Burr) Mercer, wife of Reuben Mercer (of Jackson county, Mo.), on September 11, at Pottawatomie creek (present Franklin county), where the couple was living while Mr. Mercer worked on "Mr. Simerwell's houses"—the new buildings at Pottawatomie Baptist Mission (*see p. 76*).

The Mercers had been married at Otoe Baptist Mission, near the Council Bluffs (Neb.) on August 18, 1836, by the Rev. Moses Merrill. Theirs was one of the early marriages of white persons in "Nebraska."

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," September 12, 1840; Jackson county, Mo., marriage records (for affidavit by Merrill, made at Independence, Mo., February 23, 1837, of the Mercer-Burr marriage); Delilah (McCoy) Lykins' letter of March 31, 1840 (in Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 27), for item on Mercer's work in "Kansas."

☪ September 22.—Col. Stephen W. Kearny and 165 First U. S. dragoons left Fort Leavenworth, crossed the Missouri, and marched up the left bank towards the Pottawatomie settlements near present Council Bluffs, Iowa. Capt. Philip St. George Cooke made this trip, and by report, Captains Nathan Boone and James Allen, with their companies, were on the expedition.

By the 29th they were encamped on Mosquito creek (about a mile and a half "from that part of the Missouri river opposite to Bellevue" [Bellevue, "Neb."], where they remained till October 7. During that time the Pottawatomies received their annuities under dragoon supervision; and Colonel Kearny held councils with the Indians. A problem relating to a band of some 150 Iowas residing on the Pottawatomies' reserve was resolved when the latter requested that the Iowas not be forced to remove. Pottawatomie chiefs Joseph Lafromboise, Wam-goe-see, Sau-ke-nosh [Sagaunash?—Billy Caldwell?], and Half Day were among those who took part in the proceedings.

On October 14 Colonel Kearny and his command were back at Fort Leavenworth.

Ref: Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 752), Col. S. W. Kearny's report, October 16, 1840; *Missouri Argus* (daily), September 28, 1840; Comm'r of Indian affairs Report for 1840.

☐ October 6.—Emigrant Pottawatomies (from northern Indiana and southern Michigan), reported to number 524 persons on arrival, reached the reservation in "Kansas"—south of the Marais des Cygnes river. Their conductor was Samuel P. Brady.

[The subsistence and transportation west of this party was by war department contract of June 13 (made by Bvt. Brig. Gen. Hugh Brady) with Alexis Coquillard, of South Bend, Ind., who agreed to remove the Indians for the sum of \$55 each.]

It appears that the Rev. Stanislaus A. Bernier (Catholic) accompanied (but did not remain with) this party; and that most (or all?) of the immigrants settled with the Sugar creek Pottawatomies (in present Linn county).

See, also, November 25 entry.

Ref: 26th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 161* (Serial 378), p. 37; 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 143* (Serial 403), pp. 26-29, 151; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 126-128; G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 2, p. 190; *Niles' National Register*, v. 59 (September 12, 26, 1840), pp. 17, 50.

☐ BORN: on October 8, at Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county), Mary Frances Barker, daughter (and first child) of the Rev. Francis and Elizabeth F. (Churchill) Barker. (See October 23, 1839, annals entry.)

Ref: Elizabeth F. Barker's *Barker Genealogy* (New York, 1927), p. 199; "Barker Collection," in KHi ms. division. In KHi's 15th *Biennial Report*, p. 36, the name is incorrectly given as "Frances Elizabeth Mary Barker." Mary Frances Barker married William L. Miles in 1873; died in 1917.

☐ MARRIED: Thomas Mongeon (half Osage) and Helene De'haitre (the widow Bastien), on October 26, at the American Fur Company's Marais des Cygnes post (present Linn county), by the Rev. Herman G. Aelen, S. J. (See, also, August 10 entry.)

Witnesses were: John Basile, Michel Giraud, Andrew Drips, Louis Peltier, J. Arquoite, John Michel [St. Mitchell?], N(?) Woester(?), J. Petre, J. Michel [St. Mitchell?], Solomon Bienville, J. Queneville, B. L'Habitant, A. Payne.

Ref: "Pottawatomie Marriage Register," at St. Mary's College, St. Marys; also in Osage Catholic Mission "Records," v. 1 (microfilm, KHi); and see G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 2, p. 230. The "Pottawatomie Baptismal Register," p. 66, has record of the baptism, on August 7, 1841, of this couple's son Joseph. The mother's name is given as "d' Etre." "Mongeon" is, presumably, a form of the name "Mongrain."

☐ October 31 and November 2.—At Sugar creek (present Linn county), Comm'r Alexis Coquillard held councils with the Pottawatomies (all except Chief To-pin-a-bee and part of his band attended) on the subject of reuniting the nation by removing the Council Bluffs (Iowa) Pottawatomies to the reserve in "Kansas."

[Bvt. Brig. Gen. Hugh Brady had appointed Coquillard, of South Bend, Ind.,

and the Rev. Isaac McCoy, of Westport, Mo., commissioners to treat with the Indians on this matter. Coquillard arrived at Westport on October 26; consulted with McCoy (who drew up a treaty form); then proceeded southward to the Marais des Cygnes. George Crawford (secretary) accompanied him.]

"Sag-au-naw"[?] was principal spokesman for the "Kansas" Pottawatomes at both councils. Other chiefs who indicated approval of the plan included Che-bas, We-we-saw, Che-chaw-cose, Be-se-ah, Pa-ma-di-si, Louison, and Ioway. Witnesses to the unilateral agreement were Crawford, and Pottawatomes Abram Burnett (interpreter), Andrew Jackson, Richard Furman, Joseph N. Bourassa, and Lewis Compant.

See, also, November 9 entry.

Ref: 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 143* (Serial 403), pp. 23, 24, 139-144; Isaac McCoy's letter of January 1, 1841, in McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 27.

¶ November 1.—The Rev. Nicholas Point, S. J., arrived at Westport Landing to take charge of the St. Francis Regis (originally "Chouteau's Church"—*see KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 507, 508) parish, in present Kansas City, Mo. He remained till May 10, 1841.

"The district [at the Kaw's mouth] in which I took up my abode," wrote Father Point, "was peopled by an assemblage of 23 Indian families each family group comprising a Frenchman with his Indian wife and half-breed children." He sketched a map of his parish, listing the residents' names (including several non-French persons). Some of these people (listed below) had been connected with "Kansas" history in the early 1800's; and others (or their relatives) became "Kansas" residents in the 1840's, or later:

(1) Mission-church, (2) [Moyses] Bellemare and Clement [Lessert], (3) Gerber, (4) [Joseph] Carboneau, (5) [Antoine] De Laurier, (6) Tremblé, (7) [Joseph] Vertefeuille, (8) [Pierre] Laliberté, (9) [Joseph] Rivard, (10) Petit Louis [Louis Prieu, step-son of Grand Louis Bertholet], (11) [Andrew B.] Campville [Canville], (12) Cadoret, (13) Widow Rivard, (14) Widow Chouteau [Berenice (Menard) Chouteau, widow of Francis G.], (15) Grand Louis [Bertholet], (16) [Gabriel] Philibert, (17) Peria, (18) Benjamin [Lagautherie], (19) [John?] Gray, (20) Prud'homme, (21) Edouard, (22) Bowird [William Bowers], (23) Ben., (24) [Andrew] Drips, (25) [Thomas A.] Smart, (26) Meguille.

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri* (Chicago, 1920), pp. 101, 102; also his *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 1, p. 261; *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, November 4, 1948 (also, in KHi library, in Kansas City, Mo., history "Clippings," v. 5, pp. 74, 75). Possibly "Gerber" was Joseph Jarboe. "Widow Rivard" was, it appears, Frances (Roy) Rivard, widow of Joseph Rivard. "Peria" was, perhaps, "Perrier." The Prud'homme household doubtlessly included Mrs. Gabriel Prudhomme. "Edouard," according to Mrs. Blanche O. Garrison, of Bartlesville, Okla., was Edouard La Chasse. "Meguille" is generally supposed to be a spelling of Magill, or McGill.

¶ November 9.—The Rev. William Hamilton (of "Ioway and Sac Mission," present Doniphan county) wrote that the resident missionaries were Samuel M. Irvin, Henry Bradley, William Hamilton, and their wives.

The summer school had averaged about 30 students, who were taught in English. The Iowas were decreasing rapidly; the five houses for the chiefs (per September, 1836, treaty) had been erected; their mill (for lack of a substantial dam) was doing little business; many Iowas had sold their farming

tools to whisky traders; and had also killed their stock. They had dismissed their government farmers and smiths about a year earlier. Some of the Iowas were on the Pottawatomies' reserve (in Iowa). The Sacs had torn down most of their mill (no water had ever run in the mill race); and had also destroyed part of their houses. They were averse to missionary operations.

In 1841(?) Isaac McCoy was told by the Rev. S. M. Irvin that the Iowas numbered about 600 (450 on the reserve; 150 among the Pottawatomies); that the principal chiefs were White Cloud and No Heart; and that this tribe had employed Francis Irvin (father of Samuel M.) as their farmer. The "Sauks" (Sacs & Foxes of Missouri) were supposed to number about 600. Their principal chiefs were Nesoquot and Shakopee.

Ref: Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 27 (for Hamilton's letter dated "Liberty Nov. 9th 1840"; and McCoy's notes from Irvin, a few pages following the letter).

¶ November 9.—Comm'rs Alexis Coquillard and Isaac McCoy, their secretary George Crawford, Dr. Johnston Lykins, with part Pottawatomies Luther Rice and Joseph Bertrand, Jr. (interpreters), also J. B. Bertrand (in charge of the pack horse), set out from Westport, Mo., for Council Bluffs (Iowa).

They reached the Pottawatomie reserve on the 16th; found the Indians had left in October for the hunting grounds; sent out runners to bring them in for a council. Finally, on January 2, 1841, the commissioners met with *some* of the Pottawatomie chiefs (one being "Wau-pen-say"—Wau-bon-seh?) and discussed the subject of removal from the Council Bluffs reserve to the Pottawatomie reserve in "Kansas" (south of the Marais des Cygnes). "Shaw-be-my" was spokesman for the Council Bluffs Indians at this meeting (which accomplished nothing).

Ref: 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 143* (Serial 403), pp. 144-146; McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 27, for Isaac McCoy's letter of November 22, 1840.

¶ November 16.—Missionary (and printer) John G. Pratt and his wife, Olivia (Evans) Pratt, returned to Shawnee Baptist Mission, after a year in the East where Mrs. Pratt had been restored to good health. A teacher, Abigail Ann Webster, accompanied them to "Kansas," and on December 1, under the superintendence of the Rev. Francis Barker, assumed charge of the mission school of 10 pupils.

Ref: *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 20 (June, 1840), p. 127, v. 21 (March, 1841), p. 80. The Pratts had come to "Kansas," originally, in May, 1837.—*See Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 29, p. 66.

¶ November 25.—About 439 Pottawatomies (from southern Michigan and northern Indiana), conducted by Robert A. Forsyth, reached the reservation in "Kansas"—south of the Marais des Cygnes river. Apparently most (or all) these Indians settled with their kinsmen on Pottawatomie creek (in present Miami and Franklin counties). *See, also*, October 6 entry.

Bvt. Brig. Gen. Hugh Brady, with 200 soldiers, and 100 mounted volunteers had rounded up these very reluctant emigrants in the late summer and early autumn; then herded them cross-country to Peru, Ill., where they were placed

aboard a steamboat. (For the capture of a chief[?] named Muc-mote [Muck-e-moote], one citizen received payment of \$100.) The "bold and determined conduct" of Robert A. Forsyth in handling the Pottawatomes made it unnecessary to send a military escort on the steamboat. Before November 11 the emigrants had reached St. Louis and were encamped about 20 miles from the city, awaiting transportation to "Kansas." The Rev. Isaac S. Ketchum (an assistant Indian agent) accompanied this party; and a "Mr. Kercheval" was assistant conductor.

The subsistence and transportation West of these Pottawatomes was by war department contract (made by General Brady on August 4) with James J. and Peter Godfroy (who were to receive \$60 per Indian). The emigrants' destitute condition, the late traveling season, and early severe weather required the government to furnish them with over \$6,000 worth of clothing. After their arrival in "Kansas," Subagent Anthony L. Davis made further contracts for their subsistence.

Chiefs, or head men, Os-met, Was-saw-we, Ken-kosh, Kapes-co-wet, Topen-ebi, 2d, and others (some 30 in all), of the above party, wrote a letter dated "Pottawatomie Creek, Feb. 3, 1841," to the secretary of war, stating that "Muck-e-moote" and three others of the tribe who had started to Washington in January(?), with the Rev. Isaac S. Ketchum, "are not considered by us as chiefs. . . ."

Ref.: 26th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 72* (Serial 388), p. 3 (for Godfroy contract); 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 143* (Serial 403), pp. 28-32, 34, 50, 51, 138; 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 164* (Serial 403), p. 70; *Niles' National Register*, v. 59 (November 7, 1840), p. 148; *SIA*, v. 7, typed copy, pp. 141, 142, v. 8, typed copy, p. 63; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Lansing, v. 21 (1892), pp. 305-311; *S. W. Durant's History of Ingham and Eaton Counties, Michigan* . . . (Philadelphia, 1880), p. 350.

¶ December.—As Agent R. W. Cummins reported it: "The Kansas Indians while in the buffaloe grounds this winter, sent out a war party of Sixty five men, they came across a party of (Seventeen lodges) Pawnees, the men were absent in search of buffaloe, the Kansas rushed into the lodges, killed they say, Sixty or upwards women and children and took eleven prisoners, five women and six children. . . ."

According to another account (via Fort Leavenworth), the Kansa "laid in ambush near the ill-fated encampment until they saw the Pawnee warriors, numbering but 17, depart for their hunting ground. The Kansa warriors, 65 in all, then commenced a murderous fire upon the defenceless women and children [and three men, one blind], which they continued until they supposed all within the encampment had been killed.—On entering the scene of carnage they tomahawked and scalped more than 70 of their victims—they found 12 (six women and as many children) unhurt, whom they decided to retain as prisoners. . . ." (One of these women fought her captors and was killed.) These Indians were stated to be "Pawnee Republics."

Kansa missionary William Johnson wrote that there were 19 Pawnee lodges (a camp of around 150? Indians); that the Kansa "killed and scalped about 93, and took 11 prisoners, 10 horses, and all the articles they could pack, out of their houses [lodges], burned the balance, and then fled. . . . they shot some dead, and others they thrust through with the spear. . . ."

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 69, 70 (for Cummins' March 1, 1841, letter); *Arkansas State Gazette*, Little Rock, April 7, 1841 (reprinting of a St. Louis *Gazette* article), or, see *KHQ*, v. 11, p. 399; *KHC*, v. 16, pp. 232, 233; *Niles' National Register*, v. 60 (April 3, 1841), p. 68. Father DeSmet, in 1841, referred to the "ninety" Pawnee scalps taken by the Kansa.—See Chittenden and Richardson, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 285.

☪ Employed in "Kansas" by the Indian Department during all, or part of the year 1840 were the following persons:

FORT LEAVENWORTH AGENCY—*Agent* Richard W. Cummins; *Interpreters* Henry Tiblow and Clement Lessert; *Blacksmiths* William F. Newton (for Delawares), Robert Dunlap (for Shawnees), Greenup Dodson (for Shawnees), W. J. Baugh (for Kansa); *Assistant blacksmiths* W. H. Newton (for Delawares), Benjamin Rodgers, Wilson Rodgers, James M. Simpson, and Jackson Pitman (all for the Shawnees); Charles Fish (for Kansa); *Farmers* James Hays (for Kansa), and David Benzley (for Kansa).

GREAT NEMAHA SUBAGENCY (re-established)—*Subagent* Congreve Jackson (beginning November 15); *Interpreter* Jeffrey Dorion; *Assistant blacksmith*: John B. Rubeti (for Iowas).

OSAGE [MARAI DES CYGNES] RIVER SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Anthony L. Davis; *Interpreter* Luther Rice; *Blacksmiths* Robert Simerwell (appointed June 1) and Robert Wilson (both for Pottawatomies); *Assistant blacksmiths* John Leib (appointed June 1) and D. Moreland (both for Pottawatomies).

OSAGE SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Congreve Jackson (transferred to Great Nemaha Subagency late in 1840), succeeded by Robert A. Calloway (beginning near end of 1840?); *Interpreter* Charles Mongrain; *Blacksmiths* John Lemons, and John C. Brashears (appointed March 4); *Assistant blacksmiths* Peter Kannab, and E. W. Black (appointed March 4).

Ref: 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 41* (Serial 402); 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 164* (Serial 403), pp. 63, 73, 75, 89, 90, 96, 97; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 55, 57, 72, 142, 143, 145, 146, 387, and v. 8, typed copy, p. 257.

1841

☪ MARRIED: Moyse Bellemare (a French-Canadian, from Yamachiche, Quebec) and Adele Lessert (half-Kansa daughter of Clement Lessert, a French-Canadian), on January 7, at present Kansas City, Mo., by the Rev. Nicholas Point, S. J.

In the Kansa treaty of June 3, 1825, "Adel" (then a child) and her brother "Clement" (who died young) were the first-named of the 23 half-breeds who were each to receive a 640-acre reserve on the Kansas river. Some time in the 1840's Moyse and Adele (Lessert) Bellemare moved from the Kaw's mouth [Kansas City, Mo.] to present Shawnee county, to make their home on reserve No. 2 (see Shawnee county map in *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 59). "Moses Bellemore," but not his family, was recorded in the Kansas territorial census of 1855. The state census of 1865 listed the "Bellmore" family as follows: Moses (52), Adell (42), Joseph (17; born in Missouri[?]), Julia (12), and Leonard (4), both born in Kansas.

Ref: "Westport Register," at St. Mary's College, St. Marys; G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 1, p. 263; Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 27 (McCoy's December 22, 1841, report); *KHC*, v. 8, pp. 482, 483; 37th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 58* (Serial 1122), pp. 2, 11; Kansas territorial census, 1855, 12th district, p.

5; Kansas state census, 1865, Soldier township, Shawnee co.; Kansas City chapter, D. A. R., *Vital Historical Records of Jackson County, Missouri* . . . (c1934), pp. 92, 95, 266 (for items on children born to the Bellemares). Mrs. Theodore Bellmard, in a letter of April 17, 1862, to L. Barry, wrote that Joseph Napoleon Bellmard's application for a Civil War pension states he was born at "Topeka," August 1, 1847. (He was the "Joseph" aged 17 in 1865, noted above.) The Bellemares were not listed in the 1860 or 1870 federal censuses.

☪ January.—The Kansa Indians returned from the buffalo country to their villages, bringing the prisoners taken in the December massacre of the Pawnee Republic camp.

Wrote Missionary William Johnson, at the end of January: "Since the Indians came in, the war song and scalp dance constitute their daily employment. All other matters . . . are laid aside. The effect of this massacre upon the tribe at large, in paralyzing all our operations, is now felt to an alarming extent. There are but few men . . . of the Kansas now disposed to think of anything but a defense against the attacks of the Pawnees, now exasperated at the slaughter of their women and children.

"The upper village of Kansas have fled from their town, and expect to wander to and fro for the balance of the year. They talk of planting a little corn at their town, but even that is uncertain. The village near the mission are so elated with their past act of bravery, that they have done little else than dance since they came in. The few families who were building houses near the mission are now the subjects of laughter and sport by the new-made braves. The number who are now disposed to build houses and provide for their families is small, not more than 15 families in all. . . . The prospect of reforming these people is truly gloomy at present. . . ."

Ref: *KHC*, v. 16, pp. 233, 234 (Johnson's letter of January 30, 1841, reprinted from the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, v. 15, p. 122).

☪ February.—Agent R. W. Cummins, accompanied by a First U. S. dragoon escort (Capt. Eustace Trenor, Asst. Surg. Alfred W. Kennedy, and Company F), arrived at the principal Kansa village on the 22nd. (The troops had left Fort Leavenworth on February 17.) Cummins' two-fold purpose: (1) to make the annual annuity payment (\$2,500 to the tribe; also, \$1,000 to chief "Kihigawatinga" [Fool Chief] by order of the Kansa), and (2) to recover the 11 women and children of the Pawnee Republic band held captive by the Kansa since December, 1840.

The agent later reported: ". . . they gave up the prisoners the same evening [February 22] without hesitation, they were much alarmed at the approach of the troops. . . . As the prisoners were naked I was compelled to purchase them some clothing and blankets."

The dragoons, with the 11 Pawnees, returned to Fort Leavenworth on March 1. On the 5th Lt. Charles F. Ruff, with a few troops, set out from the post "to convey the Pawnee prisoners to Bellevue [Neb.], where they would "meet their missionaries and some members of their own tribe."

Ref: *Arkansas State Gazette*, April 7, 1841 (or, see *KHQ*, v. 11, p. 399); *SIA*, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 69, 70, and v. 7, typed copy, pp. 175-177; 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 164* (Serial 403), p. 90 (for item on "Kihigawatinga," also

for items that Frederick Chouteau was paid \$45 for "blankets furnished Pawnee prisoners," and William Johnson received \$29.20 "for transportation of Kansas annuity &c and shirts for Pawnee prisoners."

☐ BORN: on March 9, at Fort Leavenworth, Louisa Kearny, daughter of Col. Stephen W. and Mary (Radford) Kearny.

(The colonel also noted in his diary: "Snowed all day to a depth of ten inches.")

Ref: D. L. Clarke's *Stephen Watts Kearny* . . . (Norman, c1961), p. 81.

☐ March.—While the Osages received their annual annuity, Sub-agent Robert A. Calloway had a census taken. There were, he reported, 1,484 men, 1,436 women, and 1,375 children—a total of 4,295 souls.

(In 1840 it had been estimated the Osages had 1,024 "warriors." The report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs, in late 1841, gave the Osage population as 5,120. Also, see March, 1836, annals, p. 44.)

Ref: Calloway's report, and the commissioner's, are in *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs, 1841; 26th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. No. 379 (Serial 359)*, for the 1840 "warriors" figure.

☐ April.—At Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county), a new printing office was under construction. (The former office was to be used "as a place of religious worship and school-house.")

Missionary-printer John G. Pratt (despite ill health; the move to the new office; and other interruptions) proceeded to print the following works on the "Meeker press" between April, 1841, and April, 1842: 750 copies of *Matthew* (a 68-page book) in Shawnee; 500 copies of *Matthew* (a 125-page book) in Ottawa; 750 copies of *Matthew* (48 pages; reprinted) in Shawnee; 500 copies of a 24-page, reprinted *First Book* in Delaware; occasional issues (totaling 12 pages and 800 copies) of the *Shawanoë Sun* (newspaper); and a "small hymn book, in Shawanoë," was reported as "in press, and nearly completed."

Ref: *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 21 (June, 1841), p. 173, v. 22 (June, 1842), p. 161.

☐ April.—The *Trapper* was the American Fur Company's steamboat sent to the upper Missouri trading posts in 1841. Upbound, she presumably passed along the "Kansas" shore in April, reaching Fort Union (at the mouth of the Yellowstone) after an 80-day journey from St. Louis.

At St. Louis, on July 14, a "fleet" of 10 "barges" from the headwaters of the Missouri and Yellowstone, reached port "all richly laden, upwards of 20,000 Buffalo robes, and an indefinite amount of beaver skins, buffalo tongues and other luxuries. . . ." The *Trapper's* arrival was expected hourly, with other peltries.

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, July 15, 1841 (as reprinted in *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 114); *Weekly Picayune*, August 2, 1841; H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1935), v. 2, p. 956. Charles Larpenteur (see his *Forty Years a Fur Trader* . . . , v. 1, p. 161) may have been aboard the up-bound *Trapper* in 1841 (not 1840 as his narrative suggests). He stated: "On the 31st of March I was on the steamer *Trapper*, and after a long, tedious trip we reached Union on the 27th of June."

☪ April.—Among the steamboats in the Missouri river trade were the: *General Leavenworth*, *Shawnee* (B. P. Clifford, master), *Colonel Woods* (L. C. Dickerson, master), *Thames* (Thomas Dennis, master), and the new *Oceana* (W. B. Miller, master).

Others which were on the Missouri during the spring and summer season included: *Bowling Green*, *Malta*, *Iatan*, the new *Emilie* (J. W. Keiser, master), and the new *Mary Tompkins* (B. J. Byer, master).

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, April-July, 1841, issues; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 177, 183, 195, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 93, 94. According to statistics published in *Niles' National Register*, v. 72 (July 31, 1847), p. 351, there were 32 steamboats on the Missouri in 1841.

☪ MARRIED: Anthony A. Ward (wheelwright at the Methodists' Indian manual labor school, present Johnson county) and Mary Jane Foster (of Jackson county, Mo.) on April 7, at Independence(?), Mo., by the Rev. James Porter.

From 1841 till after 1851, the Wards lived at Shawnee Mission. During that time they had six children born (two of whom died young). John Allen Ward, their first child, apparently was born early in 1842.

In 1854 (after a brief stay at Uniontown), the Wards bought Kansas river-front property just west of the original Topeka town site. Five acres of that farm, and the "Ward-Meade house" on the tract, now belong to the city of Topeka, to be used as a park.

Ref: Jackson county, Missouri, marriage records; Cone, *op. cit.*, p. 5; *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, v. 3 (March, 1949), pp. 9-13; Allen T. Ward letters (in KHi ms. division); Kansas territorial census, 1860, v. 9, p. 36 (Shawnee county); Kansas state census, 1865, Topeka township, Shawnee co. (which lists the Ward family: Anthony A. (53), Mary J. (48), and their "Kansas-born" children, J. A. (23), Mary E. (20), Emily J. (17), Alice (13), Anthony (11), and William (9)).

☪ MARRIED: John W. Polke (son of trader Robert Polke, resident on Pottawatomie creek, "Kansas") and Sarah Ann Chick (daughter of William M. Chick, Westport, Mo., merchant), on April 11, presumably at Westport, by the Rev. Thomas Johnson (of Shawnee Mission, "Kansas").

Ref: Jackson county, Missouri, marriage records.

☪ May.—Under construction at Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian manual labor school (present Johnson county) was a large two-story brick building, 110 feet by 34 feet, to contain 14 rooms "for the accommodation of Teachers & children & for school and lodging rooms."

(In this building, in 1855, the first Kansas territorial legislature met, and passed the "bogus" laws.)

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 73, 74; Martha B. Caldwell, compiler, *Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission* . . . (Topeka, 1939), pp. 40, 41.

☪ May.—A Shawnee Methodist meeting house (within present Shawnee, Johnson co.) was being built. It had been promoted by the Rev. Learner B. Stateler of Shawnee Mission. The Indians were

doing much of the work (including the log-hewing), and also had raised nearly \$100 to help pay for the building (a 25' x 50' structure, with one large door and nine windows). The church was ready for use by early summer.

The location (by a description of 1857): within the N. $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 11, T. 12 S., R. 24 E. It was in a grove about four miles west of the Indian manual labor school.

Ref: *Christian Advocate and Journal*, New York, v. 15 (May 5, 1841), p. 150; E. J. Stanley's *Life of the Rev. L. B. Stateler* (1907), pp. 104, 105 (Stateler had been transferred from Delaware Mission to Shawnee in the fall of 1840); "Shawnee Census, 1857" (ms. in KHi archives division), which describes the site (the five acres "including the meeting house and grave yard") of Shawnee Methodist Church.

¶ May 7.—The Rev. Ambler Edson and his wife arrived at Bellevue [Neb.] as Baptist missionaries to the Otoe and Missouri Indians.

Since the death of Missionary Moses Merrill in February, 1840, the condition of the Otoes (as reported) had "greatly deteriorated," and their number had been "diminished by intemperance and civil feuds." The Missourias had crossed to the south side of the Platte and refused to return; and others of the Indians were "roaming at large, having no fixed abode."

During the summer Missionary Edson "collected a school . . . of 20 pupils." Later, illness forced him to close it. The Edsons journeyed to St. Louis in March, 1842, but returned in April, in improved health. The Otoe Baptist Mission school (with 13 pupils) was reopened. However, the Indians became "increasingly intemperate and quarrelsome," and in August, 1842, it became expedient to abandon the mission.

Ref: *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 21 (June, 1841), p. 172, v. 22 (June, 1842), p. 160, v. 23 (June, 1843), p. 138. See KHQ, v. 28, pp. 340, 341, for the founding of Otoe Baptist Mission in 1833.

¶ May 8.—"Messrs. [Solomon] Houck, [William S.?] McKnight, Mazerva [William S. Messervy] and [_____?] Martin" were the principal merchants in the spring caravan which departed from Independence, Mo., for Santa Fe. On the 9th "the few last wagons . . . left." "Many other individuals" besides traders were co-travelers. Some were "going . . . for pleasure, some for health, and others for the curiosities and botanical plants." The naturalist William Gambel (who went on from Santa Fe to California with the Rowland-Workman party) was one of the latter group.

When this company organized, at Cow creek (some 235 miles out), late in May, the personnel totaled 87 males and one female (a "nice little Dutch woman," accompanying her husband); the vehicles "large and small, of various and quaint construction," numbered 33 (one, an "artillery wagon" with a cannon); and there were about 200 mules, also some oxen.

Twelve days after leaving Independence the caravan reached Council Grove; and stopped three days to overhaul and reload wagons, while waiting for lag-

gards to arrive. About May 28, at Cow creek, Samuel Houck was elected captain, the company was enrolled, and guard duty assigned.

Just before the train reached this crossing, eight late-starting travelers (who left Independence about May 19), with their "three little wagons . . . and three riding mules," caught up with the caravan. Among the eight were Isaac L. Given, John McClure, Wade Hampton, and Albert G. Toomes. These four, after reaching Santa Fe, went on to California with the Rowland-Workman party.

On June 1 the caravan was at Ash creek; on June 5, at a point apparently below any of the usual crossings, the rising Arkansas river was forded; then the 60-mile "Jornada" was traversed; and by the 12th the line of march was up the Cimarron. The wagon train reached Santa Fe early in July—completing the trip in less than two months.

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 19, November 23, 1841. The latter issue contains the unsigned letter from Santa Fe, of July 29, 1841, originally published in the Evansville (Ind.) *Journal*, which was widely reprinted, appearing in *Niles' National Register*, v. 61 (December 4, 1841), p. 209, the New York (weekly) *Tribune*, November 13, 1841 (see *KHQ*, v. 8, pp. 104-106), and various other publications in 1841 and 1842. *Santa Fe and the Far West* . . . (Los Angeles, 1949), is a reprint of this same letter, with a note by Dale L. Morgan, outlining his reasons for concluding that John McClure probably wrote it. Other references: "Isaac Given Biography" (ms. in Bancroft Library); Richard L. Wilson's *Short Ravelings From a Long Yarn* . . . (Santa Ana, Calif., 1936); Susan D. McKelvey's *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West 1790-1850* (1950), pp. 731-735, 744-746 (for Gambel); *1950 Brand Book* . . . (Denver, 1951), p. 269.

¶ On May 10 and 11 four Methodist ministers (Thomas Johnson, E. R. Ames, W. W. Redman, James M. Jameson) journeyed 80 miles on horseback from Shawnee Mission (present Johnson county) to Kansa Methodist Mission (present Shawnee county).

They traveled about half way on the 10th; camped some three miles west of the Wakarusa crossing for the night; reached Mission creek on the evening of the 11th. The delegation found Missionary William Johnson and his family "in good health." Also on hand to greet them were the "venerable" American Chief, his son ("a vile wretch"), and a few other Kansa.

On May 12, at a vacant house half a mile distant, these Kansa Indians and some 25 others (men and women) gathered for a council with the Methodists. On this day, too, Chief E-ya-no-sa (meaning "Big both ways"—an apt description), who was living eight miles up the Kansas, came to invite the white men to his village.

Early on the 13th the ministers set out for E-ya-no-sa's town which was in a "most delightful" location, "in the fork, between the Kansas and the Wa-nun-ja-hu, a large creek which empties itself into the Kansas" [present Mill creek, Wabaunsee county]. Crossing the Wa-nun-ja-hu, to reach the village, they found that it consisted of about 25 lodges "constructed of the bark of trees, so as to form a pleasant summer house, but require to be differently fixed for the winter." After a council with the chief, the Methodists returned to the Kansa mission. They were back at Shawnee before May 20.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 16, pp. 263-265, contains the Rev. James M. Jameson's letter of May 20, written at Shawnee Mission, describing the May 10-13 experiences of his party.

¶ May 12.—From the Sapling Grove rendezvous (15[?] miles west of Independence, and eight from Westport, Mo.) on the Shawnee reserve (present Johnson county), the men, and families, of the *first emigrant wagon train to set out for the Pacific* (the “Bidwell-Bartleson” party) began the journey across “Kansas” on the “Oregon trail.”

The emigrants (and a few men traveling for pleasure, health, or other reasons) numbered, at the outset, around 60 persons, including five women and perhaps 10(?) children. They had eight mule-and-horse-drawn wagons; five larger wagons drawn by 17 yoke of oxen; and riding animals; but took no milk cows.

In advance was the Jesuit missionary party (11 men) of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet (bound for the Flathead Indians' country), whose guide, Thomas Fitzpatrick, was to pilot the combined company to the West. The missionaries had four carts and a small wagon—all two-wheeled, (drawn by two mules each, hitched in tandem); and riding horses. With De Smet (who had set out from Westport on May 10, after arriving there 10 days earlier on the *Oceana*) were Father Nicholas Point (a Westport resident during the winter of 1840-1841), Father Gregory Mengarini, three lay brothers, an English tourist “Romaine,” James Baker (a trapper), and John Gray (an Iroquois; and Kaw's mouth resident), hired as hunter. Two others of this party (who had taken a baggage-loaded pirogue upriver) were waiting at the Kansas crossing (at, or near, present Topeka), when De Smet and his companions arrived about May 16(?). On hand to help the horses swim the river were two Kansa Indians. “Baggage, wagons and men” crossed in the pirogue (a “hollowed tree trunk,” which, at a distance, reminded Father De Smet of a Venetian gondola). Camp was made “on the banks of the Soldier's river . . . six miles from the [Kansa] village.” “We had scarcely pitched our tents when the great chief [Fool Chief] presented himself with six of his bravest warriors, to bid us welcome,” wrote De Smet. The chief supplied the missionaries with two armed guards for “the three days and three nights” spent at Soldier creek camp.

The emigrants arrived at, and crossed the Kansas, on May 17, and proceeded to the Soldier creek camp (two miles west of the river) where they spent two nights. Nancy (Mrs. Benjamin) Kelsey later recollected: “. . . the Indians towed us across the . . . river in rawhide boats made of buffalo skins. Our oxen crossed the river with the empty wagons.”

On the 18th the company organized. “Talbot H. Green”—whose real name was Paul Geddes—presided; and young John Bidwell—recently a schoolteacher in Platte county, Mo.—served as secretary. John Bartleson (aged 54, of Jackson county, Mo.) was elected captain.

When the caravan set out on the 19th, there were (according to Father De Smet) 70 souls, “fifty of whom were capable of managing the rifle.” He, Father Point, and young Romaine, left the procession to spend an hour at Fool Chief's 20-lodge village (to the left of their line of march). [Point sketched the town—see *KHQ*, v. 28, *facing* p. 49—and De Smet, in a letter, described the Kansa village, and its occupants, at some length.]

Overtaking the caravan on May 23 were three men, Joseph B. Chiles, of Jackson county, Mo. (with a wagon), Charles M. Weber, and James John who had left Westport on May 16. Also joining north of Kansas river were Robert

Rickman, of Jackson county, Mo., James Shotwell, and Henry Peyton. [Others in the company who had left Jackson county, Mo., homes were Charles Hopper, William P. Overton, Grove Cook (a brother-in-law of the fur-trading Sublettes), and some (if not all) of the Kelsey family.] On May 27 the Rev. Joseph Williams caught up with the wagon train (*see* May 21 entry). He was the last accession to the "very mixed crowd"—now 79(?) in all.

As far as the Platte (reached June 1) the journey was fairly routine. Between Grand Island and Green river (reached on July 23) a number of events occurred—including two weddings, one death (James Shotwell's) by accident, some "desertions," a few accessions, and Nicholas Dawson's encounter with Indians. On August 3, at Soda Springs [Ida.], the travelers came to a parting of ways. The missionaries, with guide Thomas Fitzpatrick, and 24(?) Oregon-bound emigrants (including all but one family), turned north towards Fort Hall (the Rev. Joseph Williams accompanied this group); while 32(?) men, one woman and her infant daughter, took a route towards California.

Among those who reached California (after a difficult journey; and after abandoning their wagons en route) were: John Bartleson, John Bidwell, Charles Hopper, Robert Rickman, Grove Cook, Joseph B. Chiles, Charles M. Weber, Josiah Belden, James P. Springer, "Talbot Green," Andrew Kelsey, Benjamin Kelsey, his wife and child; and George Henshaw. (The names of the rest are on record, but not listed here.) Some returned to Missouri in the fall of 1842, as will be noted in these annals.

Ref: John Bidwell, *A Journey to California* . . . (San Francisco, 1937); Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., editor, *Josiah Belden 1841 California Overland Pioneer: His Memoir and Early Letters* (Georgetown, Calif., 1962); Chittenden and Richardson, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 275-286; C. L. Camp, editor, *Narrative of Nicholas "Cheyenne" Dawson* . . . (San Francisco, 1933); Joseph Williams, *Narrative of a Tour* . . . (New York, 1921); John Bidwell's *Echoes of the Past* (Chicago, 1928); H. H. Bancroft's *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), v. 4, pp. 265-280; Nicholas Point's "Recollections . . .," in *Woodstock Letters*, Woodstock, Md., v. 12 (1883), pp. 3-22, 133-153; Gregory Mengarini's "The Rocky Mountains . . ." in *ibid*, v. 17 (1888), pp. 298-309; *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 19, 1841; *Transactions of the 19th Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1891*, p. 139; *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Salem, v. 31 (September, 1930), pp. 253, 254; from the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif. (courtesy of Dale L. Morgan), typed copies of manuscripts by James John, Nicholas Dawson, J. B. Chiles, Charles Hopper, Mrs. Benjamin Kelsey, and A. S. Taylor; also, courtesy of Dale L. Morgan, a typed copy of a James John journal in the Rosenbach Foundation library, Philadelphia; W. J. Ghent, *The Early Far West* . . . (New York, 1931), pp. 314-319; George R. Stewart's *The California Trail* . . . (New York, c1962), pp. 7-29; H. E. Tobie's "From the Missouri to the Columbia, 1841," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, v. 38 (June, 1937), pp. 135-159; John C. McCoy's "Tales of an Old Timer" (from Kansas City [Mo.] *Journal*, January 30, 1879), in "Kansas Reminiscences" clippings, KHi library.

☐ May 14.—"Mr. Hinkley" began work on the Ottawas' mill (in present Franklin county, not far from Ottawa Baptist Mission). On the 19th Jotham Meeker sent the "Ottawa Mill up to its place after its having set in . . . [the mission] door yard near 3 years." It was declared operational on May 25.

(The building for the mill had been put up in 1840; and additional work had been done on it by the Ottawas in April, 1841.)

Meeker wrote on June 14 "it [the mill] still does not do well"; but on the 16th he recorded: "It grinds pretty well."

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," January 10, 11, 13, March 2, 3, 1840, May 14, 19, 25, June 14, 16, 1841.

¶ May.—A caravan from Santa Fe, in which the principal proprietors were “Messrs. [James M.] Giddings, from Fayette, McGuffin [James W. McGoffin], Garvis [Chavez] and some other Spanish gentlemen,” reached Independence, Mo. This company had 22 wagons, a large number of mules (around 100 extra ones), and brought, by report, \$180,000 to \$200,000 in specie.

(About May 14 and 15, in present Douglas and Osage counties, travelers in the Santa Fe-bound spring caravan had met some of the above train. Richard L. Wilson recorded (on the 14th?): “we met about 20 Spanish Mexicans of the Chihuahua return Company . . . headed by Chavez . . .” and next day, west of 110-mile creek, “four Mexican wagons hove in sight.” With this rear detachment was “Black Wolf,” a Delaware chief.)

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 19, 1841; Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22. Chavez was probably either Don Antonio José Chavez, or Don José Chavez y Castillo.

¶ About May 20 a small mounted party—Missionary William Johnson, Fool Chief (head of the Kansa nation), another chief, and nine Kansa boys (aged from nine to 13)—arrived at the Indian manual labor school (present Johnson county), where the youths were to be enrolled.

Meeting, on this occasion, the man who had recently (late 1840?) become leader of the Kansa, the Rev. James M. Jameson wrote: “Ki-ha-ga-wa-ti-in-ga . . . signifies the chief who accomplishes what he undertakes at all hazards. He is known by the phrase ‘Fool-chief;’ but our word reckless would better express the meaning of the original. He is a man of middle stature, of strong native mind, and of fine address, and speaks with ease and force.”

Ref: *KHC*, v. 16, p. 265 (from *Western Christian Advocate*, Cincinnati, v. 8, January 28, 1842, p. 161). “Ki-he-ga” (or “Ki-ha-ga”) signifies “chief.” Fool Chief’s name appears in varying forms, for example “Ca-he-ga-wa-tan-nin-ga,” “Ky-he-ga-wa-ti-nin-ka.” The above Fool Chief was at least the second Kansas leader to bear the name. The “Ky-he-ga-wa-ti-nin-ka” who signed the June 3, 1825, Kansa treaty was probably the father of this young Fool Chief.

¶ May 21.—En route to Oregon, 64-year-old Methodist preacher Joseph Williams arrived at Shawnee Methodist Mission, after a journey on horseback from his Indiana home.

With Missionary William Johnson, and two Kansa chiefs (*see* preceding entry), he rode westward on May 22 as far as Wakarusa river. The next day’s 45-mile journey brought them to Kansa Methodist Mission (present Shawnee county). On the 24th, supplied with provisions by the Johnsons, and accompanied by “Mr. Brensill” (the Kansa Indians’ farmer David Benzley?), Williams crossed the Kansas (the water was over their horses’ backs); and, after a few miles, was left to hasten on, alone, in pursuit of the Oregon-and-California-bound companies. He carried no gun or weapon. By good fortune he avoided hostile Pawnees in the area, and, after two nights and most of three days on the prairies, caught up with the caravan on May 26. (*See* May 12 entry.)

Ref: Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-33; John Bidwell, *A Journey to California*, p. 3.

¶ May 25.—At Ottawa Baptist Mission (present Franklin county),

John Clayter and his work crew (under a contract let by Jotham Meeker) began to erect new mission buildings which cost \$832.

On September 22 the family moved into the not-yet-completed structures. "The houses are well built with substantial stone chimneys," wrote Meeker. "There are four rooms—one for a dwelling room, a meeting room, a kitchen, and an Indian house."

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary"; and his letter of February 7, 1842.

☪ May.—East-bound from Fort William ("Bent's Fort"), a Bent, St. Vrain & Co. train (18 fur-laden wagons), transporting the previous winter's "fine trade" crossed the Santa Fe trail en route to Missouri. Charles Bent headed this expedition which had left the upper Arkansas on April 30.

Around May 27, in present McPherson county, the spring caravan bound for Santa Fe met Bent's party. As Richard L. Wilson described the encounter: ". . . a troop of Mountain Trappers hove in sight, and came up like a herd of buffalo, with their pack-mules laden with furs and robes, and 17 wagons in train. Fine specimens of bronzed humanity were they all. . . ."

A St. Louis newspaper reported Charles Bent's arrival in that city on June 10. He brought a "large lot of Buffalo robes and furs."

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, June 12, 1841; *New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fe, v. 30 (April, 1955), p. 159 (has Bent's April 30, 1841, letter, with the statement "Our Wagons 18 in number left this morning. . . . I think I shall be in St Louis . . . by the 10th June . . ."); Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28; "Isaac Given Biography" (ms. in Bancroft Library).

☪ June 1.—A trading license issued to Pierre Chouteau [Jr.] and Company (by Sup't Joshua Pilcher, at St. Louis) specified trade with the Pottawatomies, Peorias, Weas, and "Maumis" at these places:

- (1) on the Marais des Cygnes near the mouth of Sugar creek [*i. e.*, present Trading Post, Linn co.]—Michel Giraud's headquarters.
- (2) at Sugar creek [the Pottawatomie settlements, also in present Linn county, but 15 miles west of Giraud's place].
- (3) at Pottawatomie creek near the Issue House [the Pottawatomie settlements in present Franklin and Miami counties, about 15 miles north of the Sugar creek settlements].
- (4) also, the 15 employees in the Marais des Cygnes outfit of the American Fur Company could trade "at the respective villages of the above tribes."

Ref: OIA, Letters Received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 753), December 31, 1841, list of licenses issued in 1841. The license of June 27, 1842, was nearly identical; but only 11 men were employed.

☪ Around the first of June, at the lower Cimarron Spring (in present Grant county), some 500 Arapahoes met a party of Pawnees, and in the ensuing battle the Pawnees lost over 70 men (72 or 76, by varying reports), and their horses. The Arapahoes had six warriors killed.

The Santa Fe-bound spring caravan met the still-elated Arapahoes at the

lower spring in June, 10 days after the battle, and (as reported by John McClure?) "gratified them with encamping on the battle ground, where the unburied bodies were yet almost unbroken."

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 23, 1841 (for McClure's? letter—see May 8, 1841, annals entry); Rufus B. Sage's *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains* as reprinted in *Rufus B. Sage* . . ., edited by L. R. and Ann W. Hafen (Glendale, Calif., 1956), v. 1, p. 137; Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-74.

¶ June.—The "six waggons with 18 men, with Furs and Robes on their way from Ft. Larimie, to St. Louis," which the west-bound emigrant-and-missionary caravan met on May 31 while on the head of the Little Blue, crossed "Kansas" during this month. John Bidwell further described the party: "The waggons were drawn by oxen and mules . . . the rusty mountaineers looked as though they never had seen razor, water, soap, or brush. . . ."

Ref: John Bidwell's *A Journey to California* . . ., p. 4.

¶ BORN: on June 8, near Sugar creek (present Linn county), Genevieve Caroline Wilson, daughter of government blacksmith for the Pottawatomies Robert Wilson and his wife Genevieve C. Wilson. She was baptized on June 9 by the Rev. Herman G. Aelen, S. J.

Ref: "Pottawatomie Baptismal Register," at St. Mary's College, St. Marys.

¶ July 15 (or 17?).—Four nuns from the Society of the Sacred Heart (Mothers Philippine Duchesne, Lucille Mathevon, A. O'Connor, and lay sister Louise Amyot) opened a school for Indian girls at Sugar Creek (Pottawatomie) Mission, in present Linn county. (See March 10, 1839, entry.)

(From Mother Mathevon's journal it is known that they left St. Louis June 29, by steamboat, escorted by the Rev. P. J. Verhaegen [superior of the Missouri Jesuits]; arrived at Westport Landing about July 6[?]; proceeded, by wagon, southward on the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road; spent the night of July 7 at the house of American Fur Company trader Michel Giraud [at present Trading Post]; and, on July 8, traveled the last miles of the journey with an escort of some 150 mounted Pottawatomies, arrayed in colorful finery [including feathered head-dresses], led by Fathers Aelen and Eysvogels of Sugar Creek Mission.)

The building of a school (in July), and a two-story, six-room log house (in August) was supervised by the nuns' Negro servant. The location was "close to the mission-church on a bluff or eminence that commanded a view of the surrounding country." Here the well-attended girls' school was maintained till 1848, when it was transferred to the Pottawatomies' new Kansas river reserve. The aged Mother Duchesne left in July, 1842. In her place came Mothers Thiefray and Xavier, who remained till 1845.

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 2, pp. 204-213; Kinsella, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22, 227.

¶ BORN: on July 17, at Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county), Lucius Bolles Pratt, son (and second child) of Missionaries John G. and Olivia (Evans) Pratt.

(On March 2, 1860, at Delaware Baptist Mission, 19-year-old Lucius B. Pratt married Nannie May Journeycake [daughter of Charles Journeycake, Delaware Indian]. Young Pratt died five years later—on September 7, 1865.)

Ref: Pratt Collection (in KHi ms. division); Jack W. Manning's "John Gill Pratt . . ." (dissertation, May, 1951).

☪ July.—Santa Fe trader [James M.] Giddings and party left Independence, Mo., for New Mexico on the 23d. James W. Magoffin's company (bound for Chihuahua) was to join him. On July 27 a number of wagons belonging to "Mr. Ward," of Rocheport, Mo., passed through Independence "on their way to Santa Fe and Chihuahua."

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, August 6, 1841; *Weekly Picayune*, September 6, 1841.

☪ August.—Hiram Rich (a Liberty, Mo., trader, aged 42) was appointed sutler at Fort Leavenworth. (On October 19 he was also appointed postmaster.) He succeeded Albert G. Wilson (*see* December 5, 1839, annals) in both positions. For the next 20 years (till his sudden death in April, 1862), Rich remained as the post's sutler and postmaster.

As early as 1829 Hiram Rich was established as a merchant at Liberty. By 1837 his trading ventures extended to the South Platte. The license granted on November 2, 1837, to Hiram Rich (for 11 employees) specified trade "At a point on the South Fork of the Platte about 30 miles below the mountains" with the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and Sioux. (That he ever journeyed to that region himself has not been ascertained.)

On July 16, 1838, he received a one-year contract to supply rations for immigrant Pottawatomies (and other Indians) in the Osage [Marais des Cygnes] River Subagency. A year later (August 14, 1839) Sup't Joshua Pilcher, of St. Louis, wrote: "This [1838] contract with Mr. Rich was the offspring of necessity; but fortunately for the government, that necessity will soon cease to exist. Those Liberty birds have *feathered their nest*, but I shall take measures to check their career." On November 10, 1840, Rich was given a one-year license to trade (23 men in all) with the bands of Sioux on the upper Missouri.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 7, p. 441; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, p. 37 (for Pilcher), v. 10 (bottom of page headed "St Louis Dec 2nd 1834" has an early reference to Hiram Rich); OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 751 and Roll 753); 25th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 94* (Serial 346), p. 4 (for 1838 contract); Leavenworth *Daily Times*, April 30, 1862 (for obituary). Hiram Rich is buried in the Fort Leavenworth national cemetery. The inscription states he was born at Charlotte, Vt., September 21, 1799, and died April 28, 1862, aged 62 years, seven months, and seven days. In *KHC*, v. 13, p. 335, the Hiram Stone diary entry of April 24, 1862, recording Rich's funeral as occurring on that date is evidently a misprint for April 29.

☪ August.—The Osages, returning to their towns (in "Kansas") from the summer hunt "on the southwestern part of the Grand Prairie," brought two white persons they had purchased from the Comanches. One was a young Spanish woman; the other a nine- or ten-year-old Texas girl.

The Osages reported the Comanches had many white prisoners; and were only "waiting for the leaves to fall . . ." before making a general attack on the whole Texas frontier.

Ref: Osage Subagent Robert A. Calloway's August 23, 1841, letter to the editors of the *Houston (Tex.) Telegraph*, as reprinted in *Niles' National Register*, v. 61 (October 2, 1841), p. 66; also reprinted in *Weekly Picayune*, September 20, 1841.

☪ August.—Around the middle of the month the Delawares' blacksmith shop (just north of the Delaware, or Grinter, crossing of the Kansas river, on the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road) burned, and nearly all the tools were destroyed.

(In 1842, by Indian department authorization, the shop was rebuilt at a cost of \$140, and the sum of \$75 was provided for replacement tools.)

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, p. 223, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 77, 78, 92, 93; *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 338 (for location of the shop).

☪ BORN: on August 16, at Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Johnson county), Andrew Monroe Johnson, son of the Rev. Thomas and Sarah T. (Davis) Johnson.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 12, p. xii.

☪ August 29.—Jesuit fathers Felix L. Verreydt and Christian Hoecken, with lay brothers Andrew Mazzella and George Miles arrived at Pottawatomie mission on Sugar creek (present Linn county). (See portrait of Father Verreydt facing p. 328.)

(They came from Council Bluffs [Iowa], where a Pottawatomie Catholic mission had been abandoned. Verreydt succeeded the Rev. Herman G. Aelen as superior, and remained at the head of Sugar Creek mission till it was transferred to the Kansas river in 1848.)

Another recent arrival was Father Anthony Eysvogels, who had come in May or June.

Ref: G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 1, p. 446, v. 2, pp. 195, 196.

☪ Early in September a wagon train from Santa Fe reached Independence, Mo. As reported, there were only one or two "old traders," the majority being the freighters who had gone out in the spring. Some Mexican citizens with this company "brought along with them 70, or 80,000 dollars, and a quantity of valuable furs." An unidentified Independence writer called it the "most expeditious . . . [trip] ever performed."

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 28, 1841, or, *Niles' National Register*, v. 61 (October 16, 1841), pp. 100, 101; Sage, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 132-135.

☪ September 4.—Lancaster P. Lupton's caravan, bound for new Fort Platte [Wyo.], set out from a camp on the Shawnee reserve, in present Johnson county, to follow the "Oregon trail" across "Kansas," up to the Little Blue and Platte rivers.

Around 18(?) men (mountaineers, apprentices, and greenhorns) were in the

company at the outset. (A small advance party was picked up at the Wakarusa, and two *voyageurs* joined beyond the Kansas crossing, making the total personnel about 24.) Of the six (or more) wagons, at least four were large Conestogas; and there was a dearborn, also, in the outfit. The freight included illegal cargo—24 barrels (perhaps more) of alcohol for the Indian trade.

[One of Lupton's employees was Rufus B. Sage (aged 24), west-bound, for the first time, to gather material for a book. His *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains*, subsequently published (in 1846), described what Sage learned and experienced during his travels in 1841, 1842, and 1843.]

Lupton's caravan reached, crossed, and camped by the Wakarusa on September 6. On the 7th, after some 12 miles of travel, the over-night stop was "at a place known as the Springs" (possibly at Big Springs, Douglas co., of today). Camp on the 8th was "at a small creek within six miles of the crossing of the Kansas river" (the Shunganunga, or a branch). Most of September 9 was spent fording the Kansas (at, or near, present Topeka). "This proved rather difficult," according to Sage, "as the water was deep and the bottom sandy," and the river was "not far from six hundred yards wide, with steep banks of clay and sand." The caravan then proceeded some six miles before making camp.

Sage noted that the Kansa Indians' "main village" (Fool Chief's) was "on the left bank . . . a few miles above the crossing." He mentioned the "Protestant mission" (the Methodists' establishment—on the opposite side of the river). Without specifying a location, he wrote that there were "two or three families of half-breeds in the neighborhood, who "occupy neat houses, and have splendid farms and improvements." (The "splendid farms" doubtless were those which had been plowed and prepared by the government farmers.)

When Lupton and his company reached the "North Fork of Blue" (Big Blue) in mid-month they were detained till September 24 by high water. Their sojourn, in present Marshall county, was not unpleasant. Sage wrote: "During our stay no less than four bee-trees were levelled, and every . . . [container] in the whole camp was filled to overflowing, and every stomach to repletion, with honey of almost crystalline transparency. The great abundance of deer, turkey, and other game in the vicinity, also contributed their share of amusement, and enlivened the interval of detention."

On September 27 the caravan reached the Little Blue; crossed to the Platte about October 10; and arrived at Fort Platte [Wyo.] on November 2. This new trading post was on the left bank of the North Platte, not far from the mouth of Laramie river, and a mile or so from the American Fur Company's opposition post Fort John (Fort Laramie).

(Sage, and some other trappers, made an unsuccessful attempt to descend the Platte with a boatload of furs in the spring of 1842; finally arrived at Council Bluffs [Neb.] afoot; then descended the Missouri in canoes, reaching St. Louis about July 20, 1842. See, also, August 10, 1842, entry.)

Ref: Sage, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 84-87, 125-221.

☞ September 5.—A "party of Americans [from Santa Fe] with six or eight waggons and a large number of horses and mules" was met by L. P. Lupton's mountain-bound caravan west of Elm Grove, in present Johnson county.

These travelers from Santa Fe (possibly stragglers from the fall caravan—see p. 352), had with them a nearly full-grown elk, two blacktailed deer, an antelope, and a white-tailed fawn.

Ref: Sage, *op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 132-135.

☪ September.—At least six men (John Gray, the Iroquois; Henry Peyton; [J. M.?] Jones; the Englishman Romaine; Amos E. Frye; and [Edward?] Rogers) who had accompanied the Oregon-and-California-bound wagon train of emigrants and missionaries to the Rocky mountains in the spring and summer, retraced the Oregon trail across "Kansas," and reached Missouri in mid-September.

On September 21, an Independence, Mo., writer reported: "Nine or ten of the California company returned a few days since having left the remainder on some of the tributaries of Green River . . . [on July 23]. . . . The returning party were attacked six or eight times[!], but not seriously injured. They seem satisfied completely with their Quixotic adventure."

Ref: John Bidwell, *Echoes of the Past* . . . , p. 11; also, his *A Journey to California* . . . , p. 11; James John's "Diary" (in Bancroft Library); *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 28, 1841; or, *Niles' National Register*, v. 61 (October 16, 1841), p. 101.

☪ September(?)—Partners John Sibille and David Adams, taking their first trading outfit (with perhaps 10 men in all) out to Laramie's Fork, crossed "Kansas" (via the "Oregon trail" route) during this month. By mid-November this company had reached its destination.

(On July 31 Sibille & Adams had been issued their first license, at St. Louis, to trade on Laramie's fork, the Cheyenne, and Wind rivers. James Adams, brother of David, was one of the "sureties" for the partners; Bernard Pratte [the younger?] was another.)

Ref: OIA, Letters Received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 753), for D. D. Mitchell's December 31, 1841, list of licenses issued during the year; Dale L. Morgan's letters of March 26, and June 15, 1963, to L. Barry, noting David Adams' fragmentary 1841 diary, at Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; and see *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 13 (October, 1956), p. 101; *Glimpses of the Past*, v. 8, p. 42.

☪ September 17; October 5.—In New Mexico the advance, and main, parties of the Texan Santa Fe expedition (which had left Austin in June), surrendered to Gov. Manuel Armijo's army, after being defeated by the arid plains, where they had been lost for days and suffered privations. (The captives were cruelly treated; marched, on foot, to Mexico City and imprisoned; most were released in April, 1842.)

President Mirabeau B. Lamar had anticipated that this combined diplomatic-military-commercial venture (of 303? men, with 24? ox-drawn merchandise-and-supply-carrying wagons) would establish Texas jurisdiction over part of New Mexico, or at least gain for his republic some of the Santa Fe trade which Missouri enjoyed.

The expedition, though a failure, focused United States and Mexican

attention anew on Texas. In New Mexico there were some demonstrations against, and an increased suspicion of, U. S. citizens.

Ref: G. W. Kendall's *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition* (New York, 1844); W. C. Binkley's *The Expansionist Movement in Texas, 1836-1850* (Berkeley, 1925), pp. 68-95; *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Austin, v. 27 (1923), pp. 85-107; Thomas Falconer's *Letters and Notes on the Texan Santa Fe Expedition* . . . (New York, 1930).

☐ September 20.—David D. Mitchell was appointed to head the superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis. (He replaced Joshua Pilcher—appointed March 4, 1839—whose removal in 1841 was a matter of politics.)

Ref: 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 41* (Serial 402). SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, p. 192 (for Pilcher's departure on June 11, 1841), p. 199 (for D. D. Mitchell's October 6, 1841, letter—one of his first in office); *Daily Missouri Republican*, April 12, June 7, 1841 (for comment on Pilcher and his politics).

☐ September-October.—A small party of mountain men (unidentified, except that they had connections with Fort Davy Crockett [in northwestern "Colorado"] and the activities of trader Philip F. Thompson) brought "a large drove of horses, and several domesticated buffalo" down from the mountains, crossing "Kansas" apparently by way of the "Oregon trail."

L. P. Lupton's party met this outfit in the latter part of September, west of the Big Blue (near the north "Kansas" line). Rufus B. Sage (west-bound with Lupton) stated: "Their horses had been mostly obtained from Upper California, the year previous, by a band of [22] mountaineers, under the lead of one Thompson. This band . . . had made a descent upon the Mexican *ranchoes* and captured between two and three thousand head of horses and mules," but then lost at least half of them before reaching their rendezvous.

Ref: Sage, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 137; L. R. and Ann W. Hafen's *Old Spanish Trail* (Glendale, 1954), pp. 236-241; *Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 29 (January, 1952), p. 17, for location of Fort Davy Crockett.

☐ Early in October (before the 9th) a large caravan, in which were some 30 wagons (carrying 72 tons of merchandise), and around 350 mules, set out from Independence, Mo., for Santa Fe. "Seigniors Armeho [Armijo], Charvois [Chavez] and Monsieur D. Gordis [De Gordin?]" headed this expedition.

(See May annals entry, p. 348).

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, October 20, 24, 1841.

☐ October 11.—A "few gentlemen" arrived at Independence, Mo., from Santa Fe, by way of Bent's Fort. They had come down from the upper Arkansas in company with "an express" sent to meet the west-bound wagon train of Charles Bent. From the meeting point (some 150 miles west of Independence) the east-bound travelers had proceeded without escort.

(The "express" probably carried news relating to the Texan Santa Fe ex-

pedition. The *Weekly Picayune*, New Orleans, of August 30, 1841, had reported: "The brothers Bent have just left Missouri [*i. e.*, St. Louis?] for their fort upon the Arkansas intending to go into Santa Fe with a hundred men, in anticipation of the Texan expedition and afford any and every facility in their power in forwarding whatever object shall be set forth in [Texas president Mirabeau] Lamar's proclamation." The *Picayune's* source of information was not indicated.)

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, October 15, 1841; *Weekly Picayune*, as noted above.

☪ October.—The Rev. Jerome C. Berryman succeeded the Rev. Thomas Johnson as head of the Methodists' Indian manual labor school (present Johnson county). (See his portrait facing p. 329.)

Johnson (who retired because of ill health) had been for 11 years in the Indian country. (See *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 178, for his founding, in 1830, of Shawnee Mission, the first Methodist mission in "Kansas.") Berryman (eight years among the Indians) had established Kickapoo Mission in 1833.—See *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 344. (In 1847 Thomas Johnson returned to head the school.)

Ref: Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 106. Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

☪ DIED: Robert S. Bent (youngest of the four Bent brothers associated with the history of Bent's Fort [Colo.]), on October 19, at St. Louis, Mo., aged 25 years.

(The notice published in the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 21, 1841—"Died on the 19th instant; in this city, Robert S. Bent, son of the late Judge [Silas] Bent."—disproves the current, and several-times-published "tale" that Robert was killed by Comanches on the Santa Fe trail.)

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, October 21, 1841. George B. Grinnell, quoting an October 15, 1913, letter by Robert's nephew, George Bent (the half-Cheyenne son of William Bent and Owl Woman), in *KHC*, v. 15, p. 51, was probably the first to publish the "tale." Other writers, since, have accepted as factual George Bent's statement: "Robert Bent, my father's brother, was killed by Comanches near Pawnee Fork. . . ." According to Allen H. Bent's *The Bent Family in America* (Boston, 1900), Robert S. Bent was born February 23, 1816.

☪ October.—A hunting party (16 Delawares and one Pottawatomie) was surrounded and massacred by a large force of Sioux, on a fork of "Mink Creek" [in Iowa?]. The Pottawatomie, badly wounded, escaped; 14 Delawares were slain and scalped (and two taken prisoners?); while 28 dead Sioux were found on the battleground (as reported to Subagent W. P. Richardson of the Great Nemaha Subagency on January 17, 1842, by a five-man Delaware search party).

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 249, 250, 266, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 84, 85, 338, 481, 482.

☪ MARRIED: (1) Francis St. Michel and Mary Jane Prior (Pryor), (2) Charles Cardinal and Angelique Wot-sing-a, (3) Louis Peltier and Angelique Osinga, all on November 17, near Marmiton (now Marmaton) river, by the Rev. Herman G. Aelen, S. J.

Witnesses to the first of these Osage (or half-blood) marriages were Pierre

Melicour Papin and Louis Peltier; to the second marriage, Papin, and Francis St. Michel; and to the third, Charles Cardinal and Joseph Swiss (or, La Suisse—"Lasweese"—see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 348, for his marriage).

Ref: "Pottawatomie Marriage Register," St. Mary's College, St. Marys. Joseph Swiss (or, Suisse) was probably the "Swiss" who came down from the Rocky mountains in the autumn of 1839 with Dr. Frederick A. Wislizenus, Paul Richardson, and two others—see p. 181. (For other data on Joseph Suisse see Victor Tixier's *Travels on the Osage Prairies*, p. 153, in editor John F. McDermott's footnote.) A daughter, Pelagie, of "Francois Michel" (St. Michel) and "Marie Jeanne Prior," born October 13, 1844(?), was baptized June 20, 1845, by Father F. L. Verreydt, S. J.—"Westport Register," also at St. Mary's College. See, also, August 10, 1840, annals entry.

☪ December 13.—Manuel Alvarez (acting U. S. consul at Santa Fe), who, with 16 Americans, and 67 horses and mules, had set out from New Mexico late in October, arrived at Independence, Mo., with seven men and 27 animals. Cold weather and a blizzard (with deep and drifting snow) had caused these travelers much suffering during their 50-day journey.

On the Arkansas five of the party had turned southward to head for Texas. On the plains one man froze to death. At Cottonwood Crossing (present Marion county) three men ("one badly frozen, one sick . . ." and a third to assist them) had been left—to whom Alvarez dispatched aid on the 14th(?) One of the three died; and the other two reached Independence on the 24th.

The unseasonable trip had been undertaken because of the precarious situation for Americans in New Mexico (a result of the capture of the Texan Santa Fe expedition—see p. 354). Alvarez, for one, had difficulty getting a passport to leave. (Earlier, his home at Santa Fe had been attacked, and he had suffered a severe facial wound.)

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, December 24, 1841; *Niles' National Register*, v. 61 (January 8, 1842), p. 304; 1950 *Brand Book* (v. 6), Denver, pp. 273, 274.

☪ December.—Antoine Robidoux, it is said, lost two men and some 400 mules and horses—all frozen to death in a blizzard (the same endured by the Alvarez party?)—while at, or in the vicinity of, Cottonwood Crossing, on the Santa Fe trail.

Joseph Robidoux, Jr., headed the relief party which arrived from Black-snake Hills (St. Joseph), Mo., to assist his brother's company.

Ref: William S. Wallace's *Antoine Robidoux 1794-1860* . . . (Los Angeles, 1953), pp. 30, 31, 56 (which uses as a source James L. Collins' letter of December, 1852, recounting the above episode, published in *El Palacio*, Santa Fe, v. 19 [1925], pp. 206-211; also, the *St. Joseph [Mo.] Gazette* of August 29, 1860). Collins referred to the Alvarez party as being ahead of Robidoux on the trail.

☪ December 14.—The license issued to Joseph Robidoux, Sr. (by Sup't D. D. Mitchell, at St. Louis) specified trade with the Iowas and the Sacs & Foxes of the Missouri, at Robidoux's "establishment on the Great Nemaha Sub Agency" (in present Doniphan county), and at such other points as the subagent might designate. Ten men were employed in this activity.

(In the 1842 license—July 15, 1842—Robidoux's trading locations in "Kan-

sas" were "at a point opposite Blacksnake Hills, south of the Missouri river," and at the Ioway and Sac villages; and his trade was with the Kickapoos also. Nine men were employed.)

Ref: OIA, Letters Received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 753), D. D. Mitchell's lists of licenses issued: (1) during 1841, dated December 31, 1841; and (2) for January 1-September 30, 1842. See *KHQ*, v. 18, pp. 159-163, for an article on Robidoux creek in present Marshall county, and an 1841 item on Joseph Robidoux's brother Michel in "Kansas."

☪ December 22.—"Waubause," an "old and very influential" Pottawatomie chief, accompanied by his son, and four others (three of whom were Pottawatomie chiefs residing on the Kickapoo reserve above Fort Leavenworth) arrived at Westport, Mo., to discuss with Isaac McCoy the desire many of their people had to exchange the reserve in southwestern Iowa for lands in "Kansas."

Chief Wabaunsee (who, in 1845, was described as having "the snows of eighty winters on his head") had come from his home in present Mills county, Iowa, where he had lived since 1836. Once he had been the principal war chief of the Prairie Pottawatomes (when their home was on the Kankakee river in Illinois).

Though Wabaunsee died before the Pottawatomes left Iowa to settle on a Kansas river reserve in the late 1840's, a town, a township, and a county in present Kansas bear his name. (His death occurred in Ohio, apparently in December, 1845, when a stage upset in which he and other Pottawatomie chiefs were riding while homeward-bound from Washington.)

Ref: Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 27, for McCoy's December 22, 1841, letter; *History of Mills County, Iowa* . . . (Des Moines, 1881), p. 379; *Annals of Iowa*, Des Moines, 3d series, v. 35 (Fall, 1959), pp. 81-100; *The Palimpsest*, Iowa City, v. 29 (December, 1948), pp. 353-361; T. L. McKenney and James Hall's *The Indian Tribes of North America* . . . (Edinburgh, 1834), v. 2, p. 194; R. S. Elliott's *Notes Taken in Sixty Years* (St. Louis, 1883), p. 212 (for item on Wabaunsee's death).

☪ Employed in "Kansas" by the Indian Department during all, or part of the year 1841 were the following persons:

FORT LEAVENWORTH AGENCY—*Agent* Richard W. Cummins; *Interpreters* Clement Lessert and Henry Tiblow; *Blacksmiths* James M. Simpson (for Shawnees), Greenup Dodson (for Shawnees; till November), William Donalson (for Shawnees; beginning November 1); William F. Newton (for Delawares), W. J. Baugh (for Kansa; till August 4), Charles Fish (for Kansa; promoted from assistant smith); *Assistant blacksmiths* Wilson Rodgers (for Shawnees), Jackson Pitman (for Shawnees), W. H. Newton (for Delawares), Charles Fish (for Kansa; promoted to smith), Mab Frankier (for Kansa); *Farmer* David Benzley (for Kansa).

GREAT NEMAHAW SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Congreve Jackson (till August 3), succeeded by William P. Richardson on August 4 (but appointed on June 25); *Interpreters* Peter Cadue (for Sacs & Foxes), John Rubeti (for Sacs & Foxes; appointed August 5), Jeffrey Dorney (for Iowas), Elisha P. Swift (for Iowas, from November 4); *Blacksmith* James Gilmore (for Sacs & Foxes; appointed August 7); *Assistant blacksmith* William Davies [or, Daviess?] (for Sacs & Foxes; appointed August 7); *Farmer* P. Richardson (for Sacs & Foxes);

appointed October 1); *Assistant farmer* Pleasant Johnson (for Sacs & Foxes); *Teacher* William Hamilton (for Sacs & Foxes, appointed September 23).

OSAGE [MARAIS DES CYGNES] RIVER SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Anthony L. Davis; *Interpreter* Luther Rice; *Blacksmiths* Robert Simerwell and Robert Wilson (both for Pottawatomies); *Assistant blacksmiths* D. Moreland, Thomas Evans, William A. Simerwell (all for Pottawatomies); "*Issuing agent*" for the Pottawatomies Andrew H. Stinson (from April 1 to November 24).

OSAGE SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Robert A. Calloway; *Interpreter* Charles Mon-grain; *Blacksmiths* John Mathews (appointed January 1), John C. Brashears (till March 4), Silas Moser (appointed March 5; died on, or before, September 4), Edwin B. Lowther (from September 5); *Assistant blacksmiths* E. W. Black (till March 4), William (half-breed Osage; appointed January 1), and Jacob (an Osage; appointed March 5).

Ref: 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 41* (Serial 402); 27th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 164* (Serial 403); 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 76* (Serial 403); 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 162* (Serial 422); SIA, St. Louis "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 240, 257-259.

(Part Twelve Will Appear in the Winter, 1963, Issue.)

Bypaths of Kansas History

THE LADIES, BLESS THEM

From the *Freemen's Champion*, Prairie City, Douglas county, June 25, 1857.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.—We are under obligations to the ladies of Prairie City for erecting our office building! On our return from the states with the printing materials, it was found that the building we had purchased for our office could not be vacated by its present occupants for several weeks; so the ladies, ever ready to render assistance in a good cause, assembled together and constructed for us a large and commodious tent, which we now occupy, and which we find to serve every purpose. During the war times, the services of the ladies were invaluable in running bullets, making cartridges, nursing the maimed and sick, giving words of cheer &c; and now that they are unable to exhibit the characteristics of their nature in that line, they are still disposed to make the rougher sex indebted to them, by their favors and courtesies. Ladies, we thank you.

THE GOOD OLD DAYS OF DENTISTRY?

From *The Daily Sun*, Parsons, February 22, 1883.

The "lightning tooth extractor," a peripatetic dentist of Joplin, Mo., appeared on the streets yesterday in a grotesque costume embroidered with hundreds of old snags in all phases of decay. He yanked out teeth with the velocity of a steam engine and furnished fine sport for the gaping throng of boys and men.

The Sun, March 4, 1883.

The lightning tooth extractor appeared on Johnson avenue yesterday and a large crowd of men and boys gathered about his stand to see the old snags fly and hear his grotesque eloquence.

The Sun, May 12, 1886.

A woman and a brass band pulled nearly a peck of decayed teeth, gratuitously, from the jaws of the crowd on the streets Monday. The woman mounted a stand with forceps in hand and invited all who needed the services of a dentist to come. As the candidate stepped upon the stand to undergo the operation the band would strike up and play until the operator held aloft the tooth. The band then ceased playing and the woman as she sailed the molar into the air cried "next," and with that next the same programme was repeated. The yell of the patient could hardly be discerned above the roll of the drum and clash of the cymbals.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

"Tales of Randolph . . .," a series of historical notes and stories on the old town of Randolph, began appearing in the *Water-ville Telegraph*, February 28, 1963.

Gordon Hohn's articles on local history published in the *Marysville Advocate* in recent months included: "1928-29 Big Years for Three Local Boy Scout Troops, to Missouri Camp," March 14, 1963; "Clean Sweep for Beattie High in 1919 Trackmeet; R. Anderson Star," March 21; "Bad Man [Ed. Estelle] Once Escaped From County Jail in Stocking Feet, Caught Later," March 28; "Two Big Events Marked the Fall of 1930, Labor Day and Shrine Fest," April 4; "Marysville Band in Easter Broadcast Over Lincoln, Neb., Radio in 1926," April 11; "Presbyterian Church Dedicated in 1922 Host to Many Gatherings Over Years," April 25; "Rural Schools Graduated 165 Pupils in Early 1920's With 126 Districts," May 9; "Great Town Baseball Team Here in 1901 Backed by Athletic Club," May 16; "World War I Business Boom Brought Success for Fund Drives in Marysville," May 30; and "Fast Oketo Baseball Team of 1910 and Auto Tours Made Busy Summer," June 27.

Among the histories of Kansas churches published in the newspapers in recent months were: the all-Indian Methodist, Haysville, *Haysville News*, March 14, 1963; Antioch Wesleyan Methodist, near Miltonvale, *Miltonvale Record*, March 14; St. Charles Catholic, Troy, *Atchison Daily Globe*, March 31; First Baptist, Alden, *Lyons Daily News*, April 5; First Baptist, Leavenworth, *Leavenworth Times*, May 3; West Side Presbyterian, Wichita, *Wichita Evening Eagle-Beacon*, May 11; Amana Lutheran, Scandia, *Scandia Journal*, May 16; Bethany Baptist, Lincoln, *Lincoln Sentinel Republican*, May 23; St. Patrick's Catholic, near Chapman, *Abilene Reflector-Chronicle*, May 26, and *Chapman Advertiser*, May 30; St. John's Catholic, Hamilton, *Emporia Gazette*, May 29; Padonia Methodist, *Topeka State Journal*, May 29; Lincoln Presbyterian, *Lincoln Sentinel Republican*, May 30; St. Peter's Lutheran, Humboldt, *Humboldt Union*, May 30, and *Chanute Tribune*, June 1; Seventh Street Methodist, Kansas City, *Kansas City Kansan*, June 2; First Baptist, Hope, *Hope Dispatch*, June 6; Burr Oak Methodist, *Burr Oak Herald*, June 20; and Le Roy Christian, *Le Roy Reporter*, June 21.

Rolling Prairie township and White City, Morris county, were the subjects of a historical article compiled by Mrs. R. H. Bacon and printed in the *White City Register*, March 14, 1963. The White City townsite was first surveyed in 1871 and the charter granted in 1872.

Lawrence Johnson Aaron's recollections of his childhood days in Hays were printed in the March 17, 1963, issue of the *Hays Daily News*. Aaron came to Hays with his family in 1888 when he was two years of age. A biographical sketch of the late Lorenzo Dow Fuller, Negro musician of Stockton, by Mrs. Paul Ballinger, was published in the *News*, June 2.

Articles by Kittie Dale in recent issues of Ellis county newspapers included: "Uncovering Old Water Well Recalls Early History [of Ellis]," *Ellis Review*, March 21, 1963; "Mrs. Lena Hicks Penny Remembers the Old Days," an interview with a 91-year-old Negro woman who came to Kansas in 1877, *Review*, April 4; "Ogallah's Post Office Is a Symbol of Old West," *Hays Daily News*, May 19; and "An Emigrant Must Settle Down, Work Hard to Become Pioneer," a sketch of Mrs. Barbara Schoenthaler who came to this country from Austria in 1893, *Daily News*, June 30.

Histories of the motion picture theaters of Neodesha, from 1907 to the present, were included in an article by Joe W. Allen, published in the *Daily Sun*, Neodesha, March 26, 1963. In its April 11 issue the *Sun* printed Allen's brief history of the McCartney and Phelon trading post, built in 1867.

Orville W. Mosher's column, "Museum Notes . . .," in the *Emporia Gazette*, included the following articles in recent months: "Liquor Was Biggest Cause of Trouble for the Indians," March 26, 1963; "All of Downtown Emporia Once Was Owned by Indians," April 12; and "Anecdotes of 'Old Normal' Recalled by House Mother," May 9.

A history of Four Mile township, Morris county, by Mrs. Fern Greer, was published in the *Council Grove Republican*, March 27, 1963. On May 7 the *Republican* printed an article entitled "Council Grove Long a Seat of Government," which reviewed some of the town's early history.

John Lundstrom's family and homestead were the subjects of a story in the March 28, 1963, *McPherson County News*, McPherson. Lundstrom settled near Lindsborg in 1869. The homestead is now

owned and occupied by a son, Clarence L. Lundstrom. The Mcpherson *Daily Sentinel*, June 1, published a history of an old stone fort west of Lindsborg, built, probably by Dr. John Rundstrom, for protection from the Indians. The structure, enlarged and made into a barn, still stands.

Historical articles published in recent months in the Salina *Journal* included: "Salinan [Herschel Logan] Has His Own Historical Museum," by Bill Burke, March 31, 1963; "Restored Pioneer Home Has Unique Heating Plant," the story of the Pioneer Adobe House and Museum, Hillsboro, and its grass-burning central heating plant, by Paule Campbell, May 12; and excerpts from C. O. Wright's sketch of Lorraine Elizabeth Wooster in the May, 1963, *Kansas Teacher*, Topeka, June 2. Miss Wooster was described as "one of the ablest and certainly the most colorful of state superintendents of public instruction." She served from 1918 to 1922.

"Dramatic Settlement of Lincoln Recalled," by Ruth Meyer, was published in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle-Beacon*, March 31, and the Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican*, April 25, 1963. The first settlers appeared in the area in the mid-1860's soon to become victims of Indian massacres.

During the spring and summer months of 1963, the *Prairie Drummer*, Colby, published a series of photographs illustrating the history of the Colby area.

Kansas folklore was featured in the April, 1963, number of *Western Folklore*, Berkeley, Cal. Among the articles were: "Folklore Study in Kansas," by S. J. Sackett; "Religious Folklore Among the German-Russians in Ellis County, Kansas," by John B. Terbovich, O. F. M. Cap.; "Teen-age Folklore From Kansas," by Martha Dirks; "Kansas Pioneer Recipes," by Marjorie Sackett; "So-Called Tall Tales About Kansas," by P. J. Wyatt; and "The Legend of Quivira," by Sandra Bell.

A history of the Milford water-powered mill was published in the Junction City *Union*, April 1, 1963. Located on Madison creek, near Milford, the mill was built in 1869 and used until 1943. As the area will soon be covered with the waters of the Milford reservoir, the mill has been sold to J. E. Markley who reportedly will reconstruct it in his pioneer project at Seneca.

Recent articles of historical interest in the Pittsburg *Headlight* included: "Jesse James Gang Rode Near Cherokee," April 6, 1963;

and "Defends Cottonwood Tree—[Joe] Gendusa Points Out Role in Kans. History," April 25. The Pittsburg *Sun*, June 6, printed a story on historic sites and other tourist attractions in Kansas.

Near the Sumner-Cowley county line, north of Highway 166, is the "Garden of Lollik," the Larsen-Hansen family cemetery. Histories of the cemetery were published in the South Haven *New Era*, April 18, and the Arkansas *Daily Traveler*, May 29, 1963.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included: "[Chouteau's] Island Landmark in Kansas Fades With March of Time," by Bob Greer, April 18, 1963; "Last Showdown in the Short-Grass Country," a two-page story of the Berry-Dewey gun fight of June 3, 1903, in Cheyenne county, by Robert Pearman, May 19; and "Pioneer Preacher and Indian Chief [Charles W. Bluejacket] Left Mark on Suburban [Wyandotte and Johnson] Counties," by Albert H. Hindman, May 31. The Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, May 23, printed "Old Topeka Held Many Interests for Boys," reminiscences of how the younger citizens entertained themselves from the 1880's into the early 1900's, by Edwin Wolff.

In observance of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the First National bank of Dighton, the Dighton *Herald*, April 24, 1963, published a history of the bank.

Historical articles on Elkhart and the surrounding area were included in a special 64-page edition of the Elkhart *Tri-State News*, April 25, 1963, published in observance of the 50th anniversary of Elkhart.

Articles by Virginia Lee Mathews in recent issues of the Goodland newspapers included: "Railroad Selected Site for City [of Kanorado]," in the *Sherman County Herald*, April 25, 1963; and "Stories of Old Time Activities in Goodland," tales of underground saloons and gambling halls in Goodland, appeared in the *Daily News*, May 19.

Mrs. John H. Taylor of Chapman, 100 years of age, was the subject of a biographical sketch in the Abilene *Reflector-Chronicle*, April 27, 1963. She came to Kansas in 1876 and was married to John Taylor in 1884. The May 29 issue of the *Reflector-Chronicle* included a history of the Abilene cemetery by Henry B. Jameson.

Kansas Historical Notes

The 88th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held at Topeka on Tuesday, October 15, 1963.

Present officers of the Fort Leavenworth Historical Society include: Col. James W. Love, president; Maj. Samuel L. Crook, Jr., vice-president; Lt. Col. Albert M. Garland, secretary; Mildred Cox, treasurer; and Maj. William E. Bartholdt, program chairman.

Officers of the Edwards County Historical Society for the current year include: Mrs. E. G. Peterson, president; Charles Anderson, first vice-president; Cecil Matthews, second vice-president; Ada Tieperman, third vice-president; Elsie Jenkins, secretary; Alfreda Miller, treasurer; Mary Vang, custodian of relics; and Myrtle Richardson, historian.

Current officers of the Shawnee County Historical Society include: George W. Greenwood, president; David Neiswanger, vice-president; Mrs. Grace Menninger, secretary; A. H. Saville, treasurer; W. L. Hamilton, membership chairman; Adelaide Bolmar, chairman of the history and research committee; John Ripley, visual education committee chairman; and Mrs. Frank J. Kambach, Lawrence Gabel, Elliot H. White, Warren M. Crosby, Lester C. Walters, Mrs. Erwin Keller, and J. Glenn Logan, executive committee members. The 1963 annual meeting has been announced for December 5, at the Hotel Jayhawk, Topeka.

Ida Ellen Rath was re-elected president of the Ford County Historical Society at a meeting in Dodge City, March 13, 1963. Also elected were R. Roy Taylor, secretary, and Fred Swart, treasurer.

Directors of the Coffeyville Historical Museum, Inc., re-elected at the organization's annual meeting March 18, 1963, were: Charles Clough, Jack Brooks, Henry Journot, J. B. Kloehr, Dale Misch, Floyd Rinkenbaugh, R. M. Seaton, Lawrence Smith, and Roy Swanson. At the director's meeting, Clough was re-elected president; Brooks, vice-president; Seaton, secretary and assistant treasurer; and C. Robert Belt, treasurer and assistant secretary. The president reported at the meeting that 15,305 persons visited the Dalton Museum during 1962.

All officers were re-elected at the annual meeting of the Gray

County Historical Society in Cimarron, April 16, 1963. They include: Helen Rennie, president; Merle Warner, vice-president; Grace Truax, secretary; Katie Jacques, treasurer; and Frances Hamlin, director.

Officers chosen at the annual meeting of the Lyon County Historical Society in Emporia, April 18, 1963, were: Wilford Riegle, president; John Atherton, first vice-president; Walter Butcher, second vice-president; Myrtle Buck, secretary; Mabel Edwards, assistant secretary; Earl Lord, treasurer; Lucina Jones, historian; and Mrs. Arthur Childears, Maude Jackson, Dr. Thomas P. Butcher, F. Jay South, and Arthur Ericsson, directors. A commemorative ceremony, arranged by President Riegle, was held in the Emporia city auditorium, May 19, installing battle and other flags dating from the Civil War, in the newly constructed cases presented by the society to the city.

Bob Schroeder was named president of the Stevens County Gas and Historical Museum at the annual meeting, April 22, 1963, at the museum in Hugoton. Other officers chosen were: Bob Walker, vice-president; Kate Morgan, secretary; Add Hathaway, treasurer; and Chester Kinser, Kenneth Beakey, Glen McQueen, and Gladys Wilson, directors. Jack Porter was the retiring president.

The 37th annual meeting of the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Social Science opened Friday evening, April 26, 1963, at Emporia State Teachers College, Emporia, with an address by James C. Olson, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, on "The Study and Teaching of History." At the business meeting on Saturday the following officers were elected: Ernest Bader, Washburn University, Topeka, president; Eugene Craine, Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, vice-president; and Robert Sellen, Baker University, Baldwin, William Unrau, Bethany College, Lindsborg, George Schultz, University of Wichita, and John Zimmerman, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, new members of the executive council. Zimmerman was the retiring president.

William Carter, Jennings, and Howard Benton, Norcatour, were elected to the board of directors of the Decatur County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting May 9, 1963, in Oberlin. The board then re-elected the following officers: Keith Nicodemus, president; Marvin Meyer, chairman of the board; Virgil McMains, first vice-president; Anna Petracek, second vice-president; and Mrs. Fred Ploussard, secretary-treasurer.

The Argonia home of the late Susanna Medora Salter, first woman mayor in the United States, recently purchased for a museum by the Argonia and Western Sumner County Historical Society, was opened to the public on May 19, 1963.

Paul E. Wilson was elected president of the reorganized Douglas County Historical Society at a meeting in Lawrence, May 23, 1963. James W. Paddock and Mrs. Ivan Rowe were chosen vice-presidents, and Ethel High, secretary. D. D. Schaake was the retiring (acting) president.

The Jewell County Historical Society held its annual meeting May 27, 1963, in Mankato. All officers were re-elected: Clarence Black, president; Mrs. Darus Henningsen, vice-president; Bernice Howard, secretary; and Lucy Wiley, treasurer.

On Memorial day, May 30, 1963, the Ellsworth County Historical Society opened its new museum in the old Hodgden house, Ellsworth, to the public. The museum is open every day except Mondays. Frances Mullen is the curator.

Mrs. Riley MacGregor was re-elected president of the Barber County Historical Society at the annual meeting of the society, June 22, 1963, in Medicine Lodge. Other officers elected included: D. C. Chads, first vice-president; Mrs. Alice Rankin, second vice-president; Mrs. R. B. Cook, third vice-president; I. N. "Jibo" Hewitt, co-ordinator; Mrs. Edith McGrath, secretary; Allan Hibbard, treasurer; and Ann Maher, publicity chairman.

Persons appointed by Gov. John Anderson, Jr., to the Kansas Civil War Centennial Commission, created by an act of the 1963 legislature, were: F. W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg; Allan W. Farley, Kansas City; Robert E. Galvin, Fort Scott; Mrs. Frank Haucke, Council Grove; and Charles C. Rankin, Lawrence. The purpose of the commission is to provide a program for commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Civil War and to co-operate with the national Civil War Centennial Commission.

Augustin C. Wand, S. J., is the author of a group of articles on the early work of the Jesuits in Kansas and neighboring states, printed in a 55-page pamphlet entitled *The Jesuits in Territorial Kansas, 1827-1861*. The articles originally appeared in the *St. Marys Star*, July, 1961-January, 1962.

Biographical sketches of 22 persons who have played important roles in the history of Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia,

were recently published in a 74-page booklet entitled *Qualities of Greatness*, a centennial anniversary publication of the college.

"Prärieblomman: An Immigrant Community in Central Kansas," a history of Lindsborg, by Emory Lindquist, was included in a group of essays on Swedish settlements and culture in the United States, published in 1963 by the Augustana Historical Society, Rock Island, Ill., in a 246-page volume entitled *The Swedish Immigrant Community in Transition*.

Arthur Capper, Publisher, Politician, and Philanthropist, a 283-page biography of Senator Capper, by Homer E. Socolofsky, was published in 1962 by the University of Kansas Press, Lawrence.

The American Association for State and Local History, Madison, Wis., recently issued its 1963 *Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada*. The 124-page booklet lists basic data about active local, state, and regional historical societies and associations.

Manifest Destiny is the title of a new 533-page novel by Russell Laman, of Manhattan, published by the Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, with a Kansas setting of the 1880's and following.

Manuel Lisa and the Opening of the Missouri Fur Trade is a new 246-page work by Richard Edward Oglesby, published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. Lisa settled in the Missouri country in 1798 and became one of the leaders in the establishment of the fur trade in the West.

William H. Leckie is the author of a new 269-page work entitled *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. The book examines the struggle between the white man and the Indian precipitated by the advance of white settlement into the Southern Plains following the Civil War.



The
KANSAS HISTORICAL
Quarterly



Published by **KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY** *Topeka*

WINTER 1963

CONTENTS

	PAGE
A TEAR-JERKING ILLUSTRATED SONG OF 1897, "THE LETTER EDGED IN BLACK" <i>John W. Ripley</i> , 369 With its eight slides reproduced as the <i>frontispiece</i> .	369
NORTH CENTRAL KANSAS IN 1887-1889: From the Letters of Leslie and Susan Snow of Junction City (in two installments, Part Two), Edited by <i>Lela Barnes</i> , 372	372
KANSAS BEFORE 1854: A Revised Annals, Part Twelve, 1842-1843 Compiled by <i>Louise Barry</i> , 429 With picture of John C. Fremont and map showing his exploring routes across "Kansas," 1842-1844, <i>facing</i> p. 448; and portraits of Non-on-da- gum-un and Matthew R. Walker, <i>facing</i> p. 449.	429
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	487
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	488
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	491
ERRATA, VOLUME XXIX	494
INDEX TO VOLUME XXIX	495

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is published by the Kansas State Historical Society, 120 W. Tenth St., Topeka, Kan. 66612. Its purpose is to discover and publish scholarly articles dealing with all phases of Kansas history. The approximate number of copies distributed during the preceding 12 months is 10,800. The present issue totals 2,700.

The *Quarterly* is distributed without charge to members of the Society; nonmembers may purchase single issues, when available, for \$1.25 each. Membership dues are: annual, \$5; supporting annual, \$10; life, \$50; patron annual, \$100 or more. Membership applications and dues should be sent to Edgar Langsdorf, treasurer.

Correspondence concerning articles for the *Quarterly* should be addressed to the managing editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Second-class postage has been paid at Topeka, Kan.

THE COVER

A series of slides produced in Kansas City, Kan., in 1897, to illustrate the song, "The Letter Edged in Black," is featured on the following two pages. One of the slides, in its original color, appears on the cover. They represent a small part of a large song-slide collection owned by John W. Ripley of Topeka.

Song slides of the 1890's—

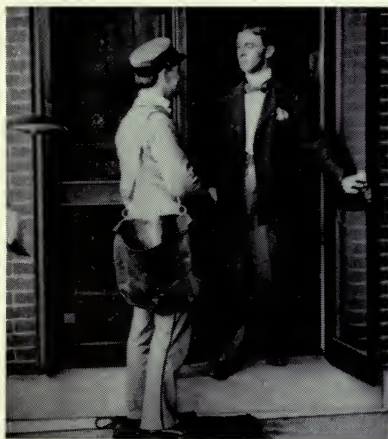
THE LETTER EDGED IN BLACK



I was standing by my window
yesterday morning,
Without a thought of sorrow
or of care,



When I saw the postman coming
down the pathway
With such a happy smile
and jaunty air.



Oh, he rang the bell and
whistled while he waited,
And then he said, "Good morning
to you, Jack."



But little he knew the sorrow
he had brought me
When he handed me that
letter edged in black.



Then with trembling hand
I took the letter from him;
I broke the seal
and this is what it said:



"Come home, my boy, your poor
father wants you;
Come home, my boy, your
mother dear is dead."



It said "Forgive the angry
words t'were spoken;
You know I never meant them,
don't you, Jack?"



"Oh, the angels bear me
witness, I am asking
Your forgiveness in this
letter edged in black."

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXIX

Winter, 1963

Number 4

A Tear-Jerking Illustrated Song of 1897, "The Letter Edged in Black"

JOHN W. RIPLEY

WHEN Robert B. Hansford was recounting his activities as a professional photographer to a reporter representing one of those spasmodic but ever-optimistic booster publications, *Kansas City, Kansas—Past and Present Progress & Prosperity* (about 1908), he failed to mention his brief but notable career as a producer of song slides. Perhaps Hansford was unaware of the fact that a series of hand-colored slides he made in 1897 as illustrations for a prime tear-jerker, "The Letter Edged in Black," represented the first photographic song slides ever produced in the state of Kansas. Possibly they were the first produced west of the Mississippi river. Moreover, this remarkable set of song illustrations may be credited with contributing largely to the national popularity of the first of many ballads composed by Hattie Nevada, then an unknown amateur song writer of Kansas City, Mo.

The booster brochure did have this much to say about Hansford and his elegant studio:

The studio of R. B. Hansford at 542 Minnesota Avenue suggests the true artistic spirit in its equipment and fittings and with spacious reception rooms, tapestried and hung with beautiful examples of photographic art, presents a picture of elegance and invitation to repose. This studio was established in 1872 and is decidedly in the lead among similar enterprises in this section. Five skilled artists are employed and 2,400 square feet of floor space is occupied by the operating-room, parlors, etc., which are complete in every detail of modern equipment. A specialty is made of high grade carbon and platinum work in all its branches. Mr. R. B. Hansford was born and educated in Carthage, Ill. He is a graduate of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts at Philadelphia, and is a painter of note, having followed portrait painting previous to locating here.¹

JOHN W. RIPLEY is the newly installed president of the Kansas State Historical Society. Long a business executive and civic leader in Topeka, Ripley is a former editor of *Business Week* and has contributed articles and illustrations to *American Heritage* and other publications.

1. Transcript courteously furnished by Harry M. Trowbridge, curator, Wyandotte County Historical Society, Kansas City, Kan.

Hansford's reputation as an artistic photographer was what undoubtedly brought to his studio Frank H. Woodbury, proprietor of the Kansas City (Mo.) Talking Machine Co., with an order for some very special lantern slides. Having just published "The Letter Edged in Black," composed by his wife, Hattie Nevada,

"The Letter Edged in Black"

WORDS AND MUSIC BY
HATTIE NEVADA.

PUBLISHED BY THE
KANSAS CITY TALKING MACHINE CO.
KANSAS CITY MO.

OLIVER DITSON CO., Boston, Mass.
LYON & HEALY, Chicago, Ill.
JOSEPH PLANNER, Milwaukee, Wis.
ROHFLING SONS MUSIC CO., Milwaukee, Wis.
WILEY R. ALLEN CO., Portland, Ore.

NATIONAL MUSIC CO., Chicago, Ill.
CHAR. H. DITSON & CO., New York.
THOS. H. GOGGAN & BRO., Galveston, Tex.
L. GRUNEWALD CO., New Orleans, La.
THEO. PRESSER, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. M. GOETTING, Springfield, Mass.
SHERMAN, CLAY & CO., San Francisco, Cal.
ENTERPRISE MUSIC CO., New York.
J. W. JENKINS' SONS MUSIC CO., Kansas City.
CARL HOFFMAN, Kansas City.

Title page of the original sheet music.

Woodbury, taking a tip from the major music publishers, decided to promote the composition as a song-play or illustrated song. He commissioned Hansford to engage and photograph models as they enacted the sad tale of "The Letter Edged in Black."

Invented only two years before, in 1895, photographic song slides were revolutionizing the merchandizing of sheet music. In cabarets, rathskellers, and theaters where new songs were introduced, the song-play was the very latest thing. A vocalist, at the conclusion of his solo accompanied by projected slides, would invite the audience to join him in singing the chorus as the words appeared on the screen. What followed—the degree of co-operation—often determined the fate of a song. A rousing songfest, with the chorus repeated several times, was enough to send a goodly number of the patrons to their nearest friendly music dealers for copies of the sheet music.

Without the assistance of Hansford's lantern slides the chances are that "The Letter Edged in Black" would have slipped quietly into that particular corner of oblivion reserved for the works of unknown composers and publishers. Instead, the song-play was performed in countless night spots and theaters across the nation. Its popularity is indicated by phonograph recordings on three major labels. Recently the ballad has been enjoying a revival by the ever growing cult of folk singers but however sorrowful their renditions, the emotional impact can never approach the song-play version of the good old days, with Robert Hansford's lantern slides.²

2. Robert B. Hansford, aged 75, died in Kansas City, Kan., on June 10, 1929. Two daughters survived: Mrs. Marguerite Diemer and Mrs. Mary Bell Longshore. His studios were located at various times at 945, 542, and 644 Minnesota Ave.—*Kansas City Kansan*, June 10, 1929.

North Central Kansas in 1887-1889
From the Letters of Leslie and Susan Snow
of Junction City—*Concluded*

Edited by LELA BARNES

II. THE LETTERS OF LESLIE PERKINS SNOW, 1887, 1888—*Concluded*

MANKATO, KAN., June 24, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

I left headquarters on Monday and have been in this town all the week. I expect not to return to Junction City till I have completed my work in this county which will probably consume a month from the time I left Junction City. I go to Burr Oak tomorrow where I expect to spend a week.

I received your nice letter last night and devoured the contents with my usual greed. No they do not play tennis here much. For what reason I cannot say. They certainly have plenty of level ground. Perhaps the winds are too strong or the people too busy. At any rate I have seen but one or two sets in Kansas.

Well Susie (you see I like both names) I know you think a good deal of your home and I esteem such an impulse one of the noblest with which we are endowed. But I had an object in asking you if you thought you would be contented out here in this western wild. I have been meditating long and carefully relative to you, me, and the future. And I have hesitated in expressing my thoughts only because I have not felt certain that a consummation of my wishes would result in your greatest happiness. You doubtless divine my wishes. I would like very much to take you back with me after my visit in Nov. But I would not wish to gain your consent to such a rash procedure without suggesting to you all the inconveniences and hardships to which you would come. You will see from my letters that I am able to be in one place only over Sunday, and my occupation is such that it would not be pleasant for you to go with me much of the time. Then there is the disadvantage of being so far from all your other friends—the formation of new acquaintances etc. I might add blizzards, hurri-

MRS. LELA BARNES, member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society from 1931 to 1962, and the Society's treasurer, 1940-1962, is now in semiretirement, enjoying the opportunity to finish some projects she was unable to complete during her busy office tenure.

canes, tornadoes and cyclones. There! perhaps I have said enough to make your poor heart quake already.

Do you think under such circumstances you would enjoy coming back with me?

I have concluded that there are no other valid reasons why we should further delay our own happiness. And despite the disadvantages I believe we can be very happy.

I won't remark any further till I know what my love thinks of this. . . .

I wish I could celebrate the fourth with the three sisters. Wouldn't we make a team though. We would roam the woods through, drive the horses tired, and eat the cupboard dry. We would make so much ado that I expect Mama would be glad to send us away. Though I rather suspect she would be glad to see her girls and boy(s?) that happy.

But alas! nearly 2000 great long miles divide us—i. e., one of us. You must celebrate for me.

Well I must close as I must write my mother who would die worrying if she didn't get a letter from me each week—big boy that I am.

I remain yours

Very Truly

LESLIE

HASTINGS, NEB., July 1st, 1888

DEAR SUSIE ELSIE:

You see I am a little nomadic and have wandered from my home quite a little way.

I was at Scandia Saturday and finding myself within about 75 miles of Hastings I thought I would give my Uncle A. L. Barrows a visit as he had urged me to do so several times. But unfortunately I found that I chose a bad time as Uncle and Aunt are off on a picnic to Crete, Neb. (or within about 30 miles of Lincoln) where the Chatauquans meet to make merry.

Scandia is about 75 miles from here. I came up yesterday P. M. and shall leave this P. M. for the same place.

Hastings is a larger, prettier, better built, and livelier town than I have in my territory. South of here lies the prettiest country I have yet seen in the west.

Last Monday I left Mankato for Burr Oak, where I stopped at the "White House." But it was no such a thing. It was a yellowish

dirty establishment and I didn't think I was used white at all. But Monday night we had the experience of the season—a thunder storm terrific, long and continuous. For scarcely a minute's interruption for three long hours there was a constant cannonading by "heaven's artillery" And O MY!! how the rain did pour. It came in sheets rather than in drops. In the morning the country was flooded—streams which were usually no larger than "Snow's Brook" were spread out into rivers from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide and ten to twenty-five feet deep. No moving that day—bridges gone—railroads washed out—no boats or fords and the water too muddy to swim in, with no means of aerial navigation. . . . In twenty four hours you would not have known that there had been a storm except for the mud, straw, hay, bedsteads and other household utensils hanging on the bushes and fences along the creeks which the falling water had left high and dry.

In inquiring for the standing of witnesses I get hold of lots of scandals. I required the standing of Dr. W__ at Burr Oak. It seems that about six months ago, one Mr. Brown was very sick with a cold. Mrs. Brown employed Dr. W__. The husband was apparently convalescing when he suddenly died. He was buried and nothing more thought of the matter till the next week when Dr. W__ & the widow were joined in the holy bonds of matrimony. Mrs. W__ came into the office while I was taking the Dr.'s testimony. I must confess that the Dr. has my deepest sympathy.

Well, I have not got my usual nice letter from Haverhill this week. I expect to get it about tomorrow night when I return to Mankato. I expect my dear is meditating upon my last by this time. . . .

Well I will close by wishing you a "Happy Fourth of July."

Very Truly

LESLIE.

SALEM, KAN., July 8, 1888

DEAR ELSIE:

I am visiting. I am at the home of cousin Lena. Lena is the "little girl" my cousin Frank Snow took back to Snowville from the West. I am having a very pleasant visit. Mr. & Mrs. Brown are the names. They are so kindly entertaining me during my stop here.

Salem is a little town in Jewell Co. about 10 miles from R. R. and unless it gets a railroad soon will be one of the towns that Eggleston

writes about in the "Mystery of Metropolisville." It is growing up to weeds and is liable to give up the ghost.

I returned from Hastings, Neb. Sunday, spent my "glorious fourth" waiting for trains. I was at Belleville, Republic Co. & went to depot for train at 12 N. and had to wait till 3 P. M. Came as far as Scandia where I had to stop for a few moments. I went to depot at train time 7 P. M., rode about twenty miles when the engine broke down and I had to wait till 12 midnight. Thus I celebrated.

I did not get your letter of two weeks ago as it was not properly forwarded. I expect to get that and last week's about Tuesday. I hope to get back to J. C. another Saturday and shall not probably wander away so far and long again right away.

Cousin Lena had a nice home. Why is it that these girls will leave such nice homes? She weighed 87 pounds when she went away. Her weight is now less than 100. You are beaten. Cousin Frank weights 180.

I had a man adjudged insane this week. I didn't believe him capable of managing his own affairs and that if he was not under guardian, his would-be friends would get all his pension away from him.

Father writes me that they have had it 100° in the shade. New Hampshire is waxing warm. It is time for the Weirs to blossom and for summer guests to arrive.¹⁹ Are there summer boarders in Haverhill yet? . . . Excuse me for asking many questions. I am writing this and being entertained at the same time which mixes me a little. I will have to close this and do better next time if you will excuse me.

Very Truly
L. P. SNOW

JUNCTION CITY, July 15th 1888.

MY DEAR LITTLE GIRL:

No that won't do any longer, for certainly she must be a *young lady* or I could not properly anticipate making her my wife so soon. This week has been a feast to me—three letters from you. The current of our correspondence seemed to get dammed up at this end—and I got it all in a flood. But it was very refreshing when it did come.

Where shall I begin to answer—"first come first served" is a pretty good criterion. Well then the four leaf clover of June 26th has kept me safe so far, and the rose fragrant with Fred's love (and I

19. The Weirs is a summer resort on Lake Winnepesaukee, N. H.

think made a little sweeter by your own though you did not include it in that form), a nice little tribute to remind me that I owe him a letter.²⁰ I am glad to know that I am not so far forgotten by the Haverhillites but what they think of me when they see a strange young man riding out with my best girl. That word "best" should have been left out for that is a word which in this instance will not admit of comparison. . . .

I have just received a nice invitation to a 4th of July picnic. It was left here at the hotel in ample time for acceptance but I was absent. It was tendered by the Rev. Mr. McClung's charming daughter. This by the way is second invitation from the same source which considering the short acquaintance is quite enough. She is a beautiful singer—rather pretty & full of life. I have had several other invitations to picnics, et cetera, from other sources all of which have been neglected by me. It is quite easy for me to refuse an invitation as I can have business at any moment. I have heard from one source that "he is a confirmed old batch and don't want to get acquainted with the young ladies."

No I'm not "older"—at least in my feelings. No I do not sport a "stove pipe." It would be quite out of place in Kansas this season with the thermometer at 90 to 110. It is quite proper to go about the streets here without coat and vest. Under those circumstances a silk hat would look shabby and the man who wears it shabbier. . . .

Now my dear I come to letter No. two and though your thoughts "represented a young whirl wind" they certainly were very refreshing to me. I am delighted to know that you will be contented with me "even in the far west" and that you are willing to share the dangers of cyclones, et cetera. Well my dear I do say "yes." That is quite emphatic isn't it? I'm tired of an "old batch" existence. I want a home even if it isn't to be permanent (as to place). And *you* my darling, are just the one that, instead of being the burden you suggest, will make this life endurable and pleasant for *me*.

I shall come to N. H. in season for the November election. I should like to make a visit in N. H. of about one month and I am not particular whether it be before or after election. But when I come back I wish to take my dearest with me. Just when that shall be is yours to determine.

Now my dear only four months and "There will be two Susie S_____." ²¹ I believe the remainder was never spoken. And

20. Fred B. Batchelder of Haverhill was Leslie's chum at Dartmouth and started out with him in the study of law.

21. Leslie's cousin in Snowville, Will Snow, had married a Susie.

so you must enjoy yourself in the mean time for we shall then begin to be "old folks." But, my darling, we will have, I trust, many years of happy wedded life. It certainly shall be such if it lies in our power to make it so. Such nice times as we will have. We will roam the wild west o'er, and canvass the world for the sweetest, nicest spot for our little home. I could not, if I were to try, express my thoughts and anticipations on paper. The bliss of a pure, holy home is the grandest ideal I ever contemplated. It shall be ours in all its purity, love and holiness.

It seems an age since I was at Abilene. I have not recited for a month but have not ceased my reading. But I am getting so far ahead of my reciting I fear I will forget before I have an opportunity to tell the Judge what I know. . . .

I have had one little sorrow this past week. My mother met with an accident. She evidently fainted, falling and striking her head, bruising her cheek very badly and giving her much pain. It always pains me to have any of my people suffer even that much.

I must stop writing so I will bid you good by for this once. Love to all.

Very Truly yours

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KAN., July 23d, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

Once more I'm in the little home on the attic(?) floor of the Bartell which may be well called my "sanctum sanctorum." I have been to Washington since I wrote you last: i. e. to Washington, Kan. I was not at all reminded of the "City of Magnificent Distances." I also visited the towns of Greenleaf, Palmer, Concordia & Clay Center.

At the last place I went to hear the "Bell Ringers." They were all little folks and were very entertaining, not however because of any remarkable ability but rather because of their cunningness.

Saturday I took a drive from Clay Center to Fact and it was in fact a very warm day. I made 45 miles wrote 24 pages fools cap and returned in season for P. M. train to J. C.

I received this week a nice seven page fools cap letter from Fred. He writes nice letters (when he writes). He is located at West Gloucester for the summer dispensing truths to the Cape Ann-ers. He must have worked very hard for he writes that he has preached his 34th sermon. That must be almost one hand full laid by. But Fred won't need to reread sermons. He has a very fertile brain

and is capable of entertaining an audience without serious effort.

Fred and I have always been very free with our advice to each other. And what do you suppose his advice was in this letter. It was to the point and so far towards my own way of thinking that I propose to adopt it. He said "get married and take Susie to Kansas."

Once upon a time Fred and I made a very peculiar agreement. It was at the time of our graduation and when we expected *never* to separate. We agreed not to marry for five years. Think of it June 24th, 1891. This agreement however was dissolved by mutual agreement long since or I would not have acted the part which I have. . . .

Fred seems not yet to have any serious intentions. At least I do not know that he has.

Well my sweet "robin" I would like to sweeten myself with your "current jelly" if my tongue was long enough to reach back to N. H. but as it is not I will probably have to content myself with sorghum a while longer.

I am surprised that you did not get my Salem letter sooner. Mother did not get the letter I wrote her from that place—at all. Mr. Brown is or was a farmer. He was a postmaster under the old administration and was officially murdered by Pres. Cleveland. He is again reinstated. . . .

Nothing particularly newsy at Snowville.

Mother has recovered from her accident and is nicely again.

Well, my dear, I will have to close this missive and consign it to Uncle Sam's care. I *must* write my sister Bell this morning. So I will say good morning.

Very Truly Yours

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KANSAS

July 29th, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

A beautiful evening after a hot day. It has been above 100° in the shade during the day and is still 92°. Kansas has some very hot weather to average up with her blizzards. "She" is noted for her extremes. But all in all I think no state can boast of more pleasant days in each 365.

People keep very quiet all day this hot weather and preserve all their activity for the cool of the evening when every body comes out. All sorts of gigs, rigs, racks, and hacks are brought out and

every body takes a ride. Some of the ladies ride but fewer of them than I would think. I like to see a lady riding horse back and to ride well is a very pretty accomplishment.

I haven't the least doubt but the compliment paid to your riding was well merited. That you rode very prettily was well known to your humble servant long since, though I believe I have no recollection of having witnessed you at the accomplishment. So you see you do not have as many traits kept from my knowledge as you may think. I am inclined to think I know *much* more about you than you are aware of.

This last week I stopped at Abilene & Sol. City. At the latter place I saw a sight which one could scarce expect to see in prohibition Kansas. The hotel keeper's little girl only 15 yrs. old scarcely able to be about from the effects of the "ardent." I am told that the father and mother drink liquors of all kinds with their children. They certainly did not seem to be astonished to see their daughter half intoxicated. Here is a very pretty little girl and I must say that I felt ashamed for the father and mother. Perhaps I should not have mentioned this. I sometimes allow my mind to run at large and my hand to print what it sees. But I do meet some very queer people and their eccentricities always leave an impression.

So my dear is to be a "real live *girl*" for a month and to set herself about acquiring dignity. Just as though "life" and "dignity" were incompatible terms. Poor staid old folks that we are to be! Hal hal hal. How does that laugh sound as it reaches the granite hills? Rather faint, eh? But really, my dear, you shall not surrender one bit of that girlish life. That is one of the characteristics which I will not consent to your leaving behind when you come to me. No, no, we must not lose one particle of our youth. The union of two active living spirits will only intensify that vital spark called life. And dignity! Just contemplate our present stock! . . .

My mother is nicely again. She is to visit sister Bell I expect this week and perhaps for two or three weeks to come.

Yes I am very sure she will think we are planning to do just the proper thing. She has been concerned about me very much since I have been out here "with no one to look after me." Just see what a duty you are to assume. I am thinking those little hands will be full when they undertake to look after this boy. You have a wild untrained unkempt specimen from the western wilderness to tame, train and teach etiquette. But though dull he will be a submissive scholar. . . .

Well my—to be indispensable—I will have to close this erratic

compilation of ideas and epithets and wish you an affectionate "good evening" which I would like to solemnize or emphasize by imprinting a _____

Very Truly Yours

LESLIE

CONCORDIA, KANSAS, Aug 8, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

I have returned from a very very pleasant visit to my Uncle's, A. L. Barrows of Hastings, Nebr. They did nothing but entertain me all the time I was there so I could not take any time to write the letter which I wished to, to you.

My Uncle and Aunt are in the vicinity of 60 years but as young as most people of forty. My cousins Dr. & Mrs McCalister are very nice. They are all very fine friends of mine.

I promised to take my wife to make them a visit. Is that too previous?

Cousin Nell came out here because of a throat and lung difficulty. She was very thin and poor. But now a more robust and healthy body cannot be found in Hastings. This is a wonderful country in that respect and I wouldn't be surprised if you completed your growth out here. I may have to look up to see you yet.

"Wedding." Yes, my dear, that word does sound strange and I may add, sweetly solemn. I have just loved to anticipate that event and all the joy which it is bound to bring to us.

As to the "kind," that is and by right ought to be yours to choose. But as you ask my preference I will be frank to say that the quiet home wedding without ostentatious display, has a charm for me. But no form or place (church or home) can diminish the pleasure which I anticipate. So my dear you may be assured that your wishes in the matter will please me.

As to my plans I must acknowledge that I have allowed the rush of business to absorb my attention too much to mature the details. The time of my coming to New Hampshire will be determined somewhat by the date which my dear little girl shall fix for the happy event of our marriage. The only request that I wish to present in fixing that date is that I wish to be in N. H. at the time of the Nov. election.

I wish to be in N. H. about, perhaps a little more than, a month and it does not matter to me whether that be before or after, or partly before and partly after the election.

It seems to me that it would be nice to make our trip west our

"wedding tour." Does that meet your approval? Or do you prefer some other trip? You must not hesitate to tell me just what you think about it.

If this plan seems the nice one then our marriage will be the grand finale of our visit in N. H. and I shall determine the time for leaving Kansas accordingly, that is so as to be in N. H. the month or a little more. So I will await your determination in the matter.

As to the month spent in N. H. I expect my mother will claim the larger share of my time. I am aware that my dear Mother has grieved over my being absent so long and that if I would go away for another year I must make her a good visit. I shall also want to spend a few days with my sister and the Dr.

But soon after reaching N. H. I shall come to Haverhill but of course my visit there will necessarily be short—the same as to my sisters. Now if it would be proper and agreeable I would like to have you visit my sister with me, and my home, allowing you to leave for your home as much prior to the wedding day as you may think necessary.

I don't know how far the above plans may be appropriate and desirable but I simply suggest them subject to any changes, improvement or alteration you may suggest.

If there are any things that I ought to determine or speak of do not hesitate to remind me. I wish to make the future as pleasant as I may be able and any failure in that will be due to mistake and not to any intentional neglect. . . .

Now my dear little girl (I like to say that for it seems to bring you right up before me) I am going to look forward to the happy day with great anticipation when I can put my arm about you and call you all my own.

I must close this letter to attend to my neglected business. So I must say a good by with all the love which a true beau can possess.

LESLIE.

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., Aug. 13th, 88

MY DEAR ELSIE:

I suppose you will scarcely be through reading my last somewhat lengthy epistle before you receive this. It is too bad to impose upon your time so much isn't it? But the only reason you don't suffer a worse imposition of the same sort is that I haven't more time to write. So you may thank Uncle Sam.

Kansas is lovely just now, that is from Salina east. The west has all been burned up in the hot winds. I am just wondering how

this great level world will seem to you. I am thinking it will seem nice to see the hills & mountains all ironed out into a plain but then you will miss beautiful woods, the grand old mountains, and the clear streams. One can't have everything in one place, the mountains & the plains, the clear streams and the nice soil. So you must before Nov. drink in enough of the New England scenery to last you one whole year. Think you can do it? I believe you are going to just enjoy a year in these lovely rolling prairies. I have only needed you to make my last year one of the pleasantest of my life. So you see I judge a righteous judgment when I predict how it will seem to you. . . .

I had a nice call last evening from Mr. Green (rather refreshing name), a young man who stands very high in the Presbyterian Society here. He has been near "death's door" from lung trouble several times and has sought the wonderful country as a remedy. It has a great reputation for that. He wants me to stop in the town some week and get acquainted with the people.

I had a splendid ride last evening. I rode all over the city. The evenings are the only times sufficiently cool to ride much. "Maud" a pretty gray is my favorite. I met a galaxy of five young ladies—all splendid riders. There are many such in Junction. I met them about six times in my wanderings about town. They looked very pretty under the lights of the arc-electric-lights. I tried to imagine you as one of them. We will do the town on horseback next Nov. won't we? Or rather when we get here?

So you are a journalist are you? Writing for the paper! May I presume to ask for a copy of the paper. . . . If I am to marry a girl who can wield a pen as well as tongue I must begin to fortify. Please relieve my anxiety by sending me a copy of the article.

My dear, if I was not explicit enough in my last please remind me and I will be more so.

You, perhaps, can imagine how much I would like to spend a week with you now. What a lovely time we would have amid the scenes of a New Hampshire autumn. Does it not seem a little cruel that we have seen so very little of each other since we have known our destinies. But, my dear, we have a divine consolation in that the future has rich promises for us, and that our wooing though short has been intensely sweet. One cannot express his feelings on paper. One look into your eyes would be worth a volume of written manuscript. And one sweet kiss (not as of a sister—as of old) would speak words which a pen can not write. I must close here

So good-by

LESLIE

GLENN ELDER, KAN., Aug. 19th, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

This sabbath finds me at the Cottage Home in a town whose name savors of mountains and trees, but with a lamentable absence of both.

I have passed a week here. The family of the Cottage Home consists of Mr. & Mrs. Todd—a married daughter and their unmarried ones—all very nice people. Neatness is their first law and it is such a refreshing rarity in Kansas that I am just enjoying that feature of my surroundings.

One of the rising generation is a "little girl" of eight years. She and I have become very fast friends and have been making puzzles, telling stories, making plum-stone-baskets, et cetera, what time I could spare.

Thursday and Friday I rode 60 miles each day into the country south of here known as the Blue Hills. I brought back some luscious water melons about one foot in diameter. Kansas is a great place for the sweet and delicious products.

I must tell you that I saw a real dog-town the description of which I suspect is so familiar to you that I need not add any words of my own.

Your nice letter came to me last night. With that before me I think I will be able to fix the date of my visit to N. H. subject to any changes which you may suggest. The first date which you mention, the 28th of Nov., will suit my convenience and choice admirably. Then we will regard that as the "happy day" unless you should choose to make it some other day.

As to your visiting my home and sisters of course I realize your situation and shall not urge you and shall be happy to have you do as it seems best to you.

I shall, then, probably reach Snowville the very last days of October or first days of November, and remain there till after the 6th—election day. I expect that I will invite myself to come to H. for a few days after which I will return to Snowville till I come to Haverhill to take my little girl to myself.

This is my plan "in the rough" and in its details will be finished to suit.

Yes, I knew my Hastings cousins before. They are very good friends of mine. They used to reside in Brownfield and Portland, Maine. I have a standing invitation to take you to Hastings which with your consent will be duly accepted and acted upon.

Am pleased to know that you are having a pleasant time. I

suspect that if your camping parties were relieved of their nice clean blankets and given wild buffalo meat and cold water instead of sardines, watermelons & crackers and lemonade there might be less longing for the so-called Indian life. . . .

I received an order last evening from Washington to carefully and thoroughly examine all the papers in my possession which have been sent me and to pass my opinion upon the merit of the claims. This will necessitate probably two weeks work during which time I shall remain in Junction City. It will be something of a change—and something of a tedious process I apprehend as I have two trunks packed solid with papers, or most ninety claims. I shall remain in this vicinity this week. . . .

Please remember me to all. I never have asked you what your mother thinks of our plans but I suppose they meet her approval. She will, I know, feel very sorry to have you leave home but at the same time I am sure be willing to sacrifice her pleasure for what seems to be our best good. Well, my dear, I will have to close this. Be good and accept the love . . . of your ob'dt.

LESLIE.

JUNCTION CITY, KANSAS, Aug. 26, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

I am again at the Junct. and refreshed with a nice letter from you. These nice letters have been my food more than you may have thought, for the last long ten months. I have looked forward to them as being the nearest approach to a meeting with you. The enjoyment of sitting down and spending an hour in reading and reverie—you wouldn't think I could use that am't of time would you?—but I have many a time.

They have furnished a sort of constitution to influence my actions (which my pride compels me to say would not have been "bad" anyway, but which might, otherwise, have been different than they have).

No, my dear, I do not think I share your feeling relative to the future. I have no feeling that our association and married life is to be limited. Of course it must be limited in a sense but I have only thought of the limit as very far in the future.

It makes me happy that you have been able to have such a pleasant time this fall, but I have almost feared lest you will find coming to a new country, and married life, less enjoyable because of the contrast. Of course you will have new acquaintances to make and perhaps you will feel less freedom than you have en-

joyed among life-long acquaintances. However we will spare no effort to enjoy all that the—"great west"—has, and it has much. I have made fewer acquaintances here than I would have done if I had not been, as the young ladies say, "mortgaged." But we will not be long in finding out the nice people.

There are two societies of consequence here—the Presbyterian and the Universalist. The Congregationalist & Methodist are not generally speaking the nice society people in this town. I have preferred to attend the Presbyterian Church which is the largest. I like the people of the Universalist Church very well as far as I have met them. But I do not just agree with them in belief.

I think you will agree with me in liking the Presbyterian people. One's associations here depend upon the church they attend to some extent.

This letter was cut short by a caller and I have not had an opportunity to continue till I find myself in Salina—the National Hotel—a new building and the pride of Salina.

I was telling you about Junction wasn't I? I must tell you more because that is to be our home and you will want to learn lots of it. I will tell you something of my acquaintances which I have reminded you are few in number.

In the first place there are Mr. & Mrs. C——, the proprietors of the Bartell House. They are as nice as the usual western hotel people which doesn't speak very flatteringly. . . . Next there comes "the trio" of young men at the hotel viz.: Mr. Bingham, a Harvard graduate '87, who wears a woolen shirt and sports a full beard, and a cane—he is a banker when he has learned his trade! Dr. Bucher who always looks like one just emerging from a band-box and wears constantly a very anxious expression lest something may be wrong with his neck-tie or other paraphernalia. He is a dentist—engaged to be married—and has gone this week to perform the act. The young ladies of Junction are quite sure they won't like Mrs. Bucher because her coming is going to break up their nice little cavalcade parties. I don't know as that word "cavalcade" is properly used—I mean horseback riding parties. The Dr. was very frank as to his future better half and I am informed made her the subject of his conversation often and even went to the extent of displaying her picture to the admiring gaze of the J. C. young ladies. He has rented a little cottage and is to return soon.

The third member of the trio is Mr. Marshall, a young lawyer. He is the least polished of the three. "All lawyers are such." Thus

much for the trio. Mr. Bingham is about to go to Kansas City & the Dr. is about married (if not quite). These two facts are very disheartening to the young ladies of Junct. C. who declare it is "simply mean" for a young man to come west "mortgaged."

This covers the people, my acquaintances, at the hotel. There are others—viz.: "kitchen mechanics," and traveling men. I put them both together because they are about on a par and associate much together. I have *no respect whatever* for traveling men as a class. They average—honor bright—to be about one gentleman out of 15 average traveling men.

Among my acquaintances in town are Mr. Green and Mr. Mitchell. The first I rather admire. The latter I simply like. Mr. G. while living in the East was twice given up to die but refused to do so. He survived several very bad hemorrhages of the lungs and came West. He is quite nicely here. He has a sort of automatic laugh which is more easily listened to than described—you instinctively laugh yourself to keep him company—I pronounce him "thoroughly nice." I might add by way of recommendation that he is the usher and passes the contribution box at the Presbyterian.

Mr. Mitchell is the—it just occurs to me that that name will sound familiar to you. He is the secretary of the Y. M. C. A.

Mr. Kiehl is a kind friend of mine. He is a man 45—very much elongated—as to face, feet, and lower limbs, in fact a specimen Vermonter. He travelled the wild west while the buffalo were abundant and men scarce—for ten years a sheriff and for eighteen years a livery and bus man. He sings bass in the choir and beats time with his book & head. He in my opinion is a man with a homely face and a kind heart.

I might add to those given P. V. Trovinger before whom I swear once a month. Post Master Laurenson who thinks any man is nice if he is a democrat.

Mr. Trott the book-seller, Capt. John R. Wright, Lt. Vick, Dr. Dougherty & others— there are many with whom I have a passing acquaintance.

Now I presume you notice an absence of feminine names among the above. But I find I am getting over so much space I will postpone telling you of them till my next letter. They are very few and choice.

"Maud" is a gray—and somewhat heavier than "Maggie." She is the easiest riding horse in Junct. I think. They have a horse at Kiehl's called "Chiseler" which single-foots some. She can be driven only with curb bits—all life. I think the choice which you suggest

for your habit will be nice. I am not just sure what style of caps the ladies do wear here. I will notice hereafter.

I am in receipt of the paper containing the account of the hay rack ride. It is nicely written.

I have spun my thread out to great length and I must stop or I won't have anything to write next time.

Well my dearest girl, I wish I could express to you how much I am anticipating in having you with me. It will be another life. I have lots and lots of love in store for you. It is all yours—all I have got—or ever shall have.

Very Truly yours

LESLIE.

JUNCTION CITY, KAN., Sept. 2, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

Do you suspect that I think of you as Elsie? I can at times but I can do it much easier under the older name. Elsie is pretty but (from association I suppose) Susie—shall I say it?—is much sweeter.

Well, my dear, I am at J. C. and have spent the week here except for two days when I took a trip to Gypsum City, the boomed little town of which I wrote you when I first came to Kansas.

Lets see, I was cut short in my last letter when describing to you the friendships I had formed in Junction City. I had told you of the young men whom I had met but I must add just a few words more relative to them.

1st. The Dr. (Dr. Bucher) has returned with his bride and is the object of the gaze, admiration, and compliment of all his friends. *She* is rather pretty but not at all remarkable in that particular. I judge her to be about 27 years. The Dr. must be 33 to 35. They seem very happy. I have congratulated the Dr. but have not met Mrs. Bucher. He is quite as careful of his neck-tie and wears the same anxious look sweetened by a smile. Can you explain to me why I am interested in watching them?

2nd. My friend Mr. Bingham the Harvard graduate is engaged and is to be married in about one year. We confide somewhat. His father is an Episcopal minister and poor—worth only 15 to 25 thousand. He however has two uncles who are millionaires and he a favorite nephew. After a long talk with him I fail to discover that I am related to the uncles. He is 25 and to be married to a Boston girl in about one year.

3d. I must mention another kind friend—a Mr. Strickland who has been cashier in the bank. He is to *own* the bank after Jan. 1st.

He is to be married very soon I am told. He is about 40 years of age.

I did feel not only "sufficiently decayed" but rather old till I considered the ages of my matrimonially inclined friends above enumerated.

I can now perhaps refer to Chapter II on "what I know about the ladies of Junction." I need not again remark that my acquaintance is rather limited.

In the first place in the post office is Miss Dixon—quite a giantess in stature—a wealthy man's daughter. Not "handsome" but pleasant. She is a good democrat. Her principal failing—I suppose we all have them—is the fact that she is a Roman Catholic. She yields implicit obedience to her faith and priest and will not allow herself to listen to Protestant preaching. She has one other failing which I forgot to mention. She charges me \$1.00 box-rent every quarter.

In the County Clerk's office is a very pleasant young lady—a niece of the clerk and the daughter of an old soldier who is now in California where she expects to go in the Winter. Her name is Lackstone, her complexion blonde, and her manners pleasant. She plays the organ at the Presbyterian and received a share of my friend Mr. Green's attentions.

Miss Webber is a member of the Presbyterian choir—rather plain—a splendid singer—a school teacher. She is the only young lady I have complimented in Junction City. I told her she came the nearest talking my arm off of any young lady I ever met. Loquaciousness is her forte.

Miss McClung is another member of the above choir and has the added dignity of being the minister's daughter for which reason I am told she never dances or plays cards. She is very frank in expressing her dislike for "mortgaged men."

Miss Swan is a rather pretty little Miss of 16 summers and a perfect "master of music"—plays everything and anything at sight and out of sight. She is one of the quadruple (or sometimes sextuple) cavalcade which I mentioned in Chapter I. She attends church at the Congregationalist church where also may be found Miss McCatharine a member of that choir—a young lady of much life. She becomes a teacher in Junct. City schools for the first time this year.

I have met several other ladies of Junction among whom are Miss White, Mrs. Kiehl and Mrs. McClung and Mrs. Capt. Pierce. The last is a graduate of Hamilton College N. Y.

Considering the fact that I have been in Junction City now for 3/4 of a year my list is rather short but is capable of being enlarged when I accept some of the numerous invitations of young gentlemen to call with them.

My acquaintances in J. C. are very pleasant and nice people but my dear I have seen no one who approached in my way of thinking the nice little girl who is reading this. I am going to be just proud of you when I have the pleasure of bringing you here with me.

Your nice letter on Aug 27th came Friday. . . .

The Y. M. C. A. had a book social this week here, each one bringing a book. It was a rather miscellaneous assortment for a library—varying from agricultural reports to Bibles.

Among the features of the entertainment were two scenes.

One was an African sunset. Mr. Green made a lucid and brilliant oration upon the various sunsets—the magnificence and splendor of the brilliant orb as it appeared when sinking to rest in various climes. The curtain was then pushed back leaving to the gaze of the audience naught but a nigger on a wood box.

The other scene was the sunflower chorus of 12 young ladies. A large bunch of sunflowers was painted on the canvas with twelve big sunflowers. When the curtain was pushed back the center of each sunflower was a hole filled up with the bangs, back hair—et cetera of young lady. The song opened with “one little sunflower”—where-upon a topknot disappeared and a face appeared. When all sunflowers were smiling faces responses were sung and one face disappeared at a time as it came. . . .

I am still at work on Blackstone. I have recited on the first two books except about 150 pages which I have had prepared for a month but Mr. Mahan and I have not found it mutually convenient to recite during that time. I am quite well advanced in my first reading of the third book. There are four books in all. . . .

I find I have already made a long letter and must cut short.

I will endeavor to write you soon relative to my friends in answer to your request— I wish to say more than I can well add to this letter.

Very much love to my sweet little girl.

Very Truly Hers

LESLIE.

P. S. You may preserve this and my last as a Junct. City directory. I may be able to add other chapters on the beautiful location etc.

L.

JUNCTION CITY, KAN., Sept. 10th, 88

MY DEAR ELSIE

I am still at Junction City where I have put in one whole week reviewing papers, writing out my opinions, etc. It has not after all been so disagreeable for it has been something a little novel and quite out of the ordinary course of events.

In the meantime Mr. Bingham and I have been cultivating each other quite a little. He is quite an old batch—in his ways—sizes up and has an opinion upon every thing he sees and hears & to me in our confidence does not hesitate to divulge the conclusions of his inner nature. His "my girl" often finds its way into the course of his conversation—she always appears as an ideal, and in perfect accord with his "ego." I have interviewed her picture. She is a blonde of round features and sweet expression and takes a very pretty picture.

I will not summarize his remarks upon the photos which I keep conspicuous for my own entertainment for it is my duty to protect you and I will begin by keeping guard against such insidious foes as flattery.

He receives letters from his father who writes on postals but as it happens in Latin, Greek, German or French. . . .

I have also met Miss Bartell, the daughter of the man after whom the house was named—the wealthiest man in town. Miss Bartell is recently returned from a visit to Washington D. C. She is a graduate of the Kan. State University and sports a Society pin of K. A. Θ. Mr. Bingham and I are invited to play whist with her and Miss Swan this evening. I suspect we will do so.

Well my dear you asked me about my friends and whom I would like invited to our wedding. Now I find it a very difficult thing to do. I have very many friends and relations but of those whom I would really like to have present on the happy event of our wedding I do not feel really sure that any can conveniently come. You are already aware of the rather scattered condition of my immediate relatives, my mother's health and other conditions which I need not enumerate. I know that my father, mother and sisters would most gladly be present if their circumstances permit. But owing to the circumstances their presence will I fear depend much upon how far we deem their presence an element in our enjoyment or an essential to the form of marriage, etc., decided upon. And now, my dear, you must write me just what you think about it—how formal a marriage you have decided upon—how far the presence

of my people will be necessary to it. Of course I already understand how very welcome they would be at your father's home.

Now my "list" will depend again upon the form of invitation—that is—whether they be properly invitations as "Mr. & Mrs. F. P. C. request the pleasure etc.," or whether they be announcements as "Mr. & Mrs. F. P. C. announce the marriage etc."

If the invitation be designed simply for those whose presence is desired my list will be much smaller than if the same be a method of announcing the proud event of my life to my many friends.

Now I frankly admit that I really have no decided choice whether it be by invitation or announcement and your choice will be agreeable to me. . . .

I realize the disadvantage of making our plans and determining each other's wishes through 2000 miles of space. As many miles would be much better. But in all these matters let us be frank and free to say *just what* and *all* that we mean. . . .

By the way haven't you tired eyes by this time—my pen is quite fresh—hence my idea.

I will just commence this sheet to say "good night" on
"Good night"

With very much love

LESLIE

P. S. This letter was interrupted in the midst and continued at Uncle Sam's and my earliest convenience. I hope its delay will not cause anxiety.

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KAN., Sept. 16, '88

MY DEAR ELSIE

Your nice letter of the 8th is here and I must say first that I am exceedingly sorry that my delay in writing my sister of "*the event of my life*" occasioned almost a fracture of my dear little girl's heart. I can say by way of apology only that I delayed writing sister so long that I might a little more definitely fix a date of visiting her at the same time. By way of remedy for my wickedness, I will write my sister how it all came about—and in the goodness of her noble heart she will forget and forgive. She is a *dear dear* sister and loves me and *mine*; and already knows *you* and me so well that she will at once attribute all faults to that rough heedless unbusiness-like brother of hers.

As to frustrating any of my plans or intentions—far from it. I

had none of the nature of surprises or secrecy. I do not believe in such surprises and am too proud of the coming event and the prize which I win to make it a secret.

Now by the way. I have a sister at Grand Rapids, Mich., Mrs. Nellie H. White, whom I intend to visit either on my way East or West. Do you think it would be enjoyable to visit her so soon after our marriage? If you have decided upon Nov. 28th as the happy day we could spend the next Sabbath with her and gain a short rest on a long journey. She will be *exceedingly glad* to have us visit her. Be frank and tell me if it would not be enjoyable so soon after marriage.

Are there any plans, arrangements or details, etc., relative to the marriage which should receive my attention before coming back to N. H.? Wake me up if I seem dull. We labor under the disadvantage of never having been married you see. It is all new. . . .

Junction City is sad this week. It happened while I was far away. The largest store in the city, B. Rockwell & Co., burned down with two other brick buildings—and saddest of all two J. C. young men were burned in one of them. It is supposed that they suffocated and never woke up. It was very dry and the water works out of repair and a high wind. Happily it rained at the opportune moment or the larger part of the town must have gone. The Bartell caught on fire twice.

The two young men were clerks in the store and were asleep up stairs. One of them was to have been married this next week. Think of the poor dear heart that must be almost broken. . . .

I went to Barnum's Circus! at Abilene last evening. *You* would just envy the horse trainer. Such command as she had over the beasts! They would do anything for her. The circus was not what it is in the East but I counted 202 horses and Mr. Cowles 200 men in the procession.

Wednesday evening I took tea with Mrs. Mahan at Abilene and in the evening enjoyed a tête-a-tête with the Judge. We discussed personal property, cigars and pears.

Mr. & Mrs. Cowles want us to come to Abilene to live. I have their advice as a two-year-old-married-couple that married life is supremely superior to single life and that the wise young man marries young.

My mother & father add their approving words to our plans. Mother says "I have wished many times the last year that Susie were with you." She also expresses herself desirous of receiving a visit from you.

When does Norma come home? Please remember me in the kindest possible words to all your people.

I will have to close this—

Very Truly *yours*

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., Sept. 17th, 1888

MY DEAR MRS. CURRIER

It has been my intention to write you for a long time but I have allowed the urgency of business to deprive me for a time of the pleasure. I presume you were not in the least surprised that Susie and I have concluded to determine our engagement by marriage so soon as Nov., and that we have your sanction in so doing.

You see I took your advice and have not allowed any circumstances or plans to longer delay what I am satisfied is for Susie's and my own greatest happiness. In some respects my present business is an unfortunate one for our greatest pleasure. I am for the most of the time on the move. However I can be at home about two days each week and I expect Susie will find it pleasant to accompany me on some of my trips so that we can be together much despite the circumstances. I can not expect at present to possess the nice home which it will be my ambition to have later in life though we will make ourselves as comfortable and happy as our circumstances at present will admit.

I am sure Susie thinks very much of her present home and I almost fear that in leaving it for this wild country and new acquaintances she will find herself homesick. People in the West differ in their manners from the eastern people, and their social tastes are cruder but they are very cordial and kind. I am sure after a short stay here she will come to like the people and their ways.

I have not yet made any arrangements here for our future, preferring to leave that matter till I could consult Susie's own tastes and wishes in the matter.

I suppose Susie has freely talked with you about our plans as far as made. I expect to visit you for a few days directly after election.

My people approve of the step which I am about to take. I wish you and Mr. Currier could meet my parents. You all, I am sure, have much in common now. My father & mother, though they have grown up in the back woods of New Hampshire, have many good qualities and are very dear to me. What they may want in social training is fully made up by a big-hearted hospitality

and a warm and true affection for their children and those who are dear to them.

They have manifested to me an interest in Susie's people and I know would be only too glad to make your acquaintance.

Hoping that Susie and I have your & Mr. Currier's approval in our plans I must close the sheet, wishing the best of wishes to each of you and to my (soon to be) sisters Norma and Lettie.

Very truly yours

LESLIE.

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., Sept. 23d, 1888

MY DEAR SUSIE ELSIE:

Another week has gone by and we are that much nearer the happy happy day when I may call you wholly my own. After all, does not our engagement seem short? as we look back. But I have a little volume of history all packed away in paper covers—and for the most part sealed—which says that there have been many weeks of it. These little volumes (of history of love) tell of many hours of the diligent use of the pen—verily mightier than the sword in soothing the heart and keeping up the courage of one poor lonesome boy.

By the way I send you, by mail, in remembrance of Sept. 27, a little package—contents suggested by the above sentiment.

This week I have been to Burr Oak, Mankato & Beloit. At Mankato I met Mrs. McMaster, great friend of cousin Lena.

This week I have formed the acquaintance of Mr. Sawyer, a traveling man.—He is one of the few who come under that term that I respect and admire. I have met Mrs. Sawyer who is very nice. She is a sister to Miss Swan. They are all great Congregationalist people. Mr. Sawyer has two little girls about 10 & 12—very nice. They spent the week with their father on the road and at Beloit. I think this family is a very desirable one for us to hold among our acquaintances. It consists of Mr., Mrs. & Misses Sawyer, Mrs. & Miss Swan. I know you will like them very much.

I also this week—yesterday evening—met Miss Wright, one of the nice young ladies in town. Capt. Wright, her father, has been a very kind friend of mine since I have been here but I did not meet her till last evening. And I must tell you about our nice horseback ride by moonlight last evening.

Mr. Bingham & Miss Wright rode respectively Dick & Nick. Miss Bartell at first rode Button who proved too hardbitted. She

was transferred to Preacher. I rode the celebrated Jay Eye See. We went over to Fort Riley. We had a lovely ride and returned just in time to go to a fire across town. The fire was soon extinguished.

The young ladies are aware now that I am engaged and expect to be married soon. Mr. Bingham alone knew it and I informed him the other day that I did not care to keep it a secret. The young ladies have been wondering in their conversations who the *next* bride would be (there having been several of late). Mr. Bingham offered to bet that she would be mine—so he informs me. At least it *seems* to be known.

The original "trio" seem to have dissolved partnership—Dr. Bucher is too much a married man. Mr. Marshall doesn't seem inclined to call on the young ladies. Mr. Bingham & I constitute a sort of "duet" now but he expects to leave for Kansas City one week from tomorrow. Mr. Marshall and I will have to form a partnership and when I get married what will be Mr. Marshall's state—a solo? I don't like him as well as I do Mr. Bingham. The latter and I took a walk this afternoon across the government reservation $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and back. I must take you to that place on horse-back. It is a lovely view. Well he and I spent the P. M. talking of our common subjects. The poor boy has got to wait a year. He wants me to call on his young lady on my trip East. She resides just out of Boston. Miss Mary L. Green is the name. I know the whole history of their courtship. I will tell you more when I do not have to write it.

Your nice long letter is here. So Fred has reached Haverhill has he? Well now Susie Fred is not going to Chicago and I will tell *you* what I expect he is going to do. It is not fully determined and as he requested confidence be observed till his plans were consummated I have made no mention of the matter. I do not know why he cares to keep still about it but as he does I must tell it to you *in confidence*. He wrote me some months ago that his lungs were failing him and that his physician had advised him that he must give up his profession. He naturally turned to me in our old time manner for advice and suggested a return to the study of the law. In this I could not encourage him but suggested a rest from preaching and a change of climate till he should find himself again in condition to pursue his chosen profession. To aid him in this I have secured for him the position of Superintendent of Schools in Junction City, which position I expect he will take Jan.

1st, 1889.²² As to whether this plan will be consummated I am not positive but suppose it to be fixed. *So much inter nos.* What do you think of it my dear? . . .

I am much pleased with your plan of invitations and announcements. Now if I properly understand the matter, invitations should be extended to such as we would like to have present at your home if it were possible—that is our nearest dearest friends; announcements to such as would be invited to a public wedding in church; and newspaper accounts to all others whom we would like to inform of the event but with whom we have no strong bond of friendship. Am I right? . . .

With regard to the announcements as they will not I suppose be sent in advance of the event I need not make a list but simply suggest the number that I shall be happy to have used for me. Perhaps I shall surprise you when I tell you that I believe that list will include about 40 names. Is that too many? And is my list of invitations too comprehensive? Administer a rebuke if I need it.

Well my dear I must close this rambling letter.

Please remember me to each and all my dear friends with you.

With very much love

Very Truly
LESLIE

COUNCIL GROVE, Ks., Oct. 2nd, '88

MY DEAR SUSIE ELSIE:

Am I a little tardy in writing my usual Sabbath letter? It is Tuesday but I found so many things to think of and to do this week that my time was all consumed. My usual monthly acts and reports for Sept. had to be made out and I had all my work to redocket as I had filled my old docket.

Your nice letter and also a nice letter from your mother came duly at hand. Thank your mother for me and tell her I will answer at my earliest convenience. . . .

Mr. Bingham has gone. He has left many aching hearts—most prominently among them “Swan.” I had come to be quite intimate with him and I believe none will miss him more than I. He has gone to Kansas City where he is to be permanently located in a bank.

I have made no new acquaintance in Junction City this week. I met at Mr. Sawyer's a lady, Mrs. Freeman, visiting from Colo., who is a very talented singer.

22. “Fred B. Batchelder of Haverhill, N. H., accompanied by a gentlemen friend, Mr. Andrews, arrived in the city last week. F. B. Batchelder will assume the duties of assistant in the city schools. He graduated last year with honors, and comes with high recommendations as a scholar.”—Junction City *Union*, January 5, 1889.

I suppose you may desire to know what my wishes are relative to the style of life we should live here. I regret that I have not been able to fully determine upon some definite arrangements. The subject has however been well thought. Do you prefer to go at once to housekeeping or to board for a while? I can almost hear you say "That depends upon what you wish." So perhaps I should be frank and say just what I think and explain a little more fully my situation.

My idea of home fully realized is inseparably connected with the idea of housekeeping and my ambition will be to ultimately supply all the surroundings that will make such a state of domestic felicity not only possible but an end devoutly to be wished by all concerned. But my circumstances are of course a little peculiar just at present in two particulars: 1st, absence from home fully 2/3 of the time; 2nd, liability to change location at any time. Owing to the first (viz. my absence from home) I could not think of going into a cottage or house all by ourselves as that would leave you quite alone while I am gone. This, you will see, precludes the idea of housekeeping unless I could by chance secure a rent in the same house with a good family to keep you company. I do not yet know of such a rent and think it rather doubtful if one could be found as the rooms for rent are on the second floor, the houses being generally small. Owing to the second (viz. liability of change of location) it is questionable whether it is advisable to fit up a house for housekeeping.

Hence, by a natural process of reasoning, I have nearly concluded (much against my real wishes) that we must for a while, at least, board. We can then make any change at any time we think advisable.

Now with reference to boarding the first question arises where? and what quarters do we need? The hotel is no place to live in. Let me be sufficiently frank to say that there is not at the Bartell a single soul whom you would find agreeable nor with whom I would be pleased to have you associate. I need not say further of them now.

Hence (again) I have concluded that we would find it the pleasantest way to hire a room at a private house and fit it up to suit ourselves and take our meals at the hotel or elsewhere as we may choose! And in choosing the room to select one where I know the people to be nice and where you will find it pleasant in my absence.

In pursuance of this idea I have my mind on a room at Mrs. Kiehl's which she is now having done off and which will therefore be new and in a new house.

Mr. & Mrs. Kiehl are old residents and have been here since the early days. They are among the most wealthy in town but are among the common people in their ways. You would not realize that they were wealthy from their appearances or manners. They have no children.

I have the refusal of the room. It is yet in an unfinished state but is to be done by Nov. next. It is to be heated by hot air from a furnace in the basement. I will sketch a little plat of the locality of the house and room. [The original letter contains a rough sketch showing the area and exact location of the Kiehl home across the street from the "public gardens full of trees."] The above is drawn very hurriedly so you must excuse the defects and want of artistic talent in its construction. Rooms 1, 2, & 3 in Kiehl's house are to be finished and for rent, each at the same price. Room 2 is the largest and the one I think you would prefer. It has a double window looking on to the Public Garden. No. 2 is a little smaller, the corner being cut off by the peculiar construction of the house. No. 3 is a back room. We can fit the room to our own taste. There is no closet room opening off from No. 1. There is a large one opening off from No. 2. No. 2 also has three windows. I am not sure whether you would prefer No 1 or No 2. The advantages and disadvantages are respectively: No 1. Three windows & closet *versus* smallness & exposure to northwest winds; No 2. Largeness & protection from winds *versus* no closet & less light.

However Mrs. Kiehl thinks she can secure a wardrobe for No. 2 which with plenty of attic room for trunks may suffice. All things being considered I am inclined in favor of No 2. for I am inclined to think that hot air furnace heat might be insufficient against the blizzard in No. 1. Now under the light of the above what do you think? I have not engaged either but suppose she would like to know our wishes. I shall leave matter of furniture till I can have the aid of your judgment.

Now perhaps you may be ambitious for two rooms. This would double the rent and double the expense of furnishing. If we board I think we will find one room quite equal to our needs, however. If you desire we can fit it with a folding bed like the one which you may remember that my sister has in Cherry Valley. It was in the parlor upstairs. You may not have noticed it. However that may be determined later. Mrs. Kiehl will furnish the room if we desire (of course at an advanced price).

Relative to visiting my sister at Grand Rapids, Mich., which I mentioned two weeks ago, I think perhaps you would prefer to visit

her at some other time as you did not mention it in your answer. We can visit her on our first trip east. It is necessary that I determine upon that question before setting out for N. H. as I do not want to visit her on my way back to N. H. if *we* intend to visit her on our way to Kan. as to go by that way will nearly double my expense back to N. H. Excuse me for mentioning it again but I will presume that you prefer to come directly to Kan. unless you should signify your intentions to the contrary.

I must stop as I have used all the paper the hotel has and have had to begin on U. Sam's stationery.

Tell me just what you think of the above.

Very truly yours

LESLIE.

CAWKER CITY, KANS., Oct. 8th, 1888

DEAR ELSIE:

I am some one hundred miles to the N. W. of J. C. I wonder if that seems a good way to you. I have been the distance so very many times during the year that I do not mind it as any considerable undertaking.

I expect to spend the week here and then drive about 50 miles or so north to Salem, Jewell Co., where I intend to spend the Sabbath with Cousin Lena's folks, Mr. & Mrs. Brown.

I believe I wrote you last from Council Grove. I have some quite fast friends there. I always stop at the Cottage House run by the Marks!

They are nice people and I (strange to say) always feel quite at home with them.

Among my friends there are the Marks (4 of them), Mr. Root, Mr. & Mrs. Gale, Mr. & Mrs. Allen (Boston, Mass).

Saturday evening I reached Junction City at 7.30 and at 8 was one of a party at whist at Mrs. Sawyer's. This time it was Miss Wright & Miss Swan, Mr. Marshall & self.

You will like Miss Wright very much I know. She is quite "matter of fact." Miss Swan is more "small talk." Do you comprehend my description? . . .

I see from your letter that I probably was a little too previous in my last. I had thought last week that it had been two weeks since I wrote you about visiting my sister. I have not fully determined but I think we will visit Sister Nellie at Grand Rapids on our way West.

I do not know as I care to add any more names to the invitations

but I have several Uncles and Aunts all of whom would doubtless appreciate notice and regard an invitation as a compliment. They are all kind friends as well as relatives and have always manifested a lively interest in your humble servant. . . .

As to the hour for the marriage I am quite as much in the dark as you as I can not yet fix upon the route West. I do not fancy the unearthly hour of 1 o'clock A. M. as an hour of departure from Haverhill for the West. Yet perhaps it can not be conveniently avoided. I have no means to investigate the feasibility of the different routes at my command. I suggest that you choose the hour which would be most agreeable to yourself. My preference, if any I have, would be for the morning so as to go to Boston in the P. M. Then we would go west by the H. T. road. That preference is not at all strong and any hour you may fix will be most agreeable to me. We can arrange routes to suit.

I must close.

Much love to *you* and very very best wishes to all your people.

LESLIE

JUNCTION CITY, KANS., October 21st, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

This has been a week of small accomplishments on my part. Monday I had to wait till evening to get a train west from Salem. After getting west to Athol I drove into the country to find that my man was away from home. I took night train to Clyde (100 miles). Next morning I discovered the baggage men had carried my grip of papers right on. Managed to get around for night train for Clay Co. but when I called to see "my man" discovered he was on a visit to Ohio. Came to Junction City where I had to lay over a day to make connections. Went to Salina Thursday and to Manhattan Friday. At the latter place found my witness absent campaigning. I succeeded in sending back to Washington 3 cases. In the meantime I received 10. At that rate, school-mam, when will I be out of cases? Does it remind you of the problem of the frog leaping from the well—one foot upward and falling back two? However as long as I discharge my duty and Uncle Samuel pays the expense no fault can be found.

This coming week I am going to investigate a case of fraud where it is suspected that a widow is remarried and still draws her pension. I am anxious to look at the man whom a woman could value as highly as a pension.

I had the pleasure to shake hands with and listen to the demo-

cratic candidate for Governor of the State of Kan.—Hon. John Martin.

Of course Kan. is quite as republican as Vermont but it would seem that this is an exceptional campaign. The Labor Union movement is assuming wonderful proportions and frightening the republicans somewhat.

Well my dear I am—26 years old—can it be? I can't realize it quite. I feel quite as young as I did at 18 and I can't see that I begin to look particularly decayed yet. Perhaps we shall feel older when we have settled down to married life. I expect to leave Junction City on Oct. 31st P. M. and spend the night in Kansas City. Friend Bingham wished me to stop over one day or part of a day. I shall then come directly to Boston where I am hoping to arrive about Saturday, Nov 3d. I shall go to Snowville Sunday or Monday. So your next letter in answer to this must be directed to Snowville.

I expect we will have quite a little warfare over my successor in the Legislature. I had both democratic and prohibition votes but I was about the only democrat for whom the Prohibits would vote—I suppose because I had no record. Now the prospective democratic candidate is out and out anti-prohibition.

Mr. & Mrs. Kiehl, Mr. & Miss McClung & Mr. Green all went to Abilene this week to the Y. M. C. A. Convention. I called on Mrs. Kiehl Wednesday. She seems quite anxious that we should come there and would much rather that we furnish our own room. The room is 12 x 16. Does that seem small? Rooms are much smaller here than in the East. It is just the size of Mrs. Kiehl's parlor which is directly beneath, except that her parlor has a bay-window. There is one matter however which I am not sure that I will like. She does not wish to have the room papered. She wants to have the walls white finished and leave them that way. If that state of affairs don't suit us and she is un-mutable we will—or rather I will kick. However she proposes to get a new wardrobe for us. . . . My mother has already begun to lament over the short time I am to be at home. My brother & sister at Cherry Valley are exulting over a ten pound girl baby. My sister at Grand Rapids dictates that we *must* visit her. My Aunt Susan at Kirksville Ill. puts in a plea of the same nature. Cousin George Brooks of Boston asks for a "slice" of my vacation. Uncle A. L. Barrows of Hastings, Nebr., asks if we can't come via Hastings. Well my dear I must close this sheet as I have got to write a letter of congratulations to the Dr., a letter of advice to sister Nell, and an obedient one to my mother.

Do not over-do, you must keep rested for such a long journey as you have got to take will require nerve.

Very truly
& Sincerely
with love to all
LESLIE

P. S. Since writing the above I receive your very nice letter of the 13th which should have reached me much sooner.

I shall appreciate your very nice present very much. The "informal" will emphasize the very sweet existence which I am anticipating in our married life—by its very contrast. It was best that you retain it at H. for me.

It was very kind of your cousins in Boston to remember us. I must learn their names so as to help appreciate their kindness.

It was very nice of your Mother to bring you so many pretty things. I shall do all in my power to help you to appreciate them and that your mother shall never regret her kindness to us. . . .

Many thanks for your kind wishes. I must close however and proceed with congratulations, advisory and obedient messages.

Very truly yours
LESLIE

ABILENE, KAS., Oct. 28, 1888

MY DEAR ELSIE:

I am enroute for Hope which I expect to reach before midnight. I (the third "I" already) have been at work on criminal work in Jewell Co. this past week and left undone some special work which requires my attention at Hope. Expect to return to J. C. tomorrow or next day. I shall start for the East Wednesday Oct. 31st if nothing new turns up to prevent.

I have spent the evening with Mr. & Mrs. Cowles, who by the way are very much interested in our future happiness wishing us much joy, etc. They are particularly excited just now in the advent of a nephew in the family of W. G. Cowles who is also among my friends here.

My dear I have one sad little bit of news. Mrs. Dr. Bucher died last night. It seems so too bad. I feel very very sorry for the Dr.

Mrs. Bucher was it appears very delicate. She was taken with the malarial fever some two weeks ago. She finally died of congestive chill. Some of Junction people think her death is due to the ignorance of the physician, Dr. P—. This physician is of no

standing at all and it is very strange that Dr. Bucher employed him. I suppose that Bucher did not know his standing.

Relative to the St. and No. of our home I had thought of the matter but neglected to mention it. The houses in that vicinity are not numbered but Mrs. Kiehl's residence is designated by its location at the corner of the streets as follows "Corner of 5th and Jefferson Streets."

I apprehend that will be sufficiently definite. I suppose "Corner" and "Streets" should be abbreviated in print. . . .

I am receiving best wishes on all hands. Some of the young ladies of Junction City have been down to this town this past week to a literary entertainment of some kind and have evidently suggested the matter as several gentlemen have met me and with a merry twinkle of the eye wished me a pleasant trip East.

Well my dear I expect to read my next letter from you at Snowville, where I hope to arrive by one week from today.

I hope you will excuse the haste with which this letter is written as I am some what "rushed" just now.

With much love to you and well-wishing to all.

Very truly yours.

LESLIE.

III. THE LETTERS OF SUSAN CURRIER SNOW, 1888, 1889

JUNCTION CITY, KANS. Wed. Dec. 4 1888

DEAR MAMMA, PAPA AND LETTIE²³ AND ALL

I wonder if you have received that hastily and badly written letter telling you of my experiences as far as I had gotten. We reached Junction City safely at three o'clock yesterday. I believe I wrote you from a hotel in Chicago. Well we got our dinner there and then took a chair car from there to Kansas City. I couldn't see much that day because it got dark soon after we started. We slept in the chairs that night. You know you can tip them back just like a bed they are very comfortable indeed. I awoke in time to see the Mississippi as I went over. It was bright starlight, about one o'clock I think. It was an impressive sight, the train crept slowly over the long trestle and the stars shone in the water, a few lights from tugs or canal boats twinkled up the river. It looked very nice. I wondered if that was the way you remembered it. Early in the morning we crossed the Missouri that looked less impressive, it was quite wide but very dark and muddy. Long be-

23. Lettie and Norma Currier were Susan's sisters.

fore we reached Kansas City we could see the smoke that shrouded it from view. . . . We couldn't see very much of the city as we came into it on account of the numerous trains. The cable cars run up on trestle bridges like the elevated roads in New York.

We changed cars there for Junction City. As we struck out on to the prairies you could see other tracks stretching away into the distance and occasionally another train would come into sight running parallel to us and then they would race. It was exciting to see the two engineers do their best. They would whistle to one another and then fly. I saw darkey villages just like those we read about in *Harpers*. They were funny enough, but such shanties! they were dirty enough. Darkies from babies up would sit out in the yards or on fences and wave their old battered hats or shout to us as we passed by. Pigs and dogs were mixed promiscuously with dirt and babies. The corn is all standing in the fields and teams were going through while the farmers shucked off the ears. I saw muddy bottoms, like those western stories in the *Youth's Companion*, emigrant wagons with their covered tops and a few tents. Some of the large farms had a shelter built for their cattle while blizzards are raging of corn stocks plaited in and out with western sunflower stalks. . . . stalks you can't break they are so yielding so they weave them in and out. The large fields of grain we passed look like the pictures of them you have seen.

The western villages are horrible on a whole, just shanties or two story houses and long roads reaching as far as you see without a bend in them. They hedge their farms with osage orange trees, they grow low and are twisted together. The last of our journey was very warm and dusty. I was black with dirt. The sun shines all the time, it looked magnificent as it rose over the praries yesterday. It is warm and has been all the time they say. I only wear my peasant cape and hat. We reached Junction City about three o'clock. There were four or five busses waiting, they send them to each train. We took one and came to the Bartell House. Some of Leslie's young lady friends were down on horse back to get a peep at us. They looked with all their eyes but they didn't see much of me, I got into the bus so quick. They gave us the best room in the hotel a little beauty. It has four windows all on the front looking on to Washington St. and out into the country onto the bluffs or small hills about like Powder House but not nearly as pretty. While I have been writing here by the window I have seen all sorts of people going by. Great country girls on horse back carrying bundles out home like I did when I went after bacon over to Brad-

ford. Farmers and city ladies riding every way. Mostly on horse-back. All kinds of styles, some have hats same as mine. A Miss Wright quite tony wore one like my best. We created quite a sensation when we went down to supper. All of Leslie's acquaintances were eating around at various tables. They all bowed and eyed me. I could scarcely eat my supper. After they had eaten they came around and congratulated Leslie and were introduced to me. The hotel is the largest one in J. C. The rooms are very pretty and there are long halls and parlors, etc. Their waiters are young girls and darkies. The bill of fare is long, they have 7 or 8 different kinds of meats for dinner. I had turkey & currant jell for mine, the jell didn't taste much like yours. The water is all dark and the bottoms of the pitchers are covered with sediment. I drink milk and tea. The city is lighted with electricity which makes it very nice indeed. The streets are all paved like they are in Boston. It seems so queer to me to see the stones all worn into ruts and hollows. The door steps are worn into basins where they step. It is because of the softness of the stone. After breakfast we called on Mrs. Kiehl. . . . She went down to the store with us and helped select our furniture. We got everything much cheaper. We bought an oak set very pretty—an oak table polished with two shelves. Then two oak rockers and a wicker rocker for me, a brass framed hanging lamp and a light hand lamp for me to run about with. An ingrain carpet, brown and light vines very pretty. The best piece of all is an oak desk tall on one side with a place for books in a little cupboard with a glass door then on the other side a leaf that lets down to write upon displaying little draws and cubby holes for papers, then it has a plate glass back and three nice draws. . . . We bought a brown and white ewer set *pot* and all. Leslie had a woman make the carpet. They will put it down tomorrow and move in the furniture. Mrs. Clark and Mrs. Foss have just called on me. They are quite pleasant. I am meeting quite a number. How do you all do? This is all my paper will write all about my new home next time. . . . Lots of love to all. . . .
Your loving daughter

SUSIE.

JUNCTION CITY—KANSAS, Dec. 11—1888

DEAR PAPA MAMMA AND LETTIE.

I have just come in from breakfast and from a shopping tour with Miss Wright a young lady I have met since I came here. She is dark and about my size. She is just fine. Her father is senator this

administration. Leslie left me yesterday for Salina. He is to be gone all the week. I am getting "fixed" so I shall not miss him as much as if I had nothing to do. . . . You never experienced such fine weather as it is here. The sun has shone all the time but one day since we came. Yesterday all I wore over me was my sling sleeved cape it was very warm indeed. There is a breeze all the time. Kansas zephyrs they call them. Leslie took me over to Ft. Riley one day last week. There are over one thousand soldiers and officers stationed there. It was a fine sight to see the blue coats every where. And such horses! Magnificent ones! The soldiers are exquisite horsemen and the government furnishes magnificent horses. The barracks and officers' houses and all buildings are of stone. The buildings in which the ammunition is kept are all stone with barred windows. Guards are posted at all points where an inroad to the camp can be made, all of the time. They walk their beat with glittering armor. Horses are kept saddled at all times. If you go over in the night you are stopped and questioned as to what your business may be. It seems very funny I had no idea it was like what it is. Sunday Mr. Strickland, an acquaintance of Leslie's, hired a team and took us both out riding with Miss Wright. We went around to Wreford and home again, a road in the shape of a U with J. C. at one end. We passed farms with winter wheat fields green as I ever saw the grass at home. Herds of cattle and pigs were feeding around hay stacks. I will tell you about the farms by and by. We appeared "out" Sunday in all our finery of wedding suits and green dresses, etc. I guess we made an impression. J. C. is quite a dressy place. I have begun to receive callers. Yesterday I had five, and I have received a number before. All the tony folks are calling. I felt sorry our room was not completed, but it looks quite comfortable now. . . . I miss you all so much. Have you butchered yet Papa? Well I must take care of my lamps now. Mertie the girl does my chamber work.

Good bye with lots of love. Leslie told me to send his always when I wrote—

SUSIE.

JUNCTION CITY—KANSAS

Dec. 21-1888

A MERRY XMAS TO MAMMA & PAPA FROM LESLIE AND ME

I have just sat down for the first time this afternoon since three o'clock when Leslie left for Wakefield to be gone a day or so. I had just commenced clearing up when Mrs. Kiehl came up saying

she had just rec'd a telegram from her old home Sarton's Mich. which said her mother had a paralytic shock yesterday, and she (Mrs Kiehl) was going off on evening train. She was so excited she did not know what to do hardly. I went right down stairs and helped her pack. I thought of ever so many little things she never could have thought of. We got her packed up finally and she is getting composed now before train time. She is a very nice woman and a kind one. I don't expect her mother will live, she intends to bring her back if she can. Well I had my first sick spell yesterday. I have been eating too heartily at the Hotel and day before yesterday ate some tripe and fried fritters and in the afternoon Mrs Kiehl invited me down to help make some French candies. I ate one chocolate ball only but it was the last straw that broke the camels back. I felt sick to my stomach until after supper, then it kind of stopped but I was in such agony all night. . . . In the morning Leslie mixed a Sedlitz powder in our silver creamer and I took that. It didn't help me any. I got up to dress but after I got partially dressed I could not stand up any longer so went to bed. Mrs. Kiehl came up with the cutest little tea tray with a tea pot of tea, toast, crackers (bakers fancy) and a pill. I took the pill and drank the tea, ate a small piece of toast. . . . Leslie brought up packages of different herbs like yours and some oranges. He was just as good as he could be, he kissed me so much he almost wore the skin off my cheeks. After the pill operated I felt better. . . . Now I feel well, I shall be pretty careful what I eat and how much hereafter. Leslie is a good doctor he won't let you stir he keeps me sitting until I ache. His books came yesterday, today we unpacked them. Our book rack has not come but will be here soon I expect. We expect the lounge right away. It is to be crimson plush with crimson silk bands, and is of cherry made to look like mahogany. A fine piece of furniture. The book rack is oak to match the furniture. Mrs. Kiehl is going to buy a picture moulding for our pictures, she gave me the liberty of getting it while she is away. We shall be all fixed then as soon as the pictures come. . . .

People take a great deal of interest in us Mrs. Kiehl says. The very best people have called on us. A young lawyer who is a pension examiner wrote inviting us to spend Christmas at Salina Kansas with them but we have concluded to stay at home for the present. A young Dartmouth student introduced himself to me the other day, said his name was De Witt of Dart. '82. He heard Mr. Snow was a Dart. man so he wished to make his acquaintance

and mine. He talked quite a few minutes with me. Since I wrote the above Mr. and Mrs. McClung our minister and wife have called, they are very pleasant people. He was an Ohio man. Then I went to supper, on my way home Miss Wright came over and spent the evening. We worked played cards until her brother came then we played a game of euchre. Now as it is so late (ten o'clock) I am going to sit up for Leslie, he comes about half past ten. I had a serenade to-night of young ladies, they sang "Way Down on the Swanee River" and "The Sweet By and By." It was lovely We were going to ask them in when they left us. There were two deer hanging in the market today. We shall have some for Xmas dinner probably. Fish in a large Aquarium I saw in another window. Then . . . in a toy store they had a small tree covered with small toys and little candles burning. Everything is ready for Christmas. They are having Fairs etc. All the time I hear the band playing most every night. There is a large one here. How do [you] get along all alone? Papa do your cows give more milk yet. And how about the snow in H? Today people are out with only hats and light shawls. It is very warm indeed. This morning I heard a Phoebe bird and blue jay. They enjoy the warm weather I know. . . .

I hope to hear from you soon. Leslie had a letter from home saying his sister Nellie thought me very nice. I felt relieved. I was afraid she wouldn't. . . . I dream about some part of home every single night, last night I was up the lane trying to catch Maggie. Well I shall get homesick if I think about it. . . .
With lots of love from

LESLIE AND ME

A Merry, Merry Christmas.

My splasher is most done. Then I am going to make a plush cover for our table. Leslie wants one. He gives me \$5.00 a week to spend on expenses etc. but I do not spend it all.

JUNCTION CITY—Kas Jan 3, 1889.

MY DEAR MAMMA AND PAPA

This morning as I went down to the P. O. I found your fat letter and one from Lena Carleton and one from Washington to Leslie. Just as soon as I got back and finished picking up my room I sat down and had a feast all by myself. Leslie went away yesterday to Mankato for a week or until Saturday.

I was surprised you had not received my letter. I thought I sent it long enough before but I guess I didn't. The *Delineator*

came all right. It seemed like an old friend and I sat right down and read it through. . . . Our weather here is just delightful, warm and sunny. We have a little mud resulting from a snow we had a few days ago, but it is so nice and warm. . . . Our silver is in a cupboard that is on one side of our secretarie, it has yellow china silk curtains, tied pale green ribbons in front of it. I am not the least afraid of burglars. Every door that leads outside or down cellar has three separate locks, all the windows are fastened down, each individual door has a lock of its own. They keep all the doors fastened always, and I always lock mine on going out. . . .

I haven't returned half my calls yet, it is so much work, and so many calls and all the *best* society I am very glad. They are exclusive and nice. Do you know that class have taken a great fancy to us. We are complimented right and left. It won't turn our heads though. . . .

New Year's day the Y. M. C. A. ladies received at their Y. M. C. A. rooms and the young ladies received at the Opera House. Several young ladies also received at their homes. It is quite the thing here. They had excellent refreshments, no wine. Leslie and Fred went together. They received unusual admiration. They brought home souvenirs, bouquets from one and little hats from another. I am credited with introducing the hats. They made 150 of them. I send one for you to keep in your tablet to wipe your pen on. Ever so many told Leslie they were delighted with his dear little girl, wasn't that nice of them? We are invited out to tea Sat. eve at a Mr Sawyer's. They are of the elite of J. C. New Years eve they rang bells, fired off cannons and beat drums and pans etc. There were also several parties to watch the Old Year out. We did not go. F. B. went, the girls are all mushed on him. He rooms and boards across the street from us at a Mrs. Clarks, and we take our meals there too. She is a little woman and reminds me of you. She has a son eighteen and her husband. . . . It is a nice family, he is a leading merchant in the place and is wealthy but here all the rich work and live like poor people. It is more home like to go there than to the Hotel. She is a nice cook. We had a turkey dinner and sponge cake made in layers an inch thick and filled and covered with whipped cream for desert, it was like yours. only the syrup was not as good as ours tho she calls it N. E. syrup.

Today the doctor comes to vaccinate all of us. There is small pox 30 miles from us at Manhattan. Leslie has to travel so much he thought I ought to be. It was over seven years ago wasn't it? He went to the doctor and told him he was very particular about

the virus. The doctor told him all about it, said he was exceedingly careful what he used and told him where he got it, and it was from the same place Dr. Sam got his, so I am not afraid.

I will tell you about our room now it is all done but the pictures. Here is a square like our room facing the north.²⁴ One and two are the double windows looking out on to the Park. The little dot between is Mr. Tyler's mirror. Leslie shaves by it. Right underneath is May Weeks card pocket she sent us Christmas with a pack of cards. 3 and 4 are the double doors right opposite that you go into the next room. We don't use it so we have our commode (5) stand in front of half of it. 6 is our slop jar, the whole set is brown and white earthen, there are seven pieces. My splasher is done and up, that is tied with green ribbon too. 7 is Leslie's cane silver head and his Indian Clubs. Above on the wall is my cane put corner wise and my gilt plaque right under it. They are on the chimney which projects into the room four inches. 8 is the register in the wall where we get our heat. . . . (9) is our new oak book rack, it stands on the floor has five shelves. It is full of books and on the top shelf are fancy books and my Thackeray and album, then I have hung cards that have calendars on them upon the sides and laid a few large books on the floor beneath. It looks very jaunty. (10) is our waste basket. (11) our new desk, it stands across the corner. This is the way we have it filled up. 1 is the lid that lets down, when closed it shuts the desk part all in. In front of the glass is a little shelf that comes out even with the cupboard. We keep our little alarm clock in one corner of it, our silver card receiver on the other side and our tall hand lamp with Mrs Herbert's shade on it in front. You can see where our silver is. 12 is a tall straight backed oak chair with my potpourri pillow hanging on it. We use that to sit in while writing. Our No (2) window sill (these sills are a foot wide and only 1½ ft. from the floor so they make excellent tables) is our silver fruit dish and my desk. Leslie bought one bushel of nice apples so we have fruit. On the next window sill is my work box and work. I sit there all the time when working in a little cane rocker with red satin ribbon run in back and tied in a big bow. 14 is our bureau all covered over with cushions and one thing and another it looks quite pretty I think. (15) is our handsome crimson lounge or couch, the back lets down and the head rest turns back making a complete bed, under neath is a drawer large enough to hold all but the pillows. It is of crushed plush.

24. Susie drew a diagram of her room with each piece of furniture numbered. The numbers here refer to those in the diagram.

I have my fancy pillow on it and my silk quilt over it like a throw. 16 is the door that goes out into the hall and down stairs into the vestibule. We have our independent front door so do not have to bother at all. 17 is our center table with the big album on top and all our pictures on the lower shelf and the big books on the floor beneath. Our hanging lamp is right over it. 18 is our big oak rocker to match the other chair. That has my rug Suda gave me on it. The banner Mary Louise gave me hangs on door (16) and the little lines beside that door are Leslie's dictionary and Encyclopedia. We have a picture moulding all around the room, it is in imitation of bronze bark and knots. That is all I believe except our brown and white ingrain carpet in big leaves. Now do you know how we look? My guitar stands by the bureau. Do you know when I took it from the bag one side had a split about an inch long where it must have got hit coming. Isn't it too bad? It does not hurt the sound. . . .

Give my love to all. . . . Papa give Maggie an extra amount of salt for me. The doctor has come and vaccinated us, he is an old man and reminds me Dr. Sam, very pleasant and a good man.

I must stop and go to dinner right off.

Lots of love from both your children.

SUSIE.

JUNCTION CITY—KANSAS
February 5th, 1889

DEAR MAMMA

. . . We have had warm sunny days for ever so long. Yesterday the wind blew a young hurricane, it was my first experience, our furniture rocked and shook all day. . . . The fine dirt lay in waves on my window stools and covered everything. I never saw the like of it. Where it comes from is a mystery to me, but folks here say "O that is nothing, wait till summer." You dust carefully in the morning and before noon every polished surface will be covered so you can write your name. I don't fuss over it but just let it go. I shall get pretty slack to live in the east again I am afraid. Sunday was a lovely day. The birds sang and it was very warm, after breakfast Leslie, Fred and I went for a walk about town. We walked about a mile and a half, then we came home and went to church. We have dinner about one and after dinner Leslie and I went for a drive. We had a span of greys this time, beauties, I drove some of the time, you didn't have to hurry them at all. We

rode out of town and up on to a bluff where we got a fine view of just acres of level fields. We could see for miles. Then we drove down and followed the Smoky Hill river way out onto the government reservation for five or six miles, just as level as a board and right in the grass. It belongs to the government so no one cultivates it and you can drive anywhere. The horses just ran they felt so gay. I saw a herd of dehorned cattle feeding on a side hill that sheltered them from the winds. They run along in a sort of gulch or creek that is dry. One man put his cattle in a dry creek and put up the fence around so they could not get out. The poor creatures were almost drowned, he got them out I believe. These creeks fill up almost instantly. I saw little huts . . . where farmers were living with big families. They had big farms. . . . It was a lovely drive. . . .

About my coming home. Leslie thinks the new administration may affect his position and he be called to Washington. If that should happen it would inconvenience him much to have me in New Hamp. I would have to return to J. C. and then go to Washington. It would be very expensive traveling so much and with a child terribly wearing. So we think it best to stay where we are. We are thinking of hiring the room next ours—with folding doors between and keep house on a small scale. Here every one uses gasoline stoves. They are safe and have ovens. You can use them like an oil stove almost. We can buy bread and in fact almost every eatable is brought to your door. I do not care for much to eat now. The smell makes me sick at my stomach. . . .

Goodby and with much love.

SUSIE

February 11, 1889

DEAR MAMMA:

I am christening Leslie's new bottle of red ink, how does it look. We use it in our book keeping arrangements. . . .

We are very warm here. Saturday Leslie had to drive to Milford a town about twelve miles away. It was a lovely morning so after breakfast I concluded to go. I hurried around and got ready by the time the team came. We drove a span of greys, the same team we had driven before. We had to cross the government reservation which is about five miles and perfectly level. The air was sweet and fresh., birds would run right through the grass in front of us. The roads run in all directions you know, there isn't a regular route you can go where you like. I saw some fine farms, large correls

with cattle and pigs all sizes running around.²⁵ They keep their hogs right in the same correls. They are all black. I saw some of the funniest little black pigs rutting around cattle lying down. We passed log houses plastered together, queer looking places, and dug outs, made right in the side of a bluff with dirt walls and floors, and quantities of children, all dirt. I could see right over rolling fields ten miles long, it was lovely, and such queer weeds, one they call a tumble weed has a small root and grows round something like a ground hemlock only they are round just like an umbrella. They are as large as a table, some of them. The wind breaks them off and they go bobbing over the fields until they are caught in an osage orange hedge. The hedges are piled full of them. We saw one coming towards us in the distance and it looked like an animal caught in a trap bobbing around. I saw some bitter sweet like ours at home, but the trees I am not familiar with. The sycamore trees I can tell, they are just as white as can be and in the distance look like birch. I had the pleasure of crossing three fords. One was quite deep. It was lots of fun, I drove through. One was very shallow and on one side was a tall pole with 9 feet marked off. . . . I couldn't imagine what it was for but Leslie said when they had rains the creek would be nine feet deep and dangerous. People who are strangers would think it safe, but now they can tell the depth of the water by the pole.

Milford is a town of only a few buildings a church, school building, and a few stores, pigs were running about the streets. It was too funny. There was a sign up over a store which read "Evans House." Leslie found the "House" was kept upstairs, so he sent me up and ordered dinner, while he went to see his men. I was ushered into a dining room, sitting room, and office all combined. One of the slouchiest fullest women of her kind was brushing up pieces of tissue paper, her hair was flying, a young dirty girl but rather pretty, was helping her. She had been making a wreath for a funeral she said. There was a brindled dog on the floor, a rag carpet, a table, a few chairs, a home manufactured lounge, an organ surmounted with paper flowers etc., a table which was evidently their shrine. Above it hung three pictures, enlarged, . . . of Mr. and Mrs. Evans and their daughter when she was young and they were in their prime, with big gold chains and puffs etc. The artist had done his best evidently to improve on nature. The books surprised me somewhat. It showed there was a literary taste some-

25. In an earlier letter Susie had written: "They never yard their cattle, they always correl (accent on the last syllable) them. Ever so many phrases are different."

where. There was Shakespeare, Byron, East Lynne, daily paper and several other first class fictitious matter, two Bibles. I just enjoyed every minute I was there, watching them get dinner, and hearing them talk. They got us bread and butter, coffee (it walked alone) "ginger bread" apple pie that looked like some I made once out of home made flour and few apples, bacon and eggs, *good* mashed potato, turnip, terribly salt, canned corn, and scalloped tomatoes. We ate alone and the rest stood behind and looked on and waited, after we were through I sat down and looked on and watched the rest. The fat woman put the coffee pot on the floor by her side and put her feet up on the rounds of her chair. I tell you it was a circus, if I was home I could tell you about it better. I had a lovely time for .50. . . .

Yours lovingly
SUSIE

One of Leslie's class mates Dr. F. B. Brown, called on me last week. How the Dartmouth boys turn up. This is the second I have seen out here.

SUSIE.

Thursday, Feb. 14-1888[9]
VALENTINES DAY

DEAR MAMMA

I have just finished reading your lovely long letter. I was so glad to get it. . . .

I was invited over to Miss Wright's yesterday afternoon to a five o'clock tea to meet a married school mate of hers. There were twelve young ladies, all of the most cultured in J. C. I enjoyed every moment of it. It was quite informal so I wore my green. We had lobster salad and soda crackers first, then scalloped oysters, bread, cold tongue, different kinds of jells, olives, pickles, tea, hot biscuits, strawberry jam. The dishes were removed each time. Then we had pineapple sliced in little thin wafers with something that tasted like whipped cream all over it and through it, with marble cake and chocolate cake. It was delicious. I enjoyed it very much. They were so kind to invite me a stranger. Take good care of yourself, dear Mamma, and don't get worried. . . . It is so warm here now. Give my love to Papa.

Yours Lovingly
SUSIE

Thursday March 13, 1889

DEAR MAMMA.

. . . Yesterday was lovely and warm in the morning. Mrs. Young took me out driving. I saw a man ploughing and getting ready to sow. We drove through a long stretch of timber to a ranch in the woods. There were lots of cattle, hogs and little pigs, horses etc. It was a pretty sight, and so many birds singing away in the trees. We passed a shanty under the trees, the woman was washing out of doors and had a table out there with dishes and one thing and another spread on it, two little black eyed, black haired youngsters were playing outside. There was a swing hanging from one tree that reminded me of home. It was a scene like those we often read about and see pictured in magazines. It must have looked like the one your aunt lived in where the Indians bought the tin cup with venison. I saw an old stone brewery with iron barred windows that reminded one of a jail. We stopped at the creamery on the way home and saw their cows and pigs. Here they keep cows right by the creamery and feed out the waste milk to hogs. The owners of the creamery own the cows. It is right on the bank of the Smoky Hill River. . . . In the afternoon I took my guitar and went down to Mrs. Young's and we played for a couple of hours. I am getting along quite fast. Oh I have had some sour kraut, Mrs. Kiehl bought some for me. I liked it ever so much but it smelled terribly, it didn't look as I expected it would. Did you ever eat any? I ate it with vinegar. I have made and received 83 calls now since I came here, isn't that a list worth keeping? I have got to cut off some of them. Mrs. Kiehl has a man here now trimming her trees and shrubs. She has peach, pear, mulberry and apple and apricot trees, besides grapes, currants (black and red) and blackberry. I hope they will all bear well. Since I wrote last the maple trees have blossomed and the green grass is growing beautifully. I send some. . . .

The small pox is nearly over here, one new case only. I am sorry I can't ride. Mrs. Young has asked me to ride with her. . . . Tell [Papa] they drive mules here altogether. I haven't seen an ox since I came. No one has them. A red and white one is just going by attached to a dray. . . . Good bye with lots of love to all. . . . tell Papa to give Maggie an extra handful of salt for me. With a kiss for you.

SUSIE

March 14, 1889

MY DEAR, DEAR LESLIE

It is ten minutes to five. I have just awakened from a long nap as usual. It was interrupted in the afternoon by a call from Miss Wright so I finished it out after she left. I have not gotten home sick yet but I have missed you this time terribly I will be glad when you don't have to go away at all. I am very selfish you see, but I had much rather feel so than the opposite way. Yesterday morning Mrs. Young came and took me driving, we went over by the electric light works then turned to the right and went into the woods on an exploring expedition. We brought up at a barn yard gate after quite a drive. It is beautiful through the woods. The birds nearly split themselves singing, we stopped at the creamery on our way back and looked at the stock there. . . .

The dust has blown terribly today. I have not been out only to my meals and down to the office this morning. You have six cases now, one a special at Abilene. I haven't received a letter for you yet this week. I hope there won't any more cases come. I wonder how your work is coming on. I hope you won't have any of those fussy cases. I expect you will read Blackstone nearly through in your two weeks trip. . . .

ELSIE

3 mini. of eight o'clock—I have just returned from a long ramble with Mrs. Wellman and May. We started to the P. O. and have been all over town to watch the prairie fires on the bluffs. They were lovely, but I was in a hurry to get home to read the *fat letter* I had in my hand and all you said that was nice was "no private matter should be enclosed under gov. stamp under penalty of \$300.00." Well, dear, it was written on gov. paper, am sorry it incurred your displeasure but—I *didn't mean to*, and won't do so any more. It has commenced to rain hard since I came in, more mud! I wish you were here this evening I am lonesome such weather. I suppose I will be all right to-morrow. G. Paul Smith was here last evening at the Opera and is again to-night.²⁶ . . .

You must be getting on finely to need more cases I am glad however to send them to you, it makes two less. You must be behind two days or else your letter has been two days coming, it is dated

26. "G. Paul Smith is a remarkable genius, and his entertainment was marvelous. As an elocutionist he excels, his voice being wonderfully flexible, and equal to the expression of every shade of feeling. His recitations are exquisite—facial expression, manner and dialect are perfect. His various personations and his rapid transition from one voice to another are truly wonderful. He is the most finished elocutionist that ever appeared before an Atlantic City audience."—Junction City *Union*, March 9, 1889 (from the *Atlantic City Review*).

the 12th. I can't make out when it was mailed. My dear, dear Leslie good bye and good night, take good care of yourself and don't get sick will you. This is some of your last installment of gov. paper. They said "use this by erasing heading." Enclosed you will find a piece of slippery elm, it is good for various things. Chew well whenever you feel like chewing.

Your own true wife

ELSIE.

JUNCTION CITY, March 20, 1889

DEAR MAMMA

I have just finished getting my room regulated and chimneys, knives etc. washed. We gave a little card party last evening and it littered things up. Dr. [F. B.] Brown, a classmate of Leslie's and Fred's was in town so Fred invited a Miss Dixon over and we played cards until quite late then I had oranges, figs and dates for refreshments. We had a very pleasant evening. It was gotten up on the spur of the moment so I did not dress up. I wore my blue and brown and the lace coiffure Mrs. Howes gave me, it looked lovely over the blue. By the way I let out the under arm seams of my blue and such a time as I had. The steels were those that were put on by pressing a hot flat iron on them and when I came to take them off the rubber peeled off and stuck on the seams. I soaked and rubbed and heated but all to no account. Finally Mrs. Kiehl and I together with gasoline rubbed it off so it does not show very badly. I would never advise one to use them on a dress to be let out. I wish you could see the grass here, it is as high in the Park as it is when papa turns out the cows. I have seen some small dandy lions and the trees are nearly ready to open. Miss Wright gave me a bunch of English violets that grew in her yard. . . . We had lettuce the other day I send you some pieces of the leaves so you can see how large it was, new radishes and onions are very plenty. I send a little scrap of what is here called cedar. They plant them in their yards. They say they are like ours but I know better. You notice if it is. Crush it and notice how peculiar it smells. They are dusty brown there is so little rain, but recently it rained two days and they look a little greener. . . . I found a big cricket in the corner of my room. Out here they eat up everything they say. I spent the other evening watching a prairie fire. It looked beautiful, the flames would leap up into the air like demons, it was not a very large one but what there was of it was

grand. It burns up all the old grass and gets into hay stacks too. By the way hay (if you draw it yourself) is only .75 cents a ton. Think of that. It is not the best grade of course, but it is what they feed the cattle. Tell Papa he better ship it East and sell it there. Perhaps Eastern cows would not touch it though. . . .

Yes if Leslie goes to Washington I shall go too. He doesn't know if it is going to affect his position or not. . . .

When does court set there, it is in session here now. Mr. Clark is on the grand jury. He says he can get me a divorce on the ground of desertion if I want one, because Leslie didn't come home this Sunday. it is the first Sunday he has been away. I stayed at home and read and slept and played on the guitar all day. It rained most of the time. I expect him home by Thursday or Friday. . . . I don't think I need another sack. In hot weather they just lay round with Mother Hubbards on all day and go out evenings. I am glad of that. Mrs. Snow sits up now, and is much better. Well I must close and get ready for dinner. . . . If Papa doesn't make sugar you won't have to fuss with it and wash cans will you.

With much love

SUSIE.

P. S. . . . The small pox scare is over now but the doctors are having a quarrel among themselves, one phy. is not very good and let the small pox spread. . . . A magnificent riding horse just went by, one white foot like Maggie.

JUNCTION CITY—March 25, 1889

MY DEAR MAMMA:

I have just come in from listening to Bishop Vincent a U. S. Chautauquan.²⁷ It was an exceedingly fine address, I enjoyed every moment. Leslie went too but he had to leave before it was over to take his train to Abilene. I was to have gone with him this week but we concluded it was best for me to stay here until Thursday and then go down and perhaps stay over Sunday. Mr. Mahan the lawyer to whom he recites has invited us to visit them. He has other friends there besides.

It is so warm today I am uncomfortable with my outside cape on. Parasols are all the go now, and sun bonnets. They look so ridiculous to me, yet the very nicest people wear them to run about in.

27. John Heyl Vincent, Methodist bishop, established in 1874 in conjunction with Louis Miller, the Chautauqua Assembly of which he was chancellor, 1878-1900.

All colors and designs. . . . Leslie came home Friday last. I can tell you I was glad to see him. He hadn't been home for two weeks. We planned for a 20 mile drive Sat. if it was pleasant and sure enough it was lovely. Mrs. Clark gave us some sugar ginger bread and a cake of maple sugar right from her relatives in Vermont. O wasn't it good! Then we took crackers and apples, figs and dates. We drove a span of greys and Fred went horseback. It was a beautiful drive, we could look for miles along the prairie, some as green as could be, with wheat and the bluffs with grass. I saw German and English ranches and Irish too. I can distinguish the difference now. It is quite a study. The Germans have small neat houses with white linen lace bordered curtains, the house is only one story in height, but they have large fine barns. They are sure to keep their cattle well housed. An English mansion is fine. They have a long lane leading straight from the road to their front door. Those we saw were $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile long bordered with trees. You could look way down the lane direct to their front door and through out at the back door at the end of the large hall. Their mansions are big square two storied houses with few or no curtains. They have lots of out buildings. The Irish have one house, barn, shed and all in one, pigs are prevalent, everything has the aspect of dirt. We passed a Southerner's home with the broad verandas. I saw the farmers ploughing and sowing. The corn is planted now and the wheat is from two to four inches tall. Spring is advancing fast. I saw a sorghum mill. But the birds. O they were lovely. The larks are beautiful songsters, their notes are similar to those of the hermit thrush at home. We got to the side of a creek about one o'clock and we rested and ate our lunch there. . . . The man Leslie went to see has a big farm. He married a woman who came over from England. She has lived in royal families but got disgusted with their mode of living, came to America two years ago, met this farmer and married him. She was just leading up a drove of horses from the creek as we drove in. She says she is perfectly happy out there. . . .

Don't worry about the quilt. I don't know what we shall do, probably we shan't have a crib just yet if we have to move. . . .

I must close with lots of love to you all. . . .

Good bye

SUSIE

JUNCTION CITY, April 2nd, 1889

DEAR MAMMA AND ALL

This is a most beautiful morning I am writing with both windows open and the register turned off and our room is on the north side of the house too, what do you think of that for spring! I am wearing my straw hat that I wore for best last summer, it shades my face so nicely from the blazing sun. It answers every purpose. I am going to get me a bonnet to wear with my blue and brown silk. They have one kind that is very becoming. I don't want to have to buy but one now. Nearly every one has their spring hats now. Next Saturday is "Flower day" and the babies in the Presbyterian church are to be baptized, they make a special service on Saturdays for them. I expect it will be a pretty sight. Yesterday was Arbor day and April Fools day too. I saw a number of trees that had been set out. We wouldn't look at them at home, they were not more than two feet tall and not a branch on them from top to toe. Fred doesn't eat onions so Mrs. Clark made an onion pie and fooled him. He looked taken in. It did not taste quite as good as yours, there was not apple enough in it.

I received a card from a Mrs. Carver across the street yesterday announcing she would be "at Home" from 5 till 7 P. M. Thursday and R. S. V. P. in one corner. I am in a quandry to know how to answer. Of course I know the form but I do not know exactly how to word it. There was one in the *Delineator* but it was an old one at home, it was just what I want. I guess I can find out some way to accept. I shall wear my blue silk with the white lace Mrs. Howes gave me I think. She was a congressman's daughter and is considered the elite of Junction City. I feel quite flattered as the rest in the house have all been slighted. She has taken quite a fancy to me. Last week Thursday I took the train to Abilene all by myself, registered "Mrs. L. P. Snow" all by myself and then called for a porter to show me to a waiting room until Leslie should come. He came in from another town about six (I got there at four). At tea we met a Mrs. Haynes who was married in January. She was from St. Thomas Canada where Jumbo was killed.²⁸ She is not much older than I. We played whist in her room until after eleven she with Leslie and I with a Mr. Cowles a friend of Leslie's from Conn. He is a real estate man making money to live East on, he says. His wife is in Topeka writing short hand, she gets \$90. a

28. Jumbo was the giant African elephant imported by the American showman, P. T. Barnum, in 1881 and shown as a major attraction in the Barnum and Baily circus until September, 1885, when the animal was killed by a locomotive in the freight yards at St. Thomas.

month. . . . The next morning we started out into the country for a ten miles drive. It was a magnificent morning but the wind blew so I could not get my breath at first. You have no idea how hard a straight wind will blow. Finally I had to get out at a farm house and wait until Leslie came back. It was a real cozy place. The family came from Ohio just eleven years ago that day. They lived in a dug out they told me first, then built their home. They had a nice farm. . . . When we got home I found a card from Mrs. Mahan who had called, she had not left so I met her. She invited us to stay over Sunday with them, but Leslie had special work so he could not. We took tea with them that night however. They live about half a mile out in a beautiful place, all trees, green grass and flowers. Their house inside is . . . lovely. Mr. Mahan is the lawyer to whom Leslie recites. They commenced out with nothing, she took in washing to support the family while he studied law. Now they are very wealthy and she is exceedingly well read, she keeps posted on all the current subjects. You would never dream she had been a washwoman. We are invited to spend another week with them in April. They have a fancy ranch out of town I want to see very much, with lovely horses. We came to Junction City Saturday aft. I hated to leave Abilene it is so pretty and we met such pleasant people. Abilene is where "Wild Bill" was mayor [marshal] in the old times, if a man accosted him in a way he thought was unbecoming he would shoot him right down. . . .

We had a terrible thunder shower a few nights ago and there were hundreds of wild geese going over. They got blinded by the lightening and attracted by the electric lights so they flew right around us for a long time in clouds. Of all the squawkings I ever heard. They beat the Dutch. . . . They have two horses over at the fort, one was in Custer's massacre and the other in the Battle of Gettysburg. They are quite old.²⁹

Lovingly
SUSIE

Junction City, April 8, 1889.

DEAR MAMMA AND ALL:

Leslie is sitting at our desk working up a case so I will sit by the window and write to you. It is as much like April weather this morning as one could imagine. There is a gentle rain falling and

29. Capt. Miles W. Keogh's mount, Comanche, was the sole survivor of Custer's forces at the battle on the Little Big Horn, June 25, 1876. He spent the remaining years of his life in ease at Fort Riley. On his death, his skin was mounted and is now in the museum of natural history at the University of Kansas.

has been for several hours. I can almost see things grow. Mr. Kiehl had his blue grass sowed this morning in the yard and one can almost imagine it sprouting already. Leslie came home Sat. night he is not going away until to-morrow so I shall have him to myself today. We went to church yesterday morning. Three were taken into the church, it was Communion Sunday too. I went over Sat. to see the babies baptized. It was so windy and disagreeable mothers did not dare to take them out so there was but one baptized. I did not stop to see that one. I managed to get through the "At Home" all right. I learned that when cards read "At Home" it was meant to be informal. No bonnets, some kept on their gloves. I think all should have. I did not know what to do. I saw hats, gloves, and bonnets lying on the dressing table, so I thought they must all have taken them off. I off with my bonnet and gloves, now I had worked a long time getting said gloves on (they were new ones, tan, and five buttoned, cost me 69 cents, they were a bargain for the occasion). I had to sacrifice them I tell you, and my hands looked so badly all broken out. I wished I had kept them on after I had gotten among the company. The people amongst them had on gloves but no bonnets, but there were enough without them to make me feel at home. We sat at little tables four or six at a table, we were served with plates first then bread spread sandwich style, then salad was passed in a large oval dish with slices of lemon on top, each one helped herself. Next came "cold fowl," . . . cold ham, olives & pickles, coffee, almond cake and layer cake, lastly a plate with an orange cut in half and a spoon to eat it with. I did not eat but a little for fear it would fly over my blue silk. Last of all was a finger bowl and towel passed around. There were but three gentlemen present. Cap't. McClure, the new rector, and Fred B. Fred read a selection and another young lady recited a piece, then we took our adieus. I was completely tuckered out. More from being afraid I should commit myself than anything else but I didn't only in taking off my gloves. I forgot to mention that my bonnet was a new one for the occasion. I got a shape half turban and half bonnet it is something like Fig. 4 in April *Delineator*. It has a fan shaped trimming round the edge of ribbon, each fan caught with two little pins then ribbon is bowed and looped right up the front and also caught with pins. It is of a tan shade and the ribbon is about four inches wide and of a light shade of tan down to a dark one in stripes. It cost me 90 cents a yard and she used four yards. The bonnet was 1.00, the whole

affair was 5.36. I think it was cheap for they ask so much for everything here. . . .

Everyone here talks Oklahoma. There are from 5 to 8 families leaving Abilene each week for that place. They say there are from 4 to 6,000 families encamped around waiting for the opening ready to rush in, cars loaded with provisions stand on the track ready [to] be run in the moment the day arrives. Soldiers are kept on guard every moment to keep settlers off. One man got in and made himself a dugout so carefully that no one espied him. He thought he was fixed on his claim but a soldier happened to see him crawl in, he went to arrest him, the man was so desperate he threw a rock and nearly killed the soldier but they got him and now he is in the penitentiary. I saw a canvas covered emigrant wagon yesterday going down. Leslie says it is the place to make money there now but he can't go because he is married. . . .

Leslie says he don't see how you can write such nice long letters. I told him our Mother was smart & he said he knew it, he hoped I would take after her.

Well Good bye Love to all

SUSIE.

JUNCTION, April 16, 1889.

DEAR MAMMA

. . . I have a pitcher full of peach branches all blossomed out on my table. They are just lovely. I never saw any growing before. They say there is to be a large crop this year and cherries too. I do hope there will be. Last night Mrs. Kiehl and I walked down to the greenhouse, and I saw two oranges growing on a little tree. They had beautiful flowers too. Saturday aft. Leslie took me for a little drive into the country and such fields of blossoms. The prairies they say are covered. I would like to drive over them. Perhaps we shall next Saturday. Yesterday two ladies came to take me out driving. I went with one and we had a beautiful drive. Last week a large number of prairie schooners went through bound for Oklahoma. One had painted on the side in big letters, "In Providence we trusted, In Kansas we busted," and I added—"To Oklahoma we dusted." . . .

I saw a steam threshing machine going through the streets yesterday, it goes on wheels like a steam engine, only it can go any [where]. They travel from one man's ranch to another. It looked quite funny. Strawberries! Only .45 a box here, but they are in

market. I haven't had any yet but am expecting some soon. Next Sunday is Easter, there will be special services in our church. Everyone will have on a new bonnet or a new dress. I shall wear my silk. . . .

I have just come from a drive with Miss Wright, her mother and Mrs. Carver. We drove over to their farm. The country is just a mass of blossoms. I got some wild plum branches, they are very sweet. I send you some. We had a warm drive. I must get out my batiste now. People are wearing their light dresses quite a little. . . .

Give my love to all, and keep lots for yourself. Leslie thinks he has gotten quite a smart mother. He hopes I take after her. His mother is getting well now very slowly. She wrote us this week for the first time.

Well good bye.

SUSIE

JUNCTION CITY KAS. April 24, 1889.

MY DEAR MAMMA

. . . Mrs. White, a lady who lived in Boston some twenty years ago, sent her darky over to ask me to go out driving at ten, so I went. We drove way out into the country. I saw a gopher, a little animal that looks like a squirrel somewhat. You can see one in the animal book. They were running on the ground. . . .

The pigeons I saw when driving with Mrs. White were turtle doves, the kind that sing such mournful songs. I think I have heard you say you used to listen to them. I have not heard one yet. We got back from our drive just now, and in the afternoon Mrs. White took me out on the government reservation to see the wild cactus, but it wasn't in blossom. We saw the plant. She drove me across the reservation and I saw the town herd of cattle and the herder, he drives out the cows in the morning and watches them all day, keeps them together, then drives them into town at night. The reservation contains 22,000 acres so you see they have a large territory to roam over, although they don't go over quite all, some is reserved for hay. I just enjoy driving around. The ladies are all very kind, they have taken me out several times. . . .

[SUSIE]

May 1st, 1889

MY DEAR LETTIE

You don't know how delighted I was to hear from you, it seemed such a long time since I last heard from you. Well, to come right down to news the first thing. I expect Leslie and I will go home in four weeks. Just think of it! The reason we do so is on account of Leslie's mother being very sick. We thought at one time we should have to go right off, his Father wrote she was so low they thought she wouldn't live long. Leslie was very much worried and we commenced packing right off. We had a telegram she was better so we are waiting until it is a little later. Leslie will take his vacation through the month of June at Snowville. I shall probably go right to Haverhill and shall stay there until the little wanderer comes that makes an Aunt Lettie of you. Leslie will come back to Junction and when I am strong enough I am going to come back, he will meet me on the road somewhere. We think that is the best thing to do as he may be called into Washington and if he should be it would be quite awkward for me to go there. I kind of dislike going home now, it seems so soon to have a youngster, but we feel pretty tickled about it. I am sorry Leslie has to come back I shall miss him so much. I want to get home tho terribly so I can help Mamma some. . . . If nothing happens & his Mother improves we shall start from here the first day of June and get into Boston the third or fourth of June. . . . It seems as though Summer was already here. Everything is so green and nice. . . .

I dreamed last night Maggie was dead & I cried hard. Night before last Leslie found a bedbug on the quilt. It bit him. I feel as tho they were all over me. We don't know where on earth it came from. It was a big one. . . .

With much love till I see you.

SUSIE

JUNCTION CITY—May 21st, 1889.

DEAR MAMMA

I have just come in from a beautiful walk. Everything is fresh and lovely, we have had so many showers. The birds are fairly splitting and the morning doves just wail all the time. It is going to be very warm by this afternoon tho! I walked up to see an old English woman who is doing some embroidery on the little shirt for me. She and her daughters came over from England in March. Her husband has been here three years. He sold all to come to

Kansas to make money and the first two years all his crops failed on account of the drouth. The third year he was taken ill and sent for the family. Now they are all here in destitute circumstances. The mother does very fine embroidery. I got her to do the shirt for me to teach me how. I didn't know how to do it. She has it nearly done, it looks lovely, only she musses the flannel and I don't like that one bit. It doesn't look as sweet and clean as it did when it first came. . . . Thursday night a young man of twenty-one years was murdered down by the track, he was a gambler and a desperate fellow. He harassed two Swedes, who were waiting for the train and they to escape being killed stabbed him with a pocket knife. The authorities arrested them, heard their story made them up a purse of 6.00 and let them go.³⁰ How is that for Kansas? Every one felt relieved to get rid of the fellow murdered.

Friday we had a terrific shower. Just as it commenced at 8. P. M. Leslie came home. I was relieved for they frighten me some, At Abilene hail fell an inch and a quarter in length. Leslie said the ground was covered. West of Abilene it turned into a cyclone. Here the sky was one sheet of flame all night and such cracks of thunder I never heard the like of before. I scarcely slept a wink. There is something in the atmosphere when we have an electric storm that keeps me on the move. I can tell just as well when one is coming by my feelings. The air is greatly electrified. Cellars were filled with water and at Abilene the[y] had to go in boats for a part of a day. Here by the cheese factory they have their water closet tied to a large tree and they go to it in a boat. Isn't that a ludicrous state of affairs. Sat. Leslie took me over to the Fort. . . .

We went over the Reservation feeding grounds and such herds of magnificent horses as we saw feeding in droves of a color, with mounted horsemen to keep them together. It was a grand sight. The soldiers were encamped as they are in battle fields. We saw the target shooting. It made us think of war. . . . We are getting ready to start gradually so as not to have to work too hard at the last. We start from here if nothing happens to prevent June 1st at noon. I can scarcely wait to get home and see you all. . . .

Lots of love from

SUSIE

30. Susie's account of this melee follows in general that given in the *Junction City Union* for May 17, 1889. The two men who did the stabbing were arrested at Ogden and brought back for trial. A coroner's jury brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide and the prisoners were released. A collection was taken up to defray their expenses as far as Denver.

JUNCTION CITY KANSAS May 27, 1889

DEAR MAMMA

Today is our last Monday here, that is if nothing happens to prevent our starting. Leslie went north to Clay Center at four this morning, he is trying to get all his old and special cases off his hands before starting. We have not decided which route to go by yet. I would rather go by the way of Montreal, because then Leslie can go right home with me for one day, if we go by the way of Boston, I shall have to go right to his own home as it takes eight days to go and come from Junction City and he does not want to take the whole of his thirty days leave at present, and he will come to Haverhill any way before he goes West again. I expect I shall be pretty lonesome without him this Summer, but then I shall have the Fall to look forward to. . . .

I never saw fruit grow as fast as it does here. I picked a ripe cherry yesterday. The trees are just bowed down with them, I never saw so many before. Grapes are in great abundance, and I have seen the green peaches if not the ripe ones, today I saw gooseberries in market. They looked like our wild ones, not nearly as big and nice as those we have. I don't just like to see things get along quite as fast, for they have a spell in the summer that there is a rest and everything seems dried up. . . .

Mrs. Clark invited me to go over to her cousins to a rehearsal for a musical. The orchestra is led by Miss Abbie Clark a girl only fourteen years old. She plays the violin very finely indeed.³¹ All the others are nearly twice as old. Her Mother took her to Berlin and she studied two years there. . . . I met an Indian girl there. She plays the violin too. She has a fine figure but her face is so square I didn't just like it. She has coal black eyes and hair. After I came home I found Leslie had returned. He finished his work and so is home for to-day. He goes away this afternoon but comes home to night. I have been getting ready to pack to day. Last night I heard a calliope for the first time. It was at the station and played to attract a crowd, after the crowd were there they were asked a quarter to see a whale that weighed 28 ton. They had it in a huge car. They had another car with a "mermaid" in it so they said. I think it was a hoax. . . . Leslie hasn't received his dismissal for vacation yet, but we expect it every day. I

31. J. Abbie Clarke Hogan enjoyed a long and successful career as a concert violinist and contributed in many ways to musical activity within the state.

have a cactus in bloom. Mrs. Kiehl picked it out on the prairie. I would like to take it home but don't know as I can, it is very small, scarcely large as a hen's egg. I must not write more now. Will soon see you all. I expect we shall get there a week from today (Tuesday) I have not taken sulphur for a long while, but commenced a week ago so as to keep my blood pure for the change again. Give my love to Papa, and keep a large stock for yourself from both

LESLIE AND ME.

Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART TWELVE, 1842-1843

1842

☞ **MARRIED:** Andrew Bernard Canville (born about 1801?; native of France) and Mary Louise Terrien (daughter of Ignatius and Louise [Vallé] Terrien), on January 2, at the Kaw's mouth French settlement (in present Kansas City, Mo.) by the Rev. Christian Hoecken, S. J.

Ignatius Terrien (a French-Canadian; and American Fur Company employee) had brought his family to the Kaw's mouth (from Carondelet—now part of St. Louis) before March, 1834. A. B. Canville arrived there prior to November, 1840.

It has long been *said* that Canville established a trading post among the Osages, in present Neosho county, in 1844. He may have had trade connections with them in the 1840's, but evidence now compiled shows that he did not move to the Osage reserve till 1852! Items of proof: (1) Canville, his wife (French, and one-quarter Osage), and two children (Missouri-born) are recorded in the 1850 federal census of Jackson county, Mo.; and other Canville children born in the 1840's who died before 1850, are listed in Catholic baptismal and burial records of "Kansas City." (2) In the 1860 Kansas territorial census, the 1865 Kansas state census, and the 1870 U. S. census of Kansas, the children born *after* 1852 are all listed as Kansas natives. (Although a son, Henry Alfred, born in 1852, is recorded in the 1860 census as Kansas-born, in the censuses of 1865 and 1870 he is listed as a native of Missouri; and his baptism is to be found in the Catholic records at Kansas City—but this is not true for his younger brothers and sisters.) (3) Records of Jackson county, Mo., show transfers of property by A. B. Canville in 1851 and 1852. (4) Noting Canville's current annual visit to the city to buy a large bill of groceries, a Kansas City, Mo., newspaper of August, 1858, referred to his having been a resident and storekeeper there as early as 1840; remarked that he had built several of the oldest houses in town—one being the brick building occupied (1858) by the City Hotel, and another W. J. Jarboe's "store house"; stated that Canville had left Kansas City "several years ago" to settle among the Osages, and that the property he disposed of when he left, for a few hundred dollars, had become worth \$60,000 to \$80,000. (5) In June, 1876, when A. B. Canville (then a resident of "Oklahoma") visited Osage Mission (present St. Paul), he "entertained" the local newspaper editor "with reminiscences of the early settlement of . . . [Neosho] county to which he came in 1852." (6) A newspaper item of 1878—the year of his death—referred to him as "A. B. Canville, who settled in 1852 above Erie. . . ."

LOUISE BARRY is a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

(See 1852 annals for additional data on the Canvilles, and on Canville Trading Post.)

Ref: The correction of an error (or errors, rather) in the Winter, 1962, *Quarterly*, v. 28, p. 507, seems appropriate here. In the item on "Chouteau's Church" the statement that Father Van Quickenborne "baptized Cyprian Ferrier (son of Cyprian and Louise [Vallé] Ferrier)" should read "baptized Cyprian Terrien (son of Ignatius and Louise [Vallé] Terrien)." Mrs. Blanche O. Garrison, of Bartlesville, Okla. (who is descended from Ignatius Terrien [her great-grandfather] and his son Cyprian), has graciously shared with this compiler some data from her research on the Terrien (now spelled "Tayrien") family, and also on the Canville (Quenneville) family. (Her mother was La Reine "René" [Tayrien] Mickels.) Other sources: "Liber Matrimoniorum" at St. Mary's College, St. Marys (for the marriage record); *Vital Historical Records of Jackson County, Missouri* . . . , compiled by Kansas City chapter, D. A. R. (c1934), pp. 91-93, 266; U. S. census records (as noted above); and Kansas state census, 1865; *Kansas Historical Collections (KHC)*, v. 17, pp. 692, 693 (which has many inaccurate statements concerning the Canville family); *Western Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., August 14, 1858; *Neosho Valley Journal*, Osage Mission, June 14, 1876; W. W. Graves' *Annals of Osage Mission* (St. Paul, c1935), p. 229; also, his *History of Neosho County* (St. Paul, 1949), v. 1, pp. 125, 127; *The History of Jackson County, Missouri* (Kansas City, Mo., 1881), p. 398.

☪ BORN: on January 10, at Delaware Methodist Mission (present Wyandotte county), Susan Talbott Peery, daughter of the Rev. Edward T. and Mary S. (Peery) Peery.

Ref: Si and Shirley Corn's *Our Family Tree* (June, 1959), Section IV; *KHC*, v. 9, p. 227 (for location of the Peery family in 1842).

☪ February 7.—Isaac Coffman and Frantz Blattman, of Jackson county, Mo., agreed to take over and operate Isaac McCoy's ferry on the Missouri river "at or near the Town of Kansas" [present Kansas City, Mo.], until February 1, 1843.

This was the ferry originally established by Peter Roy (about 1837?), located near the foot of present Grand avenue, Kansas City, Mo. The second owner (for less than a year) was James H. McGee, who sold it to Isaac McCoy. John Bidwell (an 1841 emigrant to California), who taught school in Platte county, Mo., in the winter of 1840-1841, recalled that he crossed by "the ferry at Westport Landing" on two or three trips to Jackson county; that crossing there was "always dangerous in winter, when ice was running"; and that the Independence Landing ferry, 10 miles downstream was "safer." In 1843 John C. McCoy (son of Isaac) became the ferry's owner.

Ref: Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 28 (in KHI ms. division); *KHQ*, v. 2, p. 6; John Bidwell's *Echoes of the Past* (Chicago, 1928), pp. 20, 21.

☪ BORN: on February 26(?), at Fort Leavenworth, Medora Easton Rich, daughter of post sutler Hiram Rich and his wife Julia.

Ref: Fort Leavenworth national cemetery, tombstone inscription (which records that Medora died July 31, 1847, aged 5 years, 5 months, and 5 days). The 1860 federal census of Fort Leavenworth's civilian population lists the Rich family, and shows a son Hiram, aged 16 (therefore born about 1844), as a native of "Kansas."

☪ BORN: on March 10, at Fort Leavenworth, Julia Turner Cooke, daughter of Capt. Philip St. George and Rachel (Hertzog) Cooke.

She was the last-born of the Cookes' four children, and the only one a native of "Kansas." Her parents had been married at Fort Leavenworth in 1830—see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 177.

Ref: *Kansas Historical Quarterly (KHQ)*, v. 22, p. 109, v. 28, p. 177.

☪ March 25.—John Hambleton signed a contract to build a school house for the Sacs & Foxes (in present Doniphan county). It was to cost \$285.50, and be completed in a month.

In September Subagent Richardson wrote: "There is no public building on the Sac & Fox land except the school house and the Sub Agency Blacksmith's shop and dwelling which were built by James Gilmore the Blacksmith."

Ref: 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *House Doc. No. 68* (Serial 420), p. 8; *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs, 1842; Superintendency of Indian Affairs (SIA), St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 150-161; 27th Cong., 3d Sess., House Doc. No. 162* (Serial 422), p. 43.

☪ Spring.—Buildings for the Great Nemaha Subagency headquarters were under construction on the Iowa reserve (in present Doniphan county).

The site was "within five miles of what is called Iowa Point, about five miles from the mouth of Wolf River, and four miles from the Missouri River . . ." (Subagent W. P. Richardson's description). The Iowas' principal village (where half the nation lived) was less than a mile away.

In September Richardson wrote: "The buildings are of hewn logs, of one story high, two rooms & a hall, clap board roof, puncheon floor, two doors, two windows, a kitchen fifteen feet by seventeen, wooden chimneys with stone jambs to dwelling house and kitchen; a spring house, stable and other fixtures *all* of which have been built at the expense of your Sub Agent." (He estimated the outlay at \$400 which included putting into cultivation 10 acres of ground.)

Ref: Comm'r of Indian affairs *Report, 1842; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 209, 210, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 75, 76, 150-161; KHC, v. 10, p. 318* (Pryor Plank notes that the above subagency site was a mile southwest of the Iowa, Sac & Fox Presbyterian Mission; and that up to the time of the treaties of 1854, when the Indians' reserves were diminished and they moved northward, little change, or improvement had been made in the buildings erected in 1842.)

☪ Around April 1 Thomas and Esther (Cattell) French became superintendents at Shawnee Friends Mission (succeeding the Henry Harveys—*see* June 13, 1840, annals—who returned to Ohio).

Thomas H. and Mary (Wilson) Stanley had arrived about March 21 to serve, respectively, as principal farmer, and housekeeper; and with them came John Steward as assistant farmer. The autumn, 1842, report listed the mission personnel as totaling eight persons. Mary Crew was assistant housekeeper; Thomas and Hannah (Dukemineer) Wells were teachers.

(In the spring[?]) of 1843 the Stanleys became superintendents when the Frenches returned East; and remained in charge till August, 1845, then went home to Ohio.)

Ref: Henry Harvey's *History of the Shawnee Indians* . . . (Cincinnati, 1855), p. 250; *Reports of the Comm'r of Indian affairs for 1842, 1843; H. Pearl Dixon's Sixty Years Among the Indians* . . . (1922), pp. 20-32; W. W. Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, v. 4, pp. 86, 707, v. 5, pp. 49, 139.*

☪ BORN: on April 3, at Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Johnson county), William C. Berryman, son of the Rev. Jerome C. and Sarah C. (Cessna) Berryman.

Ref: *Leavenworth Times, September 21, 1925; or, Remsburg "Stork" clippings, in KHi library.*

¶ April 9.—John C. McIntosh was issued a license (at St. Louis) to trade at the Iowas' village, at the mouth of the Big Nemaha, and at such other points on the Iowa and Sac & Fox reserves as the resident subagent might designate.

(Why this trader was licensed in 1842 is not clear, for his illegal trafficking in liquor was known at St. Louis. Subagent W. P. Richardson, in a November 12, 1841, letter had reported that it was Jeffrey Doraway [Dorney] who had got "McIntosh to settle so near to them [the Iowas] with poison by the bottle or bowl as they might want it," and that "McIntosh brought 100 Bbbs of Liquid fire here only 4 months since and I believe he has but little left.")

Ref: Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 753), for Mitchell's list of licenses, January 1 to September 30, 1842; OIA, Letters received from Fort Leavenworth Agency (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 307), for Richardson's letter.

¶ April 9.—Capt. Benjamin D. Moore, Asst. Surg. Jacob R. Motte, and a detachment of First dragoons, accompanied by Missouri residents George Douglass and Abraham Redfield, arrived at the Marmaton crossing of the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road. Near the ford (in present Bourbon county), Moore and Motte (commissioners for this task) selected a site for a new military fort—a post first known as "Camp Scott" (named for Gen. Winfield Scott).

The military party had left Fort Wayne (a new and brief-lived post on the Cherokees' land in "Oklahoma") April 1. Having made the Marmaton crossing selection (because a preferred Pomme de Terre [Spring] river site on the Cherokee neutral lands was unavailable), Captain Moore and Asst. Surgeon Motte returned to Fort Wayne, leaving Sgt. John Hamilton and a work party of dragoons to begin temporary log structures at "Camp Scott."

(Writing 30 years later, Hamilton recollected that buildings [temporary?] for the commanding officer, a hospital, and a quartermaster and commissary storehouse were up, and a garden planted, before garrison troops arrived.)

See, also, May 30 entry.

Ref: KHQ, v. 11, pp. 126, 127; 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 136* (Serial 433).

¶ DIED: the Rev. William Johnson (founder of Kansa Methodist Mission in 1836—see p. 43), on April 10, of pneumonia, at Shawnee Mission (where he was buried). He was 37 years old.

Missionary Johnson (four years among the Delawares and Shawnees; and seven among the Kansa) could speak in Shawnee, and may have been the only white man to learn the Kansa language with grammatical accuracy.

In July, 1842, the Rev. E. T. Peery wrote: "Our operations at the Kansas Mission are wholly suspended, owing to the death of the Missionary, Rev. Wm. Johnson." See, also, October, 1842, entry.

Ref: KHC, v. 16, pp. 234, 235, 251; Comm'r of Indian affairs Report, 1842 (see Agent R. W. Cummins' report therein).

¶ Near dusk, on April 13, Methodist Bishop Robert R. Roberts and the Rev. E. R. Ames (northward-bound on the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road), in a horse-drawn covered carriage, ar-

rived at the "falls of the Marie des Cygnes"—present Trading Post, Linn county.

As Ames described it: "Here was an Indian trading-house, occupied by a Frenchman and two or three squaws. Several Osage Indians, some Pottawatomies, and two or three negroes were about." The Frenchman (Michel Giraud, presumably) became hospitable upon learning a *bishop* was at his door; and, says Ames, "both ourselves and horses fared exceedingly well."

(Bishop Roberts, touring Methodist Indian missions, had left the Cherokee-Seneca border, in northeast "Oklahoma," with Ames, on April 5. They had traveled part of the time on the "Old Harmony mission trace" in Missouri; but left it on the morning of the 13th to strike off over the prairie "in a due west course" for some 10 miles, to the military road—entering "Kansas" somewhere in present Bourbon county.)

Leaving "Trading Post" on April 14, they crossed the Marais des Cygnes and continued northward. While "nooning" at a grove of timber where there was a large spring (a popular camp spot, called, by other travelers, "Cold Water Grove"—in present Miami county), the horses bolted, left the carriage with top crushed, tongue and a whipple-tree broken, at the bottom of a ravine, and later were found, grazing, a couple of miles away. Ames (foresightedly equipped with tools) spent the night repairing the carriage and harness; and the 63-year-old bishop made do as best he could during the chilly hours. Early on April 15 they were under way again—traveled hard all day, not stopping to eat—and reached the Indian manual labor school (present Johnson county) about dark.

Bishop Roberts' subsequent "Kansas" travels (between mid-April and early May) included the Friends (Shawnee) and Moravian (Delaware) missions as well as Methodist stations. On May 4 he disposed of his carriage and ponies to take passage on the *Oceana* (at Kansas Landing—present Kansas City, Mo.) for St. Louis.

Ref: Charles Elliott's *The Life of the Rev. Robert R. Roberts* . . . (Cincinnati, 1844), pp. 342-348; *Western Christian Advocate*, Cincinnati, v. 9 (May 13, 1842), p. 14 (for E. R. Ames' letter—copy in ms. division, KHi).

☪ April 18.—Col. Stephen W. Kearny and his five First U. S. dragoon companies (described by their commander as 350 "efficient and well mounted men ready for service") departed for Fort Gibson (Okla.) to report to Brig. Gen. Zachary Taylor (under army orders of March 26). The dragoons' summer replacement at Fort Leavenworth was a company of First U. S. infantry (possibly headed by Capt. Joseph H. La Motte since he was, by report, at the fort in the summer of 1842).

The Independence (Mo.) *Western Missourian*, noting the dragoons' southward march, complained: "This takes from our frontier the whole force assigned by the Government for its protection." The troop movement was said to be "owing to the unsettled state of our relations with Mexico. . . ."

By the end of April, Kearny and his command were at Fort Gibson; and on June 6 they were in camp near that post.

See, also, August 4 entry.

Ref: *Niles' National Register*, Baltimore, v. 62 (April 9, 1842), p. 84 (for army general orders of March 26); *Daily Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, May 4, 1842 (reprinted in Nebraska State Historical Society Publications, Lincoln, v. 20, p. 117); Otis E. Young's *The West of Philip St. George Cooke* . . . (Glendale, 1955), p. 103; *Glimpses of the Past*, St. Louis, v. 8 (January-June, 1941), p. 29 (Robert Campbell noted Captain La Motte's marriage to Ellen Chambers at St. Louis on May 12, 1842, and referred to the officer's impending journey to Fort Leavenworth "where he is stationed.")

¶ Assembled Oregon-bound emigrants left the Independence, Mo., area on May 4; crossed into the Shawnee reserve and encamped at Elm Grove (present Johnson county) to await late-comers. Dr. Elijah White, chief promoter of the 1842 overland emigration, and recently appointed as Oregon's first subagent of Indian affairs, arrived from Independence on the 14th.

Officers were elected on May 15—White as captain (to serve for one month); Columbia Lancaster, Lansford W. Hastings, and Asa L. Lovejoy as a scientific corps; James Coates as pilot; Nathaniel Crocker as secretary; Hugh Burns as master blacksmith; and John Hoffstutter as master wagonmaker. Dr. Elijah White (a Methodist missionary in Oregon, 1837-1840) had never crossed the Rocky mountains. Traveling in his care were two homeward-bound half-Chinook youths—John and Alexander McKay, sons of Hudson's Bay Company's Thomas McKay—who had journeyed over the Oregon trail (en route to Eastern schools) in 1838, with Missionary Jason Lee.

On May 16 the caravan got under way. Medorem Crawford (in his journal) wrote: "In our company were 16 waggons & 105 persons including children & 51 men over 18 years of age." White indicated there were 18 wagons and 112 persons when the company organized; and that later additions brought the personnel to 125. (Lt. John C. Fremont had information there were 64 men, and 16 or 17 families. "They had a considerable number of cattle," he noted, "and were transporting their household furniture in heavy wagons.") Lansford Hastings' later-published figures "our company consisted of 160 persons, giving us a force of 80 armed men," evidently were exaggerated.

Stephen H. L. Meek (brother of Joe Meek), and two other men, with one wagon, joined on the 17th. On May 18 Captain White issued an unpopular decree that the emigrants' dogs must be killed (22 were put to death) to prevent a rabies outbreak. Bad weather, and a sick child, slowed the company's progress for several days. On May 21 the Columbia Lancasters' 16-months-old daughter died and was buried (in present Douglas county). Next day—Sunday—the caravan traveled 25 miles, camping in Shawnee county of today. On the 24th, as Crawford recorded it: "Started at 9 o'clock M. drove to the Kansas river [present Topeka area] and crossed with saf[e]ty, Distance 10 miles."

The night of May 26 camp was on Vermillion creek. From the 27th to the 30th Mrs. Lancaster's illness delayed the company. The Lancasters turned back; and were escorted to the Kansas crossing by Captain White and others. The caravan camped on Blue river the night of May 31. White rejoined the emigrants on June 1. On the 3d Crawford wrote: "The company started at 5 o'clock M. & left myself with 3 others to wait for Mr. [Hugh] Burns and others who were detained by Mr. Lancaster." On the 4th Crawford "Met Mr. Burns & his company together with O'Fallen 2 miles back, turned & came on with them." On the 5th they all joined the caravan.

The emigrants crossed the 25-mile stretch from Little Blue river to the Platte on June 9. Lansford W. Hastings ("an aspiring sort of man"—Lovejoy) was elected captain in place of White on June 15. As a result, the company split, and Dr. Elijah White's smaller party went on ahead next day. But at Fort Laramie, in late June, there was a temporary reuniting of forces. F. X. Matthieu and two other trappers joined the emigrants; and Thomas Fitzpatrick, just arrived from the Flatheads' country, was hired by White (at \$500, government expense) to guide them to Fort Hall.

Subsequently, in the Independence Rock area, a man named Bailey died in an accidental shooting; and on July 13 Hastings and Lovejoy, caught by Sioux Indians, were rescued from their precarious situation by Thomas Fitzpatrick. The emigrants, long since traveling in two separate parties, reached Fort Hall (where Fitzpatrick left them) in mid-August. By this time the Hastings group had only seven wagons; and the rest of the emigrants were using pack animals.

All of the 1842 overland company went to Oregon (but in 1843, a party headed by Hastings went on to California). Early in October, 1842, the long journey was completed. Crawford logged the distance from Independence to Willamette Falls as 1,746 miles.

Ref: Medorem Crawford's "Journal," in *Sources of the History of Oregon*, Eugene, v. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-26; A. J. Allen's *Ten Years in Oregon* . . . (Ithaca, 1850), pp. 139-155; L. W. Hastings' *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*, edited by C. H. Carey (Princeton, 1932); John C. Fremont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition* . . . (Washington, 1845), pp. 12, 40; H. H. Bancroft's *History of Oregon* (San Francisco, 1886), v. 1, pp. 254-262; W. J. Ghent's *The Early Far West* . . . (New York, 1931), pp. 319-323; *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Salem, v. 31 (September, 1930), pp. 240-243 (for Asa L. Lovejoy's narrative); Oregon Pioneer Association, *Transactions of the Fifty-first Annual Reunion* . . . 1923, p. 27 (for item on David Weston and companions of the 1842 journey), and *Transactions of the Fifty-fifth Annual Reunion* . . . 1927, pp. 16-20 (for William McKay's article—he did not return with the 1842 emigrants; but his two brothers John and Alexander did); *New York Weekly Tribune*, April 13, 1844 (has long letter from "New Madrid, Mo., March 19, 1844," signed "A Pioneer" [evidently L. W. Hastings] who says he was with a "party of 160 persons" arriving overland in Oregon October 5, 1842; and has recently returned to the United States "via California, Mexico City and Vera Cruz").

☞ May.—The spring caravan to Santa Fe was made up of a "large company of Americans and Spaniards"—around 15 proprietors and 120 men in all. The 62 wagons, mule-drawn (about 800 animals in all), carried merchandise (from English and Eastern markets) valued at between \$150,000 and \$160,000. Manuel Alvarez was one of the proprietors.

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, May 4, 1842 (in *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 118); *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 16 (October, 1959), p. 39; *New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fe, v. 21 (April, 1946), p. 136; Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844), v. 2, p. 160.

☞ May.—The caravan from Santa Fe which reached Independence, Mo., early in May numbered about 80 men. It was said the proprietors in the party had brought about \$200,000 in specie, and intended to invest \$150,000 in goods.

Probably in this company were the six Mexican traders who, later in May, were "in Pittsburg for the purpose of making contracts for waggons, harness,

& purchasing other articles intended to cross the desert for the Mexican market." It was *reported* they had brought with them "17 boxes of specie, containing \$350,000[?]" to make purchases in the United States.

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 9, 11, 1842 (reprinted in *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 118); *Weekly Picayune*, New Orleans, May 30, 1842 (from the daily of May 28).

¶ May.—Bent, St. Vrain & Company's wagon train reached Missouri after an April-early May journey across "Kansas" on the Santa Fe trail, from Bent's Fort on the upper Arkansas. Kit Carson (who brought with him his young half-Arapaho daughter to be cared for and educated in Missouri) was with Charles Bent on this trip.

A St. Louis newspaper of May 19 stated: "A part of Bent & St. Vrain's Santa Fe traders arrived yesterday bringing 283 packs of buffalo robes, 30 packs of beaver, 12 sacks of tongues, and 1 pack of deer skins."

Ref: *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 19, 1842; Blanche C. Grant, editor, *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life* (Taos, N. M., 1926), p. 50; David Lavender's *Bent's Fort* (New York, 1954), pp. 206-211; John C. Fremont's *Memoirs of My Life* . . . (Chicago, 1887), p. 74.

¶ On May 15 Subagent A. L. Davis reported that the Pottawatomies in his Osage [Marais des Cygnes] River Subagency totaled 1,949 souls. In the "Wabash band" were 625 persons; and the "St. Joseph & Prairie bands" including "those [260 or 270 souls] who have joined from the Council Bluffs" [the Pottawatomie reserve in southwestern Iowa], numbered 1,324 persons.

In September, Davis wrote: "The Settlement on Sugar Creek are notorious for sobriety and industry, they nearly all live in good comfortable log cabins, have fields fenced with rails and well cultivated, and have ploughed and fenced a large quantity of Prairie ground the present Season, while the other settlements [on Pottawatomie creek] have indulged in drunkenness, and idleness followed as a necessary consequence. . . ."

According to records kept at Sugar Creek Mission, the Catholic Pottawatomies in the Marais des Cygnes country numbered 812 in 1841, and in 1842 totaled 940. (See pp. 160, 165, 166.)

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 106-110, 137; G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 2, p. 229.

¶ May.—Martias Dias (a Mexican), *by his own account*, crossed "Kansas" alone, coming down from Bent's Fort to Independence, Mo., over the Santa Fe trail.

Martias' story (published in the *Picayune* after he reached New Orleans in June) was that he had dug out of the Santa Fe, N. M., jail, in April, with tools supplied by friends. (He had been held there for serving as a spy with the Texan Santa Fe expedition.) Reaching Taos, he stole a horse and mule; made his way to Bent's Fort (where he obtained provisions); then continued eastward, reaching Missouri after a 26-day journey. The *Picayune's* reporter concluded: "If his story is correct he is probably the first traveller who has ever 'gone it alone' across the immense prairies of the West. . . ." (There

was a "Martias," or "Matias," with the Texans. He is mentioned in published accounts of that ill-fated expedition.)

Ref: *Weekly Picayune*, June 13, 1842; Thomas Falconer's *Letters and Notes on the Texan Santa Fe Expedition* . . . (New York, 1930), p. 40.

¶ May.—At Kansa Methodist Mission the occupants were the government farmer William H. Mitchell and his family. (See April 10 entry.) On May 18 a delegation of Methodists (among whom were ministers Andrew Monroe, E. T. Peery, and David Kinnear), with a Delaware guide, arrived for a brief visit among the Kansa.

(This party had left Shawnee Mission on the 16th; camped near the Wakarusa that night; and spent the night of the 17th at a "creek [the Shunganunga?] and camping ground, ten miles from the mission." After leaving the Kansa, the ministers returned to the Indian manual labor school arriving there by May 23.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 16, pp. 260, 261.

¶ About May 23 Capt. John H. K. Burgwin and a company of First U. S. dragoons left Fort Leavenworth for present Council Bluffs, Iowa, and reached their destination at the beginning of June. They were to prevent further hostilities between the Pottawatomies and the Sioux.

Agent R. W. Cummins (of the Fort Leavenworth Agency), on special assignment, had arrived at Council Bluffs on May 30. On June 4 he held a council with the Pottawatomies, which Burgwin attended. The Indians informed the agent they wanted two points guarded—one, the line between them and the Sioux; the other, between them and whisky sellers.

The troops set up "Camp Fenwick"—subsequently renamed "Fort Croghan" (within present Council Bluffs). (In October, 1843, this post was abandoned, and Captain Burgwin and his troops returned to Fort Leavenworth.)

Ref: *SIA*, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 111-114; *Annals of Iowa*, Des Moines, 3d series, v. 3 (April-July, 1898), p. 471 (the date here given for Burgwin's arrival is April, 1842; but Cummins' letter of June 14, 1842, in the *SIA* "Records" is explicit); H. P. Beers' *The Western Military Frontier, 1815-1846* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 140. Edward Harris, in his journal—*Up the River With Audubon* . . ., edited by John F. McDermott (Norman, c1951)—under dates of May 9 and October 5 and 6, 1843, mentioned Fort Croghan.

¶ May 30.—Capt. Benjamin D. Moore, Lt. William Eustis, Asst. Surg. Josiah Simpson, and Companies A and C (about 120 men) of the First U. S. dragoons arrived at new "Camp Scott" (see April 9 entry) after a journey northward from Fort Wayne (Okla.), which was officially abandoned when they departed from it on May 26. (Government records designate May 30 as the founding date of Fort Scott.)

Later in the year Bvt. Maj. William M. Graham arrived, with a company of Fourth U. S. infantry, to command the post. Permanent buildings were started before the end of 1842—see August 15 entry.

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 11, pp. 127, 128; 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. No. 136* (Serial 433).

¶ June 6.—Lt. John C. Fremont (of the U. S. Topographical Engineers), and the 27(?) other persons who were members of his first exploring expedition to the Rocky mountains, moved overland about 12 miles—from Chouteau's Landing on the Missouri (where they had debarked June 4 after a steamboat trip from St. Louis)—to Cyprian Chouteau's trading house on the Kansas (in present Wyandotte county—see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 45). There they stayed six days, making final arrangements.

In Fremont's employ were Kit Carson (met on the steamboat, and hired as guide), Charles Preuss (as assistant topographer), Lucien Maxwell (as hunter), and 22 Canadian and Creole-French *voyageurs*. Also along were two youths, Randolph Benton (12) and Henry Brant (19), son and grand-nephew of Missouri's U. S. senator Thomas H. Benton (Fremont's father-in-law).

On June 10 this company left Chouteau's post to take the Oregon trail across "Kansas." (See map facing p. 448.) "We were," wrote Fremont, "all well armed and mounted, with the exception of 8 men, who conducted as many carts, in which were packed our stores, with the baggage and instruments, and which were drawn by two mules. A few loose horses, and four oxen, which had been added . . . completed the train."

Arriving, late on June 14, at the crossing of the rain-swollen Kansas ("by our route, the ford was 100 miles from the mouth"—Fremont), the animals were made to swim over; six of the eight carts were taken across, one at a time (each dismantled, and with its accompanying load) in an India-rubber boat (20' x 5'), handled by a crew of three, with paddles. The crowding of two carts as one load for a last trip, resulted in the boat capsizing. Two men nearly drowned; and some supplies were lost.

June 15 was spent on the river's north bank (not far west of present North Topeka). Kansa Indians came to visit; brought vegetables and other articles for barter. Fremont was able to obtain 20-some pounds of coffee from a half-breed; and exchanged a yoke of oxen for a "fine cow and calf." On the 16th the company moved about seven miles upriver and camped for two days on a "handsome, open prairie."

On the 18th the journey was "along the foot of the hills which border the Kansas valley." Fremont rode off "some miles to the left" to examine a cluster of huts—a deserted Kansa village—scattered in an open wood near the Vermillion's mouth (not far from present Belvue, Pottawatomie co.). "The Pawnees had attacked it in the early spring," he wrote. "Some of the houses were burnt, and others blackened with smoke." The expedition's camp that night was on the west bank of the (Red) "Vermillion," at the ford.

"Quitting the river bottom" for the uplands, the company traveled 19 miles on June 19. Lieutenant Fremont noted "many large boulders . . . of various shades of red, some of them 4 or 5 tons in weight . . . scattered along the hills; and many beautiful plants in flower . . ." (in present Pottawatomie county). On the 20th the "Big Vermillion" (Black Vermillion) was crossed; and after a day's march of 24 miles the party "reached the Big Blue, and encamped on the uplands of the western side, near a small creek, where was a fine large spring of very cold water." (By Fremont's observa-

tions [inexact?] they were in longitude 96° 32' 35"; latitude 29° 45' 08"). Kit Carson "brought a fine deer" to camp. On June 22 they were near the Little Blue; four days later they crossed to the Platte. (The Oregon-bound emigrants had reached the Platte 17 days earlier.)

Subsequently, on July 5, near the forks of the Platte, Fremont sent the main party on to "Fort Laramie" by the emigrant route; while he, Lucien Maxwell, and three others, traveled up the South Platte as far as Fort St. Vrain before heading for Laramie's fork.

From the American Fur Company post "Fort John, or Laramie" (where the main party arrived on July 13, and Fremont on July 15), the exploring expedition (leaving behind young Benton and Brant) proceeded west on the "Oregon trail." Crossing South Pass on August 8 the party entered the Wind River mountains on the 10th. On August 15, with four others, Fremont climbed the 13,785-foot mountain since known as Fremont Peak.

The return trip (begun about August 18) was made by the same route as on the outward journey, except that the party followed down the Platte all the way to its mouth, arriving at the Missouri on October 1. Lieutenant Fremont and his men embarked October 4 from Bellevue (Neb.) in a boat built at the trading post there, and reached St. Louis on October 17. (*See, also, October 10 entry.*)

According to a speech Sen. Lewis F. Linn, of Missouri, made on August 8, "The object of . . . [Fremont's] expedition was to examine and report upon the rivers and country between the frontiers of Missouri and the base of the Rocky Mountains; and especially to examine the character, and ascertain the latitude and longitude, of the South Pass, the great crossing place in those mountains on the way to the Oregon." He noted that all this had been accomplished, and that Fremont had returned ". . . with a vast mass of useful observations and many hundred specimens in botany and geology."

John C. Fremont's biographer, Allan Nevins, has referred to him as "the first distinctively scientific explorer produced by the United States." (Fremont, during the next 10 years (1843-1853) made *four* more expeditions to the West.)

Ref: John C. Fremont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842* . . . ; John C. Fremont's *Memoirs of My Life* . . . , pp. 73-163; Charles Preuss, *Exploring With Frémont* . . . , translated and edited by E. G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde (Norman, c1958), pp. 3-77; Allan Nevins, editor, [John C. Fremont's] *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure* (New York, 1956), pp. 23, 183, particularly.

☪ June 19.—Visiting the Sugar Creek (Pottawatomie) Mission (present Linn county), the Right Rev. Peter R. Kenrick, of St. Louis, officiated at a ceremony confirming 300 Indians. He was "the first Catholic bishop to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation within present Kansas."

Ref: T. H. Kinsella's *The History of Our Cradle Land* . . . (Kansas City, 1921), pp. 87, 228.

☪ June 21.—Beeby Robinson was awarded a contract to construct a horse mill for the St. Joseph and Prairie bands of Pottawatomes living on Pottawatomie creek (present Miami and Franklin counties). This grist mill was to cost \$1,150, and to be completed within five months.

(In May, 1844, the Indians' subagent wrote that it was an "absolute necessity" that he be authorized to appoint a miller for the two-year-old mill, which had no one in charge of it.)

Ref: 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *House Doc. No. 68* (Serial 420), p. 14; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 106-110, 114, 115, 322, 323.

¶ June 23.—Four children of Frederick Chouteau (traded among the Kansa since 1829—see *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 58, 193) and his Shawnee wife, Nancy (Logan) Chouteau, were baptized at present Kansas City, Mo., by the Rt. Rev. Peter R. Kenrick, Catholic bishop. They were: William (9), Benjamin (7), Amanda (5), and Francis X. (3). (All were natives of "Kansas.")

Ref: "Westport Register" at St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kan. (on a slip of paper labeled "To be recorded in Westport's Baptismal records"); and see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 58.

¶ Summer (and autumn).—Among the Missouri river steamboats making trips as high as Weston, Mo., (or still farther upriver—to Blacksnake Hills, or Council Bluffs) were the *Edna*, *Emilie*, *Omega*, *Huntsville*, *Bowling Green*, *Rowena*, and *Oceana*. The *Thames* and *General Brooke* made stops at "Westport" [Landing] and probably went higher.

Records indicate there were 26 steamboats in the Missouri river trade in 1842; but some ran in the lower river only. At least 44 persons died after more than 60 "emigrant passengers" were scalded when the *Edna's* boiler burst, at the mouth of the Missouri, on July 3.

Ref: Nebraska State Historical Society *Publications*, v. 20, pp. 117, 119-121 (items from the *Daily Missouri Republican*, 1842); SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, p. 275; 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 162* (Serial 422), pp. 42, 47, 48; 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 240* (Serial 441), pp. 38, 39; *Niles' National Register*, v. 72 (July 31, 1847), p. 351.

¶ On August 1, according to the recollections (in 1915) of Washington H. Chick, a company of traders left Westport, Mo., for Santa Fe. William McCoy had wagons in this train; "Pruitt" (Benjamin W.^p) had one wagon; and young Chick (then 16) also had one—which his father (W. M. Chick) had outfitted.

At Big John spring the oxen turned Pruitt's wagon too short and smashed a wheel. The train was delayed and hindered by rains, high water, and muddy roads as far as the Cimarron. There, William McCoy (who had a law suit pending at Independence), Chick, and another man, left the train and returned (on muleback) to Missouri (reaching Westport in mid-November). The wagons (in charge of a "good man" hired by McCoy) went on to Santa Fe; and some were taken to Chihuahua, to return in the spring of 1843.

Ref: Washington H. Chick's reminiscences (in KHi ms. division), from an article published in the *Weekly Democrat-News*, Marshall, Mo., April 8, 1915.

¶ August 1.—Subagent R. A. Calloway reported that most of the Osages were still living in large towns, and not much disposed to lead an agricultural life. However, some 10 or 12 families of

George White Hair's and Clermont's bands had fenced and ploughed fields in the spring. (Ploughs and horse-gear—200 of each—received at the subagency in April, had been reserved for those Indians who "showed intent.")

The principal Osage chief, Pa-hus-ca (or, White Hair, III)—the man Tixier in 1840 (*see* p. 329) had called "Majakita"—was much opposed to farming. He had received the only wagon and team issued under the 1839 treaty, then sold them to Joseph Swiss ("Suisse"—a half-breed living across the line in Missouri). Calloway's estimate of head chief White Hair: "he is a bad man."

In April, at annuity payment time, the Osages had numbered 3,788 souls (1,302 men, 1,222 women, and 1,264 children). The decrease from 1841 (when the total had been 4,301—*see* March, 1841, entry) was because Sho-tal-sah-bas (Black Dog) and his band (about 50 lodges) had moved "lower down on the Verdigris," in Cherokee country, and had not come in for their annuities. (In April, 1843, the census of Osages was 1,388 men, 1,322 women, and 1,392 children—4,102 souls.)

Ref: Comm'r of Indian affairs *Report*, 1842; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 228-239 (has Calloway's 1843 report).

☪ BORN: on August 2, at Shawnee Methodist Mission (present Johnson county), William Hunneywell Eisele, son of Andrew M. and Rosina (Lose) Eisele.

It is said the Eiseles went to the Indian manual labor school in 1840, where Andrew M. was cook and baker. Some years later they settled at Westport, Mo., where Eisele established a bakery at "the northeast corner of Mill street and Westport avenue."

Ref: W. H. Eisele's letter of November 20, 1908, and R. C. Eisele's letter of January 23, 1916, in KHi ms. division; KHC, v. 9, p. 564. The 1860 census of Westport, Jackson co., Mo. (taken on June 25), lists A. M. "Eisle" (46), Rosina (40), William (17), and five younger children born in Missouri. In the 1850 census, the entry for the Eisele family is: Andrew M. (33), Rosina (29), Louisa S. (10; born in Germany), "John W." (8; born in Indian [ter.]—who is, evidently, the William H., above), Rosena (5) and Margaret (2), both born in Missouri. Sup't J. C. Berryman's August 15, 1842, report on the school personnel (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 301) lists "Mr. M. Eisle, baker and cook."

☪ August 4.—Col. Stephen W. Kearny (promoted, with rank unchanged, to command the Third Military Department of the army) left Fort Leavenworth with his adjutant and staff for Jefferson Barracks, Mo.—his new headquarters.

Capt. Eustace Trenor, First dragoons, was Fort Leavenworth's commandant during the latter part of 1842; and still the ranking officer in March, 1843.

Ref: D. L. Clarke's *Stephen Watts Kearny* . . . (Norman, c1961), pp. 83, 410; Otis E. Young's *The West of Philip St. George Cooke* . . . , p. 107; OIA, Letters received from Fort Leavenworth Agency (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 302) for Capt. E. Trenor's March 4, 1843, letter.

☪ Early in August the upbound steamboat *Lebanon*, carrying the merchandise of several Santa Fe traders, sank in five feet of water

some 50 miles below Independence, Mo., resulting in "entire loss of \$80,000 worth" of goods (a third of the fall's outfit, by report).

Manuel Armijo, governor of New Mexico, had an investment of goods valued at between \$18,000 and \$20,000 on the *Lebanon*. When he learned of his losses he "became excited to a high degree against all the citizens of the United States," according to acting U. S. consul Manuel Alvarez.

Ref: *Glimpses of the Past*, v. 8 (January-June, 1941), p. 43; *1950 Brand Book* . . . (Denver, c1951), p. 278; *Daily Missouri Republican*, August 6, 1842.

☪ August 10.—Rufus B. Sage, and two experienced mountain men, all mounted on mules, and well equipped, left Independence, Mo., for the Rocky mountains, taking the Oregon trail across "Kansas." (For Sage's first trip West see September 4, 1841, annals.)

Successive rains made the early days of the journey unpleasant. They had to "raft" the Wakarusa; and the Kansas was so high it was forded with "great difficulty." Near the head of the Little Blue they met Pawnees who were, fortunately, friendly. At the forks of the Platte, this trio took the route up the South Platte, and arrived at Fort Lupton (Colo.) on September 2d.

(Sage spent two winters in the mountains, on the move much of the time. His travels extended as far south as Taos, N. M., and as far west as Fort Hall [Idaho]. He returned East in the spring of 1844.)

Ref: Rufus B. Sage's *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains*, as reprinted in *Rufus B. Sage* . . ., edited by L. R. and Ann W. Hafen (Glendale, Calif., 1956), v. 1, p. 92, v. 2, pp. 46-80.

☪ August.—The seven small American Fur Company boats "having on board 20,000 buffalo robes and a few packs of other furs," which reached St. Louis on the 16th (after taking two months to descend from the Yellowstone river), probably passed along the "Kansas" bank of the Missouri early in August.

Ref: *St. Louis Bulletin* of August 17, 1842, as reprinted in the *Weekly Picayune*, New Orleans, August 29, 1842, and in *Niles' National Register*, v. 63 (September 3, 1842), p. 16.

☪ August 15.—Capt. Thomas Swords (AQM) let three contracts "for furnishing and delivering" at "Camp Scott, Mo." (Fort Scott, "Kansas") materials for the construction of permanent buildings: (1) to Samuel Wilson, for 500,000 laths, at \$1.45 per 1,000 (Edward L. Chouteau and Caleb Darby, sureties); (2) to Samuel B. Bright, for 100,000 bricks, at \$4.98 per 1,000 (John Shirley and John Shelton, sureties); (3) to Nehemiah Beardslee, for 300,000 shingles, at \$2.97 per 1,000 (W. B. Hagan and Jacob Lutzenlizes, sureties). (See, also, May 30 entry.)

Other army contracts for Fort Scott in 1842: Lt. Richard S. Ewell (AAQM), on July 15, with Jesse B. Winscott (for 250 tons of hay, at \$4.98 per ton), and with William Moore (for 1,000 bushels of lime, at 18¢ cents per bushel); on August 1 with Calvin Waldo, and with Staples & Butts, for commissary items (Waldo's contract, totaling \$1,522.50 was to begin October 1, and end

June 1, 1843; Staples & Butts', for \$1,132.20, ran from December 31 to June 1, 1843). On August 20 Capt. Thomas Swords (AQM) made a contract with Bennet Ford to supply 1,200 bushels of "good sound merchantable oats," at 25 cents per bushel.

Ref: 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 68* (Serial 420), pp. 33, 36, 49. Edward L. Chouteau (son of Paul Liguiste Chouteau, former agent to the Osages) had a farm on the north side of the Marmaton, in Missouri, near the state line.—See *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies*, edited by John F. McDermott (Norman, 1940), pp. 87, 98.

☪ August 15(?)—2d Lt. John W. T. Gardiner, of the First dragoons, and 20 men, dispatched from Fort Leavenworth on the 14th, overtook Fort Platte-bound trader John Sibille and his outfit (two wagons; seven men) at a point "five miles North of the Kansas villages." They seized and destroyed 11 barrels of contraband alcohol (the equivalent of 55 barrels of whisky). Sibille and his men (with the confiscated wagons and other property), were escorted to the military post, and from there were taken to Platte City, Mo., for confinement; but the local magistrate refused to act, and set them free.

(Partners John Sibille and David Adams—see p. 354—had come down from Laramie's Fork in April, after taking their first trading goods to the mountains in the autumn of 1841. In a September, 1842, letter, William L. Sublette, of St. Louis, noted: "Adams, Sabille & Renshaw [Reshaw, or Richard] with a small outfit from [Bernard] Pratte got in [in May?] and has returned with another small one.)

Sibille, having recruited his outfit (men, wagons, oxen, and goods—he still had several barrels of alcohol) following the August 15(?) disaster, was at the Kansas river ford (present Topeka area) on the 27th, preparing to move westward. He traveled to Laramie's Fork in company with [Pierre D.?] Papin's Fort Laramie-bound party, arriving at Fort Platte on October 12.

Making a later start, partner David Adams, with another small outfit, was on the north bank at the Kansas crossing (present Topeka area) in mid-September (some of his party helped Joseph Papin—see p. 328—raise a corn crib on the 19th). Adams reached Fort Platte early in November.

Ref: OIA, Letters received from Fort Leavenworth Agency (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 301) for Lt. J. W. T. Gardiner's report of August 24, 1842; some letters of John Sibille and David Adams, courtesy of Dale L. Morgan, Bancroft Library, who has most generously shared the results of his research on these traders; OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 753) for D. D. Mitchell's list of licenses issued from January 1 to September 30, 1842; *Glimpses of the Past*, v. 8 (January-June, 1941), p. 42, for Sublette letter; *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, v. 13 (October, 1956), p. 101; Annie H. Abel, editor, *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark* . . . (1932), p. 406, and see pp. 221, 228, 248.

☪ August 15.—Superintendent Berryman's report listed the following personnel at Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian manual

labor school: Rev. J. C. Berryman, principal; Rev. David Kinnear and wife, teachers; William Honeywell, assistant; Rev. L. M. Carter, carpenter; Rev. William Tuggle, blacksmith; Anthony A. Ward, wagonmaker; E. Curell, shoemaker; and A. M. Eis[e]le, baker and cook. Also, about "an average of eight farm hands" were employed by the month, some of them Indians.

Ref: OIA, Letters received from Fort Leavenworth Agency (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 301); Martha B. Caldwell, compiler, *Annals of Shawnee Mission* . . . (1939), p. 48.

(In a report of May 23, 1843, the Rev. E. R. Ames wrote that there were employed at the institution 10 single men and one single woman; 11 married men having in their families 20 children. These, plus 100 Indian students, made a total "population" of some 150 persons.)

☐ August(?)—Crossing "Kansas"—presumably by the Oregon trail—to the Rocky mountains, during the early autumn, were new partners Louis Vasquez and Jim Bridger. In a September letter, William Sublette, at St. Louis, wrote: "Vasquez and Bridger has left here lately with about 30 or 40 men fitted out by the American Fur Co. to trap on the watters of Missouri, Say near the 3 forks." (This partnership lasted for 13 years—till 1855.)

(Bridger's recent partner, Henry Fraeb—see p. 327—had been killed by Indians in August, 1841; and Bridger had come down from the mountains in the summer of 1842 "with about 20 men and 30 packs of Beaver." Louis Vasquez and his former partner, Andrew W. Sublette, had sold Fort Vasquez, on the South Platte, and their business, to Locke, Randolph & Co. in 1841.)

Ref: *Glimpses of the Past*, v. 8 (January-June, 1941), pp. 42-44; *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 7 (May, 1930), p. 3, and v. 10 (January, 1933), p. 19.

☐ August-September.—Nine men (members of the "Bidwell-Bartleson" company which had left the Missouri frontier for California in May, 1841), en route home from the Pacific coast, crossed "Kansas" on the Santa Fe trail, reaching Missouri September 9.

Originally 13(?) men had set out from Sutter's Fort in April, 1842, to make the return journey. *Joseph B. Chiles*, *Robert Rickman*, *John Bartleson*, *Charles Hopper* (all from Jackson county, Mo.), *James P. Springer*, *Ambrose Walton*, *Major Walton*, *John McDowell*, *A. Gwinn Patton*, and *George Henshaw*, were, it appears, in this party. At Fort Hall (Ida.), which the 13(?) reached after a circuitous 1,500-mile journey, *four* men dropped out. The rest traveled, by various mountain trails, southward across present Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado, to New Mexico, where they began the last stage of the trip in the late summer. Almost certainly among the *nine*(?) were those whose names appear above in italics.

Ref: J. B. Chiles' dictation, 1878 (in Bancroft Library); Charles Hopper's "Narrative," 1871 (Bancroft Library); A. S. Taylor, "The Discoveries, Founders and Pioneers of California" (Bancroft Library); George R. Stewart's *The California Trail* . . . (New York, c1962), pp. 31-35; H. H. Bancroft's *History of California* (1886), v. 4, p. 343. On May 20, 1843, west-bound Peter Burnett met Bartleson and Rickman in Jackson county, Mo.—See his *Recollections and Opinions* . . . (1880), p. 101. Chiles returned to California, overland, in 1843.

☪ September.—Ten Iowa chiefs, for whom government-built houses had been promised in the October 19, 1838, treaty, were moving into the just-completed homes (erected by John W. Forman, under contract, for \$3,000). Subagent W. P. Richardson reported the Indians liked the well-built structures.

The Iowas, with the help of government farmer Francis Irvin, and the "labor of the squaws," had raised a crop of nearly 15,000 bushels of corn, and ample quantities of pumpkins, squashes, Irish potatoes, and other vegetables.

A census, taken on September 5, showed a total of 470 Iowas on the reservation (about 30 were absent). The agent noted that the "upper Ioways or pouting party as they are called" (the Iowas living on the Pottawatomies' reserve in southwest Iowa), composed nearly half the nation; but some were moving down to "Kansas."

Ref: *Report of the Comm'r of Indian affairs, 1842*; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 150-161. In *ibid.*, pp. 161-164, in a December 1, 1842, letter, Subagent Richardson stated that the Iowas on the Pottawatomie reserve numbered "nearly 200."

☪ September.—Commenting on the Kickapoos' agricultural status, Agent R. W. Cummins wrote: ". . . their trader Mr. [W. H.] Hildreth takes all the corn, beef, pork, hides and potatoes that they have to spare at a fair price for goods. . . ." According to the 1842 census, the Kickapoos in "Kansas" numbered 505 persons.

Ref: OIA, Letters received from Fort Leavenworth Agency (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 301); a letter by Geo. H. Swords, of New York, February 13, 1843, to the Comm'r of Indian affairs (CIA), in *ibid.*, mentions W. H. Hildreth of Fort Leavenworth—an Indian trader to the Kickapoos and other tribes. Apparently the Pensineau trading post was no longer in operation.

☪ September 15.—At Richmond, Mo., Philip Leget Edwards (who journeyed—across "Kansas"—to the Far West with Wyeth's expedition of 1834—see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 352; spent four years in "Oregon"; and then returned East with the Rev. Jason Lee, coming down from the Rocky mountains with the American Fur Company's caravan of 1838—see *KHQ*, v. 29, p. 156) wrote a long letter describing the Oregon country, outlining the recommended route for overland travelers, also giving information and advice to prospective emigrants. It was his opinion that wagons could not be taken to the Columbia river valley.

Before the end of 1842 the Liberty (Mo.) *Herald* office published Edwards' letter as a 20-page pamphlet, entitled *Sketch of the Oregon Territory or, Emigrants' Guide*. Only one copy (in the Coe Collection at Yale University's library) is known to exist of this *first guidebook to the Far West*.

Ref: A reprint of Edwards' *Sketch* . . . [1953?], with added paper covers; H. R. Wagner and C. L. Camp, *The Plains and the Rockies* . . . 3d edition (Columbus, Ohio, 1953), p. 133; *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Seattle, v. 24 (July, 1933), p. 178 (has a brief biographical sketch of Edwards); *California Historical Society*

Quarterly, San Francisco, v. 3 (April, 1924), pp. 73-83 (has C. L. Camp's article "Colonel Philip Leget Edwards and His Influence Upon Early Immigration to the Far West"). C. M. Drury, in his *Marcus Whitman, M. D., Pioneer and Martyr* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1937), p. 330, stated that the St. Louis *New Era* of May 25, 1843, in "two columns of fine print," published P. L. Edwards' letter of September 15, 1842.

☐ September 23.—The Rev. Leander Ker (author of a pamphlet entitled *Slavery Consistent With Christianity*, first published at Baltimore, Md., in 1840) became Fort Leavenworth's third chaplain. He remained for over 16 years (till March 31, 1859).

[His predecessors had been Episcopalians—the Rev. Henry Gregory (December 17, 1838-September 30, 1839), and the Rev. David E. Griffith (December 21, 1839-December 31, 1840). Ker *may* have been a Unitarian.]

During the border warfare years (1854-1858) Chaplain Ker was a controversial figure in Kansas territory because of his avowed Proslavery stand. (A third, revised and enlarged, edition of his *Slavery* pamphlet was printed at Weston, Mo., in 1853. A second edition had been published in 1842, at Jefferson City, Mo.)

Ref: F. B. Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (1903), v. 1, pp. 477, 479, 593 (for dates of Gregory, Griffith, and Ker); Library of Congress catalog cards (for the editions of Ker's pamphlet); 34th Cong., 1st Sess., H. R. No. 200 (Serial 869), pp. 859, 860; John McNamara's *Three Years on the Kansas Border* (New York, 1856), p. 140, in particular. *Niles' National Register*, v. 63 (October 29, 1842), p. 129, noting Ker's appointment, stated: "Mr. Ker is the author of several letters to the late Dr. [William Ellery] Channing [Unitarian minister], on the slave question and the Creole case."

☐ October 6.—American Fur Company employee Andrew Drips (with connections in the Kaw's mouth area) was appointed Indian agent for the Upper Missouri Agency. At the beginning his assignment was as special agent to enforce the intercourse law, or, as John F. A. Sanford put it: "to exercise a surveillance over the Traders & put a stop to the introduction of spirits & liquor into the Indian Country."

(On July 11 Sup't D. D. Mitchell, St. Louis, had written Agent R. W. Cummins, of the Fort Leavenworth Agency: "The Government is *now* determined to use every possible exertion to Suppress this illegal, pernicious traffic, and no agent will be held guiltless who fails to exert himself in the cause. . . .")

Drips received his instructions at St. Louis on October 8; and left at once for Fort Pierre (S. D.), arriving there November 24. His first report, January 2, 1843, indicated lack of success. But Mitchell still hoped the experiment would work and that by "vigilance and assiduity" on Drips' part, the "pernicious traffic" could be "either suppressed or greatly abated."

For his services as "special agent" from October, 1842, to March 31, 1843, Andrew Drips was paid \$729.84. He headed the Upper Missouri Agency till "removed" in 1846. As fur trade historian H. M. Chittenden has pointed out, securing the reactivation of the Upper Missouri Agency and getting one of its own men appointed agent, was a shrewd move by the American Fur Company to strengthen its own position in fighting opposition fur traders.

Ref: 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 240* (Serial 441), p. 22; 29th Cong., 2d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 36* (Serial 499), p. 4; 30th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Ex. Doc. No. 5* (Serial 514), pp. 92, 93; OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 753), Mitchell's October 8, 1842, letter, and Drips' letter of January 2, 1843; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 300-303, 349, for Mitchell's letters of October 6, 1842, and April 20, 1843; Francis A. Chardon's *Journal at Fort Clark*, edited by Annie H. Abel, p. 405 (for Sanford quote); H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (c1954), v. 1, p. 367.

☐ October 10.—Lt. John C. Fremont and the members of his first Rocky mountain exploring expedition, homeward-bound on the Missouri in a boat propelled by 10 oarsmen, "halted [early in the morning] to make some astronomical observations at the mouth of the Kansas." It was "exactly four months," Fremont noted, "since we had left the trading post of Mr. Cyprian Chouteau, on the same river, ten miles above." (See June 6 entry.)

(They reached St. Louis on October 17.)

Ref: John C. Fremont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842* . . . , p. 79.

☐ October 11.—James M. Estell leased, for three years, the "United States farm" at Fort Leavenworth, under terms of a contract made with Lt. Ferdinand Coxe (AAQM), First U. S. infantry.

Estell agreed to supply 12,000 bushels of corn and 8,000 bushels of oats (per year?) for the sum of 22½ cents per bushel; and was to receive \$3.50 "for every ton of hay he may make." (The "sureties" were Archibald Woods and Hiram Rich.) (See July, 1840, annals entry.)

A supplementary contract of January 16, 1843, granted Estell "the privilege of passing his wagons, teams &c over the Missouri river by the ferry at Fort Leavenworth" while in possession of the public farm, "at half the rate charged to other individuals."

Ref: 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 68* (Serial 420), p. 39; 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 42* (Serial 441), p. 27.

☐ October.—A mounted party of five—Solomon P. Sublette, A. Shutz, James Ross, "Mr. M'Carty," and the Rev. Joseph Williams—coming down from Bent's Fort (which they had left on September 26), crossed "Kansas" by way of the Santa Fe trail en route to Missouri.

[Shutz, Ross, and Williams had traveled together from Oregon by a route which included Fort Hall, the first Fort Bridger (of August, 1841? origin; on Green river), Antoine Robidoux's fort (on the Uinta), Taos, N. M., and then Bent's Fort. Both Ross and Williams had been in the Oregon-bound emigrant train of 1841.]

Of their Santa Fe trail journey, Williams wrote: "We traveled for fourteen days without being out of sight of buffaloes. . . . After we crossed the Pawnee fork . . . we saw no more . . . [of them]." At Council Grove the five men "remained . . . parts of two days, and two nights" to trade with the Kansa Indians.

Williams left his companions six miles east of Council Grove, and traveled

on alone. He reached Elm Grove the third day of his solo journey, after having come, on the last morning, to a camp of four hunters, two of whom were "Colonel Boon's grandsons." About October 23 he arrived at Shawnee Methodist Mission (from which place he had departed on May 22, 1841, for the Far West—see p. 348); and on the 25th he started for Independence, Mo., on the last stage of his journey to Indiana, where he eventually arrived in safety.

Ref: Joseph Williams' *Narrative of a Tour From the State of Indiana to the Oregon Territory* . . . (New York, 1921), pp. 70-93; *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. 86 (January, 1961), p. 53; Dale L. Morgan's letter of July 5, 1963, to L. Barry.

☐ October 27-29.—The American Indian Mission Association (a Baptist organization) was founded at Cincinnati, Ohio. The Rev. Isaac McCoy (its chief promoter) was elected corresponding secretary (and thereupon removed from Westport, Mo., to Louisville, Ky., the association's headquarters).

Subsequently, the AIMA operated missions in "Kansas" (principally for the Weas, Pottawatomies, and Miamis), and in "Oklahoma." It became affiliated (in 1845) with the Southern Baptist Convention.

Ref: American Indian Mission Association (AIMA) *Proceedings* (microfilm, KHi); *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Boston, v. 25 (November, 1845), p. 293.

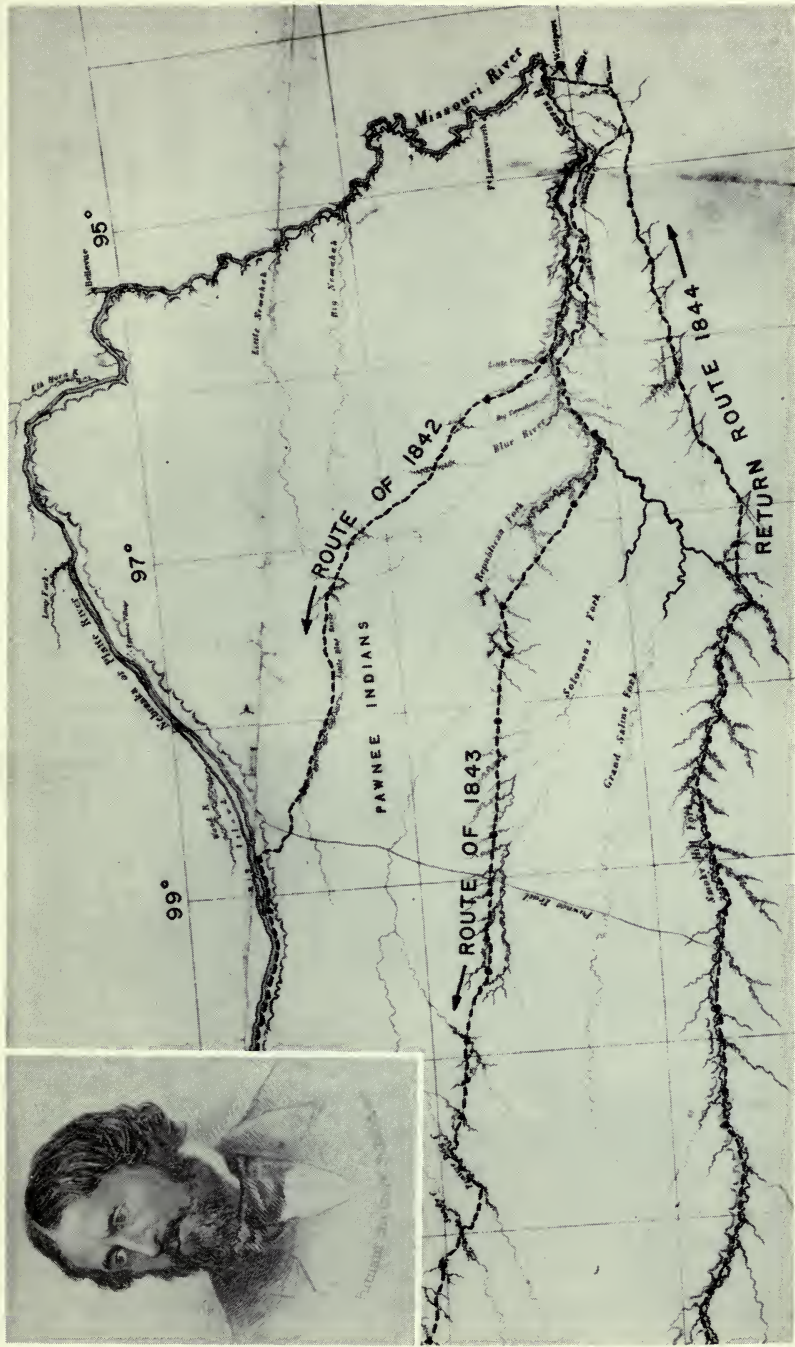
☐ October.—Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J., returning from the Rocky mountains (where he had gone in 1841—see p. 346), came down the Missouri from Fort Union in a steamboat (the *New Haven*²) which had just brought up a load of merchandise for a trading post at the mouth of the Yellowstone.

According to De Smet, this was "the first boat that had ever attempted to ascend [so far up] the river in that season of the year." The owners—"four gentlemen from New York" [of the firm Fox, Livingston and Company (or, Union Fur Company) which was opening trading posts in opposition to the American Fur Company]—were aboard.

The descent (begun about mid-September) was particularly hazardous and difficult because of low water. At journey's end (46 days later—October 30²) the steamboat "appeared to be little more than a mere wreck."

Ref: H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson's *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J.* . . . (New York, 1905), v. 1, p. 392; H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1935), v. 1, p. 369 (for Fox, Livingston and Company—also known as the Union Fur Company). Charles Larpenteur in his narrative, *Forty Years a Fur Trader* . . . (New York, 1898), v. 1, p. 174, gives the impression that De Smet went downriver with an American Fur Company boat. His statement: "Mr. Chouteau returned from St. Louis to Fort Union, having gone down with Father De Smet, who was on his way from the Columbia to the States. His most important news was that a strong Opposition had arrived; the firm was Fox, Livingston and Co. of New York. They had come up in a steamer with a large outfit, and were building a Mackinaw boat for the Crows' trade of the Yellowstone; so that we should have opposition here." Audubon (see *ibid.*, p. 179), in 1843, referred to the opposition firm as "C. Bolton, Fox, Livingstone & Co., of New York."

☐ October.—The Rev. George W. Love, appointed in September by the Missouri conference to take charge of the Kansa Methodist



The FREMONT MAP of 1845 (Eastern section; with additions).—On his first exploring expedition to the West, John C. Fremont (portrait above) followed the already-established OREGON TRAIL (shown above as ROUTE OF 1842), which then crossed to the Kansas river's north side at the future Topeka. The explorer's ROUTE OF 1843 shows his line of march up the south bank of the Kansas to present Fort Riley, where he crossed the Smoky Hill just above its junction with the Republican, and took a WNW course across "Kansas." His RETURN ROUTE, 1844, was by way of the Smoky Hill river, and the Santa Fe trail.



NON-ON-DA-GUM-JUN, a Delaware chief (once fourth in rank) who was accused of sorcery. A "Kansas" resident since 1830(?), he died in 1842 (see p. 450), in present Wyandotte county. Portrait (1832?) by Catlin, courtesy Smithsonian Institution.



MATTHEW R. WALKER (1810-1860), one-quarter Wyandot, was prominent in the civilized Wyandot Nation which removed from Ohio to "Kansas" in 1843 (see p. 477). He lived in present Kansas City; is buried in the now famous (litigation-involved) Huron cemetery.

Mission on American Chief (Mission) creek (present Shawnee county), was at Delaware Mission in mid-October recovering from a bilious fever attack. Probably he reached his own station before the end of the month.

Love left the Kansa in May, 1843, apparently, to serve at Delaware Mission during the summer, and, so far as known, did not return.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 118, 227, v. 16, pp. 253, 258, and 262. See April 10, 1842, annals item for death of the previous Kansa missionary—William Johnson.

¶ In late(?) October, on a tour of various Indian nations, John D. Lang and Samuel Taylor, Jr., arrived at Westport, Mo. (after a steamboat journey up the Missouri), and proceeded overland about nine miles to Shawnee Friends Mission.

(They had left the East in August on this mission for the Yearly Meeting of Friends of New England and New York, but did not reach St. Louis till early in October—having first visited the Winnebago Indians.)

In "Kansas" they inspected Shawnee Friends Mission; stopped at Shawnee Methodist Mission (three miles distant); talked to Indian families; hired horses and a guide and rode northward to the Kickapoo reserve. On November 3 they were at the Stockbridge settlement; and then continued southward to the Delaware Baptist and Delaware Moravian missions. Next they journeyed to the Kansa reserve, but most of the Indians were absent on the fall hunt.

Lang and Taylor returned to Shawnee Friends Mission, then traveled some 40 miles southwest, to A. L. Davis' "Osage River" subagency, on November 10. Because of a heavy snowfall, few Indians (Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, Kaskaskias, and Ottawas) attended the called council next day. Proceeding to the Simerwells' home (18 miles southwest), the two men visited the Pottawatomie creek Pottawatomes (the St. Joseph river band; also some of the Prairie band); then moved on 12 miles to the Sugar creek Pottawatomes (the Wabash band; also some Prairie band) and the Jesuit mission.

Learning that the Osages were away hunting, Lang and Taylor omitted a journey to their country and moved on to "Oklahoma"—visiting the united Shawnees & Senecas, the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Seminoles, and the Choc-taws—concluding their tour about the end of the year.

The Lang-Taylor report (dated "Fourth Month 19, 1843"), containing a variety of information about the situation and condition of the "Kansas" and "Oklahoma" Indian nations, was published at New York in 1843 under the title *Report of a Visit to Some of the Tribes of Indians Located West of the Mississippi River*. . . .

Ref: John D. Lang and Samuel Taylor, Jr., *Report* . . . (as noted above).

¶ October 28.—On the Arkansas, in present Pawnee(?) county, mountain man Thomas Fitzpatrick and a companion, "Vandusen," traveling east on the Santa Fe trail, met a war party of some 20 Pawnees "coming from the Sioux." In a scuffle with the Indians, Vandusen fled (back to Bent's Fort), and Fitzpatrick was robbed

of all his "travelling equipage" except his horses, which were "politely returned."

The two men had left Fort Hall (Idaho) on August 20; made their way safely to Bent's Fort (Colo.); and were only 300 miles or so from Independence when the robbery occurred. Wrote Fitzpatrick: "The loss . . . is very trifling, but the insult is very great to have occurred as it were on the very borders of the Settlement." He was later reimbursed from Pawnee annuities for a "double barrel & twist gun" valued at \$50.00, a "spy glass" worth \$25.00, a "Super broad cloth dress coat" listed at \$34.00, and other items of less value, totaling \$207.50.

Ref: *KHQ*, v. 19, pp. 50, 51, reprinted from SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, pp. 109-111. (On p. 50 of the above reference, "Fort Scott" should read "Fort Hall.") Pawnee Fork crossing, on the Santa Fe trail, was 303 miles from Independence, according to Josiah Gregg's tables of distances.

☪ BORN: on November 10, at Shawnee Baptist Mission (present Johnson county), Francis Churchill Barker and William Bowen Barker, twin sons of the Rev. Francis and Elizabeth F. (Churchill) Barker.

Ref: Elizabeth F. Barker's *Barker Genealogy* (New York, 1927), p. 199. One twin—Francis C.—died on December 25, 1842.

☪ DIED: Non-on-da-gum-un (Nonon-do-quo-mon), a Delaware chief of some prominence, on November 11, after a lingering illness, at his home on the Delaware reserve north of Kansas river.

Prior to his conversion (by the Methodists) some eight years earlier, he had been "a degraded drunkard, a noted juggler, a furious blood-thirsty heathen. . . ." According to Missionary E. T. Peery, Non-on-da-gum-un had been "summoned to trial before a heathen council" of Delawares about 1840(?), and accused of killing people by witchcraft. The chief asserted his innocence, and the council decided to let him live a little longer, on probation. "Three of the chief men were then pointed out to him, and he was told that whenever any one of them died, sooner or later his life . . . should be taken without pity."

George Catlin's portrait of "Non-on-dá-gon" (reproduced *facing* p. 449) probably was painted in 1832 when the artist was at Fort Leavenworth.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 16, pp. 251, 252.

☪ December 1.—The "connexion of Mr. and Mrs. [Johnston] Lykins with the [Shawnee Baptist] mission" ended this day, following months of dissension and conflict between Lykins and his fellow missionaries at "Shawanoë." (In 1831 Lykins had founded Shawnee Baptist Mission—the first [and principal] station of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions in "Kansas"—see *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 186, 187.)

Ref: *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 23 (June, 1843), p. 139; Jotham Meeker's "Diary," April 5, August 13, 1841, May 12, 1842, February 4, 1843, etc.

☪ December 22-25.—A Frenchman named Ducote, residing about

half a mile from the Iowas' subagency (present Doniphan county), with his Iowa wife, was fatally wounded on the 22d while drunk and during an argument with his wife, her father, and her sister. He died on the 25th.

Subagent W. P. Richardson was of the opinion that the "squaws" had done the killing, and that they should be "severely dealt with."

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, p. 88. No information has been found on subsequent developments in this affair.

¶ Employed in "Kansas" by the Indian Department during all, or part of the year 1842 were the following persons:

FORT LEAVENWORTH AGENCY—*Agent* Richard W. Cummins; *Interpreters* Clement Lessert and Henry Tiblow; *Blacksmiths* William Donalson and James M. Simpson (for Shawnees), William F. Newton (for Delawares; till March 24), Isaac Munday (for Delawares; appointed January 29), Charles Fish (for Kansa); *Assistant blacksmiths* Wilson Rogers and Jackson Pitman (for Shawnees), W. H. Newton (for Delawares; till March 24), Powhatan Phifer (for Delawares; appointed January 29), Mab Frankier (for Kansa; till July?), *Farmer* William H. Mitchell (for Kansa; appointed January 29).

GREAT NEMAHA SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* William P. Richardson; *Interpreters* Samuel M. Irvin appointed January 1; for Iowas) and John Rubeti (for Sacs & Foxes); *Blacksmith* James Gilmore for Sacs & Foxes); *Assistant blacksmith* William Daviess (for Sacs & Foxes); *Farmers* Preston Richardson (for Sacs & Foxes), Francis Irvin (appointed April 1; for Iowas); *Assistant farmer* Pleasant Johnson (for Sacs & Foxes; appointed October 1); *Teacher* William Hamilton (for Sacs & Foxes).

OSAGE RIVER [MARAIS DES CYGNES] SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Anthony L. Davis; *Interpreter* Luther Rice; *Blacksmiths* Robert Simerwell and Robert Wilson (for Pottawatomies); *Assistant blacksmiths* William A. Simerwell and Michael Nadeau (for Pottawatomies).

OSAGE SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Robert A. Calloway; *Interpreter* Charles Mongrain; *Blacksmiths* John Mathews, Edwin B. Lowther (left in May), Elias N. Beardon (hired November 10); *Assistant blacksmiths* William (half-breed Osage) and Jacob (an Osage).

Ref: 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 76* (Serial 420); 27th Cong., 3d Sess., *H. Doc. No. 162* (Serial 422); 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 240* (Serial 441); SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, p. 387, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 240, 258, 259.

1843

¶ MARRIED: the Rev. David Lykins (a Westport, Mo., resident) and Abigail Ann Webster (teacher at Shawnee Baptist Mission), on January 7, at Westport, by the Rev. Johnston Lykins (older brother of the groom).

(See October 27-29, 1842, annals entry.)

Ref: *The Kansas City Genealogist*, Kansas City, Mo., v. 2, no. 6 (August 1, 1961), p. 5; *Vital Historical Records of Jackson County, Mo.*, compiled by Kansas City chapter, D. A. R., p. 38; *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 23 (June, 1843), pp. 133, 139, v. 26 (July, 1846), p. 239; D. C. Gideon's *Indian Territory* . . . (Chicago, 1901), p. 444; *American Indian Mission Association Proceedings* . . . 1843, p. 18. In the

Isaac McCoy "Manuscripts," v. 26, in an account covering the 1837-1839 period, is an item of "4 Feb. 1839" for "Mr. David Lykens, Dr." making a purchase from Wm. M. Chick of Westport, Mo.

☪ January.—In a period of fine weather and break up of ice in the Missouri (during a winter described as "a long, hard one"), the steamboat *Ione* came up to Westport Landing (Kansas City, Mo.).

"On the day of her arrival," says John C. McCoy, "it turned suddenly cold, the river froze up again and so remained until near the 1st of May, during which time the boat remained near the foot of Grand Avenue." Peter Burnett wrote: "the ice in the Missouri River at Weston only broke up on the 11th of April."

Ref: *The History of Jackson County, Missouri* . . . , p. 403; Peter H. Burnett's *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer*, p. 102.

☪ January-February.—On his famous winter ride from Oregon to the East, Dr. Marcus Whitman, coming down from Bent's Fort (Colo.) in company with a party of mountain men, crossed "Kansas" on the Santa Fe trail, and reached Westport, Mo., February 15. (He had arrived at, and departed from, the Bent, St. Vrain & Co. post early in January.)

(Whitman—motivated chiefly by matters concerning the Oregon Mission to make this epic journey—had as traveling companion, from Oregon to Bent's Fort, Asa L. Lovejoy of the 1842 emigrant company. Their journey—on horseback—had begun on October 3, 1842. After following up the Snake river to Fort Hall, they had then been "piloted . . . to Santa Fe [or Taos?, rather] by the way of Soda Springs, Brown's Hole, Colorado of the West, the Wina [Uinta], and the waters of the del Norte.")

After a week in western Missouri, Marcus Whitman proceeded to St. Louis (he was there by March 9); then to Washington (where, during his talk with the secretary of war, it is presumed he recommended that military posts be established along the Oregon trail); and by March 28 was in New York (en route to Boston). Following Whitman's visit to the New York *Tribune* office, on March 29, editor Horace Greeley described the appearance of this "hardy and self-denying" missionary: "He was dressed in an old fur cap that appeared to have seen some ten years' service, faded and nearly destitute of fur; a vest whose natural color had long since fled, and a shirt—we could not see that he had any—an overcoat every thread of which could be easily seen, buckskin pants, &c. . . ."

Ref: C. M. Drury's *Marcus Whitman, M. D.* . . . , pp. 277-307; *New York Weekly Tribune*, April 1, 1843; W. J. Ghent's *The Early Far West* . . . (New York, 1931), pp. 323-325.

☪ February 2.—In Louisville, Ky., at its meeting to begin operations, the board of the (Baptist) American Indian Mission Association appointed Dr. Johnston Lykins and Delilah (McCoy) Lykins, his wife, as missionaries. (See January 7, 1843, annals entries.)

Ref: *AIMA Proceedings* . . . , 1843, p. 17.

☪ **MARRIED:** Abraham Burnett (a fullblood Pottawatomie) and Marie Knoffloch (a native of Germany, daughter of John and Elizabeth Knoffloch), on February 16, at Sugar creek (present Linn county), on the Pottawatomie reserve, by the Rev. Felix L. Verreydt, S. J. (Witnesses were part-Pottawatomes Joseph Bertrand, Jr., and his wife Elizabeth Ann Bertrand.)

"Abraham Burnett" was born in November, 1812, in Indiana. His parents (who died when he was young) were Shau-unique-be and Cone-zo-qua. The name they gave him is not known. Cone-zo-qua was a daughter of Chief Chebas. Chebas was a brother of Topenibee (considered head chief of all the Pottawatomes); and they had a sister Cakimi. She married a white man, William Burnett, and had seven children (*Abraham*, James, John, Isaac, Jacob, Rebecca, and Nancy). Cakimi's son, *Abraham* Burnett (half-Pottawatomie), had no children of his own, but adopted the son of Shau-unique-be and Cone-zo-qua, gave him (or let him take) the name "Abraham Burnett," provided for his care, and sent him to the Choctaw Academy to be educated.

When the Pottawatomes began the emigration to "Kansas" in the latter 1830's, "Abraham Burnett" was in his mid-20's. He made several trips between Indiana and "Kansas," serving as an interpreter, before settling at Sugar creek, where he lived 11 or 12 years. In 1848, after the Pottawatomes removed to a reserve on Kansas river, Abraham Burnett and his family lived in present Mission township, Shawnee county. "Burnett's Mound," Topeka, is named for him. (His home was on the north side of Shunganunga creek, in the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 9, T. 12, R. 15 E.) Abraham (or Abram B.) Burnett died June 14, 1870.

Ref: Abraham Burnett's deposition, of March 23, 24, 1870 (copy, in KHi, courtesy of Indiana Historical Society); "Pottawatomie Marriage Register," at St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas; *Indiana Historical Collections*, Indianapolis, v. 24, pp. 715, 815; *Indiana Magazine of History*, Bloomington, v. 22 (March, 1926), pp. 28-36; *KHC*, v. 13, pp. 371-373, (has a biographical sketch, which contains errors, particularly as to Burnett's parentage); Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 230. The deposition was signed "Abraham Burnett." On the tombstone his name was inscribed "Abram B. Burnett."—*Bulletin* of the Shawnee County Historical Society, Topeka, no. 18 (March, 1953), p. 14.

☪ **March 3.**—Sutler John A. Bugg, Fort Scott, was appointed as the first postmaster for the military post. He served for six years. It is said he arrived with the Fourth infantry troops, as sutler, in 1842. (*See, also*, September 13 entry.)

Ref: Robert W. Baughman's *Kansas Post Offices* (c1961), pp. 156, 161; T. J. Robley's *History of Bourbon County, Kansas* . . . (Fort Scott, 1894), p. 12.

☪ **DIED:** on March 13, at Peoria Methodist Mission (present Franklin county), Annie (Beauchemie) Shaler, part-Indian wife of the Peorias' missionary, the Rev. Nathan T. Shaler. (*See* p. 76 for their marriage.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 16, p. 253; *Bulletin* of the Missouri Historical Society, v. 10 (January, 1954), pp. 177, 180.

☪ **March 27.**—The Rev. Samuel G. Patterson opened a Methodist manual labor school on the east bank of the Pomme de Terre (or,

Spring) river, in the Quapaw Indians' small reserve (which was adjacent to present Cherokee county, southeast Kansas—*see KHQ*, v. 28, p. 325).

Named "Crawford Seminary" by 1845, the school was moved about five miles northward in April, 1848, to a site east of present Baxter Springs, Cherokee co., near the Quapaws' north boundary.

Ref: Comm'r of Indian affairs, *Reports* for 1843-1848; *KHC*, v. 16, pp. 247, 729; *KHQ*, v. 1, p. 107, v. 28, p. 325.

¶ April 1.—Fifteen men, captained by John McDaniel (said to be "lately from Texas"), left the Westport, Mo., area and headed out the Santa Fe trail with the avowed purpose (as was common knowledge in Jackson county, Mo.) of robbing "the [Mexican] Caravan from Santa Fe . . . as well as the one going out."

(McDaniel had been recruited by "Texan Colonel" Charles A. Warfield the preceding year to raise a company and join his volunteers in plundering Mexican wagon trains in 1843. Citizens of Independence, Mo., in a letter of March 13, had alerted Sup't D. D. Mitchell, St. Louis, that McDaniel's "banditti" planned to enter the Indian country.)

Upon Agent R. W. Cummins' requisition of April 1, 60 First dragoons were dispatched from Fort Leavenworth on April 3(?), with seven days' rations, in pursuit of the gang, to arrest them (since they had no passports). The troops crossed the Kansas river on April 4, but failed to overtake McDaniel and his followers.

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 345-347, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 181, 186, 187; OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (Microcopy 234, Roll No. 753, National Archives), D. D. Mitchell's April 21, 1843, letter, and accompanying items; *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Austin, v. 54 (January, 1951), pp. 274-277. Mitchell, in his letter (noted above) stated that Warfield, having recruited in Missouri in the summer of 1842, had left in the fall for the Rocky mountains to get trappers to join his company; and that the appointed rendezvous was "point of rocks," within "Mexican Territory," about May 15, 1843.

¶ About April 7(?) Mexican merchant Antonio José Chaves, east-bound on the Santa Fe trail with five servants, one wagon, and five mules, was intercepted by John McDaniel and his 14 "banditti" (*see* preceding entry), perhaps near the Rice-McPherson county line of today. Chaves had left New Mexico in February with 15(?) men (ten of whom deserted), two wagons, and 55(?) mules (most died as a result of severe weather).

McDaniel's gang took Chaves prisoner, robbed him, and forced him to march westward with them for two(?) days. Then they divided the spoils (\$10,000 or \$11,000 in specie and gold bullion; also a small lot of furs). Seven who were averse to killing the trader took their booty and departed, but had to bury the silver on the prairie when the horses stampeded and left them afoot. The other eight (John McDaniel, his brother David, Joseph Brown, William Mason, Gallatin and Christopher Searcy, Schuyler Oldham, and Thomas Towson), after taking Chaves and his wagon four or five miles south of the trail, murdered the trader, and threw his body into a ravine

(on a small Cow creek tributary which still bears Chaves' name—in corrupt spelling—the present Jarvis creek, Rice county). Apparently all 15 of the “banditti” returned to Missouri.

Trader Reuben Gentry (and three others, coming from Santa Fe) arrived at Independence, Mo., on April 19, and spread the alarm (knowing only that Chaves had vanished from the trail). Ten of the gang were quickly apprehended; and much of the “money” recovered. (Josiah Gregg wrote a long account, published in a Van Buren, Ark., newspaper, giving many details of this sordid affair, which involved several individuals from Clay and Jackson county, Mo.) Mason turned state's evidence, and named all the participants. Those who took part in the robbery, only, were Dr. Joseph R. De Prefontaine, Samuel O. Berry, William and B. F. Harris, Nathaniel Morton, John McCormick, and B. F. Talbert. Doctor De Prefontaine (previously mentioned in these annals) was arrested at Council Grove (where he had gone to get the buried loot). He had in his possession “about \$2600 silver coin”; was subsequently sentenced to pay a \$1,000 fine, and serve a year in jail. John McDaniel and Brown, tried and convicted of murder, were hanged (publicly, before a large crowd) at St. Louis, August 16, 1844. (No concise information on the fate of the others has been located; some served prison terms; clemency was recommended in several cases; five men, including three of the “murder party,” never(?) were caught.)

Chaves' name appeared in some accounts of the time as “Garvis,” or “Charvis,” and the spelling “Jarvis” replaced the correct form of the name, not only in the geographical name for the creek where the trader was murdered; but also in the name of a short-lived Rice county “town” called Jarvis View (four miles east of Lyons) which had a post office from 1878 to 1880. (A Rice county map of 1878, published in the state board of agriculture's *First Biennial Report*, p. 294, shows the location of Jarvis View.)

Ref: Josiah Gregg's account, of May, 1843, reprinted in *New Mexico's Own Chronicle* . . ., edited by M. G. Fulton and Paul Horgan (Dallas, c1937), pp. 130-135; *New York Weekly Tribune*, May 13, 20, 27, September 30, October 14, 1843; *Niles' National Register*, v. 64 (May 13, June 10, July 1, 1843), pp. 163, 234, 280, v. 65 (October 7, 1843), p. 96; *St. Louis Democrat*, April 29, May 2, 11, 12, June 1, September 1, 1843, April 30, June 10, August 17, 1844; J. C. McCoy's “Tales of an Old Timer” in *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal of Commerce*, January 23, 1879 (or, see “Kansas Reminiscences” clippings, pp. 126, 127—in KHi library); *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 552, 553; Baughman, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

☪ Spring (or later).—Steamboats operating on the Missouri this year included the *Weston* (new), *Oceana*, *John Aull*, *Tobacco Plant*, *Rowena*, *Iatan*, *Edna*, *Colonel Woods*, *Mary Tompkins*, *Vermillion*, *General Brooke*, *Ione*, and *Omega*.

On June 1 the *Weston* was “entirely consumed” by fire a few miles above St. Charles, Mo. Passengers, crew, baggage, and most of the 500 bales of hemp aboard were saved. The *Omega*, after returning from her (first and only) trip to the American Fur Company's Upper Missouri trading post in June (see p. 473) went into the regular river trade. By report, 26 steamboats made 205 trips on the Missouri in 1843.

Ref: *Missouri Republican*, issues of 1843; *New York Weekly Tribune*, June 17, 1843 (for the *Weston* fire); *Niles' National Register*, v. 72 (July 31, 1847), p. 351 (for 1843 steamboat report).

☐ April.—A printing press—the second to be set up in “Kansas”—arrived at “Ioway and Sac Mission” (present Doniphan county). Including type and fixtures it had cost the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions about \$250.

Missionaries Samuel M. Irvin and William Hamilton, after mastering the use of the press and working out a system of representing Iowa language sounds by letters of the alphabet, printed at least two books during 1843.

One of these was a 225-copy edition of a 101-page *An Elementary Book of the Ioway Language, With an English Translation*, by Hamilton and Irvin, with J[ohn] B[aptiste] Roy, interpreter. The imprint: “Ioway and Sac Mission Press, Indian Territory. 1843.” (This book was about 3¾ x 5½ inches in size.) The other was the missionaries’ coauthored 62-page work entitled *Original Hymns in the Ioway Language*, which had a like imprint.

Neither of the above is represented in the Kansas State Historical Society’s collection. The society has a copy of the 152-page book: *An Ioway Grammar, illustrating the principles of the language used by the Ioway, Otoe, and Missouri Indians. Prepared and printed by Rev. Wm. Hamilton and Rev. S. M. Irvin. Under the direction of the Presbyterian B. F. M. Ioway and Sac Mission Press, 1848.*

Ref: D. C. McMurtrie and A. H. Allen, *A Forgotten Pioneer Press of Kansas* (Chicago, 1930); *KHQ*, v. 1, pp. 6, 7.

☐ April 22.—By Indian department contracts of this date, J. M. Hunter was to deliver eight yoke of oxen and yokes (for \$324.48), and J. C. Berryman was to supply 30 bushels of potatoes and 30 bushels of seed corn (for \$68.75), at the “Kanzas Village,” before May 1.

Agent R. W. Cummins subsequently reported, in September, that the Kansa had been “almost in a state of starvation” in the spring and had “subsisted a part of the year on roots”; that “at their pressing request” he had “employed about 18 hands and cultivated about 200 acres of corn & planted 30 bushels of irish potatoes for them” after they agreed to “turn in and plant & tend as much corn as they could”; and to his surprise “they raised themselves more than they have done for many years” and would probably “have corn plenty to do them” over the winter. Cummins also mentioned that their horse mill was in contract, and would soon be completed.

Ref: 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 42* (Serial 441), p. 16; *SIA*, St. Louis, “Records,” v. 8, typed copy, p. 287. In *ibid.*, v. 7, p. 293, Sup’t D. D. Mitchell had written Cummins (on August 12, 1842) that if the Kansa should “consent and deserve” the horse mill which the late Rev. William Johnson had requested for their use, Cummins was authorized to spend \$400 for that purpose.

☐ April.—White Hair (Pah-ha-skah), III, was deposed, or close to being deposed, as head chief of the Osage Nation—a position he had held since an election in 1832 following the death of his uncle(?), White Hair, II. This young, and bad, chief—one of the ugliest men in the nation—was known by the name “Majakita” because of his big lips. (See, also, August 1, 1842, entry.)

Subagent R. A. Calloway reported (in September, 1843): "Pah-ha-skah has for years been very unpopular amongst his people. . . . Last summer [1842] a party of 25 or 26 chiefs & principal men visited Capt. [William] Armstrong the Supt. . . . [and] had him broke & another chief (Shingah, wah,sah) made in his stead." But there was disagreement over the choice of Shinga-wassa, and "Pah-ha-skah was therefore still recognized as the chief" till in April, 1843, when Pah-ha-skah "grew still more saucy and at length . . . drove the Blacksmiths ["Beardon & Rhinehart, one with, & the other without a family"] out of their buildings [the former Boudinot Mission—"two old log cabins, (double cabins) nearly rotted down"] & took possession of them himself." Calloway then "called a few braves, and after talking to the people of his town (which was nigh) on the subject, . . . went to the place, & had his little effects moved back to his lodge." The subagent wrote that it was his intention to present the matter to the whole nation when the Osages gathered for annuity payments, adding that "I seldom ever saw or heard more indignation felt & expressed against any man, than was done against Pah-ha-skah." In the letter he referred to White Hair, III, as the Osages' "late principal man."

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 228-239 (for Calloway's September 1, 1843, report); Victor Tixier's . . . *Travels on the Osage Prairies*, edited by John F. McDermott, pp. 143, 144; and *see KHQ*, v. 28, p. 196.

¶ Ministers William Patton and Wesley Browning, of Missouri, beginning a tour of Methodist Indian missions in "Kansas," arrived at the Indian manual labor school (present Johnson county) on April 27.

They "examined" the school on May 1, found 62 boys and 39 girls, representing some 12 tribes, in attendance. Accompanied by the Rev. Thomas Johnson, they started for Kickapoo Mission on May 4, crossing the Kansas at the Delaware (or, Grinter) ferry, and stopping overnight at Delaware Mission (present Wyandotte county—*see KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 191, 192) where the Rev. Edward T. Peery was in charge. Next day, joined by Peery, they rode some 25 miles northward to Kickapoo Mission (present Leavenworth county—*see KHQ*, v. 28, p. 344), where the Rev. Nathaniel M. Talbott was missionary. William Patton, in his journal, noted that "in sight of the mission house" there was a "Roman Catholic establishment . . . which has not been in operation for some two or three years" (*see KHQ*, v. 29, pp. 51, 52; and that there was also a house belonging to Kennekuk, "a heathen prophet" (*see KHQ*, v. 28, p. 326, and *facing* p. 336) whose one-time 250 followers were, in 1843, perhaps only a quarter that number. Kennekuk, he noted, "has some two or three wives, and is considered as a great sinner."

On May 8 the travelers returned to Delaware Mission, and met the "Rev. Mr. Meech [J. Christopher Micksch—*see KHQ*, v. 29, p. 79] and his wife," of near by Munsee Moravian Mission. A meeting with the Delawares was held on the 9th.

Rains, from May 10 to 14, caused cancellation of plans to visit Pottawatomie Mission (present Miami(?) county—*see KHQ*, v. 29, pp. 157, 158) where part-Indian assistant Mackinaw Beauchemie was in charge, and Peoria Mission (present Franklin county—*see KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 327, 328), where the Rev. Nathan T. Shaler was missionary.

On May 15 Browning, Peery, and Patton, set out for Kansa Mission (present Shawnee county—see *KHQ*, v. 29, p. 43), 80 miles distant, camping that night near the “lower ford,” of the Wakarusa; and because of delays, stopping overnight on the 16th at the “upper ford.” Crossing the full stream early on May 17, they traveled some 55 miles to the Kansa station. The missionary there—Rev. George W. Love—was in good health, but somewhat discouraged with his progress among the Kansa. A meeting held with chiefs and braves on May 18, accomplished little. But on the 19th, when the travelers started home, they were accompanied by “brother Love, and some nine or ten of the Caw children, destined for the school.” The party arrived safely at the Indian manual labor school on the 20th. At the Shawnees’ log meeting house, a camp meeting was in progress; and on Sunday, the 21st, the assembled Methodist church members, Shawnees and whites, heard the Rev. Thomas Johnson’s funeral address for Annie (Beauchemie) Shaler—see March 13 annals entry.

Ref: *Bulletin* of the Missouri Historical Society, v. 10 (January, 1954), pp. 167-180; *KHC*, v. 16, p. 258.

¶ At the end of April the Missouri river evidently was at flood stage. On board the upbound *Omega*, on May 2, Naturalist John J. Audubon (see next entry) wrote in his journal: “We . . . stopped at Madame Chouteau’s plantation [Chouteau’s Landing, Mo]. . . . The water had been two feet deep in her house, but the river has now suddenly fallen about six feet.”

On May 3, reaching Fort Leavenworth, Audubon and his companions reluctantly gave up their intended “walk across the Bend” above the post upon learning “that the ground was overflowed, and that the bridges across two creeks had been carried away. . . .”

Ref: Maria R. Audubon’s *Audubon and His Journals* (New York, 1897), v. 1, p. 467.

¶ May 3.—Naturalist John J. Audubon and party (John G. Bell, taxidermist, Isaac Sprague, artist, Lewis M. Squires, secretary, Edward Harris, gentleman-farmer and bird specialist) were aboard the American Fur Company’s *Omega* (Joseph A. Sire, master and Joseph La Barge, pilot) which reached Fort Leavenworth Landing at 6 A. M., en route to Fort Union (at the mouth of Yellowstone river). Edward Harris, in his journal, wrote: “Stopped at Fort Leavenworth to take in some cargo. Saw abundance of Parrokeets [the Carolina parrakeet—a species now long extinct]. . . .” (He had first mentioned these birds on April 29.)

The *Omega* had left St. Louis on April 25, her other passengers being “a hundred and one trappers . . . [mostly] French Canadians, or Creoles . . .” (according to Audubon’s journal), and some Iowa(?) Indians. Captain Sire, in his log, noted that “a stop was made on May 2 at Madame Chouteau’s [Berenice Therese (Menard) Chouteau, widow of Francis G.—of Chouteau’s Landing two miles below Westport Landing (or ‘Kansas’)], where I find everything abandoned.” After sunset that evening the steamboat “Passed

the bad place at the mouth of the Kansas river," and, wrote Sire, "The weather was so fine that I decided to run all night. At 6 a. m. we reached Leavenworth."

Two hours were spent at the post landing. Though carrying contraband liquor, the *Omega* safely passed inspection by the military, and continued her journey, experiencing delays by running aground on May 3, and, on succeeding days, by encountering winds which (as Harris wrote) "blew so strong up stream that the boat would not steer. . . ." On May 5 the *Omega* made a stop at Joseph Robidoux's Blacksnake Hills post (where, a few months later, St. Joseph, Mo., was founded); and on the 6th the Indians aboard were deposited at the Iowa village (present Doniphan county).

Audubon personally went ashore for he wrote: "The situation of the fort is elevated and fine, and one has a view of the river up and down for some distance." He did not meet Lt. Col. Richard B. Mason (the commandant was ill); but "saw two officers who came on board, also a Mr. Ritchie" [sutler Hiram Rich?].

The *Omega* reached Fort Pierre (S. D.) at the end of May, and arrived at Fort Union (on the west border of present North Dakota) on June 12, having made the 1,760-mile trip in a record time of only 49 days.

Audubon and his friends spent two months at Fort Union, and the naturalist traveled overland some distance up the Yellowstone river, having as guide the noted mountain man Etienne Provost. As writer Bernard De Voto has pointed out: "To this journey we owe his buffalo, the grizzlies, and other plates in *The Quadrupeds of America*." (For Audubon's return trip, see October annals item.)

Ref: Edward Harris' journal, *Up the Missouri With Audubon* . . ., edited by John F. McDermott; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 347, 348 (D. D. Mitchell's April 19, 1843, letters to Agents Andrew Drips, Daniel Miller, and R. W. Cummins); *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Bismarck, v. 10 (April, 1943), pp. 63-82 (A. O. Stevens' "Audubon's Journey Up the Missouri River, 1843"); H. M. Chittenden's *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River* (New York, 1903), v. 1, pp. 141-153; and his *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, v. 2, pp. 985-1003; *Niles' National Register*, v. 64 (May-July), pp. 176, 233, 234, 288, 297, 298, 312, 347; Susan D. McKelvey's *Botanical Exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1790-1850* (c1955), pp. 830-841. Another principal source (not seen by the compiler) is John J. Audubon's *Journal . . . 1840-1843*, edited by Howard Corning (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), of which general extracts are to be found in Maria R. Audubon's *Audubon and His Journals* (New York, 1897).

☪ Early in May Sir William Drummond Stewart, of Scotland, with upwards of 20 gentlemen, and retinue of 30—participants in his long-planned, well-publicized pleasure jaunt to the Rocky mountains—debarked at Chouteau's Landing, Mo., after a voyage upriver from St. Louis.

By May 10 "Camp William" (10 tents—Sir William's a very elegant, large one) had been set up a mile west of the Missouri line, near Shawnee chief Joseph Parks' home (present Johnson county); and here the party remained nearly two weeks. William L. Sublette (traveling overland), with three men, and two slave lads, arrived on May 11, bringing about 50 mules.

Other guests joined the luxury excursion at "Camp William," and the company which set out, under Sir William's command, on May 22, numbered 60 or more. Sublette wrote that there were "Some of the army [Lts. Richard H. Graham and Sidney Smith, Fourth infantry, on furlough from Jefferson Barracks, Mo.], Some professional Gentlemen, Come on the trip for pleasure, Some for Health, etc etc. So we had doctors, Lawyers, botanists [there were four; and two—German botanists Charles A. Geyer and Friedrich Luders—went on to Oregon], Bugg Ketchers, Hunters and men of nearly all professions. . . . One half or rather more was hired men Belonging to Sir William [among them: Antoine Clement and Baptiste Charbonneau (son of Sacajawea)]. . . ." The guests were from diverse places—including Paris, London, Baltimore, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Alton, Ill., Scotland, and Luxemburg. Among the St. Louis group were 'teen-agers Jefferson K. Clark and W. Clark Kennerly; and Matthew C. Field (with St. Louis connections) was the excursion's journalist. Cyprian Menard, of Kaskaskia, Ill., and Edmund F. ("Guesso") Chouteau (eldest son of Francis G.), of Chouteau's Landing, were also among those from the "mid-west."

"Sir William had 10 Carts & one small 2 mule yankee waggon. There were Some 30 other Carts and small 2 horse wagons in Company Belonging to Individual gentlemen." According to Clark Kennerly, each guest supplied his own horse and manservant. William L. Sublette (and several men, with two carts) remained in the Westport vicinity till May 27; then set out to catch up with Stewart and what a later-day writer has termed "the West's first dude expedition."

The excursionists took a route somewhat north of the emigrant-crowded Oregon trail; crossed the Kansas, on May 27, above present Lawrence, at the *old* ford ("upon a pirogue. . . . Our vehicles and their contents were floated over . . . [and with much difficulty] the animals were made to swim across"—Matt Field); made camp near the ruins of the Kansa Agency. (See Spring, 1963, *Quarterly* cover for Alfred J. Miller's painting of this crossing; and pp. 64, 65, for Stewart's fording of the river here in 1837.) On the *north* side of the Kansas Sir William and company found the 20 miles to Soldier creek (where they arrived at the end of May) "a bad Road for muddy Creeks."

Meantime, Sublette had traveled up the *south* side of the Kansas, via the Oregon trail, and among the emigrants. He rafted the river on May 30 (at present Topeka) in Joseph Papin's boat; camped on Soldier creek; sent his two carts ahead on May 31 "to a creek 8 miles distance to Encamp [on a stream] Called Muddy [now Cross creek] . . ."; returned to assist Sir William and the caravan over the Soldier. *Perhaps* traveling with Sublette from the Westport area were the Jesuits (Fathers Peter De Vos and Adrian Hoecken, lay brother John B. McGean) and their party, led by William's brother Solomon P. Sublette, who also crossed the Kansas on May 30.

At the Muddy creek camp, on June 1(?), Sir William's excursion caravan was joined by "Solomon P. Sublette with 2 Carts and 2 priests or Missionaries with 3 Carts, 1 waggon, and one Small Cariole . . . with some 15 men or 20 more and animals in proportion." The combined company which moved on, over the Oregon trail, in advance of the main emigrating parties, numbered some 80 men "with 18 carts, one 6 mule waggon, & 2 2 mule

waggon & a small Barouche, Some Cows, and Oxen . . .”—also, by report, 50 or 60 fine horses.

Sir William and his company (minus some 15? who had turned back on the Platte, or before), arrived at Forts Platte and Laramie on July 5, and Solomon P. Sublette remained there. On August 3, beyond the Continental divide, on the Little Sandy, the Jesuit party (bound for the Flatheads' country), accompanied by botanists Geyer and Luders, separated from them, to continue westward on the Oregon trail. From August 7 to 12 the pleasure party camped beside Fremont Lake, on Green river; and spent from the 12th to 17th at a site between the Upper Forks. On August 17 the excursionists started home. (*See, also*, October annals entry.)

Ref: Matthew C. Field, *Prairie and Mountain Sketches* . . ., edited by Kate L. Gregg and John Francis McDermott (Norman, c1957); William L. Sublette's "Journal," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 6 (June, 1919), pp. 102-110; William Clark Kennerly's story *Persimmon Hill*, as told to Elizabeth Russell (Norman, 1948), pp. 143-167, 257; John E. Sunder's *Bill Sublette* . . . (1959), pp. 197-216; H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson's *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J.* . . ., v. 1, p. 44; *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers*, San Francisco, v. 7 (September, 1930), p. 153; *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, v. 11 (October, 1954), pp. 41-53 (for reports of Lt. R. H. Graham and Lt. Sidney Smith); *Niles' National Register*, v. 64 (May 20 and July 8, 1843), pp. 192, 297; *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. 36 (January, 1961), pp. 53, 54; McKelvey, *op. cit.*, pp. 773-778, 818, 819, 837; Bernard De Voto's *Across the Wide Missouri* (1947), p. 363; Overton Johnson and W. H. Winter's *Route Across the Rocky Mountains* (Princeton, 1932), p. 16; *Washington Historical Quarterly*, v. 3 (October, 1912), p. 314.

¶ By mid-May all of the spring caravan from Santa Fe (about 180 men, 42 wagons, and 1,200 mules) had reached Independence. This company (largely Mexican traders) had started for Missouri about April 1, traveling by the "lower trace" to the Arkansas river, thereby avoiding "Texan Colonel" Charles A. Warfield and his marauders, who were on the "upper trace."

The "principal men" reached St. Louis on May 17, "having with them sixteen bales and twelve boxes of silver [the bullion by two reports totaled around \$250,000; by another, \$300,000], and a quantity of furs" [50 packs], belonging to José Gutierrez, "John Pravis" [José Chaves?], James Floris, P. Arando, "J. Olaro" [Otero?], M. Sandrue[?], J. C. Armijo, R. Armijo, W.[?] Glasgow, and N. W. Greene." Eleven traders went on to New York to make purchases.

(An account states that young Francisco Perea, Joaquin Perea, and J. Francisco Chaves, in charge of Juan and José Leandro Perea, and José Chaves, were brought to St. Louis in this caravan, to be entered as students "in a Jesuit college.")

Ref: *Niles' National Register*, v. 64 (May 27, June 3, 17, August 26, 1843, issues), pp. 195, 224, 241, 406; *New Orleans Weekly Picayune*, May 22, 1843; *New York Weekly Tribune*, June 3, 1843; *Old Santa Fe*, Santa Fe, v. 1 (October, 1913), p. 212.

¶ On May 17 some 300 Oregon-bound men, women, and children, with about 50 wagons, were at the "Indian Creek" rendezvous (just west of the Missouri line, in present Johnson county). By June 1 (at Soldier creek, near what is now Topeka) the "Great Emigration" of 1843—great only as compared with previous years—probably

numbered upwards of 800 persons, with 110 wagons; and the final count of this year's emigrants, it would appear, totaled around 850 persons (though some claimed up to 1,000), with 120, or more, wagons. The peak livestock census (work oxen, loose cattle, horses, and mules) may have totaled 3,000 animals (though estimates ranged up to 5,000).

The "Great Emigration" (slowed by a late spring) got under way from eastern "Kansas" on May 21 and 22. Committees (appointed on the 18th and 20th) had sought advice from Dr. Marcus Whitman (who would be traveling with them), and hired John Gantt (ex-army officer and one-time fur trader) as pilot to Fort Hall.

Stopping on May 22 at a famous camp site, Peter H. Burnett (from Weston, Mo.) noted: "Elm Grove stands in a wide, gently undulating prairie. . . . There are only two trees . . . both elms. . . . The small elm was most beautiful . . . and the large one had been so, but its branches had been cut off for fuel. . . ." (The same night, James W. Nesmith recorded in his journal: "Encamped at the grove, consisting of one old elm stump.")

By May 24 the Oregonians were crossing the Wakarusa—letting their wagons down the steep bank with ropes, unaware that "a very practicable ford . . . [was] about one hundred yards above." Their pilot, John Gantt, joined the camp on the Wakarusa's west bank that night. On the 25th the vanguard reached the Kansas crossing (at "Topeka"); the rest arrived next day. Since the river was high and unfordable, a committee (appointed May 27) "attempted to hire Pappa's [Joseph Papin's] platform, but no reasonable arrangement could be made with him." The emigrants then built their own ferryboat, completing it on the 28th. Meantime, some persons paid Papin and crossed the Kansas as early as May 26 on his "platform made of two canoes." (It sank on May 28 and "several men, women, and children came near being drowned, but all escaped with the loss of some property.")

On May 31 the last of the emigrants, and their wagons, reached the Kaw's north bank, and joined those already at "Camp Delay" (as one man styled it) on the bank of Soldier creek ("Black Soldier," or "Black Warrior" to those who mentioned it in journals), where the stock "were constantly sticking fast in the mud upon its banks," and where dissension over guarding the great number of loose cattle was mounting. (It is said Jesse Applegate had "over 200 head," and other individuals "over 100 head.")

Organizing on June 1, the company elected Peter H. Burnett "commander in chief" and James W. Nesmith "orderly sergeant." (Nesmith, as adjutant, made a roll. The men "numbered 254," he wrote, and "The number of wagons was 111." Burnett stated that there were 263 men "able to bear arms," and about 110 wagons.) The caravan set out from "Camp Delay" that afternoon, up the north side of the Kansas. Next day Burnett divided his command into "four marching divisions."

An Iowan who dated his letter "Oregon Emigration Company, Kansas River, June 3d, 1843," wrote there were upwards of 120 wagons, "over 3,000, and perhaps 5,000 head of cattle, mules and horses"; that the stock-guarding issue might split the emigrants; and that "Dr. Whitman . . . advises . . . [they] divide into 3 or 4 parties for speed and convenience."

On June 6, 80 Osages and Kansa, returning from a fight with Pawnees, were met; that night a heavy wind-and-rain storm blew down tents and flooded the camp; and more torrents of rain fell on two succeeding days. Jesse Applegate and others, with 25 (or more?) wagons, "withdrew" on June 8 and formed a separate company (the "cow column"); also, Peter H. Burnett resigned and William J. Martin was elected "colonel" of the larger company (the "light column"), said to number about 175 men and 75 wagons. (Before the division, a report from near Big Blue, stated there were 990 persons, 121 wagons, 1,967 head of cattle.)

The two columns (never far apart) continued westward; crossed from the Little Blue to the Platte in mid-June; reached Fort Laramie in mid-July; later on, traveled in smaller parties. En route, perhaps only eight turned back. At Fort Hall (in mid-September) a few joined the California-bound parties (see p. 469), but almost all of the emigrants of 1843 went to Oregon, continuing west under the guidance of Dr. Marcus Whitman; and taking their wagons (for the most part) with them!

Jesse Looney, writing from "Waiilatpu, October 27, 1843," stated: "the company of emigrants came through safely this season to the number of a thousand[?] persons with something over a hundred wagons to this place . . . and, with the exception of myself, and a few others, have all gone on down . . . [to the Willamette Valley]. . . . There were five or six deaths on the road . . . and there were some eight or ten births. Upon the whole we fared better than we expected." But Missionary Jason Lee wrote (on October 28?) that three detachments of emigrants had arrived at the Columbia river, and some had suffered severely by sickness and want of provisions.

Ref: *Washington Historical Quarterly*, v. 2 (1908), pp. 372, 373, v. 3, (1912), pp. 168-176, 250-256, 314-330, v. 4 (1913), pp. 60-80, 218, 219; Peter H. Burnett's letters, in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, v. 3 (1902), pp. 398-420; J. W. Nesmith's diary, in *ibid.*, v. 7 (1906), pp. 329-359; W. T. Newby's diary, in *ibid.*, v. 40 (1939), pp. 219-242; P. B. Reading's journal, in *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers*, v. 7 (1930), pp. 148-198; Jesse Looney's October 27, 1843, letter, in *Told By the Pioneers* . . . [Olympia?], v. 1, pp. 75, 76; J. A. Stoughten's recollections, in *ibid.*, pp. 73, 74; Peter H. Burnett's *Recollections and Opinions* . . . (1880); *New York Weekly Tribune*, June 24, July 1, August 5, 1843, March 30 and September 21, 1844; Jesse Applegate's "A Day With the Cow Column in 1843," reprinted in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, v. 1 (1900), pp. 371-383; *ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 395-398 (for Tallmadge B. Wood letter); *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 11 (1954), p. 43; H. H. Bancroft's *History of Oregon* (1886), v. 1, pp. 391-400; E. H. Lenox, *Overland to Oregon* . . . (Oakland, Calif., 1904); *Niles' National Register*, v. 64 (July 22, 1843), p. 323; *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, pp. 121-124; L. R. Hafen and C. C. Rister's *Western America* . . . , 2d edition (c1950), p. 239 (for statement on size of emigration—reprinted from *Niles' National Register*); Ghent, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-331.

☪ May.—Five American Fur Company Mackinaw boats which had left Fort Pierre (S. D.) about May 13(?), reached St. Louis on the 27th—only 14 days in descending—said to be "the quickest [trip] ever made by several days." They brought down 1,400 packs of buffalo robes (10 to a pack), and a small amount of furs.

Ref: *New York Weekly Tribune*, June 17, 1843 (from *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, May 29, 1843).

¶ May 25.—Col. Jacob Snively, and 176 mounted Texan partisans, crossed the northern "Oklahoma" line and entered present Comanche county, heading northward to the Arkansas. They reached the river on May 27, in what is now southwest Edwards county.

(On February 16 Snively had been authorized by the Texan government to organize an expedition of not over 300 men "for the purpose of intercepting and capturing the property of Mexican Traders" [in retaliation and to "make reclamation for injuries sustained by Texan citizens"]. He was specifically instructed "not to infringe" on U. S. territory. The colonel, with his self-equipped "Battalion of Invincibles," had left Fannin county, Texas, on April 25.)

Between May 27 and June 30 (when confronted by Captain Cooke and his First U. S. dragoons—*see* p. 471), the Texans ranged the south side of the Arkansas in the area of the Cimarron crossings, and sent spies (some north of the river) to watch the Santa Fe trail. When a Bent, St. Vrain & Company caravan passed, about May 31, Texas spies accompanied it eastward. About June 4(?) "Texan Colonel" Charles A. Warfield and several companions arrived (coming down from the upper Arkansas with Ceran St. Vrain), in near-destitute condition after making an unprofitable May raid in New Mexico with some 24 freebooters. On June 20(?) about 15 miles below the Cimarron crossing, a part of the Texans (led by Warfield) engaged 100(?) poorly armed Mexicans (an advance guard of the force Gov. Manuel Armijo was bringing up the trail to escort the Mexican caravan home) in a brief battle, killing 18(?), wounding 18(?), and capturing 62(?) others. No Texans were killed. [Governor Armijo, on hearing of the fight, returned to Santa Fe with 500(?) men.] On June 28 the Texans reformed into two separate companies; also they released the Mexican prisoners. On the 29th both companies left the camp on Crooked creek, one supposedly to return to Texas, the other to return to the Arkansas. The smaller band, about 76 men, was led by Eli Chandler; the other, 107 Texans, was headed by Jacob Snively. The latter Texan force was encamped about 10(?) miles east of present Dodge City by June 30.

[Subsequently, those Texans who remained with Snively after the surrender to Captain Cooke on June 30, joined Eli Chandler's "home party"—on July 2. Snively resigned command on the 9th (while the Texans were still considering an attack on the caravan—which the U. S. troops had left on July 4); and the "home party" set out for Texas; then Warfield was elected to head those remaining. On July 14 Warfield resigned and Snively was re-elected; also, most of the party started home. At least three were killed by Comanches en route. Some got to Bird's Fort, Tex., on August 6.]

Ref: W. C. Binkley's *The Expansionist Movement in Texas, 1836-1850* (Berkeley, 1925), pp. 107-116; *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, v. 44 (July, 1940), pp. 16-32, v. 54 (January, 1951), pp. 261-286; *New Orleans Weekly Picayune*, July 17, 31, August 14, September 11, 1843; *Niles' National Register*, v. 64 (August 26, 1843), p. 406; H. Yoakum's *History of Texas* . . . (New York, 1856), v. 2, pp. 399-405; H. H. Bancroft's *History of the Northern Mexican States and Texas* (1889), v. 2, p. 372; 28th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1* (Serial 449), pp. 91-112; *Rufus B. Sage* . . ., edited by L. R. and Ann W. Hafen, v. 2, pp. 248-252; *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), pp. 227-238.

¶ DIED: Robert Polke (trader among the Indians on Pottawatomie creek), on May 26, at his home in present Franklin county. He had been a "Kansas" resident since 1837 (*see* p. 143).

Ref: Jotham Meeker's "Diary," entry of May 26, 1843; Kansas City chapter, D. A. R., *Vital Historical Records of Jackson County, Missouri*, p. 415 (gives Robert Polke's tombstone inscription [in McCoy cemetery] as born June 7, 1797; died May 26, 1843).

¶ May.—Two young men from Indiana, Overton Johnson and William H. Winter, left Independence, Mo., in "the latter part of May . . ." and having "traveled up the Kansas River 90 miles" (via the Oregon trail), came "to where the Emigrants were crossing" on the 30th. They crossed the rain-swollen river (perhaps on Papin's "ferry"?) the same day; and "after delaying one day and a half" on the north side, "succeeded in making . . . [their] company eight persons, and again began to travel."

Proceeding, most of the time, apart from the other emigrants, Johnson, Winter, and companions, made the journey safely to Oregon. Winter went to California in 1844. In 1845 (as will be noted in these annals) Johnson and Winter returned East by way of the Oregon trail. A coauthored account of their travels, entitled *Route Across the Rocky Mountains, With a Description of Oregon and California*, published in 1846 at Lafayette, Ind., has long been one of the rarest of Western travel narratives. A "Bill of the Route" (a table of distances; with comment on camping spots) included in this work, also puts it in the category of "guide-book." Summarizing the "Kansas" section of the guide, these were the distances as compiled by Johnson and Winter (undoubtedly on the 1843 journey, rather than in 1845):

From Independence to "Crossing of the Kansas," 90 miles; to "Muddy Creek" [Cross creek], 17; to "Honey Creek" [Little Vermillion?—now Red Vermillion], 20; to "Can[n]on-Ball Creek" [Rock creek?], 18; to [Big] "Vermillion," 21; to "Big Blue," 20; to "Battle Creek"[?], 11; to "Little Blue," 68; "to the point where the road leaves Little Blue," 51; to "The Great Platte," 25. Total: 341 miles.

Of the "Crossing of the Kansas," the authors commented: ". . . The Kansas River is generally full in the Spring, but emigrants will probably hereafter be accommodated, by a Frenchman [Joseph Papin] who resides at the crossing place, with a ferry-boat."

Ref: Johnson and Winter, *op. cit.*; Overton Johnson letter, dated "Fort Hall . . . September 15, 1843," in *New York Weekly Tribune*, March 2, 1844. For another Oregon trail table of distances compiled in 1843 see Peter H. Burnett's letter of January 18, 1844, in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, v. 3 (1902), pp. 406, 407.

¶ May 27(?)—May 31.—Dr. Marcus Whitman (accompanied by his 13-year-old nephew, Perrin B. Whitman) was a guest at Shawnee Methodist Mission. On May 31 he (and Perrin) set out, overland, for Oregon. (See p. 452 for his winter trip East.)

Whitman was at Fremont's camp the night of June 1; by the 3d he had joined the Oregonians. Jesse Applegate later wrote that Whitman's "great experience and indomitable energy were of priceless value to the migrating column." At Fort Hall, where the emigrants were advised to abandon their wagons and cattle, he was able to persuade some of them that the wagons could be taken through to Oregon.

Ref: Drury, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-338; Oregon Pioneer Association *Transactions*, 19th annual reunion, 1891, pp. 177-179 (for letters by Whitman, dated at Shawnee Mission, May 27 and 28, 1843); C. H. Carey, editor, *The Journals of Theodore Talbot* (1931), p. 8; New York *Weekly Tribune*, July 1, August 5, 1843; *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, v. 40 (September, 1939), p. 223; Peter H. Burnett's *Recollections and Opinions* . . . , p. 101. See September 15, 1842, annals entry for P. L. Edwards' contrary view on feasibility of getting wagons through to the Columbia river.

☪ May 27.—Capt. Philip St. George Cooke and 162(?) First U. S. dragoons (Companies C, F, and K), with two mountain howitzers, and 11 baggage wagons (mostly mule-drawn), left Fort Leavenworth for Council Grove to serve as escort for the Santa Fe-bound spring trading caravan. Cooke's command included Capt. Benjamin D. Moore, Lt. William Bowman, 2d Lieutenants George T. Mason, John Love, Daniel H. Rucker, and Asst. Surg. Richard F. Simpson. Also making this journey was the commander's 10-year-old son, John Rogers Cooke.

They marched (in mud) down the military road on the 27th; reached the Delaware (or Grinter) crossing of the Kansas on the 28th, got one company and the baggage train across on the ferry flatboats; and on the 29th, at an early hour, left the river and soon veered right toward the Santa Fe trail, striking it, on May 30, a little east of Elm Grove (where, wrote Cooke, there was "no wood," and "little water").

Their travel on the trail to Council Grove was routine; they reached the traders' rendezvous on June 3, about noon, and camped on the southwest bank of the Neosho in the prairie bottom. Captain Terrett, and troops joined Cooke's command on June 4—see next entry. See, also, June 6 entry.

Ref: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), pp. 72-78, 80; *KHQ*, v. 22, pp. 107, 110.

☪ Leaving Fort Scott about May 27(?), Capt. Burdett A. Terrett, with 23 Company A First dragoons, and two wagons (25 troops in all), arrived at Council Grove on June 4, after a 200-mile march, chiefly on the divide between the Marais des Cygnes and Neosho rivers. Terrett joined Captain Cooke's command. See June 6 entry.

Ref: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), pp. 73, 78, 79; and see *ibid.*, p. 248, for Terrett's homeward journey, in July.

☪ May 28.—Lt. John C. Fremont (U. S. Topographical Engineers), bound for Oregon (and northern California), left "the little town of Kansas" (Kansas City, Mo.) with his second exploring expedition (some 39 men; 12 two-mule carts; a light spring wagon for the instruments; a 12-pounder brass howitzer; a band of loose horses and mules); crossed the state line, and encamped two nights four miles from Westport, near "the [Shawnee] Methodist Mission House." (See June 6, 1842, entry for his first expedition.)

In Fremont's party were Thomas Fitzpatrick (guide), Charles Preuss (a

topographer), Theodore Talbot (whose journal gives many particulars of the march as far as "Idaho"), Frederick Dwight (a Pacific-bound tourist), Lucien Maxwell (hunter; en route to Taos), Louis Zindel ("cannonier"), Philibert Courteau (cook), Jacob Dodson (a free Negro; Fremont's servant), and 29 *voyageurs* (principally "creole and Canadian French, and Americans"). The explorer and most of his company had reached the "town of Kansas" (notably, Fremont did not refer to it as Westport Landing, though Talbot did), by steamboat (from St. Louis) on May 18. They spent 10 days at "Kansas" making final preparations. Fitzpatrick, with seven men and 40 horses and mules, arrived, overland, on the 23d; and he brought in more animals on the 27th.

On May 30 the company was at Elm or Round Grove ("only two elm trees remain of what was once a beautiful grove" Talbot), where there were some emigrant wagons; and where Oregon-bound William Gilpin (later governor of Colorado) joined them. On May 31 the march was 27 miles to the "Wahkaloosa" (Wakarusa) where they camped, and placed a "signal as agreed" on "Blue Mound" (present Douglas county) in sight of the home of Shawnee(?) Indians James (Jim) Rogers and his son Thomas Jefferson Rogers, who arrived around noon next day to accompany the expedition out to the South Platte, as hunters. (Fremont called them Delawares.)

The June 2 stopping point was about 100 miles (as traveled) from "Kansas landing," apparently near Shunganunga creek, southeast of present Topeka. At this camp, on the morning of the 3d, instead of turning northward to the Kansas crossing, Fremont's expedition *left the Oregon trail and continued up the south side of the river*. Progress was much delayed by numerous small streams which had to be bridged. The company "nooned" near a Kansa village whose chief was "The Little Turtle" (?), according to Talbot. He also recorded (perhaps inaccurately) the three Kansa divisions: "that under 'The American Chief' counts 50 wigwams, the 'Little Blue' 30 and the 'Yellow Banks' 20 wigwams"; adding that "'The Black Soldier' is now one of the most distinguished [chiefs]."

The expedition halted June 3 on a "handsome stream"—present Mill creek, Wabaunsee co. (which Fremont called "Otter creek"; and Talbot recorded as "Beaver Creek"). Next day they met a returning Delaware hunting party; traveled 18 miles; camped on "Buck Cr." (apparently Deep creek, Riley co.). On June 5, about due south of what is now Manhattan, a mounted war party of Osages chased Lucien Maxwell; overran Fremont's outfit in pursuit; went off with some of the best horses (which were recovered with difficulty after a hard ride). The night of June 7 probably was spent on present McDowell creek, Riley co. Next day the expedition reached the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers (at the future Fort Riley), and camped two nights "upon the banks of the Kansas" just below the junction.

On June 10, using a raft (constructed the day before) and an India rubber boat, the company crossed the Smoky Hill, went about a mile and camped in the point formed by the two branch streams (present Junction City area; Isaac McCoy and party had stopped there in 1830—see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 177).

Between June 11 and June 14 the expedition traveled some 82 miles up the Republican's right bank. At "Big timber creek" camp (present Buffalo? creek, Cloud co.; in lat. 39° 32' 54" and long. 98° 11' 41") the explorer divided his company—moving on ahead on the 16th with "a light party of 15 men," and

taking the howitzer and Jersey wagon; leaving Thomas Fitzpatrick with 25 men "in charge of the provisions and heavier baggage" to follow. Fremont headed westward to "Solomon's fork of the Smoky-hill river," traveling on its North Fork, apparently, for several days. On June 21 he moved up "to the affluents of the Republican"; and on the 25th(?) crossed "Republican fork of the Kansas" (in the vicinity of present Benkelman, Neb. (For the route across "Kansas," see map facing p. 448.)

At the end of June he came to the South Platte; arrived at Fort St. Vrain (not far from Greeley, Colo., of today) on July 4. Fitzpatrick's party, probably via much the same route, reached the "Padouca" (South Platte) on July 8; and arrived at "St. Vrain's Fort" on July 14.

Again ready to move Fremont separated his company, which now included Kit Carson, taking him and a small party on what was intended (Talbot wrote) as "a bee line . . . across the mountains to Fort Hall" (but en route, Fremont had to alter his plans and cross South Pass; subsequently he and a few men made a five-day detour to the Great Salt Lake). Fitzpatrick and the rest of the party reached Fort Hall by way of Fort Laramie and South Pass. From Fort Hall (where 11 men were discharged), the emigrant route to Oregon was followed, but Fremont and a few companions pushed on ahead, reaching the Dalles ahead of Fitzpatrick's group. On November 21 they were united. Four days later the explorer (with 25 men) set out on a winter expedition into northern California which concluded with a foolhardy, but successful, scaling of the Sierras that brought them to Sutter's fort in the fore part of March, 1844.

Ref: John C. Fremont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to . . . Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-'44*; Carey, *op. cit.*; Charles Preuss, *Exploring With Frémont . . .*, translated and edited by E. G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde (Norman, c1958), p. 81; H. H. Bancroft's *History of California*, v. 4, pp. 435-439; also his *History of Oregon*, v. 1, pp. 419, 420; Ghent, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-332; *New York Weekly Tribune*, September 23, 1843 (for William Gilpin's? July 26, 1843, letter). Despite Fremont's calling them Delawares, the hunters were, apparently, Shawnees—Talbot says so, Gilpin(?) says so; and, more convincingly, the Rogers family evidently lived on the Shawnee reserve. Fremont's dates do not always tally with those of Talbot. The latter's journal dates have seemed more reliable where there are discrepancies.

☪ May 29.—Capt. Nathan Boone and 90 First dragoons (including Lt. Abraham R. Johnston, Lt. Richard H. Anderson, Lt. Abraham Buford, and Asst. Surg. Josiah Simpson) marching northward from "Oklahoma" to "make a reconnoissance of the Western prairies," entered "Kansas" in present Harper county. (They had left Fort Gibson in mid-month.)

To-wan-ga-ha's band of Osages, met on the 29th, with whom they were in company till June 3, stole 10 horses and two mules; Boone seized some Indian ponies to replace them. Continuing northward, the dragoons crossed the Arkansas (June 5) near present Hutchinson, and came to the Santa Fe trail (June 7) on the headwaters of the Little Arkansas (near the Rice-McPherson county line of today). They found the site where the McDaniel gang had camped; searched in vain for the body of the murdered Chaves (*see* p. 454); took in tow "a small party of traders, five persons and one wagon" bound for California by way of Santa Fe (these persons later joined the caravan Cooke escorted); then, in need of buffalo meat, left the trail; marched southwest.

(On June 9 they had been at the Little Arkansas crossing.) On June 10 the dragoons crossed the Arkansas again (not far from present Alden, Rice co.); moved up the right bank (fording Rattlesnake creek after seven miles of travel); camped after a 10-mile march. Captain Boone, Lieutenants Buford, Anderson, and 12 others, hunted, and found buffalo on June 11. Moving upriver again on June 13, the Fort Gibson dragoons soon saw the Fort Leavenworth dragoons on the opposite side of the Arkansas. (About this same time, Lt. Abraham R. Johnston accidentally shot himself, suffering a severe foot injury, which required that he be carried, for the rest of the trip, in one of the (three) supply wagons. Captain Boone made camp across river from the mouth of Walnut creek (and across from Captain Cooke's force), in present Barton county; and remained in that vicinity through June 21.

On the homeward-march, begun June 22, the Fort Gibson dragoons traveled across Stafford, Pratt, and Barber counties of today. They met a large band of Osages headed by "To-ca-sa-ba" [Tshonga Sabba—Black Dog] on the 27th; left "Kansas" on the 29th in southwest Barber county; visited the "Rock Salt" (salt plains of "Oklahoma") on June 30; met Osage chief "Tallee" on July 1; subsequently had some fine buffalo hunting before descending the Canadian to proceed to Fort Gibson—reached July 31.

Ref: Nathan Boone's journal in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 7 (March, 1929), pp. 58-105; *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), pp. 81-92.

¶ On May 30th a small party of California-bound men, women, and children spent the night at Elm Grove. Lt. John C. Fremont, also camping there, noted this "company with several [five?] emigrant wagons . . . under the direction of Mr. J. B. Childs [Joseph B. Chiles], of [Jackson co.] Missouri. . . ."

Chiles (who had gone to California, overland, in 1841, and returned in 1842—see pp. 346 and 444) was now moving out to the Sacramento Valley. The party at this time included his friend William Baldrige, and, probably, Milton McGee, both of Jackson county, Julius Martin, his wife and three young daughters, Bartlett Vines, his wife, and her unmarried sister; also John Boardman, who left at Fort Hall and went to Oregon. (No complete list is available.) Fremont noted that the party's wagons were "variously freighted with goods, furniture, and farming utensils"; and that Chiles was taking "an entire set of machinery for a mill. . . ."

The Californians arrived at "Caw River" on June 3; crossed "on a raft, half canoe and half raft"; "fell in with four wagons and 90 head loose cattle, bound for Oregon" [the Daniel Waldo party?] on June 5; were delayed by rains on subsequent days; came to the "fresh track of the Oregon Company" on the 20th; camped on "Big Blue" [Little Blue!] that night; left the "head of Blue for the Platte" on the 23d; caught up with the Great Emigration at the Platte's South Fork. West of Fort Laramie they met mountain man Joseph R. Walker, and Chiles was able to hire him as guide. They arrived at Fort Bridger on August 13; and on September 12 reached Fort Hall, where Chiles (because of a scarcity of food) divided his company. Joseph R. Walker, with the wagons, the families, and some others, by one route (and having to abandon the wagons on the way) finally reached the California destination in December. Joseph B. Chiles, Milton McGee and 11 other men (among them John Gantt,

Pierson B. Reading, and William J. Martin of the "Oregonians"), on horseback, by another route, reached Sutter's Fort on November 10.

Ref: John C. Fremont's *Report* . . . , pp. 106, 107, 247; John Boardman's journal in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Salt Lake City, v. 2 (October, 1929), pp. 99-121; J. W. Nesmith's journal in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, v. 7 (December, 1906), pp. 331, 337, 339, 342, 345; P. B. Reading's journal in *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers*, v. 7 (September, 1930), pp. 161-198; H. H. Bancroft's *History of California*, v. 2, p. 759, v. 4, pp. 392-395, 732, v. 5, p. 764; George R. Stewart's *The California Trail* (1963), pp. 36-48.

¶ June.—A grand council of Indian nations, held from June 5 to July 3, at Tahlequah (Okla.)—the Cherokees' council ground—had a peak attendance of nearly 4,000 persons.

It was said that 22 tribes (out of 36 invited) sent representatives; but the 18 which had official delegates (totaling 211) were: Cherokees (17), Creeks (50), Seminoles (12), Chickasaws (12), Osages (9), Delawares (24), Shawnees (18), Kickapoos (4), Iowas (5), Pottawatomies (21), Chippewas (4), Stockbridges (6), Wichitas (1), Piankeshaws (2), Weas (6), Senecas (10), Peorias (6), and Ottawas (4). Notably absent were the Pawnees, Kansa, Comanches, and Kiowas; and the Choctaws did not take part in the proceedings, which were presided over by the Cherokees' head chief John Ross. Among those who came from some distance were aged chief Wabaunsee and orator Op-te-gee-zheek (or, Half-Day) of the Council Bluffs (Iowa) Pottawatomies. Captain Ketchum headed the delegation of Delawares from "Kansas." The principal Osage chiefs present, it appears, were Shingawassa (or, Handsome Bird) and Black Dog.

Gen. Zachary Taylor attended the council; and Artist John Mix Stanley was on hand to do portraits of distinguished delegates, as well as a painting of the council in session. Other invited guests included some missionaries and Indian agents. According to the Rev. William H. Goode (a visitor June 22-25), it was costing the Cherokees \$250 a day to feed the Indian congregation. He commented that the "only two tribes present that seemed . . . fully to retain their primitive customs in dress and manners, were the Iowas and Osages. . . ." The latter nation's delegates were tall men (all over six feet) weighing not less than 200 pounds each, by his estimate.

A peace-and-friendship treaty was signed on July 3 by the Cherokees, Creeks, and Osages.

Ref: *Niles' National Register*, v. 64 (July 22, 1843), p. 341; William H. Goode's *Outpost of Zion* . . . (Cincinnati, 1864), pp. 55-85, 90; Grant Foreman's *Advancing the Frontier 1830-1860* (Norman, 1933), pp. 205-214.

¶ June.—John Richard ("Reshaw"), associated with Indian traders John Sibille and David Adams, of Fort Platte (on the North Platte about a mile from Fort Laramie), came down the Oregon trail, across "Kansas," with "some cows & 6 Buffalo Calves & one young Elk also 5 or 6 One (horse) Waggon Loaded with Robes," as recorded by William L. Sublette (of Sir William Drummond Stewart's west-bound expedition) who met him June 6 on the Big Blue.

Richard ("Reshaw") re-crossed "Kansas," in July, en route to Fort Platte (a Pratte, Cabanne & Co. post), with an outfit of eight or nine men, and some 15 pack animals, carrying, principally, kegs of contraband alcohol (said to total nearly 300 gallons). He arrived at the trading post in "Wyoming" about August 15.

See, also, August entry, p. 477.

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, p. 363; OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy 234, Roll 753), Agent Andrew Drips' letter of October 15, 1843, with enclosures; *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers*, v. 7 (September, 1930), p. 156; *Washington Historical Quarterly*, v. 3 (October, 1912), p. 318; for Pratte & Cabanne's license, issued at St. Louis, July 27, 1843, for trade (with 26 men) on the Upper Missouri, Laramie's Fork, South Platte, etc., *see* OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 753), D. D. Mitchell's list of licenses issued from October 1, 1842, to September 30, 1843.

☪ Early on June 6 the spring caravan for Santa Fe—over 50 wagons and around 140 persons, headed by "Dr. East, & L[i]eut, Armijo & Ortiz"—left the Council Grove rendezvous; followed by a large military escort—Capt. Philip St. George Cooke and upwards of 190 First U. S. dragoons (*see* May 27 entry).

In this train, as Cooke later reported, there were: "American owners 10; Mexican owners 5; Armed Americans 68; Armed Mexicans, about the same; Wagons large & *small*, American owners, 24; Wagons Large, Mexican owners, 32." (Earlier, Cooke had told Captain Boone there were 47 wagons, including three dearborns.)

Camp on June 6 was at Diamond Spring; next day Cooke took the lead, marching to Cottonwood Crossing, while the traders moved more slowly. On June 11, from a camp on a branch of Cow creek, Cooke sent Capt. Benjamin D. Moore's Company C to backtrack the trail and remain near the laggard caravan. On the 13th he wrote (in his journal): "This has been our great day: our first meeting with buffalo. . . . Encamped between 3 & 4 o'clock on Walnut Creek. Capt. [Nathan] B[ooone]'s tents on the other side of Arkansas are visible." [Boone remained there till June 23—*see* p. 468 for his expedition.]

Captain Cooke and his command stayed at Walnut Creek Crossing for 12 days—awaiting the caravan. Charles Bent and his 14-wagon train came from the west on June 14 (*see* p. 472)—camped to wait for his partner whose wagons arrived on June 24; remained till June 25. Accompanied by Captain Moore and Company C, the traders reached Walnut creek on June 23—after being bogged down for days by mud and flooded streams in present Rice county.

At last, on June 25, the whole expedition was on the move again, the military escort marching in advance. Five days later came the meeting with the Texas battalion.

Early on June 30 Captain Cooke and the dragoons reached a point on the Santa Fe trail (near the junction of two branches) about 10 miles east of present Dodge City, and saw across the river the camp of Col. Jacob Snively and his 107 Texans (*see* p. 464). The site was believed, by the Texans, to be west of the 100th meridian (the United States-Mexican boundary in the Arkansas river vicinity); while Cooke's information was that the 100th meridian struck the Arkansas "about, or above the 'Caches'" (which landmark was five miles west of present Dodge City).

The dragoons, having two howitzers, as well as a stronger force than the Texans, were in a commanding position. Cooke marched his dragoons across the river, demanded, and got, the surrender of the Texans. Snively's men (having secreted many of their firearms) gave up the weapons they carried, but a few were returned to them (for hunting purposes). Most of the Texans remained with Snively (and supposedly were to head homeward), but Cooke gave escort (Capt. B. A. Terrett and 60 men) to those who requested it, and started that party east, toward Missouri, on July 1.

The caravan, and the military escort, moving on up the Arkansas, spent the night of July 1 west of the Caches. Next day the dragoons reached the Cimarron crossing and camped; and the caravan came up next day. On July 4 Cooke wrote in his journal: "The traders are crossing their wagons in a gale . . . Some hundred mules and oxen, and half as many Mexicans floundering incessantly in the water, sound like a great water fall. . . . [later] The last wagon is over—ten hours were consumed in crossing." Without escort for the balance of the journey, this caravan reached Santa Fe safely.

On July 5 Captain Cooke and his command started eastward; caught up with Captain Terrett's party east of Pawnee fork, on July 8. Cooke was plagued by Texans on the homeward route; gave passports to some who traveled with him; found others following him on the trail. On the 13th, east of Cottonwood fork, he sent out troops to disarm every one of the "bold outlaws" they found armed. Camp on July 15 was at Council Grove. A little east of Elm Grove, on the 20th, Capt. B. A. Terrett and his troops diverged to march toward Fort Scott. Cooke's own dragoons (Companies C, F, and K) crossed the Kansas on July 20 and 21, marched into Fort Leavenworth the afternoon of the 21st.

Ref: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), pp. 72-98, 227-249 (for Cooke's journal, May 27-July 21, 1843); *KHC*, v. 9, pp. 553-556; and see references under May 25 annals entry.

¶ June.—Charles Bent, coming down from Fort William, on the upper Arkansas, with 14 well-laden wagons drawn by ox and mule teams, and some "Colorado"-raised cattle for his Jackson county, Mo., farm, reached the Santa Fe trail's Walnut Creek crossing on the 14th, and camped on the left bank (near Captain Cooke and his dragoons) to await the rest of his company.

Manuel Alvarez (recently U. S. consul at Santa Fe) was in his party; and so was Kit Carson (who left express to Santa Fe via Bent's Fort on June 24, accompanied by Dick Owens). Also traveling with Bent had been spies from the Texan camps upriver.

Ceran St. Vrain (delayed by a "not altogether unsuccessful experiment of boating [furs] from the 'Fort' down the Arkansas") arrived on June 22 with five peltry-laden wagons. (En route he had met the Texans encamped at the Arkansas crossing.) He was able to cross flooded Walnut creek on the 24th. Next day the Bent, St. Vrain & Company caravan started east. St. Vrain arrived at St. Louis on July 5.

Ref: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), pp. 85-93; *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life* . . ., edited by Blanche C. Grant (Taos, 1926), pp. 52-54; *New Orleans Weekly Picayune*, July 17, 1843; *Niles' National Register*, v. 64 (July 22, 1843), p. 323.

¶ June 18(?)—The American Fur Company's steamboat *Trapper*, which had wintered on the upper Missouri, left Fort Pierre (S. D.) on June 12, and arrived at St. Louis on June 21. She probably passed Fort Leavenworth around the 18th. In her cargo were some 1,200 packs of buffalo robes.

The captain brought reports of hostilities by Sioux, and Otoe Indians against fur traders and trappers. At the Council Bluffs (Neb.), Agent Daniel Miller, because of threats against his life, had sent his family to Blacksnake Hills (St. Joseph) Mo., aboard the *Trapper*, for safety. The Sioux were gathering to "come down and attack the Indians" [*i. e.*, the Pawnees].

Ref: *New York Weekly Tribune*, July 8, 1843 (from a St. Louis paper); *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 122.

¶ June 26.—Returning from Fort Union (N. D.), and making record time, the American Fur Company's steamboat *Omega*, according to Capt. Joseph A. Sire's log book, on this day "Stopped at Robidoux (St. Joseph, Mo., site). . . . Finally we camped at [Fort] Leavenworth Met the steamboat Admiral at Weston."

On the 27th the boat "Stopped at Madame Chouteau's"; and on June 29 those aboard "Reached St. Louis in time for breakfast," wrote Captain Sire. The *Omega* (having left Fort Union on June 14) had made the trip in 15 days.

Ref: H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade* . . . , v. 2, p. 973.

¶ June 27.—In "Nebraska," some 300 Sioux Indians led by chiefs Bull Tail and Iron Shell (as reported) raided a new Pawnee village on the Loup fork's north bank (about 30 miles above the river's mouth; and a mile from Pawnee Mission), killing 69(?) men, women, and children, and wounding "upwards of 20" others. Missionary John Dunbar wrote: "The Pawnees lost in all, killed outright, died of their wounds, and taken prisoners 70," and stated that reports from the Sioux country indicated around 40 of the 500 attackers had been killed at the scene, and others had since died of wounds.

Twenty (or 21?) of the largest Pawnee lodges in the 41-lodge compound were burned, and the enemy also stole some 200 horses. Missionary Samuel Allis reported: "Of the number killed, were 35 Tappags, 28 Republicks & 6 Grand Pawnees. The men that were killed, were mostly Rplks. [Republic band] . . . [including] the first chief (Cappo Blue) [Blue Coat—see *KHQ*, v. 28, pp. 176, 338] who was one of the first if not the first man in the nation. Several chiefs & braves were killed, also the interpreter (La Shapell) [Louis La Chapelle] who was a half breed Pawnee. The first Tappags chief, who has been sick for a long time . . . died thru excitement. . . ." Allis also wrote: "Since the first of March there has been from 200 to 250 Pawnees killed, and probably 400 horses stolen by their enemies."

Ref: KHC, v. 14, pp. 656, 657, 659, 730, 731, and for village location, *see ibid.*, pp. 647-649; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 215, 251-256 (here, Agent Daniel Miller reports 136 Pawnees as having "died in wars during the past spring" (1843)—a figure at variance with Allis' statement; *Niles' National Register*, v. 64 (July 22, 1843), p. 323, for the Sioux chiefs' names, and p. 341, for an account of the massacre.

¶ June 28-July 2.—En route to Shawnee Methodist Mission from Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, Missionaries Learner B. Stater and William H. Goode, in the latter's horse-drawn buggy, entered "Kansas," at its southeast corner, on June 28. (They were now in the Cherokee Neutral Lands.) In his later-written *Outposts of Zion* (evidently based, in part, on a journal), Goode told of the trip northward—much of it on the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road.

After noon on the 28th they came to the Pomme de Terre (Spring) river at a point (in present Cherokee county) where "Joseph [John?] Rogers," a mixed-blood Cherokee, had his home. When Rogers attempted to ferry the buggy and baggage across the rain-swollen stream on a large "canoe," the boat capsized. Stater and Goode spent the night at the Cherokee's home while their goods (recovered) dried out.

Next morning, they took the military road; found it expedient to camp most of the day (in a grove of trees, with a smudge fire going) to avoid the plague of horseflies; traveled all night; stopped for breakfast on the Drywood (they found a bed of "stone-coal, lying upon the surface" of this stream); proceeded (on July 30) to Fort Scott. "The only accommodation for travelers was at a cabin hotel, some hundreds of yards from the fort, but very difficult of access. This was crowded to overflowing with a class of men who cared little for the comfort of a weary stranger. . . ." So, they left (after a further unpleasant experience with the "little acting Quarter-Master" over a matter of buggy repairs). Again, they camped by day; traveled part of the night. (In September, the Osages' subagent, R. A. Calloway, wrote: "[The horse] flies . . . are fifty per cent worse than for many years in this country—so as to make it entirely impossible to use horse or ox unless at night, and a dark one at that.")

On July 1 (in the daytime) they forded the Little Osage (with some difficulty); arrived at "Jeru's [Michel Giraud's] Trading House"; crossed the Marais des Cygnes there; reached "Cold Water Grove" in the early afternoon; spent the night on the open prairie; and on Sunday, July 2, arrived at Shawnee Mission.

Ref: Goode, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-95; SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 8, typed copy, pp. 228-239, has Calloway's September 1, 1843, report.

Between June and September, Sup't D. D. Mitchell, St. Louis, issued these Indian trading licenses for locations in "Kansas":

June 14	P. Chouteau, Jr. & Co. (11 men employed)	At the Marais des Cygnes near mouth of Sugar creek [now Trading Post, Linn co.]; at Pottawatomie creek near the issue house [at, or near present Lane, Franklin co.]; at the villages of the Weas, Peorias, Mi-
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- amis [in present Miami and Franklin counties]; and at Sugar creek near the [Catholic] church [northeast of present Centerville, Linn co.]—with the Pottawatomies, Peorias, Weas, and Miamies [Piankeshaws]
- July 17 Jos. Robidoux, Senr.
(8 men employed) At the villages of the Sacs of Missouri, Iowas, and Kickapoos; and at a point in the Kickapoo country on the Missouri river opposite Blacksnake Hills (Mo.)—with the above-named tribes, and the Pottawatomies (of Council Bluffs, Iowa) [The above locations being in Doniphan and Leavenworth counties of today.]
- August 2 Boone & Hamilton
[Albert G. Boone and
James G. Hamilton]
(6 men employed) At a point on the Miamis' [Piankeshaws' & Weas'] lands near the line dividing them from the Pottawatomie lands [present Miami county]; and at a point on Sugar creek near the [Catholic] church of the Wabash Pottawatomies [northeast of present Centerville, Linn co.]—with the Pottawatomies, Weas, Ottawas, and Piankeshaws
- August 24 Ewing & Clymer
[George W. Ewing and
Joseph Clymer] At or near the old issue house on Pottawatomie creek [at, or near present Lane, Franklin co.]—with the Pottawatomies and others
- August 24 Ewing & Clymer At a point on the eastern shore of the Neosho river [in present Neosho? county]; and at other points in the Osage Subagency as designated by the subagent—with the Osages
- September 29 Cornelius Davy
(3 men employed) At Sugar creek near the Catholic Church; at Pottawatomie creek [locations as above]—with the Pottawatomies and others

Ref: OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 753). Cornelius Davy is listed in the federal census of 1850, in Jackson county, Mo., as aged 58, born in Ireland; with a son Thomas, 16 (born in Kentucky), and a son Cornelius, 5 (born in Missouri).

¶ July 3.—Indian department contracts, for the "Wabash Pottawatomies of Sugar Creek" (residents of present Linn county, northeast of Centerville) were awarded as follows:

John Cummins to supply 93 yoke of oxen, and yokes (for \$2,500) within 42 days

John Cummins to supply 134 cows and calves, and one bull (for \$1,000) within 42 days

D. W. Smelser to supply 69 breeding sows and five boars (for \$150) within 42 days

Ref: 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 42* (Serial 441), p. 20.

¶ July 5(?)—William H. Goode—then at “town of Kansas,” Missouri—wrote: “Since coming here [on July 5] I have seen a company of ‘Mackinaw boats’ . . . from the Upper Missouri, freighted with skins and furs, the property of the American Fur Company, as they glided rapidly down the stream.”

These were, evidently, the “eight or ten Mackinaw boats” which a St. Louis newspaper on June 22 had reported were “expected” to arrive at that port.

Ref: Goode, *op. cit.*, p. 100; *Nebraska State Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 122.

¶ July 6.—Sup’t D. D. Mitchell, St. Louis, was notified that the Osage Subagency (previously in the Western superintendency) had been transferred to the St. Louis superintendency (and henceforth was under his charge).

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, “Records,” v. 7, typed copy p. 360. For earlier history of the subagency see *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 361, and v. 29, p. 62.

¶ July.—East of Cottonwood fork, on the 13th, east-bound Capt. P. St. G. Cooke met “13 wagons with ox & mule teams, freighted by an Englishman [Edward J. Glasgow?] for Chihuahua, via Santa Fe.” On the 15th, at Council Grove, Cooke found “about 20 wagons for Santa Fe; the 13 we met are to wait for them at Pawnee Fork.” On the 17th Cooke “Met this morning . . . 9 more wagons (& two carriages) & Dr. Connolly [Dr. Henry Connelly, of Chihuahua] . . .” the rear detachment of the 42-wagon caravan en route to the southwest without escort.

One of the party (perhaps Connelly) sent a letter (dated “Pawnee Rock July 20”) to Missouri, by Lupton’s company, stating (in part): “Our teams, as well as ourselves, are very much annoyed by the mosquitoes; they are worse than I ever saw them.”

Ref: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), pp. 245-247; *Niles’ National Register*, v. 64 (August 26, 1843), p. 406.

¶ July.—Trader Lancaster P. Lupton, and party, came down from the South Platte by way of the Santa Fe trail. New Mexico-bound merchants met him on July 20 at Pawnee Rock. Some of Lupton’s company reached Independence, Mo., on August 4.

Ref: *Niles’ National Register*, v. 64 (August 26, 1843), p. 406.

¶ July 15.—George W. Tate was given an Indian department contract to supply the Kickapoos with 87 cows and calves, and 25 sows, for the sum of \$1,000. He had 45 days in which to complete delivery.

Ref: 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 42* (Serial 441), p. 20.

¶ July 28 and 31.—About 630 Wyandot Indians, removing from northern Ohio to “Kansas,” were put ashore at Westport Landing, Mo., from the small steamboat *Republic* and the larger *Nodaway*.

They set up camp just west of the Missouri line, on the right bank of the Kansas, near its mouth; remained there till October. A few families rented homes in, or near, Westport. (Matthew R. Walker and the young men of the Nation, bringing a herd of horses overland, arrived several weeks after those who came by water.) Methodist minister James Wheeler accompanied the Wyandots; stayed till autumn; returned in 1844 (from Ohio).

The civilized Wyandots (more white than Indian from intermarriage with captives adopted into their tribe), brought a code of laws, a Methodist church, a Masonic lodge; set up their school and their own trading store. It is said that when the Nation (then numbering about 700) came to “Kansas,” no Wyandot was more than one-quarter Indian. Some were well-educated and well-to-do. Their first subagent in “Kansas”—Jonathan Phillips—wrote (in 1844): “The half breeds controul the tribe; a majority of them are stubborn, and vindictive, subtle, lazy and deceptious. The form of Govt. of the Wyandot tribe is an oligarchy, all power being vested in Seven Chiefs. . . . They have no written constitution, nor do the chiefs want any. Their feeling towards the U. S. is that of hostility. . . .” (Phillips was replaced in the spring of 1845.)

See, also, October annals entry.

Ref: *New York Weekly Tribune*, August 12, 1843 (for item from St. Louis paper of July 25, 1843, reporting arrival there on July 24, of 630 Wyandots on the *Republic* and *Nodaway*); A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler’s *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1227; Goodspeed’s *Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas* . . . (Chicago, 1890), pp. 150, 151; SIA, St. Louis, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 343-348 (for Phillips’ report); *KHC*, v. 15, pp. 181-185; James Wheeler’s June 28, 1845 letter in KHi ms. division. *Also see* Wheeler’s September 30, 1843, letter, in *KHC*, v. 16, pp. 267, 268.

¶ Summer.—At Shawnee Friends Mission (present Johnson county) where 45 Indian children were in school (27 boys and 18 girls, aged five to 18), an additional two-story “apartment” had been added to the dwelling-house. On the farm 320 “dozens”[?] of wheat, 960 of oats, and about two tons of hay had been harvested. There were 44 acres in corn, four and a half acres in buckwheat, and one in potatoes—all in promising condition. The livestock numbered four horses, 35 head of cattle (17 of them milk cows), and upwards of 40 hogs.

Ref: *Some Account of the Conduct of the Religious Society of Friends Towards the Indian Tribes* . . . (London, 1844), pp. 245, 246.

¶ August 17.—David Adams, trader, on the way to Fort Platte (Wyo.) via the Oregon trail, with supply-laden wagons, was, on this day, at “Cances Rivr crosing of mr [Joseph] papan” (present Topeka).

On September 23, near Ash Hollow, when Matt Field of Sir William Drummond Stewart’s east-bound company met Adams’ outfit, he identified two of the men as Dan Finch and Julius Cabanne.

See, also, June entry, p. 470.

Ref: Field, *op. cit.*, p. 202; W. C. Kennerly's story, *Persimmon Hill*, p. 163; Dale L. Morgan's letter of June 29, 1963, to L. Barry.

¶ About August 23(?), 2d Lt. Richard S. Ewell, and a platoon from Company A, First U. S. dragoons, left Fort Scott for Council Grove (presumably traveling by way of the divide between the Marais des Cygnes and Neosho rivers); and arrived before the 31st—see next entry.

Ref: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), p. 250, and p. 253 (for Ewell's homeward route, in October.

¶ August 24.—Capt. Philip St. George Cooke and 150(?) First U. S. dragoons (Companies, C, F, and K; also detachments of Companies E and H) left Fort Leavenworth for Council Grove to begin a mission as protective escort for the autumn caravan of Santa Fe-bound traders. (The threat of Texan marauders was not yet ended.) Cooke anticipated a march beyond the U. S. boundary, possibly even to Santa Fe! He and his command reached the rendezvous on August 31; found dragoons from Fort Scott (see preceding entry) awaiting at the Grove.

Ref: *Ibid.*, pp. 249, 250, 253. Cooke says "I prepared to march with 150 men provided for an excursion . . . beyond the U. S. boundary. . . ." He may have included in the 150 the platoon from Fort Scott—see above entry.

¶ August-September.—Capt. Enoch Steen, of the First U. S. dragoons, with 54 men, marched from Fort Gibson (Okla.) up to the Santa Fe trail, under orders to assist in escorting the autumn caravan of Mexican traders to the U. S. boundary.

His route northward across "Kansas" was probably much the same as Captain Boone's (see p. 468). On September 10 Captain Cooke (west-bound on the trail) met Captain Steen on the Little Arkansas "marching Eastward," short of provisions and with two-thirds of his horses unfit for service. Cooke attached two young officers, and 25 of the best-mounted men to his command; sent Steen (ill), Asst. Surg. Charles McCormick, and the rest of the detachment, to Missouri where they "could obtain succor, and thence by the military road . . ." to Fort Gibson.

Ref: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), p. 250; Grant Foreman's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (1926), p. 302; *New York Weekly Tribune*, September 9, 1843.

¶ September 2.—The autumn caravan to Santa Fe—an all-Mexican train of about 150(?) wagons, which had left Independence, Mo., on August 24—set out from Council Grove, accompanied by Capt. Philip St. George Cooke and at least 177 First dragoons (perhaps more—see preceding entry).

Captain Cooke stated: "I marched with the caravan of about 140 wagons: the merchants were all Mexicans. I was more fortunate than some of them, in remaining no longer at the Grove where the air was filled with miasma. A

succession of rains followed and the result was that the overloaded and ill managed wagon train advanced but 87 miles in the next 12 days. . . . [then] We were again exposed to a long spell of cold rains: very many of the Mexican drivers were sick and six or eight died. [It was later reported that "13 Spaniards died on the way—12 of them from fever and ague."] The caravan advanced in the next three weeks but 126 miles: Sept. 25th there was a severe frost."

On October 1 the expedition was still 25 miles from the Arkansas crossing, and Cooke was faced with logistics problems. The arrival, from Missouri, of Bent, St. Vrain & Company supply wagons was opportune. On October 3, the dragoons marched to "within 9 miles of the crossing; and learned . . . that a Mexican [escort] force had arrived at the river the night before." "This was a great surprise to *all*," Cooke later reported. Moving next day to the crossing, the caravan forded the Arkansas, and joined the Mexican escort.

Captain Cooke and his troops started homeward on the 5th. The journey was a slow one—the average daily march being "less than 16 miles." (There was insufficient grass for the horses.) On October 18 the dragoons arrived at Council Grove. Cooke "pushed on" leaving five wagons and a small party to follow. On the 24th, near the military road, the troops for Fort Scott, under 2d Lt. Richard S. Ewell, were detached. The Fort Leavenworth dragoons reached their post on October 25. Cooke wrote: "The march from Council Grove began amid flames and billows of smoke tossed by violent winds . . . it ended with two days of snow storm and severe winter weather. . . ."

Ref: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), pp. 249-254; Nebraska State Historical Society Publications, v. 20, p. 122 (from *Missouri Republican* of August 28, 1843, which states: "The largest caravan—175 wagons—that ever started from Independence, left on the 24th."); *New York Weekly Tribune*, January 27, 1844 (which says Norris Colburn reported there were 150 wagons in the train reaching Santa Fe; that the trip had been 106 days in length).

¶ Of the new Osage Subagency headquarters Subagent Robert A. Calloway wrote, in September: "This Agency is located on the river Neosho, about equidistant from the northern & southern boundaries—and near the Eastern boundary of this reservation." (By description this site was south of the present Neosho-Labette county boundary.)

[From 1838 (when Paul L. Chouteau resigned) to 1842, no subagent had maintained residence on the Osage reserve. But Calloway had "found it impossible to attend to his business while living in the Seneca country," and Supt William Armstrong had "thought it best" to erect buildings "in the Osage nation"—as Calloway reported in a September 1, 1842, letter. William Sherer (or Sharer?), the contractor, finally received \$2,000, in 1844, for the Osage Subagency quarters he built, though Indian department officials thought his claim "extravagantly high."]

Also new on the Osage reserve were two houses for Osage millers (built between April 20 and June 20, 1843, for \$217.50 each, by contractor Edward L. Chouteau), at a location not specified, on the Neosho river, where a site for a mill had been selected, but no mill, as yet, built, or even started.

Calloway stated that the blacksmiths' shop was on the Neosho, 12 to 15 miles above the subagency; and still five or six miles higher up was the

American Fur Company's trading house, whose agent Pierre Melicourt Papin (an "excellent man, well qualified . . .") had been in the Indian trade for 30 years. He noted, too, the recent trading application by a Mr. Clymer [Joseph Clymer] of the firm Ewing & Clymer," who came "well recommended."

About two-thirds of the Osages—the bands of White Hair and the Little Osages—were on the Neosho, the subagent reported. The other two bands—Clermont's and Paw-ne-no-pashees [the Big Hill band?—lived on the Verdigris near the Osages' southern boundary.

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 406, 407; and *ibid.*, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 228-239 (for Calloway's report of September 1, 1843); 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 42* (Serial 441), p. 15; 29th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 91* (Serial 483), p. 2; OIA, Register of letters received (National Archives Microcopy 18, Roll 23) for Calloway's letter of September 1, 1842.

¶ In September Father Felix L. Verreydt (superior at Sugar Creek Mission) reported: "I have secured the services of Messrs. Thomas Watkins, and John Tipton (a Pottawatomie?) as school-masters; the former teaches the English language . . . and the latter the English and the Potawatomie languages conjointly . . . both belonging to the nation and very popular."

It is presumed that the former was the Thomas Watkins who taught school in Chicago during the early 1830's; later served as chief clerk in the Chicago post office (under the first postmaster there); and married a daughter of Joseph Lafromboise (Pottawatomie chief). The Watkins-Lafromboise wedding was an important social event in Chicago, according to Mayor John Wentworth, who was present. However, the couple was subsequently divorced; and Mrs. Watkins afterwards married Menard Beaubien, "son of Jean Baptiste Beaubien of Chicago and later a resident of Silver Creek [Silver Lake?], Kansas."

Ref: Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 209.

¶ September 13.—Hiero T. Wilson (recently employed as clerk for his brother Thomas E. Wilson, sutler at Fort Gibson) arrived at Fort Scott. A partnership (or half-interest) arrangement he made with John A. Bugg (*see* March 3 entry) for the post sutlership lasted six years.

(In 1849 Bugg went to California and Wilson became sole proprietor.)

Ref: *The United States Biographical Dictionary. Kansas Volume* . . . (Chicago and Kansas City, 1879), pp. 39, 40; Robley, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

¶ After a September journey across present Kansas, "Mr. Weatherhead's [Samuel? Wethered's] company of Santa Fe traders, 140 in number" arrived at Independence, Mo., about the end of the month. Twelve of the party (including Wethered), at St. Louis early in October, were reported to have in their possession "500 pounds weight of gold and silver in bars," and to be en route East to purchase goods.

Out on the Arkansas, on September 15, Capt. P. St. George Cooke (west-

bound) had met this "small[?] American portion of the Spring caravan returning with a few empty wagons."

Ref: *Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, October 4, 1843; *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), p. 251.

¶ September.—The first general sale of lots took place at the new town of St. Joseph, Mo.—formerly "Blacksnake Hills, the old Indian trading station of Monsieur Joseph Robidoux." (The town had been laid out in June; and a plat had been certified by Robidoux, at St. Louis, on July 26.)

Subagent Richard S. Elliott who had debarked from the *John Aull* at Blacksnake Hills on May 20, 1843, later wrote: "Mons. Robidoux's warehouse . . . was a building of stockade fashion, split logs, set upright and roofed with clapboards. . . . His ample [old] log house for dwelling and trade . . . stood a short distance away on the gentle slope of a hill, with his little corn-cracking mill on a 'branch' in the foreground." That very day "the active old gentleman . . . was mounting his horse for a ride to the land office, to be opened next day at Plattsburg. He wanted to be on hand early to enter his quarter section, which it was said the people of Buchanan country intended to take from him for a county seat. They wanted to lay out a town and sell lots; but so did Mons. Robidoux. . . . With proper self-regard, he named the town after himself, ST. JOSEPH. . . ."

On November 20, 1843, the name of the post office was changed from Blacksnake Hills to St. Joseph.

Ref: Richard S. Elliott's *Notes Taken in Sixty Years* (St. Louis, 1883), pp. 166-169; *The History of Buchanan County, Missouri* (St. Joseph, 1881), pp. 405, 409, 413. See, also, *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 27, v. 29, p. 331.

¶ September.—As related by Missionary Ira D. Blanchard, 23 pupils (12 boys and 11 girls) were attending Delaware Baptist Mission's manual labor school; during the year a new house, 18 by 20 feet, a story and a half high, had been added to the mission buildings; and the farm crops (some not yet harvested) would provide an abundant supply for the station.

Ref: Blanchard's September 25, 1843, report in Comm'r of Indian affairs *Report for 1843*.

¶ September-October.—Leaving the Missouri frontier, on the Santa Fe trail, in the fore part of September, the wagon train headed by Charles Bent and Ceran St. Vrain overtook Capt. P. St. G. Cooke (and the Mexican traders' caravan) about October 1.

Cooke, on October 1, wrote in his journal: "I was 25 miles below the [Arkansas] crossing: and the caravan was strung out on desperate roads 10 or 15 miles behind . . . when the arrival of Bent & . . . [St. Vrain] announcing the approach of provisions for wintering in the wilderness, relieved me in some degree."

(At St. Louis, in late August, the traders had contracted to transport about 35,000 pounds of government "stores and provisions" from Westport, Mo., to

"the trading house on the Arkansas river, called Fort Williams" [Bent's Fort] and store them up to October 1, 1844, at eight cents per pound. Subsequently [in 1844] there was some difficulty over this contract.)

Ref: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 12 (June, 1925), p. 251; 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 42* (Serial 441), p. 36; and see documents quoted in Nolie Mumey's *Old Forts* . . . (1956), pp. 64-70.

☪ Late September(?)—Two Otoe Indians, held prisoners at Fort Leavenworth for outrages of the previous summer, made a break for freedom. One was shot and killed by a sentinel; the other escaped.

Ref: *Niles' National Register*, v. 65 (October 21, 1843), p. 115 (from *St. Louis (Mo.) Gazette* of October 8); SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, p. 411.

☪ DIED: Wy-lah-lah-piah, or Wa-wa-la-peah (a leading chief of the Shawnee nation), on October 3, at his home in present Johnson county.

J. C. Berryman described him as "a man of imposing personal presence, superior intellect, and eloquent speech, mighty in exhortation and prayer, his influence was a power for good among his people." James G. Hamilton, of Westport, Mo., wrote that "Wawalapi" was one of the most talented Shawnees he ever knew, and the "greatest orator in the tribe. . . ."

Ref: F. H. Cross and K. J. Moore's *Notebooks of James Gillespie Hamilton* . . . (c1953), p. 5; *KHC*, v. 16, p. 218. See, also, *KHQ*, v. 28, p. 342.

☪ On October 1, from a camp near the Platte's South Fork, 22 men of Sir William Drummond Stewart's homeward-bound "pleasure excursion" set out in advance of the main company. (The journey back from the "hunting frolic" to the Wind River mountains had begun August 17—see p. 461.)

This group, made up of persons either at odds with Sir William's autocratic ways, or impatient with his slow homeward pace, included Lt. Richard H. Graham and Lt. Sidney Smith (whose furloughs were rapidly expiring), Cyprian Menard, Edmund F. Chouteau, Jefferson K. Clark, and W. Clark Kennerly (who kept a diary of the trip eastward). Isaac Greathouse was appointed captain.

In "Kansas," at the Oregon trail Kansas river crossing (present Topeka), Graham, Smith, Clark, and two men from the main party who caught up with them, left the trail to follow "precisely the road we had taken going up" (as stated in the Graham-Smith report)—that is, along the north side of the river to the old ford at the one-time Kansa Agency (nearly 20 miles below present Topeka). The others, it appears, all kept to the Oregon trail, crossing the Kansas at Papin's (*i. e.*, at "Topeka"). Some 20 of the splinter party arrived at St. Louis on October 23, aboard the *Omega*.

Sir William, William L. Sublette, and the rest of the company came down the Oregon trail not far behind the Greathouse party. Matt Field, and two mess-mates, reached Joseph Papin's cabin early on October 15, a day ahead of the others. Field wrote, in his diary, on October 16: "Camp [Stewart, Sublette, *et al*] came to the [Kansas] crossing at noon, and we got everything over in a 40 foot pirogue of Charles Chouteau's by sundown . . . swam

the animals over beautifully. . . . On October 30, aboard the steamboats *Iatan* and *John Aull*, most, if not all these expedition members, reached St. Louis.

Ref: Field, *op cit.*; W. C. Kennerly's diary in *Persimmon Hill*, pp. 158-167, 257; *Bulletin* of the Missouri Historical Society, v. 11 (October, 1954), pp. 50-53 (for Graham-Smith report of the homeward journey). Charles B. Chouteau (1808-1884), a son of Pierre Chouteau, Sr., and his second wife, was a full brother of Francis G., Cyprian, and Frederick Chouteau. The above is the earliest mention found linking him with the Kansas river trade (and Frederick Chouteau's post—a few miles above present Topeka).

☐ October 5-10.—Descending the Missouri in a Mackinaw boat, naturalist John J. Audubon, his companions (Edward Harris, J. G. Bell, L. M. Squires, Isaac Sprague—*see* May 3 entry), and some oarsmen, arrived at Fort Croghan (at present Council Bluffs, Iowa) on October 5. Next day, accompanied by another boat carrying Lt. James H. Carleton and 18 men of the First dragoons, the journey downriver was resumed. On October 10, at 4 P. M. they put in at Fort Leavenworth Landing. At half-past six, Audubon's boat departed, proceeding to the Independence lower landing by sunset. Audubon and his friends reached St. Louis on October 19. (They had left Fort Union [N. D.] on August 16; and Fort Pierre [S. D.] on September 8.)

Ref: Edward Harris' journal—*see* May 3 annals entry; *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 10 (April, 1943), pp. 63-82.

☐ October 6.—Fort Croghan, Iowa (*see* above entry) was abandoned on this day. Capt. John H. K. Burgwin and part of his First dragoons started overland for Fort Leavenworth; while Lt. James H. Carleton and 18 men left for the post by water.

(*See* p. 437 for short-lived Fort Croghan's founding, in June, 1842.)

Ref: Edward Harris' journal, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

☐ October.—The Wyandot Indians (now scarcely more than 600? in number), who had been encamped (since the end of July) on the Kaw's right bank, near its mouth, moved across the river to the east end of the Delawares' reserve (on lands subsequently purchased; the eastern section of present Wyandotte county, between the Missouri and Kansas rivers).

Subagent Jonathan Phillips, arriving in mid-November, found white men building cabins and clearing land for some of the more affluent Wyandots. Of the nation as a whole, he reported: "In consequence of fatigue in removing [from Ohio], a change of climate, and intemperance, together with the exhalations of the low ground on which they encamped, they lost about 100 of the tribe. Little sympathy was manifested for the sick and dying. *The increase of the annuity to the Survivors was enlarged.*" In the "above distressing circumstances," the Delawares had entreated the Wyandots "to cross the Kansas and occupy their lands until some arrangements could be entered into in regard to an agreement [*see* December 14 entry] for the purchase of the same."

The Wyandot nation's ferry across the Kansas, near its mouth (known to have been in operation in November, 1843) probably had its origin at the time of the move in October. Free to Wyandots, but not to others, this ferry was operated by the nation till 1856.

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 343-348 (for Phillips' report); *KHQ*, v. 2, pp. 252-254, 402 (for ferry data); also, *Kansas Reports*, v. 2, p. 210; Andreas and Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1227; Goodspeed's *Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas* (1890); testimony of C. B. Garrett, in *U. S. vs. Willis Wills, 1857*, First U. S. District Court, Leocompton, K. T. (ms. in KHi, Archives division).

☪ October.—At Shawnee Methodist Mission, a steam mill, on which work had begun in January, under the superintendence of Allen T. Ward, was completed. The engine and flouring machinery had been purchased at St. Louis.

Ref: Allen T. Ward's letters of March 18 and October 20, 1843 (in KHi ms. division).

☪ October 20.—Agent R. W. Cummins, head of the Fort Leavenworth Agency, in a letter to the Indian department, outlined his reasons for refusing to grant a trading license to Samuel C. Roby, a part-time Westport, Mo., resident.

Roby's "most intimate and particular associates" were the McGees, he wrote, and "this family, the father until his death, and four sons," had been "sily selling whiskey" to the Delawares and Shawnees "nearly ever since" Cummins (appointed 1830) had been agent. "I obtained a judgement against Milton McGee, one of the sons, and Brother to Mr Roby's clerk, for carrying and selling whiskey in the Indian Country," Cummins stated, adding that Milton McGee had made over his property to avoid paying the "Judgement" and had not been seen around for a long time. (Milton McGee went overland to California in 1843 (*see* p. 469); and again in 1849; but returned to Missouri.) As a result of Cummins' letter, Samuel C. Roby's already-granted license to trade in the Osage (Marais des Cygnes) River Agency was revoked!

(Milton McGee later became "one of the most influential and enterprising young men" in Kansas City, Mo. During the Kansas territorial struggle, he was "among the most violent Pro-slavery men"; but "became an ardent Union man" during the Civil War, and "spent his time and money for the Union cause.")

Ref: OIA, Letters received from Fort Leavenworth Agency (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 302); *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, November 20, 1904 (or, *see* Biographical "Clippings," M, v. 14, pp. 174-179, in KHi library; *KHC*, v. 3, p. 430.

☪ Near the end of October, the *New Haven* (Union Fur Company steamboat) passed along the "Kansas" shore en route to St. Louis—arriving there November 3.

She had left the mouth of the Yellowstone on October 1; and passed by Fort Pierre (S. D.) on the 10th, carrying around 160 bales of buffalo robes, and a small quantity of furs. Sioux Indians had fired on the *New Haven* as she passed their settlements on the Missouri.

Ref: *Niles' National Register*, v. 65 (December 16, 1843), p. 256; OIA, Letters received from SIA, St. Louis (National Archives Microcopy No. 234, Roll 753), for Andrew Drips' letter, at Fort Pierre, October 15, 1843, which says: "Mr. Cuttings steam boat passed on the 10th Inst. . . ."

☪ November(?)—Ten *voyageurs* from Fremont's expedition (out of 11 who had been discharged at Fort Hall [Idaho] on September 20—see p. 468) probably crossed "Kansas" during this month, en route to Missouri. They reached St. Louis, aboard the *General Brooke*, December 3.

On September 22, Theodore Talbot (with Lt. John C. Fremont at Fort Hall) had written in his journal: "The party bound for St. Louis [11 men] started early this morn'g. They are all mounted, have guns, and 12 days provision to take them into a buffalo country." Their names (from Fremont's report): Basil and Francois Lajeunesse, Henry Lee, Clinton (or Charles?) De Forrest, Patrick White, John A. Campbell, Michael Crélis (or Creely?), Auguste Vasquez, Baptiste Tesson, William Creuss, and Alexis Pera.

Ref: John C. Fremont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition* . . . 1843-'44, pp. 105, 162; C. H. Carey, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 51; *New York Weekly Tribune*, December 23, 1843.

☪ December 14.—By purchase (36 sections for \$46,080) and by gift (three sections), the Wyandots obtained 24,960 acres of land from their long-time friends the Delawares. The Wyandot-Delaware agreement made this day, was sanctioned by act of congress July 25, 1848. (See October annals entry on p. 483.)

Ref: *KHC*, v. 9, p. 83.

☪ December.—Trader Norris Colburn arrived at Independence, Mo., on the 23d (in advance of the company with which he had left Santa Fe on November 15, and Bent's Fort on December 1), having had fine weather the whole trip.

Large numbers of Indians met en route—150 lodges of Cheyennes and a larger camp of Arapahoes (25 miles below Fort William), also, a war party of about 150 Cheyennes (looking for Pawnees) about 100 miles farther east—had been friendly. Those in the rear of Colburn, by report, sent to Independence for provisions and clothing; apparently did not reach Missouri till January, 1844.

Ref: *New York Weekly Tribune*, January 13, 27, 1844.

☪ Employed in "Kansas" by the Indian Department during all, or part of the year 1843 were the following persons:

FORT LEAVENWORTH AGENCY—*Agent* Richard W. Cummins; *Interpreters* Clement Lessert and Henry Tiblow; *Blacksmiths* William Donalson and James M. Simpson (for Shawnees), Isaac Munday (for Delawares), Charles Fish (for Kansa); *Assistant blacksmiths* Jackson Pitman and Joseph Parks' "coloured boy" (for Shawnees), Powhatan Phifer (for Delawares), Mab Frankier (for Kansa); *Farmer* William H. Mitchell (for Kansa).

GREAT NEMAHAW SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* William P. Richardson; *Interpreters* John Rubeti (for Sacs & Foxes), Samuel M. Irvin (for Iowas); *Blacksmiths* James Gilmore (for Sacs & Foxes), Benjamin Stewart (for Iowas); *Assistant blacksmiths* William Daviess (for Sacs & Foxes), Elisha P. Dorion (for Iowas); *Farmers* Preston Richardson (for Sacs & Foxes), Aurey Ballard (for Iowas); *Assistant farmer* Pleasant Johnson (for Sacs & Foxes); *Teacher* William Hamilton (for Sacs & Foxes).

OSAGE RIVER [MARAIS DES CYGNES] SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Anthony L. Davis (removed from office in July), Joshua Carpenter (appointed November 23); *Interpreter* Luther Rice (for Pottawatomies, till May 15; he died on May 21); *Blacksmiths* Robert Simerwell and Robert Wilson (for Pottawatomies); *Assistant blacksmiths* Thomas N. Stinson and D. Moreland (for Pottawatomies); *Miller* Peter Perillard (at Pottawatomie creek, for Pottawatomies; from January 1).

OSAGE SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Robert A. Calloway (removed during 1843), Hector Bell (appointed December 16; but did not take office); *Interpreter* Charles Mongrain; *Blacksmiths* Elias N. Beardon, John Mathews (dismissed in April), Jesse Rhinehart (appointed May 12); *Assistant blacksmiths* William (half-Osage) and Jacob (an Osage).

WYANDOT SUBAGENCY—*Subagent* Jonathan Phillips (appointed October 24). (In Ohio, prior to the Wyandots' removal to "Kansas," Purdy McElvain had been subagent from October 1, 1842, to October 30, 1843.); *Interpreter* James Rankin; *Blacksmith* Charles Graham; *Assistant blacksmith* Abraham Trager.

Ref: SIA, St. Louis, "Records," v. 7, typed copy, pp. 352, 369, 371, 375, 377, 378, 383, 385, 393, 395, v. 8, typed copy, pp. 240, 257-259, 292, 300, 305, 438; 28th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 67* (Serial 441); 28th Cong. 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 240* (Serial 441); 29th Cong., 1st Sess., *H. Doc. No. 91* (Serial 483), p. 2 (gives "Peter Peryard"—*i. e.*, Peter Perillard); Jotham's Meeker's "Diary," May 24, 1843, entry (for Luther Rice's death).

(Part Thirteen Will Appear in the Spring, 1964, Issue.)

Bypaths of Kansas History

A GOOD CROP OF KANSAS BABIES IN 1863

From *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, May 21, 1863.

We brag about our young State for her pluck, her love of liberty, and her patriotism. We feel none the less disposed to boast of her for her self-helping and self-reliant disposition.—In the absence of active causes tending to send to her immigrants to occupy her vacant farms, she goes to work to people her domain on her own hook, and from her own internal resources. The climate and other conditions are favorable to the growing of babies. Babies make men and women. They are what are wanted. So the capacities of the country are put to the test.

One car on the train going East on the H. & St. Joe road one day last month had twenty-nine babies aboard. Twenty-four of them were born in Kansas.

THIS FROM A DODGE CITY CRITIC!

From *The Globe Live Stock Journal*, Dodge City, May 19, 1885.

The Adamless Eden, as rendered by a troupe of nineteen or twenty ladies at the opera house Thursday night, drew a large audience of "Adams," who, by their repeated applause, appeared to appreciate all they saw and heard. Some of the singing was very fine and the play throughout was good, with nothing in itself immoral or indecent. Although the troupe has met with unsurpassed success, and was not in any way short of money, they appeared to be very scarce of clothes, and although they were representing the customs and costumes of the Garden of Eden, it appeared to us the fig leaves were awful small. This is the only objection that can be made to the troupe.

AN OPERA COMPANY TRAVELS BY HANDCAR

From the *Parsons Sun*, March 22, 1888.

The Andrews Opera Company, which is booked to appear at the opera house in this city the last of the present month, played an engagement at Chanute Thursday night. They were billed to appear at Erie last night, but the Southern Kansas railroad being tied up by the strike on the Santa Fe system, and therefore not running any trains, the company was in a quandary how to get to Erie, until it was suggested that they could make the trip on a hand car. The idea was at once adopted by the company and they departed for Erie on a train consisting of five hand cars. They reached Erie in time to play their engagement Friday night, but their respective shoulders are so sore from pumping the cars that they may not be able to get out of town in time to meet their next engagement.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Two articles of interest to Kansans included in the May, 1963, number of *The Journal of Southern History*, Richmond, Va., were: "The Issues in the Congressional Struggle Over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 1854," by Robert R. Russel; and "Business 'Neutrality' on the Missouri-Kansas Border: Kansas City, 1854-1857," by A. Theodore Brown.

"Once a Cattle Shipping Center Here," an article on Glen Elder's early history, by Vera Neifert, appeared in the Glen Elder *Sentinel*, May 9, 1963.

A history of Mayetta, by Mrs. Belle Bohannon, was published in the *Jackson County Clipper*, Holton, May 9, 1963. Mrs. Bohannon's grandmother, Elizabeth Rode Lunger, founded the town in 1886, naming it for her deceased daughter, Mary Etta Lunger.

Clingan school, District 38, Atchison county, established in 1869, was the subject of a history printed in the Atchison *Daily Globe*, May 10, 1963. The original building was still used during the 1962-1963 school term.

Mrs. Helen Miller Hatfield, 101-year-old Comanche county resident, came to Kansas when she was eight years old. A biographical sketch of Mrs. Hatfield, by June Masullo, appeared in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle-Beacon*, May 12, 1963.

Histories of the Owens General Store of Vliets appeared in the Marysville *Marshall County News*, May 16, and the *Advocate*, May 30, 1963. The store has been owned and operated by the Owens family for over 50 years.

A brief history of Fort Scott appeared in the *Monitor-Press*, Wellington, May 16; the *Democrat*, Wichita, May 18; and the Hays *Daily News*, May 19, 1963. The fort was erected in 1842, closed in 1853, and reactivated during the Civil War.

Historical articles appearing in recent issues of the *Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, include: "Gem District [Pawnee County] Closes One-Room School Operated Since 1886," May 20, 1963; a biographical sketch of A. H. Moffet and some of the banking history of Garfield and Larned, by Sarah K. Carlson, May 22; and a brief article on the beginning of public education in Pawnee county, June 24.

A history of Acker school, Joint District No. 23, Geary and Dickinson counties, was published in the *Junction City Union*, May 28, 1963. The district was organized in 1872 and dissolved at the end of the school term in 1963. On May 29 the *Union* printed the reminiscences of Mabel Webber Hall concerning the Acker school and community.

Riley cemetery history is reviewed in an article by J. A. Meyer, printed in the *Riley Countian*, Leonardville, May 30, 1963. The first burials in the cemetery were about 1860.

Two articles printed in the *Southwest Daily Times*, Liberal, June 5, 1963, were: "Bad Blood and Civic Pride in Seward County," by Harry E. Chrisman; and "Seward County Seat Fight a Real Wild West Thriller."

The *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, June 10, 1963, printed some of the history of the Shawnee Indian Quaker Mission. The mission school was opened in 1837 and operated most of the time until 1869. Elizabeth Barnes' column, "Historic Johnson County," continues to appear regularly in the *Herald*.

In its June 13, 1963, issue the *Courtland Journal* printed a history of the Swedish-American State Bank of Courtland. The bank was established in 1913 with H. C. Rubert as the organizer and first cashier.

Byron E. Guise described the wire collection of Roy Lewis, Home City, and explained the part played by wire, especially barbed wire, in the history of Kansas and the West, in an article printed in the *Marysville Advocate*, June 13, 1963.

Gold mining operations in the Smoky river valley west of Lindsborg in 1901 were reviewed in an article in the *McPherson Daily Sentinel*, June 15, and the *Marquette Tribune*, June 27, 1963. All the mine produced was pyrite or "fool's gold."

In an article urging Kansans to learn more about their state, the *Miami Republican*, Paola, June 27, 1963, listed and briefly described many of the natural and man-made features and resources of Kansas.

Among articles in the *Independence Daily Reporter's* 102-page Progress edition, June 30, 1963, were: a history of the public library, by Paul Bocquin; an article on the early history of Independence, by Marion S. Boner; a history of the Independence churches, by Wilma Schweitzer; and a history of the Ladies Library and Art Association, by Georgia High.

The Wichita *Eagle-Beacon*, June 30, 1963, published a special "Kansas" edition of 174 pages, telling the story of Kansas as it is today in text, pictures, and advertising.

"Early-Day Events in Shaping an Empire," Simon E. Matson's historical column in the St. Francis *Herald*, started in 1956, continues to appear regularly.

Histories of Anthony churches and public library were included in a special 18-page edition of the Anthony *Republican*, July 11, 1963, commemorating Anthony's 85th anniversary.

On the occasion of moving into a new plant, the El Dorado *Times*, July 17, 1963, published a 40-page special edition. A history of the *Times* was one of the features of the edition. The *Walnut Valley Times*, established in 1870, and the El Dorado *Republican*, established in 1883, merged in 1919 to form the present *Times*.

Stories of the life and career of Amelia Earhart were featured in a special 40-page edition of the Atchison *Daily Globe*, July 21, 1963. A new airmail postage stamp honoring Miss Earhart was issued with appropriate ceremonies, July 24, in Atchison.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Franklin County Historical Society's museum in Ottawa was opened to the public and dedicated July 4, 1963. The museum building, erected in 1888, was the former Santa Fe depot and was recently donated to the society by the railroad.

All officers of the Douglass Historical Society were re-elected at the group's annual meeting July 4, 1963. They include: Mrs. Elmer Sherar, president; Walter Martin, first vice-president; W. A. Graves, second vice-president; and Mrs. Turia Bolington, secretary-treasurer.

A museum was opened by the Reno County Historical Society, July 6, 1963, in the J. P. Harsha house at 207 East A St. in Hutchinson. The house is the former home of an early mayor of Hutchinson. Mrs. V. W. Maupin is president of the society, which reports a membership of 400.

The annual meeting of the Harvey County Historical Society was held in Newton, July 23, 1963. New officers elected were: Menno E. Schmidt, president; Muriel Schaefer, first vice-president; Mrs. Edna Arnold, second vice-president; Lawrence Hauck, third vice-president; Mrs. Ella Royston, secretary; and Mrs. Helen Hobbs, treasurer. Elden Smurr was named program chairman, and William J. Sage membership chairman.

Ceremonies dedicating the Hollenberg Pony Express Station, Washington county, as a registered national historic landmark were held July 26, 1963, at the station. Ray H. Mattison, historian of the Omaha regional office of the National Park Service, was the principal speaker.

F. W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, was chosen chairman of the Kansas Civil War Centennial Commission at an organizational meeting of the commission, August 16, 1963, in Topeka. Alan W. Farley, Kansas City, was elected vice-chairman, and Mrs. Frank Haucke, Council Grove, secretary-treasurer. Other members of the group are Robert E. Galvin, Fort Scott, and Charles C. Rankin, Lawrence.

Lawrence observed the 100th anniversary of the Quantrill raid on that city with a luncheon at the Hotel Eldridge, August 21, 1963, which was attended by more than 225 persons. The principal

speaker was Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., director of the National Civil War Centennial Commission, whose subject was "The Sack of Lawrence: What Price Glory?"

On August 22, 1963, with the emplacement of the first marker, near Munjor, Ellis county, a program for marking the Butterfield Overland Despatch trail was initiated. Howard C. Raynesford, Ellis, who has traced and mapped the trail, is supervising the project which will eventually place 175 markers along the route.

During late August, 1963, a Chicago man, Al Carter, traveled the length of the old Santa Fe trail, journeying by auto where possible, but on foot where the highways deviate from the trail. Carter makes a hobby of traveling the historic routes, having previously traversed the Oregon and other trails.

William D. Aeschbacher, a native of Kansas, was appointed director of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library at Abilene, effective September 1, 1963. He replaced Robert R. Bolton, acting director, who then became associate director.

Paul Wood, Elmdale, was elected president of the Chase County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting, September 7, 1963, in Cottonwood Falls. Other officers elected were: William Selves, Sr., Cottonwood Falls, vice-president; Mrs. Mildred Speer, Cottonwood Falls, secretary; and George T. Dawson, Elmdale, treasurer. Selves was the retiring president.

Rolla Clymer, El Dorado publisher, was the principal speaker at the dedication, September 9, 1963, of a historical marker at the Wellington service area of the Kansas turnpike. Among the features of the area mentioned on the marker are the Chisholm trail, the openings of sections of Oklahoma for settlement in 1889 and 1893, agriculture and industry of the area, and the cities of Caldwell, Wellington, Winfield, and Wichita.

The Crawford County Historical Society named Lawrence M. Walker president at its annual meeting September 24, 1963, in Pittsburg. Other officers elected were: Robert O. Karr, vice-president; Mrs. Wadene Walker, recording secretary; Mrs. Bess Graves, corresponding secretary; and Flora Holroyd, treasurer. Mrs. A. N. Ligon, S. E. Smith, Dr. G. W. Weede, and Mrs. R. P. Emmitt were chosen directors. Mrs. Ligon was the retiring president. F. W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg publisher and chairman of the Kansas Civil

War Centennial Commission, addressed the group on Gen. James Blunt of Civil War fame.

Some 26 miles southwest of Scott City on the Max Hite farm is a sodhouse museum. Most of the antiques displayed in the museum are from the families of Mr. and Mrs. Hite. His father, Sylvester Hite, homesteaded the farm in 1887.

The adventures of John Young Nelson, as described to Harrington O'Reilly, were republished in 1963 by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, in a 291-page volume entitled *Fifty Years on the Trail*. Nelson is described as a trader, huntsman, guide, Pony Express rider, showman, saloon proprietor, peace officer, and Sioux Indian brave. In the foreword, Donald E. Worcester states that the life of Nelson is the story of the Midwestern frontier from about 1840 to 1890.

Errata, Volume XXIX

Page 5, lines 27 and 28, delete sentence "Helstrom later became a well-known citizen in McPherson county."

Page 48, delete last sentence of italicized paragraph.

Page 63, line 5, Lewis McNeff, not McNoff.

Page 73, middle of page, "Between September 1 and November 8 . . .," not October 8.

Page 73, in second paragraph of text from bottom, "It was completed to Fort Leavenworth on November 8," not October 8.

Page 93, line 5 from bottom, Nannie Bingham, not Gingham.

Page 348, line 3, James W. Magoffin, not McGoffin.

Index to Volume XXIX

A

Aaron, Lawrence Johnson: recollections, noted 362
 Abbot, Mabel Heil: article by, noted 222
 Abert, Col. J. J.: emigrating Indians in charge of 135
 Abilene: Barnum's Circus at, 1888 392
 —cemetery history, noted 364
 —L. P. Snow's comment, 1887, on 278
 —River Brethren church at 234
 Abilene Reflector-Chronicle: article in, noted 361
 Adams, David: fur trader and trapper, 1840's 354, 443, 470 477
 Adams, Franklin George: biographical sketch, noted 222
 Adams, Hermione van Laer: article by, noted 222
 Adams, James (brother of David) 354
 Adams, Sibille &: traders 334
 Advance Register, Wichita: diamond jubilee supplement, 1963, noted 107
 Aelen, Rev. Herman G., S. J. 166, 324, 326, 329, 333, 336, 350, 356
 Aeschbacher, William D.: Eisenhower Library director 492
 Aitchison, R. T., Wichita 100, 102
 Alamo, battle of: noted 45
 Albright, Mrs. Harvey, Marion co. 108
 Alden: First Baptist church history, noted 361
 Alida, Geary co.: comment, 1888, on 316
 Allen, Capt. James: marches, 1839, 1840, of 180, 335
 Allen, James: miller for Indians 59
 Allen, John: miller for Indians 59, 81
 Allen, Joseph W., Neodesha 362
 —history of Neodesha by, noted 231
 Allen, Lora, Pittsburg 109
 Allen, Lyon co.: historical article, noted 225
 Allen County Historical Society: 1962 meeting, note on 228
 Allis, Emeline Palmer (Mrs. Samuel) 45, 47, 48
 Allis, Samuel 44, 45, 47, 48
 —marriage, note on 45
 —quoted on Sioux massacre of Pawnees 473
 Alta Vista Journal: articles in, noted 105, 226
 Alumbaugh, Herbert, Harvey co. 228
 Alvarez, Manuel 442
 —in Santa Fe trade 171, 172, 328, 357, 435, 472
 American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions 450
 American Board of Comm'rs for Foreign Missions 44, 147
 American Chief (Kansa chief), 43, 345, 467
 —note on son of 345
 American Chief creek, Shawnee co., 43, 449
 American Emigrant Aid and Homestead Company 5
 American Emigrant Company 5
 American Fur Company 51, 54, 448
 —caravan, 1836, notes on 45, 48, 56
 —1837 64, 65
 —A. J. Miller's painting of, reproduced facing iv
 —1838 146-148, 156
 —1839, account of 169, 170

American Fur Company: caravan, 1840, account of 327
 —Chouteau's Landing, Mo., a location of 146
 —flatboat, on Kansas river, 1838 149
 —Fort John (Fort Laramie) a post of, 439
 —Kickapoo post of, note on 71
 —Marais des Cygnes post of, 324, 333, 336
 —Osage post, noted 329, 480
 —steamboats, 1836-1843, of 49, 55, 64-66, 71, 145, 167, 325, 342, 455, 458, 459, 473
 —trappers, 1842, note on 444
 —Upper Missouri trade, 149, 442, 463, 476
 American Indian Mission Association: founded, 1842 448
 —J. Lykins and wife missionaries of 452
 —Simerwells missionaries of 77
 Americus: Eisenhower gospel wagon at, 240
 Ames, Rev. E. R. 444
 —in "Kansas," 345, 432, 433
 Amyot, Sister Louise: to Sugar Creek Mission 350
 Anderson, Charles, Edwards co. 365
 Anderson, George L., Lawrence 95
 Anderson, James, Kansas City, Mo. 100, 102
 Anderson, Gov. John, Jr., Topeka: donor 90
 Anderson, Lt. Richard H.: with Boone on 1843 march 468
 Anderson, Mrs. W. G., Cowley co. 109
 Andrew county, Mo. 61
 Andrews, Horace, Jr.: article by, noted 222
 Andrews, Mrs. Martha, Ellsworth co. 230
 Andrews Opera Company: at Erie 487
 Annals of Kansas: 1836-1843 41-81
 143-189, 324-359, 429-486
 Annen, Mrs. Ella M., Topeka: donor 90
 Anthony, Daniel R., Leavenworth, 100, 102
 Anthony: church and public library histories, noted 490
 Anthony Republican: article in, noted, —85th anniversary edition, noted 490
 Apache Indians: "Cah-tah-kah" band, note on 47
 Apple, "Squire" 310
 Applegate, Jesse 465
 —to Oregon, 1843 462, 463
 Arando, P.: Santa Fe trader 461
 Arapahoe Indians 485
 —fight with Pawnees, 1841 349
 —Hiram Rich trader with 351
 Arbuckle, Gen. Mathew 47, 164, 185
 Archaeological explorations in Kansas: in 1962, notes on 84
 Archaeology: Kansas publications, noted 84
 Arese, Count Francesco, of Italy: journey, 1837, of 71
 Argonia: Salter home restoration, note on 228, 229, 367
 Argonia and Western Sumner County Historical Society: officers, 1963 229
 —work of 228, 229, 367
 Argonia Argosy: article in, noted 106
 Argonia Rural High School: article on, noted 106
 Arickara Indians: smallpox, 1837-38, among 66
 Arizona and the West, Tucson: article in, noted 104
 Arkansas: admitted as a state, 1836 52

- Arkansas City: railroads, article on, noted 224
- Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*: articles in, noted 224, 364
- Arkansas river 50, 56, 345
- Cimarron crossing of 50, 51, 172, 184, 464, 472, 479
- Snively and Texans on, 1843 464
- Spanish name of, "Nepeste" 184
- Armel, Nathaniel, Humboldt 93, 228
- Armijo, —: Santa Fe trader 355, 471
- Armijo, J. C.: Santa Fe trader 461
- Armijo, Manuel: governor of New Mexico 354
- losses in Santa Fe trade, noted 442
- retreat of, 1843 464
- Armijo, R.: Santa Fe trader 461
- Armstrong, William: head, Western Superintendency 62, 164, 457, 479
- Armstrong, Wyandotte co. 27
- Arnold, Mrs. Edna, Harvey co. 491
- Arquoite, J. 336
- Ash, John, McPherson co. 111
- Ash creek 345
- Ash-kum, Jacques (Pottawatomie chief) 60, 160, 165
- death of 335
- note on *facings* 328
- portrait *facings* 328
- Ashland, Clark co.: article on, noted 224
- Ashley, William H.: congressman 41
- Assiniboine Indians: smallpox among, "At What Age Did Men Become Reformers?": article by J. C. Malin 250-266
- Atchison: "Exodusters" at, 1879 35-38
- Negro churches, notes on, 1879 36
- photographs of, given Historical Society 93
- Atchison county: Clingan school history, noted 488
- St. Patrick's Catholic church history, noted 104
- Atchison county, Mo. 61
- Atchison *Daily Globe*: articles on Amelia Earhart, noted 490
- historical articles in, noted 104, 221, 223, 361, 488
- Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad: immigration promoted by 5
- Atherton, John, Lyon co. 366
- Atkinson, Brig. Gen. Henry 67, 70
- Au-be-nah-ba (Pottawatomie chief) 165
- Aubert, Mrs. L. J., Topeka: donor, 88, 90
- Audubon, John J.: on the Missouri, 1843 458, 459, 483
- Augusta *Daily Gazette*: article in, noted 227
- Augustana Swedish Lutheran synod: at Lindsborg, 1881 22
- Augustine, Rev. August, Russell co. 86
- Autokee (Ottawa chief) 179
- death of 324
- Automobiles: early-day Kansas campgrounds for auto tourists 137-142
- photograph of early-day Hutchinson Fire Dept. truck *facings* 112
- Axtell, Dr. M. W.: reminiscences of, noted 107
- Axtell *Standard*: article in, noted 107
- Aylward, Mrs. Paul, Ellsworth co. 230
- B
- Bachtel, Donald E., Leavenworth 109
- Bacon, Mrs. R. H., White City 362
- Bader, Ernest, Topeka 366
- Bahabeh river 330
- Bailes, Kendall E.: book on Jim Lane by, noted 112
- Bailey, —: death at Independence Rock, 1842, noted 435
- Bailey, Lawrence D.: immigration comm'r 4
- Bailey, Roy F., Salina 102
- Baker, Franklin P., Franklin co. 109
- Baker, James: trapper 346
- Baker, Richard W., Solomon: donor 88
- Baldridge, William: to California, 1843, 469
- Bales, Mrs. Dane, Logan 230
- Bales, Walter 183
- Ballard, Aurey 80, 164
- blacksmith 485
- Ballinger, Mrs. Paul: article by, noted, 362
- Ballou, Don, Wyandotte co. 229
- Ballou, Elsie, Ottawa co. 109
- Baltimore & Ohio railroad: in 1887, comment on 273, 274
- Baptist churches. *See* Swedish Baptist churches
- Baptist missions and missionaries: notes on 46, 57, 59, 60, 66, 68-70, 77, 151, 160, 171, 173, 181, 184, 324, 328, 335, 336, 338, 342, 344, 347-351, 448-452, 481
- see, also*, Delaware Baptist Mission, Ottawa Baptist Mission, Pottawatomie Baptist Mission, Shawnee Baptist Mission
- Barber County Historical Society: 1963 meeting, note on 367
- Barker, Elizabeth F. Churchill (Mrs. Francis) 184, 336, 450
- Barker, Rev. Francis 171, 336, 338, 450
- marriage of 184
- Barker, Francis Churchill (son of Rev. Francis) 450
- Barker, Mary Frances (dau. of Rev. Francis) 336
- Barker, William Bowen (son of Rev. Francis) 450
- Barkes, Jim, Topeka: donor 93
- Barkley, Joan 110
- Barnes, Elizabeth: column by, noted, 489
- Barnes, John: blacksmith 42, 59
- Barnes, Mrs. Lela: editor, "North Central Kansas in 1887-1889," letters of Leslie and Susan Snow 267-323, 372-428
- note on 267, 372
- plague to 99
- report, 1962, by 95-97
- resolution for long-time service of 98, 99
- retirement, noted 82, 87, 95
- Barnes, William: miller for Indians, 42, 59
- Barofsky, A. H., Ellsworth co. 230
- Barr, Frank, Wichita 102
- Barrette (or Barnett?), Joseph 72
- Barrows, A. L., Hastings, Neb. 373, 380, 401
- Barry, Edmund: at Kickapoo Mission, 51
- Barry, Louise, Topeka 88
- "Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals," compiled by 41-81, 143-189, 324-359, 429-486
- Barry county, Mo. 44
- Bartell, Miss —, Junction City, 390, 394
- Bartels, Robert, McPherson co. 111
- Bartholdt, Maj. William E. 365
- Bartleson, John: overland to California, 1841 346, 347
- return to Missouri of 444
- Baseball: item, 1906, on 103
- Basile, John 336
- Bassett, Mrs. W. W.: article on her abduction by Indians, noted 106
- Bastien, Mrs. Helene de'Haitre: marriage of 336
- Batchelder, Fred B. 376-378, 395
- to Junction City, 1889 395, 396, 411, 419, 422
- Baugh, W. J.: blacksmith 340, 358
- Baughner, Charles A., Ellis 100, 102

- Baughman, Robert W., Liberal 102
 —books by, noted 99
 —donor 88, 93
 —given certificate of commendation 99
 Baughman Foundation 83
 Baxa, Mrs. Matthew, Belleville 228
 Baxter Springs: historical museum, note on 109
 Baxter Springs *Times*: 1878-1880 file, filmed 89
 Beaker, Kenneth, Stevens co. 366
 Beals, Carleton: book on Carry Nation by, noted 111
 Beardon, Elias N.: blacksmith 451, 486
 Beardslee, Nehemiah 442
 Beaubien, Menard (son of Jean B.) 480
 Beauchemie, Annie (dau. of Mackinaw): marriage of 76
 Beauchemie, Betsy Rogers (Mrs. Mackinaw) 76
 Beauchemie, Mackinaw 76
 —at Pottawatomie Methodist Mission 157
 Beck, Will T., Holton 82, 98, 100, 102
 Becker, Emanuel, Marion co. 108
 Beckwourth, James P. 76, 154, 155
 Beeson, Chalkley M. 88
 Beeson, Mrs. Merritt L., Dodge City 93
 —donor 85, 88, 90
 Beezley, George F., Girard 102
 Behring, Harry: donor 95
 Belden, Josiah: to California, 1841 347
 Belhumeur, Martin 333
 Bell, A. R., Chetopa 217
 Bell, Hector: appointed subagent 486
 Bell, James A., Topeka: donor 90
 Bell, Mrs. James Glenn 110
 Bell, John G.: with Audubon, 1843 458, 483
 Bell, Sandra: article by, noted 363
 Belle Springs community, Dickinson co. 234, 235, 239
 Belle Springs Creamery 237
 Bellemare, Adele Lessert (Mrs. Moyses): note on 340, 341
 Bellemare, Joseph Napoleon (son of Moyses) 340, 341
 Bellemare, Julia (dau. of Moyses) 340
 Bellemare, Leonard (son of Moyses) 340
 Bellemare, Moyses: at Kaw's mouth, 1840 337
 —marriage of 340
 —note on 340
 Belleville, Republic co. 375
 Belleville *Telescope*: article in, noted 104
 Bellevue, Neb. 45, 48, 56, 64, 66, 174, 439
 —Eisenhowers evangelists at 241
 —Kearny's council with Indians, 1839, at 180
 —treaty council at, 1836 57
 Beloit *Daily Call*: article in, noted 107
 Belt, C. Robert, Coffeyville 365
 Belt, Mrs. G. R., Franklin co. 109
 Beman, Morris co., article on, noted 105
 Benge, Mrs. Lida S., Hodgeman co. 108
 Benson, Major, Ellsworth: donor 90
 Bent, Charles: on Santa Fe trail 50, 172, 173, 349, 355, 436, 471, 472, 481
 Bent, George (son of William): quoted 356
 Bent, Robert S. (son of Silas): death, 1841 of 356
 Bent, Judge Silas, St. Louis 356
 Bent, William: James Hobbs ransomed by 51
 Bent, St. Vrain & Company 464
 —caravans, 1840-1843, of 330, 349, 356, 436, 472, 479, 481
 —government contract, 1843, noted 481
 Benton, Howard, Norcatour 366
 Benton, Randolph: to Rockies with Fremont 438
 Benton, Sen. Thomas Hart, of Missouri, 438
 Bent's Fort 175, 178, 179, 181, 330, 349, 355, 356, 436, 447, 450, 452, 472, 482, 485
 —"Peoria party" at 173
 —see, also, Fort William
 Benzley, David: farmer for Kansa 334, 340, 348, 358
 Benzley, Margaret Ligget (Mrs. David): death of 334
 Beougher, Edward M., Grinnell 102
 Berch, Mrs. A. F., Willmette, Ill.: donor 90
 Berggren, Mrs. V. A., Republic 228
 Bergin, Dr. Alfred, Lindsborg 11
 Bernier, Rev. Stanislaus A. 336
 Berry, Samuel O.: in McDaniel gang, 455
 Berry-Dewey gun fight: article on, noted 364
 Berryman, Emily Greene (dau. of Rev. J. C.) 144
 Berryman, Rev. Jerome C. 41, 144, 183, 431, 456, 482
 —on S. *Shawnee*, 1839 166
 —portrait facing 329
 —sup't *Shawnee Mission* 356, 443, 444
 —teacher 42, 51, 59, 81
 Berryman, John Wesley (son of Rev. J. C.) 183
 Berryman, Mrs. Louise Cauthers 110
 Berryman, Sarah C. Cessna (Mrs. J. C.) 144, 183, 431
 Berryman, William C. (son of Rev. J. C.) 431
 Bertholet, "Grand Louis": at Kaw's mouth 337
 Bertrand, Elizabeth Ann (Mrs. Joseph, Jr.) 453
 Bertrand, J. B. (part Pottawatomie) 338
 Bertrand, Joseph, Jr. (part Pottawatomie) 338, 453
 Bethany College, Lindsborg: comment on its contribution to Kansas 19, 20, 23, 24
 Beyer, Mrs. J. E., Sabetha 229
 Bezaire, J.: blacksmith 163
 Bidlack, Russell E.: "Erastus D. Ladd's Description of the Lawrence Massacre," edited by 113-121
 —note on 113
 Bidwell, John 430
 —quoted 350
 —to California, 1841 346, 347
 "Bidwell-Bartleson party": journey, 1841, of 346, 347
 —return East by some members of 444
 Bienville, Solomon 333, 336
 Big Blue river 53, 65, 353, 355, 438, 463, 465
 Big Blue river, Mo. 65, 73, 172
 Big Coon creek 175
 Big Hill band (Osages): on Verdigris, 1843 480
 Big John spring, Morris co. 440
 Big Nemaha river 48, 155
 Big Springs, Douglas co. 353
 Big Sugar creek, Linn co.: Catholic mission on 153, 165, 166
 —see, also, Sugar creek, Linn co.
 Big Vermillion creek 465
 Billard, Robert, estate, Topeka: donor, 90
 Bingham, —: at Junction City, 1888 385-387, 390, 394-396, 401
 —to Kansas City, Mo., 1889 396
 Bingham, Nannie, Sabetha: donor 90
 Bird, Alex and Margaret, Rawlins co.: note on 105
 Bird family: article on, noted 105
 Bird's Fort, Tex. 464

- Births in "Kansas": 1836-1843 . . . 42, 45
 54, 57, 59, 60, 70, 144, 151, 155
 173, 175, 179, 181, 187, 325, 331
 335, 336, 342, 350, 356, 430, 431
 440, 441, 450
- Bishop, Maude M., Topeka: article on, noted . . . 222
 —her articles, noted . . . 222
- Black, Charles M., Wichita: reminiscences, noted . . . 222
 Black, Clarence, Jewell co. . . . 367
 Black, E. W.: blacksmith . . . 340, 359
 Black Bird (Kiowa chief) . . . 68
 Black Dog (Osage chief) . . . 441, 469
 —at 1843 grand council . . . 470
 Black Hawk war . . . 123, 124
 Black Soldier (Kansa chief) . . . 467
 "Black Soldier" creek . . . 462
 Black Vermillion river . . . 65, 438
 "Black Warrior" creek . . . 462
 Black Wolf (Delaware chief?) . . . 348
 Blackburn, Mrs. Anona, Courtland . . . 228
 Blackburn, Forrest: of Historical Society newspaper division . . . 95
 Blackfeet Indians . . . 62, 66
 Blackford, Eliza Jane: marriage of . . . 116
 Blackhoof, "Young" (Shawnee chief), . . . 57
 Blacksnake Hills, Mo. . . . 151, 176, 358
 473, 459
 —post office at, 1840 . . . 331
 —town of St. Joseph platted on site of, . . . 481
 —see, also, St. Joseph, Mo.
- Blair, —: to Oregon, 1839-40, 172, 173
- Blake, Mrs. Charles G. C., Wichita: donor . . . 88
 Blake, Mrs. Henry S., Sr., Topeka: donor . . . 90
 Blanchard, Rev. Ira D. . . . 57, 173, 481
 Blanchard, Lydia (dau. of Ira D.) . . . 57
 Blanchard, Mary Walton (Mrs. Ira D.) . . . 57, 173
 Blanchard, Olive Ann (dau. of Ira D.), . . . 173
 Bland, Wayne L., Topeka: donor . . . 90
 Blattman, Frantz, Jackson co., Mo. . . . 430
 "Blind Robert": lecturer, 1888 . . . 308, 309
- Bloom Telegram: 1888-1889 file, filmed . . . 89
- Blue Coat (Pawnee chief): killed, 1843 . . . 473
 Blue Mound, Douglas co. . . . 467
 Blue Mound, Linn(?) co.: Methodist church history, noted . . . 104
 Blue Rapids: article on, noted . . . 105
 —First Baptist church history, noted . . . 223
 Blue Rapids Times: article in, noted . . . 223
 Bluejacket, Charles W.: article on, noted . . . 634
 Bluejacket, John: blacksmith . . . 81
 Bluff City: St. Paul's Evangelical and Reformed church history, noted . . . 104
 Bluff creek (Chikaskia tributary) . . . 330
 Boardman, John: to Oregon, 1843 . . . 469
 Bocquin, Paul: article by, noted . . . 489
 Bodwell, Augustus: Civil War letters, in Historical Society . . . 88
 Boggs, Angus G. . . . 57
 Bohannon, Mrs. Belle: article by, noted . . . 488
- Boilvin, Nicholas: "Kansas" journey, 1839, of . . . 186
 Bolington, Mrs. Turia, Douglass . . . 108, 491
 Bolmar, Adelaide, Topeka . . . 365
 Bolton, Robert R., Abilene . . . 492
 —address by, noted . . . 99
 Boner, Marion S.: article by, noted . . . 489
 Bonneville, Capt. Benjamin L. E.: journey West (and return), 1836, by, 48, 49
- Books: added to Historical Society library, 1961-1962, list of . . . 190-
 Boone, Albert G. (son of Jesse Bryan): trader . . . 152, 153, 475
 Boone, Daniel . . . 153
- Boone, Daniel: grandsons, noted . . . 448
 Boone, Daniel Morgan (son of Daniel): biographical note . . . 175
 —contract by . . . 158
 —death, 1839, of . . . 175
 Boone, Jesse Bryan (son of Daniel) . . . 153
 Boone, Capt. Nathan (son of Daniel): colocator of military road . . . 73
 —marches, 1839-1843, by . . . 180, 324
 325, 335, 468, 469, 471
- Boone, Sarah Griffin Lewis (Mrs. Daniel M.): death, noted . . . 175
 Boone & Hamilton: traders . . . 475
 Boonville, Mo. . . . 66
 Boorstin, Dr. Daniel, Chicago: speech by, noted . . . 111
 Botkin, Jeremiah D.: warden . . . 103
 Boudinot Mission . . . 61, 457
 Boundary, U. S.-Mexican: dispute, 1843, on location of 100th meridian, 471
- Bourassa, Joseph Napoleon (part Pottawatomie) . . . 152, 165, 337
 —clerk . . . 164
 —marriage, noted . . . 152
 Bourassa, Stephen . . . 165, 183
 Bourne, Mrs. B. A., and daughter: donors . . . 86
 Bowers, Mary: marriage, 1838, noted, 160
 Bowers, W. S., Franklin co. . . . 109
 Bowers, William: at Kaw's mouth . . . 183, 337
 Bowman, Lt. J. M. . . . 168
 Bowman, Sgt. Maj. William . . . 56
 Bowman, Lt. William . . . 180, 466
 Boyd, Mrs. Henrietta, Mitchell co. . . . 229
 Boyd, Mamie (Mrs. Frank W.), Mankato: donor . . . 90
 —talk by, noted . . . 110
 Boydston, Samuel: blacksmith . . . 42, 59
 Braconier, Elise: marriage of . . . 324
 Bradley, Henry: missionary . . . 41, 157, 337
 Bradley, W. Harry, Butler co. . . . 226
 Brady, Bvt. Brig. Gen. Hugh, 336, 338, 339
 Brady, Samuel P.: conductor of Indians . . . 336
 Brafford, Edward: miller for Indians, 163
 Branch, Jos e de Jes s . . . 174
 Brant, Etienne: blacksmith . . . 42, 59, 81
 Brant, Henry: to Rockies with Fremont . . . 438
 Brant, Lt. Col. J. B. . . . 161
 Brashears, John C.: blacksmith . . . 340, 359
 Bray, Mrs. Easton C., Syracuse . . . 100, 102
 Brechbill, D. H.: River Brethren minister . . . 238
 Brechbill, Sadie Book: missionary . . . 248
 Breihan, Carl W.: book by, noted . . . 232
 Brequier, Louison: blacksmith . . . 81
 Brethren in Christ Church (River Brethren) . . . 238-248 *passim*
 —comment on . . . 233
 —in Kansas, notes on . . . 234
 —Jabkob orphanage an institution of, 247
 Bridgeport: Methodist church history, noted . . . 223
 Bridger, Jim: Henry Fraeb's partner . . . 327
 —to Rocky mountains, 1842 . . . 444
 Briggs, Kenneth, Sumner co. . . . 229
 Bright, Samuel B.: Fort Scott contract, noted . . . 442
 Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg . . . 102, 367
 —chairman, Kansas Civil War Centennial Commission . . . 491
 —talk by, noted . . . 492, 493
 Brishnell, Francis: blacksmith . . . 164
 British officers (Canadian): in "Kansas" . . . 334
 Broadsword, Israel: note on . . . 225
 Broadsword, W. S.: letter, noted . . . 225
 Brooks, Jack, Coffeyville . . . 365
 Brooks, Richard . . . 186
 Brookville, Saline co. . . . 318

- Brown, Mr. and Mrs. —, Salem: residents, 1880's 399
- Brown, A. Theodore: article by, noted 488
- Brown, David L.: to West, 1837 64
- Brown, Dr. F. B., Salina: resident, 1880's 279, 291
- visitor at Junction City 414, 417
- Brown, George, Wilson co.: pioneer of 1868 223
- Brown, Jacob, Fort Leavenworth 184
- Brown, John: Boyd B. Stutler collection on, filmed 89
- Brown, Rev. John S., Lawrence 118
- Brown, Joseph: in McDaniel gang, 1843 454, 455
- Brown, Joseph C.: 1823 survey, noted 154
- Brown, Maria Henry (Mrs. Jacob) 184
- Brown, Patrick (son of Jacob) 184
- Brownback, J. L.: caretaker First Territorial Capitol 95
- Browning, Rev. Wesley: at Shawnee Mission 184
- in "Kansas" 457, 458
- Broyles, Elder and Mrs. E. J., Upland, Cal. 249
- Brumfield, Bert, Hodgeman co. 108
- "Brush creek," Johnson co. 148
- Bryant, Peter 88
- Bryant family: filmed letters of, in Historical Society 88
- Buchanan, Tom, Washington: donor 88
- Buchanan county, Mo. 61
- Bucher, Dr. —, Junction City: dentist, 1880's 385, 387, 395
- Bucher, Mrs. —, Junction City: death, 1889 402
- Buck, Myrtle, Emporia 366
- Budbarāran, Lindsborg 13
- Buffalo 471
- Buffalo creek, Cloud co. 467
- Buffalo hunt: by Osages and Kansa, 1840, notes on 330
- Buford, Lt. Abraham: with Boone on 1843 march 468, 469
- Bugg, John A.: Fort Scott sutler, 453, 480
- Bull creek, Miami co. 148, 160
- Bull Tail (Sioux chief) 473
- Burgwin, Capt. John H. K.: Fort Croghan established by 437
- to Fort Leavenworth, 1843 483
- Buried treasure: search, 1836, for 59
- Burke, Bill, Salina 363
- Burlington: Church of the Ascension history, noted 104
- Burlington *Republican*: article in, noted 104
- Burnett, Abraham (Pottawatomie Indian) 165, 337
- biographical data 452
- interpreter 60
- marriage of 453
- Burnett, Abraham (son of William; half Pottawatomie) 453
- Burnett, David H. 183
- Burnett, John C.: interpreter 60
- Burnett, Louis 165
- Burnett, Marie Knoffloch (Mrs. Abraham) 453
- Burnett, Peter H. 452
- to Oregon, 1843 462, 463
- Burnett, William: children of, listed "Burnett's Mound" (Topeka): named for Abraham Burnett 453
- Burns, Hugh: to Oregon, 1842 434
- Burr Oak: Methodist church history, noted 361
- scandal, 1888, noted 374
- "White House," comment on 373, 374
- Burr Oak *Herald*: article in, noted 361
- Burtis, Winifred Brown: articles by, noted 223
- Bush, Mrs. Granville 110
- Bushton *News*: article in, noted 107
- Butcher, O. D., Topeka: donor 90
- Butcher, Dr. Thomas P., Emporia 366
- Butcher, Walter, Emporia 366
- Butcher, Ward, Comanche co. 110
- Butler, William Tecumseh: donor 90
- Butler County News*, El Dorado: articles in, noted 226
- Butterfield Overland Despatch trail: first marker for 492
- Byer, B. J.: master *S. Mary Tompkins*, "Bypaths of Kansas History" 343, 103
- 217-219, 360, 487
- Byram, Peter, Atchison: marriage, noted 181

C

- Cabanne, Julius: on Oregon trail, 1843 477
- Cabanne's post (Neb.) 176
- Caches, The 51, 471, 472
- Cadoret, —: at Kaw's mouth, 1840, 337
- Cadue, Peter: interpreter 42, 56, 358
- Cakimi (Pottawatomie woman) 453
- Caldwell, Billy (Pottawatomie chief), noted 335
- Caldwell, Jean McEachron: article by, noted 222
- Caldwell, Oliver: a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor 161, 162
- Caldwell Messenger*: article in, noted, 104
- California: emigrants of 1843 to, 469, 470
- first emigrant train from Missouri to, 1841 346, 347
- Fremont in, 1844 468
- California and Overland Diaries of Count Leonetto Cipriani*: note on 231
- Calloway, Robert A.: subagent for Osages 164, 167, 340, 342, 359, 440, 441, 451, 474, 479, 486
- quoted on White Hair, III 457
- Camien, Mrs. L. L., University Park, N. M.: donor 88, 90
- "Camp Fenwick": renamed Fort Croghan 437
- "Camp Holmes" (Okla.) 168
- "Camp Scott": renamed Fort Scott 432
- Campbell, Green: article on, noted 108
- Campbell, John A.: with Fremont, 1843 485
- Campbell, Paule 363
- Campbell, Robert: a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor 162
- Campbell College, Holton: note on 108
- "Campgrounds of Kansas, The Municipal": article by Clinton Warne, 137-
- Canadian river, Okla.: Josiah Gregg party on, 1839, 1840 168, 169
- Cantrill, Darby H.: on Santa Fe trail, Canville. *See, also*, Quenneville
- Canville, Andrew Bernard: at Kaw's mouth 337
- marriage of 429
- Canville, Henry Alfred (son of A. B.), Canville Trading Post, Neosho co.: note on 429
- Cape, William: thesis of, noted 86
- Capper, Arthur: H. E. Socolofsky's book on, noted 368
- review, noted 220
- Cappo Blue (Pawnee chief): killed, 1843 473
- Captain, Tom 186
- "Captain Ketchum" (Delaware chief), Carboneau, Joseph: at Kaw's mouth, 337
- Cardinal, Charles 333, 357
- marriage of 356
- Cardwell, Homer, Republic co. 100, 228
- Carleton, Lt. James H.: to Fort Leavenworth 483

- Carlisle, William: blacksmith 42, 59
 81, 164
- Carlson, C. R., of Smoky Hill valley 9
- Carlson, Sen. Frank, Concordia: comment on 16, 17
 —political career of 16, 17
- Carlson, Sarah K.: article by, noted 488
- Carlton, Dickinson co.: comment, 1888, on 319
- Carman, J. Neale: foreign language study by, noted 10
- Carolina parakeet: seen in Fort Leavenworth area, 1843 458
- Carondelet, Mo. 429
- Carpenter, Joshua: subagent 486
- Carr, Ernest, Independence: donor 90
- Carrico, Cathy, Beloit 229
- Carroll, Edward, Leavenworth 254
- Carson, Christopher ("Kit"): "mule-shooting" story, noted 51
 —on Santa Fe trail, 1843 472
 —to Missouri, 1842 436
 —with Fremont, in 1842 438, 439
 —in 1843 468
- Carson, Mrs. Melvin, Denver: donor 90
- Carson, William E., Wyandotte co. 229
- Carter, Al: Santa Fe trail journey, 1963, noted 492
- Carter, Rev. L. M.: at Shawnee Mission 444
- Carter, William, Jennings 366
- Carver family, Junction City: residents, 1869 420, 424
- Case, Cephas: at Kansa Mission, 1837, —farmer for Kansa(?) 81
- Casner, Jack L., Topeka: donor 90
- Cass, Lewis: secretary of war 123
- Cass county, Mo. 44
- Cassler, James A., McPherson co. 111
- Cassville, Mo. 44
- Castel, Albert: review of his book on Quantrill, noted 220
- Castoe, Robert, Independence: donor 90
- Catholic missions and missionaries: notes on 51, 54, 144, 151, 152, 165, 166, 332, 337, 350, 352, 439, 480
 —see, also, Kickapoo Catholic Mission, Pottawatomie Catholic Mission
- Catlett, Benjamin F.: employed for Sacs & Foxes 164, 188
- Catlin, George: painter of Non-on-dagum-un's portrait facing 449
 —portrait of Henry Dodge by, reproduced facing 48
- Catron, Don, Topeka: donor 90, 91
- Cattle industry: in Woodson county, articles on, noted 227
- Cau-ca-car-mack (Sac & Fox chief) 56
- Cawker City: "Cottage House," comment on, 1889 399
 —L. Snow's letter, 1889, from 399
- Cayton, P. G.: blacksmith 59
- Centennial Distributors, Inc., Topeka: donor 91
- Centerville, Linn co. 166
- Central Freedmen's Relief Committee: notes on 31, 39
- Chachapaki (Pottawatomie Indian): marriage, noted 144
- Chads, D. C., Barber co. 367
- Chamber of Commerce, Topeka: donor 93
- Chambers, Ellen, St. Louis: marriage of 434
- Champeny, Wallace, Oxford 111
- Chandler, C. J., Wichita 100, 102
- Chandler, Edna Walker: article by, noted 220
- Chandler, Eli: with Snively's Texans 464
- Channing, Dr. William Ellery 446
- Chanute *Tribune*: article in, noted 361
- Chaplains: for U. S. military posts, note on, 1838 153, 154
- Chapman, Berlin B., Stillwater, Okla.: donor 92
- Chapman, Edward J., Jr., Leavenworth, 109
- Chapman, Vera, Great Bend: donor 91
- Chapman *Advertiser*: article in, noted, 361
- Charbonneau, Baptiste: to South Platte, 1839 178
- with Sir Wm. D. Stewart, 1843 460
- Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan 102
- Chase County Historical Society: 1962 meeting, note on 108
 —1963 meeting, note on 492
- Chaurette, John Baptiste: marriage of, Chaurette, John Baptiste (son of John B.) 324
- Chautauqua: at Crete, Neb., noted 373
- Chaves (or Chavez), —: Santa Fe trader 348, 355
- Chaves (or Chavez), Antonio José: in Santa Fe trade 348
 —robbed and murdered, 1843, by McDaniel's gang 454, 455, 468
- Chaves (or Chavez), J. Francisco: to St. Louis, 1843 461
- Chaves (or Chavez), José: Santa Fe trader 183, 461
- Chavez y Castillo, José: Santa Fe trader 328, 348
- Cheal, Sarah Owens, estate: donor 90
- Che-bas (Pottawatomie chief) 165
 337, 453
- Che-chaw-kose (Pottawatomie chief) 60, 337
- Cheever, Dickinson co. 290
- Cheney reservoir: archaeological survey in 84
- Cherokee Indians 62
 —emigration to "Oklahoma," 1838 of, 163
 —factional troubles, 1839, noted 185
 —Fort Wayne on lands of 432
 —host to tribes at 1843 grand council, 470
 —reserve surveyed 56, 63
 —"Trail of Tears," note on 163
- Cherokee Neutral Lands 74, 474
- "Cherokee strip" 63
- Cherryvale *Globe*: note on 221
- Cherryvale *Republican*: historical article, noted 221
- Chetopa: ordinances, 1879-1881, microfilmed 217
- Cheyenne Bottoms: Wislizenus' crossing, 1839, of 182
- Cheyenne Indians 62
 —Hiram Rich a trader with 351
 —L. J. White's article on, noted 104
 —on upper Arkansas 485
- Chicago Emigrant Agency 5
- Chick, Joseph S. (son of Wm. M.) 162
 —at Kansa Mission 149
- Chick, Mary Jane (dau. of Wm. M.) 80
- Chick, Sarah Ann (dau. of Wm. M.): marriage of 343
- Chick, Virginia (dau. of Wm. M.): marriage of 79
- Chick, Washington H. (son of Wm. M.) 161
 —on Santa Fe trail, 1842 440
- Chick, William M., Westport, Mo. 72
 75, 79, 80, 152, 179
 183, 186, 343, 440
- a "Kansas" Mo., proprietor 161
 —"Kansas City, Mo.," home, 1843, noted 162
 —to Westport, 1836 42
- Chick, William S. (son of Wm. M.) 152
- Chickasaw Indians: at 1843 grand council 470
- Chiga-wa-sa (Osage chief) 164
- Chihuahua, Mexico 326, 332, 351
 —Josiah Gregg expedition, 1839, to 168
- Childers, Mrs. Arthur 366
- Chiles, Joseph B., Westport, Mo. 41

- Chiles, Joseph B.: overland to California, 1841 346, 347
 —1843 469
 —return to Missouri, 1842 444
 Chills and fevers: prevalent among
 Kansa 1840 334
 Chilson, Nellie N., Payson, Ariz.:
 donor 91
 Chilton, Lt. Robert H. 180
 Chippewa Indians: at 1843 grand
 council 470
 —delegations in "Kansas" 72, 155
 —Munsee confederation with 79
 —Swan creek band, note on 72, 73
 —to "Kansas" 185
 Chisholm, Jesse: in "Kansas," 1836 59
 Chittenden, Hiram M. 446
 Choctaw Indians 62
 Chotera: in 1832, notes on 123-125
 133, 135
 Chouteau, Amanda (dau. of
 Frederick) 440
 Chouteau, Auguste P. 41, 67
 —death, 1838, of 163
 Chouteau, Benjamin (son of Frederick),
 440
 Chouteau, Berenice Therese Menard
 (Mrs. Francis G.) 146, 337
 458, 473
 Chouteau, Charles B. (son of
 Pierre, Sr.) 482, 483
 Chouteau, Cyprian (son of Pierre, Sr.):
 Fremont at trading post of 438
 —Indian trader, 146, 152, 178, 186, 447
 Chouteau, Edmund F. (son of Francis
 G.): with Sir Wm. D. Stewart's
 party, 1843 460, 482
 Chouteau, Edward F.: master, S.
 Antelope 167
 Chouteau, Edward L. (son of Paul
 Ligueste) 442, 443, 479
 Chouteau, Francis G. (son of Pierre,
 Sr.) 483
 —death, 1838, of 146
 —see, also, Chouteau's Landing, Mo.
 Chouteau, Francis X. (son of
 Frederick) 440
 Chouteau, Frederick (son of Pierre,
 Sr.) 483
 —children of, baptized 440
 —trader with Kansa 149, 186, 342
 Chouteau, Nancy Logan (Mrs.
 Frederick) 440
 Chouteau, Paul Ligueste 167, 329
 443, 479
 —Osage subagent 42, 59, 62, 81, 164
 —report on Comanches, etc., 1836, by, 47
 Chouteau, Pierre, Sr., St. Louis 146
 —sons by second wife, noted 483
 Chouteau, Pierre, Jr., and Co. 146, 176
 —trading posts in "Kansas," 349, 474, 475
 Chouteau, Pierre Menard (son of
 Francis G.): wife of, noted 143
 Chouteau, William (son of Frederick),
 "Chouteau's Church," Kansas City,
 Mo. 54, 76
 —Father Nicholas Point in charge of 337
 Chouteau's Island: article on, noted 364
 Chouteau's Landing, Mo. 64, 66, 75
 146, 169, 179, 458-460, 473
 —Fremont at, 1842 438
 "Chouteau's trading post." See Trading
 Post, Linn co.
 Chrisman, Harry E.: article by, noted, 489
 —book by, noted 111
 Christman: Swedish celebration, 1870,
 note on 20
 Christopher, Mrs. Adrienne V., Kansas
 City, Mo.: donor 88
 Christy, Robert 145
 Church histories: published in 1962,
 listed 104, 223, 361, 490
 Churchill, Elizabeth F. 171
 Church, Elizabeth F.: marriage of 184
 Chute, Dr. J. Andrew, Westport,
 Mo. 41, 57, 63, 147, 148
 —death, noted 153
 Cimarron crossing (of Arkansas river),
 51, 172, 184, 464, 472, 479
 Cimarron river 345, 440
 —lower spring, scene of Arapahoe-
 Pawnee battle 349
 Cimarron route (Santa Fe trail) 184
 Cimarron valley 151
 Cipriani, Count Leonetto: book contain-
 ing diaries of, noted 231
Citizen-Patriot, Atwood: article in,
 noted 105
 Civil John (Shawnee chief) 130
 Civil War Centennial Commission, Kan-
 sas: list of commissioners 367
 Claessens, William: at Kickapoo
 Mission 151
 Clark, Calvin Perry: overland journey
 diary, noted 112
 Clark, George Rogers Hancock 55, 56
 Clark, Rev. Harvey: and wife, to
 Oregon, 1840 327
 Clark, Helen E.: overland journey
 diary, noted 112
 Clark, Jefferson K.: with Sir Wm. D.
 Stewart, 1843 460, 482
 Clark, Meriwether Lewis, St. Louis 157
 Clark, William, St. Louis 62, 135, 165
 —death, 1838, of 157
 —trip to Fort Leavenworth, 1836 by, 55
 Clark, William Preston: to West, 1838,
 and return 47, 156
Clark County Clipper, Ashland: articles
 in, noted 224
 Clark County Historical Society: 1962
 meeting, note on 110
 Clarke, Abbie: violinist 427
 Clarke, Sidney, Lawrence 32, 251
 Clarke family, Junction City 409
 418-420, 427
 Clay, Henry: interpreter 42
 Clay, Lt. Joseph: death, 1832, noted, 124
 Clay Center 377
 —Comstock House 276, 277
 —Swedish Methodist church, note on, 19
 Claytor, John: housebuilder 349
 Clayton, Mariam Lawton, Clark Fork,
 Ida.: donor 88
 Clear creek, Doniphan co. 67
 Cleghorne, W. W.: Indian trader, 143, 144
 Clement, Antoine 64
 —with Sir Wm. D. Stewart, 1843 460
 Cleous, Orle, Sumner co. 229
 Clermont, II (Osage chief): death of, 150
 Clermont, III (Osage chief) 164, 441
 —on Verdigris, 1843 480
 Cleveland, —: master S. *Pizarro* 178
 Clifford, B. P.: master S. *Shawnee* 343
 Cline, Raymond, Conway Springs 111
 Clinger, Mrs. F. F., Topeka: donor 91
 Clinton, Ind.: Wabash crossing at,
 noted 130
 Cloud county: Antioch Wesleyan Meth-
 odist church history, noted 361
 Cloud County Historical Society: 1962
 meeting, note on 228
 Clough, Charles, Coffeyville 365
 Clymer, Joseph (Jr.) 326, 475, 480
 Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado 100, 102
 —note on 183
 —speech, noted 492
 Coal mine: in Ellsworth county, 1888,
 noted 317
 Coates, James: to Oregon, 1842 454
 Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg 100, 102
 Cochran, Mrs. John 110
 Cochrane, Mrs. Harry, Franklin co. 109
 Coeurs Tranquilles (Osage town) 329

- Coffeyville *Daily Journal*: progress edition, 1963, noted 226
- Coffeyville Historical Museum, Inc.: 1963 meeting, note on 365
- Coffman, Isaac, Jackson co., Mo. 430
- Coffman, Marguerite P., Shawnee Mission: donor 91
- Cogswell, Glenn D., Topeka 229
- Colbert, Claybourne: blacksmith 42
- Colbert, Thomas J., Jackson co., Mo. 72, 73
- Colburn, Norris: Santa Fe trader, 479, 485
- Colby: historical photographs of, noted, 363
- Colby *Free Press-Tribune*: articles on Thomas county lawyers in, noted 222
- "Cold Water Grove," Miami co. 433, 474
- Coldwater: Presbyterian church history, noted 104
- College Hill Booster*, Topeka: excerpts, noted 222
- Collins, William: a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor 161
- Colonial Dames, See National Society of Colonial Dames
- Colt's Patent Fire Arms Mfg. Co., Hartford, Conn.: donor 91
- Columbian Emigration Company 5
- Columbus: St. Rose Catholic church history, noted 104
- Columbus *Advocate*: article in, noted, 104
- Columbus *Border Star*: 1878-1886 file, filmed 89
- Comanche (horse): at Fort Riley, 1889 421
- Comanche County Historical Society: 1962 meeting, note on 110
- Comanche Indians: not at 1843 grand council 470
- P. L. Chouteau's 1836 report on 47
- stampede attempt, 1836, noted 51
- white prisoners of, 1841, noted, 351, 352
- Comp, Mrs. J. H.: articles by, noted 224
- Compant, Lewis (part Pottawatomie), 337
- Concordia: L. Snow's letter, 1888, from 380, 381
- Concordia *Blade-Empire*: article in, noted 104
- Concordia *Kansan*: article in, noted 104
- Cone, W. W., Topeka 82
- Cone-zo-qua (Pottawatomie woman), 453
- Connelly, Dr. Henry, Chihuahua, Mex.: on Santa Fe trail 476
- Connor, James: interpreter 42
- Cook, Grove: to California, 1841 347
- Cook, Mrs. R. B., Barber co. 367
- Cooke, John Rogers (son of P. St. G.), 466
- Cooke, Julia Turner (dau. of P. St. G.) 430
- Cooke, Capt. Philip St. George 464
- 480, 481
- at Fort Leavenworth 430
- march, 1840, noted 335
- on Santa Fe trail, 1843 466, 471
- 472, 476, 478, 479
- Snively and Texans disarmed by, 1843 471, 472
- Cooke, Rachel Hertzog (Mrs. P. St. G.) 430
- Cooper, A. G. T., Russell co.: rancher, 226
- Cooper, Phillip, Chanute 230
- Cooter, John H., Topeka: donor 92
- Coquillard, Alexis, South Bend, Ind. 336
- comm'r to treat with Indians 337, 338
- in "Kansas," 1840 336, 337
- Corbett, Henry Wallace: article by, noted 269
- Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, D. C. 269
- Cordero, José, Chihuahua, Mex. 180
- Cornstalk, Peter (Shawnee chief) 57
- Correll, Charles M., Manhattan 82, 98
- 100, 102
- Corrick, Mrs. Franklin, Topeka: donor, 91
- Cotterill, R. L., McPherson: donor 91
- Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence 100, 102
- Cottonwood Crossing (Santa Fe trail) 171, 172, 175, 182, 357, 471
- Cottonwood Grove (Santa Fe trail) 184
- Cottonwood river 184, 472
- Cottonwood tree: article on, noted 364
- Council Bluffs, Iowa 176
- Catholic mission at 167, 352
- Fort Croghan at 437, 483
- Kearny's council with Indians, 1839, at 180
- settlements of Pottawatomies at 70, 151
- 152, 167, 338
- visit by Kearny to, 1840 335
- Council Bluffs, the (Neb.) 45, 47, 71, 353
- Council Bluffs Agency, Bellevue (Neb.) 62, 66
- J. V. Hamilton agent of 174
- Kearny's council with Indians, 1839, at 180
- "Council Bluffs road" (Fort Leavenworth-Bellevue [Neb.]): march, 1839, on 180
- Council Bluffs Subagency (Iowa) 62, 70
- Council Grove 171, 179, 182-184
- 344, 472, 479
- Cottage House, 1888, noted 308
- Eisenhower gospel wagon at 239
- historical article, noted 362
- Kansa Indians at, fall, 1842 447
- L. P. Snow's comment, 1888, on 308
- traders' rendezvous 466, 471, 478
- Council Grove Masonic Lodge No. 36: article on, noted 105
- Council Grove *Republican*: articles in, noted 105, 223, 362
- 1884-1918 file, filmed 89
- Council Grove reservoir: archaeological survey in 84
- Courteau, Philibert: with Fremont, 1843 467
- Courtland: Swedish-American State Bank history, noted 489
- Courtland *Journal*: article in, noted 489
- Covered wagon: a "school bus," article on, noted 220
- Cow creek, Cherokee co. 73
- Cow creek, Rice co. 344, 345
- see, also, Little Cow creek
- Cowles, —, Abilene (brother of W. G.?) 315
- Cowles, W. G., and wife, Abilene 290
- 306, 307, 392, 402, 420
- Cowley, Matthew D., Butler co.: article on, noted 226
- Cowley County Historical Society: 1962 meeting, note on 109
- Cox, Mrs. George W. 100, 110
- Cox, Mildred, Fort Leavenworth 365
- Coxe, Lt. Ferdinand: at Fort Leavenworth 446
- Crabb, Emma, Topeka: donor 91
- Crabb, Mrs. J. A., Topeka: donor 91
- Crafton, Perry G.: blacksmith 81, 164
- Craig, —: at Fort Davy Crockett 179
- Craine, Eugene, Hays 366
- Crane, Sallie Hutsell: recollections, noted 220
- Crane, Virginia, Topeka: donor 91
- Cravens, Claude "Sam," Ashland: biographical sketch, noted 224
- Crawford, George, of Indiana 337, 338
- Crawford, George A.: immigration comm'r 4
- Crawford, Harry E., Topeka: donor 91
- Crawford, Mrs. Marian Rosen, Topeka: donor 86, 88, 91
- Crawford, Medorem: to Oregon, 1842 434, 435
- Crawford, Samuel J.: governor, noted, 4

Crawford County Community High School, Cherokee: history, noted . . . 226

Crawford County Historical Society: —1962 meeting, notes on . . . 109 —1963 meeting, note on . . . 492

Crawford Seminary (Quapaw mission): note on . . . 454

Creek Indians . . . 62, 67 —at 1843 grand council . . . 470 —mission suspended, 1836 . . . 60

Creek Subagency (Okla.) . . . 41

Cregut, John, Topeka: donor . . . 91

Creighton, Mrs. Barbara, Rawlins co. . . 230

Creitz, Jessie McCarter: article by, noted . . . 222

Crelis, Michael: with Fremont, 1843, 483

Creuss, William: with Fremont, 1843, 485

Crew, Mary: at Shawnee Friends Mission . . . 431

Crocker, Nathaniel: to Oregon, 1842, 434

Croghan, Col. George: at Fort Leavenworth . . . 55, 153, 332, 333

Cron, F. H., El Dorado . . . 102

Crook, Maj. Samuel L., Jr. . . . 365

Crooked creek (Cimarron tributary) . . . 464

Crosby, Warren M., Topeka . . . 365

Crosman, Capt. George H. . . . 158

Cross creek, Shawnee co. . . . 460, 465

Cudjoe, Peter. *See* Cadue, Peter

Cummins, John: contracts for Indians, 1843, noted . . . 475, 476

Cummins, Richard W.: Indian agent . . . 41-43, 57, 59, 62, 64, 81, 162, 163, 171, 172, 174, 176-178, 182, 183, 188, 331, 334, 339, 340, 358, 445, 446, 451, 454, 456, 485 —at Council Bluffs, Ia., 1842 . . . 437 —quoted on S. C. Roby and associates, 484 —visits to Kansas . . . 168, 341

Cunningham: tornado at, 1888 . . . 309

Currell, E.: at Shawnee Mission . . . 444

Currier, Susan Eliza, Haverhill, N. H., 267

—Leslie Snow's letters to . . . 268-323, 372-403

Curtis, Charles . . . 257

Custer, Gen. George A.: article on, noted . . . 220

Cyclone. *See* Tornado

D

Dahlsten, Rev. A. W. . . . 18

Daily Drivers Telegram, Kansas City, Mo.: file, filmed . . . 89

Dale, Kittie: articles by, noted . . . 106, 226, 362

Dalton, Mrs. Ethel, St. George: donor, 91

Dalton Museum, Coffeyville: note on . . . 365

Daniel, Wyo. . . . 48

Darby, Caleb . . . 442

Dary, Mrs. Russell, Manhattan . . . 230

Daugherty, O. A., Neodesha: donor . . . 90

Daughters of the American Colonists, Elizabeth Knapp chapter: donor . . . 86 —Kansas Society: donor . . . 86 —Margaret Dunning chapter: donor . . . 86

Daughters of the American Revolution, Wellington chapter: donor . . . 93

Davidson, Lt. Levi P. . . . 180

Davies, William: blacksmith . . . 358, 451, 485

Davis, Anthony L. . . . 449 —emigrating agent . . . 41, 55, 59, 62, 63 —removal to Marais des Cygnes . . . 71 —subagent . . . 72, 81, 143, 145, 146, 157, 161, 164, 165, 183, 188, 331, 339, 340, 359, 436, 451, 486

Davis, Mrs. Frank L., Holton: donor . . . 88

Davis, H. C., Westport, Mo. . . . 41

Davis, Kenneth S.: article on Eli Thayer, noted . . . 224

Davis, Mrs. Tom . . . 110

Davy, Cornelius: trader . . . 475

Davy, Cornelius, Jr. . . . 475

Davy, Thomas (son of Cornelius) . . . 475

Dawson, George T., Elmdale . . . 108, 492

Dawson, Hubert, Wichita: donor . . . 88

Dawson, John S., estate: donor . . . 86

Dawson, Nicholas: to California, 1841, 347

Day, Warren and Mary A.: filmed letters, in Historical Society . . . 88

Decatur County Historical Society: 1963 meeting, note on . . . 366

Deep creek, Riley co. . . . 467

Deffenbaugh, Mrs. R. B., Leavenworth, 110

De Forrest, Clinton (or Charles?): with Fremont, 1843 . . . 485

De Gordin(?), —: on Santa Fe trail . . . 355

De'haire, Helene: marriage of . . . 336

De Laurier, Antoine: at Kaw's mouth, 337

Delaware Baptist Mission, Wyandotte co. . . . 173, 449, 481

Delaware crossing (of Kansas river). *See* Delaware ferry

Delaware ferry (Kansas river) . . . 41, 352, 457

Delaware Indians . . . 62, 64 —agreement, 1836, by . . . 57 —at 1843 grand council . . . 470 —blacksmith shop burned . . . 352 —death of Chief Non-on-da-gum-un, *facings* 449, 450 —in Florida Indian war service . . . 74, 75 —massacred by Sioux, 1841 . . . 356 —mill, note on . . . 69 —Munsee Indians on lands of . . . 79, 188 —population, 1836 . . . 44 —Stockbridge Indians on lands of . . . 188 —traders, 1839, listed . . . 178 —vaccinated, 1839 . . . 181 —Wyandot Indians on lands of, 483, 485

Delaware language book: of 1841, noted . . . 342

Delaware Methodist Mission, Wyandotte co. . . . 42, 53, 75, 430, 449, 457 —new meeting house, 1840 . . . 332

Delaware Moravian Mission, Wyandotte co. . . . 433, 449

Delaware Outlet: survey, noted . . . 53

Delaware river . . . 65

Democrats. *See* Politics in Kansas

Denham, John, Crawford co.: log cabin on property of, noted . . . 226

Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City . . . 102

Dennis, Thomas, St. Louis . . . 161 —master, S. *Thames* . . . 325, 343

Dentistry: in 1880's items on . . . 360

Denver Public Library: *Two Diaries* published by, noted . . . 112

De Prefontaine, Dr. Joseph R.: Indians vaccinated by . . . 181, 331 —McDaniel gang member, 1843 . . . 455

De Smet, Rev. Pierre-Jean . . . 183 —at Council Bluffs, Ia. . . . 151, 152, 167 —down the Missouri, 1842 . . . 448 —in "Kansas," 1838 . . . 151 —on S. *Antelope*, 1839 . . . 167 —to West, and return, 1840 . . . 327 —1841 . . . 346

Devenport, James B. . . . 183

De Vos, Rev. Peter, S. J.: to West, 1843 . . . 460, 461

De Voto, Bernard: quoted . . . 459

Dewey, George L.: World War I letters, in Historical Society . . . 88

Dewey-Berry gun fight: article on, noted . . . 364

De Witt, —, Junction City: resident, 1889 . . . 407

Diamond Spring (on Santa Fe trail) . . . 471

Dias, Martias: on Santa Fe trail . . . 436

Dickerhoff, Mrs. Madge, Norway . . . 228

- Dickerson, L. C.: master of S. *Colonel Woods* 343
- Dickinson county: St. Patrick's Catholic church history, noted 361
- Dickinson County Historical Society: 1962 meeting, note on 228
- Diehl, Mrs. Claude, Smith co. 110
- Diemer, Mrs. Marguerite 371
- Dighton: First National bank history, noted 364
- Dighton *Herald*: article in, noted 364
- Dill, Elmer, Belle Plaine 111
- Dill, Mrs. Elmer, Belle Plaine 111
- Dimmock, Charles: surveyor of military road 73
- Dirks, Martha: article by, noted 363
- Dixon, Miss —, Junction City: resident, 1888 388
- Docking, George, Arkansas City 102
- Dodd, Gladys: "The Early Career of Abraham L. Eisenhower, Pioneer Preacher," article by 233-249
- note on 233
- Dodge, Col. Henry 41, 49
- biographical note facing 48
- governor of Wisconsin territory 53
- portrait (by Catlin) facing 48
- Dodge, Nathaniel B., Jr.: killed by Osages 145
- Dodge City: soldiers' reunion, 1910, photograph facing 232
- Dodge City *Daily Globe*: progress edition, 1962, noted 107
- Dodson, Greenup 183, 340, 358
- Dodson, Jacob: with Fremont, 1843 467
- Domme, Robert W., Topeka: donor 91
- Donalson, William: blacksmith 42, 81, 163, 358, 451, 485
- Doniphan county: Iowa and Sac & Fox settled in, 1837 67
- Donohoe, William Smith: a "Kansas," Mo., lot buyer 162
- marriage of 72
- surveyor 155, 161
- Dorion, Elisha P.: blacksmith 485
- Dorion, Jeffrey: interpreter 56, 81, 164, 340, 358, 432
- on S. *Pirate* 167
- Dorney, Jeffrey. See Dorion, Jeffrey
- Dorrian, Louis M.: interpreter 56
- Dougherty, Dr. —, Junction City: resident, 1888 386
- Dougherty, John: Indian agent 52, 56, 57, 62, 65, 164, 167, 174, 188
- U. S. comm'r 159
- Dougherty, John (Shawnee Indian) 130
- Dougherty, Louis (Shawnee Indian) 130
- Dougherty, Silas: blacksmith 81
- Douglas County Historical Society: 1963 meeting, note on 367
- Douglass, George, Vernon co., Mo. 329, 330, 432
- Douglass, Harry S.: article by, noted, 224
- Douglass, John T.: U. S. comm'r 60
- Douglass Historical Society: 1962 meeting, note on 108
- 1963 meeting, note on 491
- Douglass *Tribune*: articles in, noted 226
- Dowell, Morris S., Council Grove 110
- Downing, E.: a "Kansas," Mo., lot buyer 162
- Downs: Fremont House, 1888, at 299
- Dragoons, U. S.: second regiment authorized 49
- Drips, Andrew: at Kaw's mouth, 1840, 337
- at Trading Post, Linn co., 1840 336
- head American Fur Co. caravans 146, 327
- Indian agent 446
- "special agent" 446
- Drywood creek, Crawford co. 73, 474
- Dubuque, Barton-Russell co.: brief history, noted 221
- Duchesne, Mother Philippine: to Sugar Creek Mission 350
- Ducote, —: killed by Iowas 450, 451
- Dunbar, John: missionary to Pawnees 144, 326
- quoted on Sioux massacre of Pawnees 473
- Duncan, James: employed for Iowas 81, 188
- Duncan, Capt. Matthew 41, 47, 52
- Duncan, Peter, Westport, Mo. 41
- blacksmith 59
- Duncan, William: farmer for Iowas 56, 81, 164
- Dunlap, Robert: blacksmith 42, 59, 163, 174, 188, 340
- Dunlap, Morris co. 316, 318
- Dunsworth, Everett, Reno co. 229
- "Dutch Henry's crossing" 63, 76, 77
- "Dutchi" (Kickapoo woman) 159
- Dutton, George, Cloud co. 228
- Dwight, Frederick: with Fremont, 1843 467
- Dwight, Morris co.: article on, noted 226

E

- "Eagle Point," Doniphan co. 67
- Earhart, Amelia: airmail stamp issued in honor of 490
- articles on, noted 490
- Earles, Mrs. Carl, Sumner co. 229
- Earles, Freda, Argonia 111
- East, Dr. —: on Santa Fe trail, 1843 471
- East Iola Methodist church: minute book in Historical Society 87
- Eberle, Mrs. George: article by, noted, 105
- Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin 102
- Eckdall, Frank F., Emporia 97, 100, 102
- Eckert, Rev. Alex 108
- Eckles, Dr. and Mrs. Lucius, Topeka: donor 91, 92
- Edmiston, Evaline, Towanda: recollections, noted 227
- Edson, Rev. Ambler: missionary 344
- Edwards, Mrs. C. L. E. 86
- Edwards, J. J.: housebuilder 174
- Edwards, J. T., Topeka: donor 91
- Edwards, Mabel, Emporia 366
- Edwards, Philip Leget: Oregon trail "guidebook" by, noted 445
- return from West, 1838 156
- western travels of, noted 445
- Edwards County Historical Society: officers, 1963, listed 365
- Eells, Rev. Cushing: to Oregon, 1838 147, 148
- Eells, Myra Fairbank (Mrs. Cushing) 147-149
- Eggleston, Mrs. O. N. 110
- "Egoma Saba" (Black paint) creek 53
- Eisele, Andrew M.: at Shawnee Mission 441, 444
- Eisele, Louisa S. (dau. of A. M.) 441
- Eisele, Margaret (dau. of A. M.) 441
- Eisele, Rosina (dau. of A. M.) 441
- Eisele, Rosina Lose (Mrs. A. M.) 441
- Eisele, William Hunneywell (son of A. M.) 441
- Eisenhower, Abraham Lincoln (son of Jacob F.): article on 233-249
- call to ministry 237, 238
- death of 249
- gospel work of 238-241
- orphans' home maintained by 242-248
- photograph facing 233
- veterinarian at Hope 235-237
- "Eisenhower, Abraham L., Pioneer Preacher, The Early Career of":

- article by Gladys Dodd 233-249
 Eisenhower, Anna B. Long (Mrs. Abraham L.): death of 249
 —letter, 1902, quoted 237, 238
 —notes on life and work of 237-249
 —photograph facing 233
 Eisenhower, David J. (son of Jacob F.) 235-237
 Eisenhower, Pres. Dwight David: mention of 237, 249
 —religion, note on 233
 Eisenhower, Frederick 233
 Eisenhower, Ira (son of Jacob F.) 233
 Eisenhower, Jacob F. (son of Frederick) 233, 239
 —to Kansas, 1878 234
 Eisenhower brothers: store at hope view of between 232, 233
 Eisenhower home, Abilene: photograph facing 233
 Eisenhower Library, Abilene 93
 —W. D. Aeschbacher, director of 492
 Eisenhower Museum, Abilene: comment on 237
 El Dorado *Republican*: established 1883 490
 El Dorado *Times*: historical article, noted 490
 —progress edition, 1963, noted 226
 —special edition, 1963, noted 490
 Elk City: article on, noted 224
 Elk City reservoir: archaeological survey in, noted 84
 Elk City *Sun*: article in, noted 224
 Elkhart: historical articles, noted 364
 Elkhart *Tri-State News*: special edition, 1963, noted 364
 Ellifrit, Ann Eliza Jefferson (Mrs. R. C.) 58
 Ellifrit, Rev. Robert Clark: marriage of 58
 Elliott, Earl C., Wichita: city manager, 141
 Elliott, Richard S.: subagent 481
 Ellis, Lt. Col. Earl H. (Pete): article on, noted 220
 Ellis, Isaac M. C.: ferry operator 166
 —location of ferry on 1842 map facing 160
 Ellis: historical articles, noted 226
 Ellis county: articles by Kittie Dale on, noted 106, 226, 362
Ellis County Farmer, Hays: article in, noted 105
Ellis Review: article in, noted 106
 Ellsworth, Col. Ephraim 270
 Ellsworth: Hodgden house a museum, 367
 Ellsworth county: comment on, 1888 316, 317
 Ellsworth County Historical Society: museum opened 367
 —1963 meeting, note on 230
 Ellsworth *Messenger*: article in, noted, 107
 Ellsworth *Reporter*: article in, noted, 107
 Elm Grove, Johnson co. 172, 353, 448
 466, 472
 —California emigrants of 1843, at 469
 —Fremont at, 1843 467, 469
 —notes on, 1843 462
 —rendezvous, 1842 434
 Emigrant companies: activities in Sweden, 1860's, noted 5
 Emmitt, Mrs. R. P., Pittsburg 109, 492
 Emporia: article by Everett Rich on, noted 220
 —O. W. Mosher's articles on, noted 106, 225, 362
 Emporia *Gazette*: articles in, noted 225, 361
 —O. W. Mosher's column in, noted 106, 225, 362
 Emrie, Mrs. Lyman, Ford 230
 Enander, John A., Chicago 15
 Engle, Mrs. C. H., Topeka 93
 Engle, Bishop Jesse: Kansas visit, noted 234
 Epylle, Verne, Topeka: donor 91
 Ericsson, Arthur, Lyon co. 366
 Erie: opera company at 487
 Ermatinger, Francis 150
 Eshelman, J. H., Dickinson co. 239
 Eshleman, Mary Lenhart: missionary, 248
 Esh-ton-o-quot (Chippewa chief) 185
 Estell, James M.: Fort Leavenworth farm leased by 447
 Eustace, Dr. L. B., Ottawa co. 109
 Eustis, P. S.: cofounder of Eustis 294
 Eustis, Lt. William: to Fort Scott, 1842, 437
 Eustis, Sherman co.: county seat contender 294
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland 100, 102
 Euwer, Mrs. Nelson, Topeka: donor 91
 Evans, Thomas: blacksmith 359
 Evans, William B.: a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor 162
 —at Westport Landing, 1843 162
 Evans family, Milford: residents, 1880's 413
 Everest: newspaper history, noted 226
 Everest *World*: article in, noted 226
 Ewell, Lt. Richard S. 442, 478, 479
 Ewing, F. Y.: return from West, 1838, 156
 —to West, 1837 64
 Ewing, George W.: trader 183, 475
 Ewing, Mrs. Ralph, Russell 86
 Ewing & Clymer: traders 475, 480
 Ewing, Clymer & Co., Westport, Mo.: traders 183, 326
 Ewing, Walker & Co., Logansport, Ind.: traders 183
 "Exodusters" on the Missouri, The": article by Glen Schwendemann, 25-40
 Expeditions and explorations: 1836-1839 71, 167
 —1841-1843 354, 355, 438, 439
 447, 466-468
 —see, also, Fur trade; Military expeditions; Missouri river; Overland journeys; Santa Fe trail; Surveys
 E-ya-no-sa (Kansas chief) 168, 345
 Eysvogels, Rev. Anthony 160, 184, 350
 —at Kickapoo Mission 52, 151
 —at Sugar Creek Mission 352

F

- Fager, Emery E., Topeka 230
 Falbo, Ernest: Cipriani diaries edited by 231
 Fann, Mrs. Herman: thesis by, noted 106
 Fannin county, Tex. 464
 Farley, Alan W., Kansas City 82, 97-100
 102, 367, 491
 Farmer(?), Michael, Westport, Mo. 41
 Farmers' Alliance: Swedish settlers' interest in 15, 16
 Farnham, Thomas J.: leader of "Peoria party" 172, 173
 Farrell, Francis D., Manhattan 102
 Fayetteville, Ark. 44
 Ferries. See under name of stream
 Fesler, Myrtle D.: book by, noted 231
 Ficklin, Joseph H.: blacksmith 81
 Field, Matthew C. 477
 —comment on Pawnee Rock facing 161
 —to Santa Fe, and return 175, 180
 183, 184
 —with Sir Wm. D. Stewart, 1843, 460, 482
 Field, Ruth Marie, Hollywood, Calif.: donor 88
 Fike, Dr. J. D., Lost Springs 235
 Finch, Mrs. Alice M., Arkansas City: donor 91
 Finch, Dan: on Oregon trail, 1843 477
 Findlay, Charles, Westport, Mo. 41
 —trader 152, 178

- Findlay, Charles: on Osage survey 50
 Findlay, Mrs. H. C. D. 152
 Findlay, James, Jackson co., Mo.:
 trader 145, 152
 Findlay, Margaret 152
 Findlay, Parks &: traders 72
 Finigan, Mrs. Thomas H., Kansas City, 230
 Finney community, Woodson co.: article
 on, noted 227
 Firearms, American: W. E. Rosebush's
 booklet on, noted 231
 First emigrant wagon train for the Pa-
 cific: account of 346, 347
 First Swedish Agricultural Company of
 McPherson co. 6, 12, 17, 18
 First U. S. dragoons: at Camp Holmes,
 1839 168
 —at "Camp Scott" site, 1842 432
 —at Fort Croghan, Iowa 437
 —at Fort Leavenworth 68, 70, 187
 —Capt. Nathan Boone's march,
 1843 468, 469
 —Companies A and C to Fort Scott 437
 —Company F to Kansas village 341
 —escort, 1837, for military road sur-
 vey 73
 —1843, for Santa Fe traders 466, 471
 472, 478, 479
 —Fort Wayne built by 169
 —Kearny's 1840 march to Council
 Bluffs, Iowa 335, 336
 —march, 1839, on military road 185
 —by Kearny to the Council
 Bluffs 180
 —1840, to Otoes, etc. 324, 325
 —1842, to Fort Gibson 433
 —named as such, 1836 49
 —sent to arrest McDaniel's gang 454
 —six companies at Fort Leavenworth,
 1838 161
 —trader John Sibille seized by 443
 First U. S. infantry: company, at Fort
 Leavenworth 433
 Fish, Charles: blacksmith 81, 163, 168
 188, 340, 358, 451, 485
 Fish, Paschal: blacksmith 81, 163
 Fisher, Harry W., Fort Scott: donor 88
 Fisher, James J.: article by, noted 220
 Fisher, T. D., Lawrence 30
 Fish's band of Shawnees 177
 Fish, Mrs. Lauretta Louise Fox: Quan-
 trill raid water color by, repro-
 duced *facimg* 113
 Fitzpatrick, Thomas 48, 65
 —guide, 1841, for De Smet party, 346,
 347 347
 —1842, for emigrants 435
 —pilot of American Fur Co. 1836 cara-
 van 56
 —robbed by Pawnees 449, 450
 —with Fremont, 1843 466-468
 Fjellstedt, Peter 17
 Flathead Indians 54
 —Father De Smet's journeys to 327
 346, 347
 Fleming, Mrs. B., Franklin co. 109
 Flenister, E., of St. Louis 159
 Ford, Capt. Lemuel 41
 Ford County Historical Society: 1963
 meeting, noted 365
 Ford Historical Society: 1963 meeting,
 note on 230
 Forest City, Mo.: Eisenhowers evan-
 gelists at 241
 Forman, John W.: Iowas' houses built
 by 445
 Forsha, Fred, Reno county 103
 Forsyth, D. C.: assistant conductor of
 Ottawas 180
 Forsyth, Robert A.: conductor of In-
 dians 179, 180, 338,
 "Fort Bissell": reconstruction, note on,
 Fort Boise 48
- Fort Bridger 469
 —note on 447
 Fort Cavagnolle: noted *facimg* 160
 Fort Clark 66
 Fort Coffee, Okla. 58, 73
 Fort Croghan, Iowa 437, 483
 Flickinger, Mrs. Nora, Topeka: donor, 91
 Flies: a plague to horses 474
 Florida: "Kansas" Indians in, 1837 74
 Floris, James: Santa Fe trader 461
 Flournoy, J. H., Jackson co., Mo. 42
 Fogarty, Mrs. Charles, Leavenworth 110
 Fogerty, Mrs. C. O., Topeka: donor 90
 Folklore of Kansas: featured in *West-
 ern Folklore*, notes on 363
 Fonda, Abraham: a "Kansas," Mo.,
 proprietor 161
 Fontenelle, Lucien: return from
 Rockies, 1838, noted 156
 Fontron, John F., Reno co. 229
 Fool Chief (Kansa chief) 159, 168
 Fool Chief II (Kansa chief) 334, 341
 346, 353
 —comment on 348
 Foose, Dale E., Topeka: donor 88
 Forbes, Mrs. Lee, Topeka: donor 91
 Ford, Bennet: contract of 1842, noted, 443
 Fort Davy Crockett 154, 173, 178
 181, 355
 Fort Des Moines, Iowa 44, 58, 68
 Fort Gibson 41, 44, 58, 163, 185
 —Capt. Nathan Boone's march, 1843,
 from 468, 469
 —Capt. Steen and troops march from,
 1843 478
 —First dragoons from Fort Leaven-
 worth at 433
 —four first dragoon companies at,
 1838 161
 —Indian council, 1837, at 67
 —Osage treaty made at, 1839 164
 Fort Hall, Ida. 48, 149, 435, 444, 447
 450, 452, 462, 463, 465, 468
 469, 485
 Fort Harker: article on, noted 107
 —records, on film, in Historical Society, 87
 Fort Hays: records, on film, in His-
 torical Society 87
 Fort John (Fort Laramie), Wyo., 353, 439
 Fort Lancaster. *See* Fort Lupton 154
 Fort Laramie 65, 149, 170, 350, 353
 435, 439, 443, 461, 463
 —in 1836, notes on 48, 49
 —Seth Ward sutler at 154
 Fort Larned: historical articles, notes, 220
 —records, on film, in Historical Society, 87
 Fort Leavenworth 41, 56, 66, 185
 341, 443, 473
 —and reserve, on Hutawa's 1842
 map *facimg* 160
 —arrival of recruits, 1837, noted 68
 —article on, noted 106, 107
 —Audubon at, 1843 458, 459, 483
 —births at 59, 175, 179, 342, 430
 —Bishop Jackson Kemper a visitor at 78
 —building activity, 1839 173
 —cannon fired, March 4, 1837 60
 —Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville at 49
 —Capt. E. Trenor commandant at 441
 —Captain Sumner and Co. B at 58
 —chaplains, notes on 446
 —Count Arese's comment, 1837, on 71
 —departure of Kearny from, 1842 441
 —Father Verhaegen at 151
 —ferry at 170, 447
 —First infantry company at 433
 —First U. S. dragoon headquarters 49
 58, 161
 —Fort Croghan troops at 483
 —garrison, 1839, note on 187
 —government farm, notes on 73, 74
 153, 332, 333, 447

- Fort Leavenworth: Indian councils at, 52
 —inspections of 50, 70, 332, 333
 —Kearny expedition, 1839, from 180
 —1840, from 335, 336
 —locale of J. T. Irving, Jr., novel 80
 —post road authorized by way of, 1836 44
 —Rev. H. H. Spalding at, 1836 46
 —Rev. Henry Gregory first chaplain at, 162
 —S. Diana at, 1836 45
 —troop strength, 1836, note on 58
 —troops, on Santa Fe trail escort duty, 1843 466, 471, 472, 478, 479
 —two Otoes, prisoners at 482
 —Wm. D. Stewart at, 1836 56
 Fort Leavenworth Agency
 —employees, 1837-1841 81, 163, 188
 —1839, listed 340, 358, 451, 485
 —Indian traders, 1838, listed 152
 —1839, listed 178
 —note on, 1837 62
 Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road 176, 177, 350, 352
 —Bishop Roberts' journey on 432, 433
 —Kearny's march, 1839, on 185
 —located and surveyed, 1837 73, 494
 —Rev. Wm. H. Goode's trip on 474
 —work, 1838-39, on 158, 185
 —see, also, Western military road
 Fort Leavenworth Historical Society:
 officers, 1963, listed 365
 Fort Lupton (Fort Lancaster) 154
 178, 442
 Fort Osage, Mo. 66
 Fort Pierre, S. D. 167, 446, 459, 463
 473, 484
 Fort Platte, Wyo. 334, 352, 353, 443
 461, 470, 471, 477
 Fort Riley: aged horses at, 1889, noted, 421
 —comment, 1887, on 286
 —Fremont near site of, 1843 467
 —Mrs. Susan Snow's brief descriptions, 1889, of 406, 426
 Fort St. Vrain, Colo. 173, 334, 439, 468
 Fort Scott: brief history, noted 488
 —contracts for buildings at 442
 —establishment 437
 —garrisoned by First dragoons, 1842, 437
 —John A. Bugg sutler at 453
 —records, on film, in Historical Society, 87
 —Rev. Wm. H. Goode at, 1843 474
 —site selected, April, 1842 432
 —troops, on Santa Fe trail, 1843 466
 472, 478
 —U. S. National Cemetery, articles on, noted 221
 Fort Scott Tribune: article in, noted 104, 221
 Fort Towson, Okla. 41, 44, 58
 Fort Union, N. D. 145, 342, 448, 458
 459, 473
 Fort Vasquez, Colo. 154, 155, 178, 179
 Fort Walla Walla 48
 Fort Wayne, Okla. 169, 432
 Fort William (Bent's Fort), Colo. 175
 349, 472, 482, 485
 —see, also, Bent's Fort
 Fort William (Fort Laramie) 49, 149
 Fort Zarah: records, on film, in Historical Society 87
 Fortescue, W. M., Leavenworth:
 mayor 34- 36
 Foster, Dora, El Dorado 226
 Foster, Mrs. F. Sharon, Ellsworth 230
 Foster, L. A.: caretaker, Funston Home 95
 Foster, Mary Jane: marriage of 343
 Foulston, Pauline, Wichita: donor 91
 Foureau, — 329
 Fourth of July: Swedish celebration, 1879, Lindsborg 21
 Fourth U. S. infantry: troops at Fort Scott 437, 453
 Fowler, Mrs. Bill, Ford 230
 Fowler, Jacob: comment on Pawnee Rock, 1821 facing 161
 Fox, Grace, Humboldt: article on, noted 220
 Fox, Livingston and Company:
 note on 448
 Fraeb, Henry: death, noted 444
 —Jim Bridger's partner 327
 Framåt, Lindsborg 6, 7, 13
 Francis, Mrs. Martha, Hunter:
 reminiscences, noted 107
 Frankier, Mab: blacksmith, 358, 451, 485
 Franklin, Mo. 66
 Franklin county: New Hope Baptist church history, noted 104
 Franklin County Historical Society:
 museum, opened 491
 —1962 meeting, note on 109
 Frantz, Roy, Conway Springs 111
 Freemount, McPherson co. 6
 Freeport, Harper co.: article on, noted, Freligh, J. H. 220
 Fremont, Lt. John C.: at Elm Grove 467, 469
 —expedition, 1842, of 438, 439
 —1843, of 466-468
 —return of 10 voyageurs from 485
 —map showing expedition routes 1842-1844 facing 448
 —portrait facing 448
 —quoted on 1842 Oregon emigration, 434
 —return to Kaw's mouth, fall, 1842 447
 —up Missouri with Nicollet, 1839 167
 Fremont Lake 461
 Fremont Peak 439
 French, Esther Cattell (Mrs. Thomas) 331, 431
 French, Thomas: at Shawnee Friends Mission 331, 431
 French-Indian settlement, at Kaw's mouth: Father Point's list 337
 —notes on 54, 340, 429
 Friends, Society of 46
 Friends, Yearly Meeting of New England and New York: Lang & Taylor tour of Indian missions for 449
 Friends mission and missionaries: notes on 46, 69, 331, 431
 —see, also, Shawnee Friends Mission
 Fry, Mrs. Wesley, Lenexa 230
 Frye, Amos E.: return East of 354
 Fulkerson, W. N.: subagent 62
 Fuller, Andrew: blacksmith 189
 Fuller, Lorenzo Dow: biographical sketch, noted 362
 Funston, Col. Frederick 261
 Fur companies. See American Fur Company; Union Fur Company; and under names of traders
 Fur trade: 1836-1843, notes on 48
 49, 154, 155, 173, 178, 179, 330, 349
 350, 352-354, 436, 442-444, 448, 463
 470, 472, 476, 477, 481
 —see, also, Santa Fe trade
 Furman, Richard (part Pottawatomie), Fusionists. See Politics in Kansas
 Fuson, Dr. Ben, Salina: donor 93

G

- Gabel, Lawrence, Topeka 365
 Gaines, Maj. Gen. Edmund P. 58, 70
 Gale, Mr. and Mrs. —, Council Grove: residents, 1888 308
 Galesburg, Ill.: Swedish center 1, 3
 Galesburg Land Company, Galesburg, Ill. 6, 18
 Galloway, Anna Taylor: article by, noted 222

- Galloway, Nancy Veale: article by, noted 222
- Galvin, Robert E., Fort Scott, 93, 367, 491
- Gambel, William: to Santa Fe, 1841, 344
- Gantt, John: guide for Oregon emigrants 462
- on S. *Pirate*, 1839 167
- to California, 1843 469
- Gard, Spencer A., Iola 100, 102, 228
- "Garden of Lollik" (cemetery): articles on, noted 364
- Gardiner, James B.: conductor of Indians from Ohio 122-136 *passim*
- Gardiner, 2d Lt. John W. T.: at Fort Leavenworth 443
- Gardiner, Marshall G., Leavenworth: Native Sons president 229
- Garfield: banking history, noted 488
- Garland, Lt. Col. Albert M. 365
- Garrett, Mrs. C. J., Burlington: donor, 86
- Garrett, Mrs. Ray, Neodesha 93
- donor 87
- Garrison, Mrs. Blanche O., Bartlesville, Okla. 430
- Gauert, Henry W., Wyandotte co. 229
- Geary-Dickinson counties: Acker school history, noted 489
- Geddes, Paul (alias Talbot H. Green): to California, 1841 346, 347
- Geiler, Mrs. Elda M., Tulsa, Okla.: donor 91
- Gendusa, Joe: article by, noted 364
- Gentry, Reuben: Santa Fe trader 455
- Gentry, Col. Richard, of Missouri: death, noted 74
- Geraghty, Wayne, Topeka: donor 91
- Gerber, —: at Kaw's mouth, 1840, 337
- Geyer, Charles A.: up Missouri, 1839, 167
- with Sir Wm. D. Stewart's party, 1843 460, 461
- Gibler, Paul, Clafin 93
- Gibson, Hortense B. C., Wichita: donor 88
- Gibson, Mrs. Roy S., Chanute 230
- Giddings, James M.: Santa Fe trader 348, 351
- Gilbert, —, Abilene: banker, 1888, 315
- Gilchriese, John D., Glendale, Calif.: donor 88
- Gilkeson, Raymond H.: article by, noted 222
- Gillette, Glen, Franklin co. 109
- Gillis(s), William: a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor 161, 162
- Gilmore, Andrew: blacksmith 188
- Gilmore, James: blacksmith 81, 164, 358, 431, 451, 485
- Gilmore, Madison: blacksmith 81
- Gilmore, Samuel M.: blacksmith 164
- Gilmore, Sue: article by, noted 222
- Gilpin, Mrs. Edna Piazek, Phoenix, Ariz.: donor 88
- Gilpin, William: letter, 1843, noted 468
- with Fremont, 1843 467
- Gilt Edge ranch, Russell co.: article on, noted 226
- Girard *Press*: 1869-1875 file to be filmed 92
- Giraud, Michel: American Fur Company trader 177, 324, 329, 333, 336, 349, 350, 433, 474
- Giraud's trading post. *See* Trading Post, Linn co.
- Gish, Benjamin, Dickinson co. 239
- Given, Isaac L.: to Santa Fe, 1841 345
- Glascio: hailstorm, 1888, note on 322
- Glasgow, Edward J.: Santa Fe trader, 476
- Glasgow, W.(?) : Santa Fe trader 461
- Glaze, Ivan: articles by, noted 226
- Gleason, Jasper: diary, 1855, in Historical Society 87
- Glen Elder: article on, noted 488
- Glen Elder: letter, 1888, from 383, 384
- Glen Elder *Sentinel*: article in, noted 488
- Glick, Gov. George W. 251
- Godfroy, James J. and Peter 339
- Gold mine(s): in Kansas, article on, noted 489
- search, 1836, for 59
- Goliad, Tex., battle of, noted 45
- Gonville, Louis 76
- Gonville, Mary Josephine ("Josette"): marriage of 76
- Good, Enos and Eliza, Rooks co.: article on, noted 225
- Goode, Rev. William H.: at Indian grand council 470
- journey, 1843, by 474
- quoted 476
- Goodell, Jane (part Indian): article on, noted 225
- Goodland: articles on, noted 364
- Christian church history, noted 104
- county seat contender 294
- Goodland *Daily News*: articles in, noted 104, 223, 364
- Goodyear, Miles: to West, 1836 46
- Gould, Jay 28, 32
- Gove City: comment, 1888, on 297
- Gove County Republican Gazette*, Gove: articles in, noted 227
- history, noted 227
- Graham, Charles: blacksmith 486
- Graham, Lt. Richard H.: with Sir Wm. D. Stewart, 1843 460, 482
- Graham, Bvt. Maj. William M.: to Fort Scott 437
- Grainfield, Gove co. 296, 297
- Gran, Dr. C. H., Andover, Ill.: Kansas enthusiast 2
- Grand Island, Neb. 149, 347
- Grand river. *See* Neosho river
- Grand Saline, Okla. 330
- Grant county: article on Wagon Bed Springs in, noted 221
- Grasshopper river 65
- Graves, Mrs. Bess, Crawford co. 492
- Graves, W. A., Douglass 108, 491
- Gray, Alfred, Dallas, Tex.: donor, 88, 93
- Gray, Charlotte (dau. of John) 54
- Gray, Evelyn, San Francisco, Calif.: donor 88
- Gray, John (Iroquois Indian) 54, 337, 346, 354
- Gray, John S. 106
- Gray, Marianne (Mrs. John) 54
- Gray, Mary A. Dix (Mrs. Wm. H.): to Oregon, 1838 147, 148
- Gray, William H.: table of distances on "Sublette's Trace" recorded by 65
- to Oregon, 1836 45-48, 65
- 1838 147-149
- Gray County Historical Society: 1963 meeting, note on 365, 366
- Great Bend: First Methodist church history, noted 223
- Great Bend (of the Arkansas) 175
- Great Bend *Daily Tribune*: article in, noted 104
- Great Bend *Tribune*: articles in, noted 223
- Great Nemahaw Subagency 62, 186, 356, 357
- buildings erected for 431
- employees, 1837-1843, listed 81, 164, 188, 340, 353, 359, 451, 485
- Iowa treaty at, 1838 159
- Great Saline, Okla. 330
- Greathouse, Issac: with Sir Wm. D. Stewart party 482
- Greeley, Horace: Marcus Whitman described by 452
- Green, —, Junction City: resident, 1888 386, 389
- Green, Lester, Abilene 228

- Green, Talbot H.: alias of Paul
Geddes 346
Green, Mrs. Wilford 85
Green river, Wyo. 170, 347
Greene, Rev. Jesse 184, 335
—marriage, 1839, of 174
Greene, Martin: at Kansa Mission 334
—marriage, 1839, of 175
Greene, Mary Elizabeth (dau. of Rev. Jesse) 335
Greene, Mary Todd (Mrs. Jesse), 174, 335
Greene, N. W.: Santa Fe trader 461
Greene, Sarah Ann Pugh (Mrs. Martin) 175
Greene, Thomas Johnson (son of Rev. Jesse) 335
Greenleaf: Trinity Lutheran church history, noted 223
Greenleaf *Sentinel*: article in, noted "Greenwood," Catharinette 223
Greenwood, George W., Topeka 54
Greer, Bob, Garden City: articles by, noted 221, 364
Greer, Mrs. Fern, Morris co. 362
Gregg, Josiah 51, 150, 333
—his account of Chaves murder, noted, —return to Missouri, May, 1838, noted, —Santa Fe trade statistics, 1837.. 86, 67
—to Santa Fe, 1837 87
—1839 (and return, 1840) .. 168, 169
Gregory, Rev. Henry: chaplain at Fort Leavenworth 162, 168, 180, 446
—quoted 159
Griffin, Desire C. Smith (Mrs. John S.): to Oregon, 1839 169, 170
Griffin, Rev. John S.: to Oregon, 1839 169, 170
Griffith, Mrs. Barton: article by, noted, Griffith, Rev. David E.: chaplain at Fort Leavenworth 446
Griggs, Mrs. A. B. 86
Grimes, William: secretary, Oklahoma territory 243
Grintstead, Frances, Lawrence: donor 88
Grinter, Anna Marshall (Mrs. Moses): note on 41, 42
Grinter, Moses R.: marriage of 41
—note on 41, 42
Grinter crossing (of Kansas river) 352
Gross, Rhea, Clark co. 110
Guérin, Alexandre 329
Guild, Leslie, estate, Topeka: donor 91
Guise, Byron E.: article by, noted 489
Gunfighters of the West, Great: by C. W. Breihan, noted 232
Guthrie, Guy S., Wichita: donor 91
Guthrie, James H.: filmed Civil War diary, in Historical Society 88
Guthrie, Thomas J.: Indian trader 178
Gutierrez, José: Santa Fe trader 461
Guy, Mrs. Paul, Cowley co. 109
Gypsum City, Saline co.: comment, 1888, on 279, 387
- H
- Haas, Esther Allen: article by, noted, 225
Hagan, W. B. 442
Hague, William: ferry operator 170
Hahn, Loren, Lane co. 109
Haines, B. L., Topeka: donor 91
Halberstadt, Josephine, Ottawa co. 109
Hale, Donald R.: article by, noted 220
Half-Day (Pottawatomie chief) 335, 470
Hall, Mabel Webber: reminiscences, noted 489
Hall, Standish, Wichita 102
—donor 86, 91, 92
Ham, Hermond, Rooks co. 300
Hambleton, John: Sac & Fox school built by 431
Hamilton, Anna Maria (dau. of William) 155
Hamilton, Lt. J. W. 41
Hamilton, James G., Westport, Mo. 482
—trader 475
Hamilton, Sgt. John: at "Camp Scott," 1842 432
Hamilton, Joseph Varnum: Indian agent 174, 180, 187, 188, 326
—postmaster at Fort Leavenworth 146
—sutler at Fort Leavenworth 56, 57
Hamilton, Julia Ann N. McGiffin (Mrs. William) 77, 78, 80, 155, 325
Hamilton, Margaret Elcy (dau. of Rev. William) 325
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit 102
Hamilton, W. L., Topeka 365
Hamilton, Rev. William 155, 186, 325
—teacher for Sacs & Foxes, 359, 451, 485
—to "Kansas," 1837 77, 78, 80
Hamilton: St. John's Catholic church history, noted 361
Hamlin, Frances, Gray co. 366
Hampton, Wade: to Santa Fe, 1841 345
Handsome Bird. *See* Shinga-wassa (Osage chief)
Handy, Mrs. Grace, Sumner co. 229
Hankins, Mary, Iola 228
Hanna, Dr. and Mrs. Lawrence, Clay Center: donors 88
Hansford, Robert B.: biographical note, —song slide producer 371, 369-371
—studio in Kansas City, described 369
Hanson, Harry E., Muncie 102, 229
Hanson, Robert, Cloud co. 228
Hard Chief (Kansa chief) 148, 159, 168, 170
—note on, 1838 156
Harding, Lester A.: articles by, noted, 227
Hardy, Charles F., Topeka: article by, noted 222
Hardy, Mr. and Mrs. Harry A.: retirement, noted 82, 95, 96
Hardy, Mrs. Rosetta: at Wea Mission, Harmony Mission, Mo. 41, 61, 74, 433
Harms, Rev. Charles, estate, Lincoln, Neb.: donor 88
Harnsberger, — 273
Harper, Mrs. Jesse C. 97, 100, 102
—donor 86
Harris, B. F. and William: in McDaniel gang 455
Harris, Edward: with Audubon, 1843 458, 459, 483
Harris, Moses ("Black"): head American Fur Co. caravan, 1839 169
—return from Rockies, 1838 156
—to Rocky mountains, 1837 64, 65
—with caravan of 1838 147
Harris, W. H.: C. M. Beeson partner of 88
Harrisonville, Mo. 44
Harsha, J. P.: Hutchinson house a museum 491
Harshbarger, William Asbury: biographical sketch, noted 222
Hart, Mrs. J. W., Sumner co. 229
Harvey, Alexander M. 82
Harvey, Ann B. (dau. of Henry) 331
Harvey, Ann Maden (Mrs. Henry), 69, 331
Harvey, Caleb E. (son of Henry) 331
Harvey, Deborah (dau. of Henry) 331
Harvey, George M. (son of Henry) 331
Harvey, Henry: return to Ohio, noted, —to Shawnee Friends Mission 69, 331
Harvey, Henry C. (son of Henry) 331
Harvey, Mrs. Isabelle Cone: death, noted 82
Harvey, James M. 4
Harvey, Mary (dau. of Henry) 331
Harvey, Perce, Topeka 100, 102

- Harvey, Samuel (son of Henry) 331
 Harvey County Historical Society: 1963
 meeting, note on 491
 —organization, note on 228
 Hasselquist, Rev. T. N., Galesburg,
 Ill. 1, 13
 Hastings, Lansford W.: to Oregon,
 1842 434, 435
 Hastings, Neb.: L. Snow's letter, 1888,
 from 373, 374
 Hatfield, Mrs. Helen Miller: biographi-
 cal sketch, noted 488
 Hathaway, Add, Stevens co. 366
 Haulk, Lawrence, Harvey co. 228, 491
 Haucke, Frank, Council Grove 82, 98
 100, 102
 Haucke, Mrs. Frank, Council
 Grove 367, 491
 —donor 91
 Hawks, Doral, Topeka 229
 Hayden, Mrs. Ruth, Kelley, Rawlins co.,
 —article by, noted 105
 Hayes, J. E., Olathe: article on home
 of, noted 106
 Hayes, Mrs. James D., Topeka: donor, 91
 Hays, Mrs. Alta: donor 91
 Hays, Boone 183
 Hays, James: farmer for Indians. 158, 163
 168, 188, 340
 Hays, Rebecca Lemons (Mrs. James) . . . 158
 Hays, Seth 183
 Hays *Daily News*: articles in, noted . . . 105
 106, 226, 362, 488
 Haysville: Methodist (all-Indian)
 church history, noted 361
 Haysville *News*: article in, noted 361
 Hazel, Mrs. Ruthanna, Atchison:
 donor 92, 93
 Heald, Zella, Ottawa co. 109
 Heeney, David, South Haven 111
 Heeney, Mrs. David, South Haven 111
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita 102
 Helium: historical marker at Dexter,
 noted 83
 Helm, Frank, and wife: donors 86
 Helstrom, C. W., McPherson co. 5
Hemlandet, Galesburg, Ill., 1-3, 13, 15, 17
 Henderson, Nancy, Topeka: donor 91
 Henderson, Nimrod: interpreter 81
 Hendrick, Eli (Stockbridge Indian) 188
 Hendrick, Thomas T. (Stockbridge
 Indian) 188
 Hendrickson, Mrs. Ada, Cloud co. 228
 Henkle, Mrs. Joseph, Great Bend 230
 Henningsen, Mrs. Darus, Jewell co. 367
 Henry, A. P., Topeka: donor 91
 Henry, Mrs. Glenn, Oskaloosa 230
 Henry, Rev. Nelson: visit to Kansa,
 1837, by 64, 68
 Henshaw, George: return from West,
 1842 444
 —to California, 1841 347
 Hensley, Garnet M.: ferryboat built by, 187
 Hensley, Samuel J. 183
 Hepzibah Faith Missionary Assn. of
 Tabor, Iowa 241
 Herington: Eisenhower gospel wagon
 at 239
Heritage of Kansas, Emporia: note on
 November, 1962, issue 221
 Hernandez, Lt. José 184
 Herring, Elbert: comm'r of Indian af-
 fairs 42
 Herrman, Martin M., Rush co. 105
 Hershey, Barbara, Dickinson co. 239
 Hesston: Evangelical U. B. church his-
 tory, noted 223
 Hesston *Record*: article in, noted 223
 Hetherington, W. W., estate: donor 90
 Hetherington family: donor 93
 Hewitt, I. N. "Jibo" 367
 Hiawatha *Daily World*: article in,
 noted 221
 Hibbard, Allan, Barber co. 367
 Hickman, J. P., Jackson co., Mo. 42
 Hickory Grove, Ill.: emigrating Indians
 at 130, 131, 135
 Hicks, Francis A. (Wyandot Indian) 186
 Hicks, John (Wyandot Indian) 186
 Hicks, John Edward: articles by, noted, 220
 Hicks, Russell: a "Kansas," Mo.,
 proprietor 161
 "Hicks & Co." (Wyandot Indians): in
 "Kansas," 1839 186
 Hicks & Marney: Santa Fe
 traders 180, 331
 High, Ethel, Lawrence 367
 High, Georgia: article by, noted 489
 Highest point in Kansas: noted 84
 Highland: Baptist church history,
 noted 104
 Highland Presbyterian church, High-
 land: donor 88
 —history, noted 104
 Highland *Vidette*: article in, noted 104
 Hildreth, W. H.: trader with Kickapoos, 445
 Hillsboro: Pioneer Adobe House and
 Museum, article on, noted 363
 Hindman, Albert H.: article by, noted, 364
 Hineman, Mrs. Nancy E., Dighton:
 donor 86
 Hinkley, —: millwright 347
 Hinnen, Bertha, Jackson co. 108
 Historical markers. *See* Kansas Histori-
 cal Markers
*Historical Societies and Agencies in the
 United States and Canada, Directory
 of*: note on 368
 History of Western America, Confer-
 ence on the: publication of, noted, 111
 Hitchcock, Capt. Ethan Allen 69
 Hite, Max: sodhouse museum on farm
 of 493
 Hite, Sylvester, Scott co.: pioneer 493
 Hobbs, Mrs. Helen, Harvey co. 491
 Hobbs, James: to West, 1836(?) 51
 Hobbs, Dr. Wilson 174
 Hoch, Edward Wallis: quoted 250
 Hodgeman County Historical Society:
 1962 meeting, note on 108
 Hodges, Frank, Olathe: death, noted 82
 Hoecken, Rev. Adrian, S. J.: to West,
 1843 460, 461
 Hoecken, Rev. Christian: at Kickapoo
 Mission 51
 —missionary to Pottawatomies 158, 165
 166, 352, 429
 —to Sugar Creek Mission 352
 —visits to Pottawatomies, 1838,
 by 144, 152
 Hoffman, M. G., Topeka: donor 88
 Hoffstutter, John: to Oregon, 1842 434
 Hogan, J. Abbie Clarke: violinist 427
 Hohn, Gordon S.: articles by,
 noted 104, 105, 223, 361
 Hoisington *Dispatch*: article, in noted, 221
 Holcomb, Azariah: miller for
 Shawnees 163
 Hollenberg Pony Express Station,
 Washington co.: dedicated as na-
 tional historic landmark 491
 Holliday, — (Pottawatomie
 Indian) 63
 Holloway, Lee, Marysville: article on,
 noted 223
 Holroyd, Flora, Pittsburg 109, 492
 Holt, Dan, Hoyt: at Historical Society, 87
 Holt, Elmer, Wellington 111
 Holt county, Mo. 61
 Holyrood, Bank of: article on, noted, 107
 Holyrood *Gazette*: article in, noted 107
 Honeywell, William: at Shawnee
 Mission 444

- Hood, Capt. Washington: survey on Missouri border by 153, 154
Hoon, Rev. John, Newton 99
Hope, Clifford R., Sr., Garden City 102
Hope, Dickinson co.: G. A. R. reunion, 1887, photograph between 232, 233
—history of First Baptist church, noted 361
—home of Eisenhower brothers 235
—town scene (and Eisenhower store) between 232, 233
Hope *Dispatch*: article in, noted 361
Hopefield Mission, Okla. 41
Hopefield Mission (No. 3): brief history 61
Hopewell: United Presbyterian church history, noted 104
Hopper, Charles: to California, 1841, —return East, 1842 347, 444
Hornbaker, C. G., Harvey co. 228
Horton, Mrs. Kenneth, Chanute 230
Horton: First Baptist church history, noted 104
—Presbyterian church history, noted 104
Horton *Headlight*: articles in, noted 104
Hospital, mental: article on first in Kansas 220
Houck, Solomon: trader 344, 345
Houghton, Alan, Mitchell co. 229
Houston, Samuel, of Texas 45
Howard, Bernice, Jewell co. 367
Howes, Charles C.: book on KSU by, noted 231
Hubbell, C. L., Hodgeman co. 108
Hudson's Bay Company 48
Huffman, Mrs. Frank, Topeka 230
Huffman, Mrs. Nellie Ruth, Topeka: donor 88, 91
Hughes, Andrew S.: subagent 56, 62, 67, 77, 81, 164
Hughes, Bela M.: Weston, Mo., promoter 176
Hughes, David, Topeka: donor 91
Hughes, Dr. Rees H.: "Kansan of the Year" 229
Huguenot Society of Kansas: donor 86
Hull, Jacob: assistant conductor of Indians 160
Hull, Mrs. Wilma Bethel, Harlingen, Tex.: donor 88
Humbogen, Ellis co.: article on, noted, Humboldt: St. Peter's Lutheran church history, noted 361, 361
Humboldt *Union*: article in, noted 361
Humphrey, Arthur S., Junction City 102
Humphrey, Mrs. Henry A., Wichita 93
Hunnius, Ado: sketch of Pawnee Rock, reproduced facing 161
Hunt, Ruth E., Topeka: article by, noted 222
Hunter, Capt. David 41
Hunter, James M., Westport, Mo. 41, 178, 456
Hunter, R. W., White City 110
Hunter, William H.: U. S. comm'r 186
Hunters of the Prairie, The: by John T. Irving, Jr., notes on 80
Huston, Mrs. Cloud, Cowley co. 109
Hutawa's map of "Platte country," 1842: segment, reproduced facing 160
Hutchins, N. W. 55
Hutchinson Chamber of Commerce: donor 88
Hutchinson *News*: articles in, noted 224
"Hutchinson's Automobile Fire Department": photograph (color), facing 112
Huxman, Walter A., Topeka: donor 93
Hyde, George E.: book, *Indians of the Woodlands*, noted 112
- I
- Iam, —, Green 277
Ihinger, Mary Neiswanger: article by, noted 222
Immigration to Kansas: Santa Fe railroad promotion of 5
—*see, also*, Negro migration to Kansas; Swedes in Kansas
Independence: historical articles, noted, —Zion Lutheran church history, noted, Independence, Mo. 44, 66, 73, 171, 175, 178, 183, 329-331, 344-346, 348, 351, 352, 354, 355, 357, 442, 448, 455, 461, 465, 480, 485
—distances to Platte, via "Sublette's Trace" 65
—outfitting point 148, 154, 434
—table of distances on Oregon trail to Platte 465
Independence (Mo.) *Chronicle*: founded, 1840, note on 325
Independence *Daily Reporter*: progress edition, 1963, noted 489
Independence Landing, Mo. 148
—ferry at, noted 430
Independence *Reporter*: article in, noted 104
Independence Rock 437
Independent Historical Societies: by W. M. Whitehill, note on 111
Indian agencies and subagencies: changes in St. Louis superintendency, 1837 62
Indian creek, Johnson co. 461
Indian department employees: 1836-1843, listed 59, 81, 163, 164, 188, 189, 340, 358, 359, 451, 485, 486
Indian-French families: at Kaw's mouth 54, 340, 429
Indian raid of 1878: articles on, noted 107, 220
Indian traders of "Kansas": 1836-1843 54, 143, 145, 152, 159, 163, 176-178, 329, 343, 349, 357, 358, 432, 433, 445, 474, 475, 484
—*see, also*, American Fur Company
Indian Traders of Missouri: 1836-1841 55, 146, 183, 351, 358
Indian trading licenses: issued by Sup't Mitchell 474, 475
Indians: grand council, 1843, in "Oklahoma" 470
—in Kansas, in 1836, data on 44
—on the frontiers, 1836, note on 43
—removal from Ohio, 1832 122-136
—vaccinations of "Kansas" tribes, noted 153, 331
—visited by Lang & Taylor, 1842 449
Indians of the Woodlands: by G. E. Hyde, note on 112
Ingalls, James J. 259
Iola *Register*: article in, noted 225
Iowa: organized as territory 153
Iowa Agency, Mo. 77, 80
"Ioway and Sac Mission Press": books issued from, noted 456
Iowa Indians 62, 475
—at 1843 grand council 470
—"census," 1837 67
—depredations, 1840, noted 325
—farms, houses, etc., 1839, for 187
—Father De Smet at village of 152
—featured in *Heritage of Kansas* issue, —Great Nemaha Subagency on lands of 431
—houses for 10 chiefs built 445
—J. C. McIntosh: trader with 432
—Joseph Robidoux, Sr. trader with 357, 358
—leading chiefs, 1838, note on 159
—mill for, 1839 187

- Iowa Indians: on Pottawatomies' reserve
in Iowa 335, 338, 445
—on S. Omega 458, 459
—reserve, surveyed 1838 155
—situation, 1840, of 337, 338
—1842 445
—to "Kansas," 1837 67
—traders with, 1839, noted 176
—treaty, 1836, notes on 55, 56
—1838, note on 159
- Iowa language books: printed at
Presbyterian Mission 456
Iowa Point, Doniphan co. 431
Iowa, Sac & Fox Presbyterian Mission:
births at 155, 325
—Bradleys and Mrs. Hardy to, 1838 157
—brief history 77, 78
—printing at, 1837-1848, notes on 456
—removed to "Kansas," 1837 77, 78
—state of, 1840 337
—Wm. Hamilton and wife to 80
I-o-way (Pottawatomie chief), 160
. 165, 337
- Iron Shell (Sioux chief) 473
Iroquois Indians 54
Irsik, Mrs. R. C.: article by, noted 226
Irvin, Eliza H. (Mrs. S. M.) 77, 80
Irvin, Elliott Loury (son of S. M.) 155
Irvin, Elliott Samuel (son of Elliott L.) 156
Irvin, Francis: farmer for Iowas, 445, 451
Irvin, Rev. Samuel M. (son of Francis)
. 80, 155, 156, 337, 338
—article on, noted 220
—coauthor Iowa language books 456
—interpreter 451, 485
—to "Kansas," 1837 77
Irving, John Treat, Jr.: notes on his
The Hunters of the Prairie 80
Isely, Bliss: book on George Washington
by, noted 112
- J
- Jabbok Faith Missionary Home and
Orphanage, Thomas, Okla.:
history 242-248
Jackson, —: blacksmith 42, 59
Jackson, Pres. Andrew 126
Jackson, Andrew (part Pottawatomie), 337
Jackson, Congreve: subagent 164, 166
. 189, 340, 358
Jackson, Maude, Lyon co. 366
Jackson county, Mo. 44
—in 1830's, notes on 66
—residents, in 1841 party to California 346, 347
Jackson County Clipper, Holton: article
in, noted 488
Jackson county old settlers' dinner and
reunion: 1962, note on 108
Jacob (Osage Indian): blacksmith 359
. 451, 486
Jacobs, Mrs. Esther, Council Grove:
donor 91
Jacques, Katie, Gray co. 366
James, Dr. Edwin: subagent 62, 70
James, Jesse: article on, noted 363
James, Joseph: interpreter 42, 59
Jameson, Henry B., Abilene 98, 102, 364
Jameson, Rev. James M. 345, 348
Jamestown: St. Mary's Catholic church
history, noted 104
Jamestown Optimist: article in, noted, 104
Jones, Lorenzo, Hiawatha: banker 221
Janis (?), A. 333
Jarboe, Joseph 337
Jarboe, W. J., Kansas City, Mo. 429
Jarvis creek, Rice co.: named for
Mexican trader Chaves 455
Jarvis View, Rice co. 455
Jefferson, Ann Eliza: marriage of 58
Jefferson, Pres. Thomas 58
- Jefferson Barracks, Mo. 161
Jelinek, George, Ellsworth 93
. 100-102, 219
—donor 90
Jenista, Harry, Caldwell 111
Jewell County Historical Society: 1963
meeting, note on 367
Jinks, Fred, Topeka: donor 91
Jobe, Henry: a "Kansas," Mo., pro-
priator 162
John, James: to California, 1841 346
Johnson, A. J. "Skunk": Pratt county
pioneer 221
Johnson, Andrew Monroe (son of Rev.
Thomas) 352
Johnson, Charles, Jackson co., Mo. 72
Johnson, Daniel Thomas: thesis by,
noted 86
Johnson, Eliza Shallcross (dau. of Rev.
Thomas) 45
Johnson, Mrs. Jewell, Eureka: donor 91
Johnson, John, Riley co.: pioneer of
1855 2, 18
Johnson, Lillian Stone: article by, noted, 222
Johnson, Mary Cummins (dau. of Rev.
Thomas) 144
Johnson, Mary Frances (dau. of Rev.
Wm.): death of 334
Johnson, Mary Jane Chick (Mrs.
Wm.) 43, 80, 148, 170
Johnson, Overton: coauthor of travel
narrative 465
—to Oregon, 1843 465
Johnson, Pleasant: farmer for Sacs &
Foxes 359, 451, 485
Johnson, Sarah T. Davis (Mrs.
Thomas) 45, 144, 174, 352
Johnson, Rev. Thomas 41, 45, 58, 60
. 75, 144, 171, 174, 175, 182, 332
. 343, 352, 457, 458
— and family, to new mission site,
1839 184
—head Shawnee Mission 166
—"retirement" of, 1841 356
—to Kansa Mission 64, 345
—visit to Pottawatomies 157
Johnson, Rev. William 43, 80, 158, 159
. 168, 170, 182, 334, 339, 342, 348
—death, 1842, of 432
—quoted 341
Johnson, William Thomas (son of Rev.
Thomas) 174
Johnson: Methodist church history,
noted 104
Johnson county: articles on, noted 489
Johnson County Herald, Overland Park:
articles in, noted 225, 489
Johnson Pioneer: article in, noted 104
Johnston, Lt. Abraham R.: in "Kansas,"
1843 468, 469
Johnston, Harmon, Los Angeles, Calif.:
donor 88
Johnston, Robert: Indian trader 178
Jones, Bob, Topeka: donor 91
Jones, David: teacher at Shawnee
Friends Mission 331
Jones, Dorothy Vincent (Mrs. Robert):
note on 123
—"A Preface to the Settlement of Kan-
sas," article by 122-136
Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Elwood M.: re-
tirement, noted 82, 94
Jones, Mrs. H. W., Topeka: donor 91
Jones, Horace, Lyons 102
Jones, Mrs. Jesse M., Leavenworth:
donor 88, 89
Jones, John, Abilene: resident, 1888 321
Jones, John Tecumseh ("Tauy") 183
—interpreter 81, 164
—marriage, 1840, of 333
—note on facing 328
—portrait facing 328

- Jones, Lewis: blacksmith 42, 59
 Jones, Lucina, Emporia 366
 Jones, Mrs. Lula, Hodgeman co. 108
 Jones, Paul, Rice co. 229
 Jones, Roger, Johnson: donor 91
 Jordan, G. L., Topeka: article on,
 noted 222
 "Jornada" 345
 Joseph Marie (Osage Indian) 333
Journal of Southern History, The:
 Kansas articles in, noted 488
 Journeycake, Charles (Delaware
 Indian) 351
 Journeycake, Nannie May (dau. of
 Charles): marriage, noted 351
 Journot, Henry, Coffeyville 365
 Junction City: B. Rockwell & Co. store,
 burned, 1888 392
 —Bartell House, notes on 275, 377, 385
 390, 392, 397, 404, 405
 —comment on churches and societies,
 1888, of 385
 —Leslie and Susan Snow letters from,
 1887-1889 267-323, 372-428
 Junction City *Union*: articles in,
 noted 363, 489
 Jurney, Sadie, Kingman: donor 89, 91
 Justice, A.: a "Kansas," Mo., lot buyer, 182
- K
- Ka-he-gais-tanga (Osage chief) 164
 Kahnt, Keith: article by, noted 226
 Kambach, Mrs. Frank J., Topeka 365
 Kampschroeder, Mrs. Jean Norris,
 Garden City 102
 Kanaga, Clinton W., Shawnee Mission, 102
 Kannab, Peter: blacksmith 340
 Kanorado: article on, noted 364
 Kans, Auguste (Osage Indian) 333
 Kansa Agency: closing, noted 64
 —ruins, noted, 1843 460, 482
 Kansa half-breed reserves: notes
 on 328, 340
 Kansa Indians 62, 449
 —agricultural situation, 1842 456
 —and Osages, in fight with Pawnees,
 1843 463
 —at Council Grove, fall, 1842 447
 —attacks on Pawnees, 1838 158
 —barter with Fremont, 1842 438
 —chiefs, 1838, notes on 159
 —children sent to Methodist
 school 348, 458
 —farms made for, 1836 57
 —Fool Chief's village, noted 353
 —Hard Chief(?) village, described,
 1839 170
 —horses stolen by, 1838 148
 —illnesses of 182, 334
 —in 1836, notes on 43
 —massacre of Pawnees, 1840 339-341
 —mill for, 1843 456
 —north boundary surveyed, 1836 53
 —not at 1843 grand council 470
 —population, 1836 44
 —1839 182
 —R. W. Cummins' report, 1838, on 168
 —return from hunt, 1840 341
 —Rev. Henry Gregory's 1839 account
 of 168
 —situation, 1837, note on 64
 —1841 341
 —stone houses, Morris co., note on,
 1888 308
 —summer lodges, described 330
 —T. Talbot's comments on divisions of,
 —Tixier's 1840 account of 330
 —traders, 1839, with, listed 178
 —vaccinated, 1838 153, 181
 —village burned by Pawnees 438
- Kansa language book: printed by J. G.
 Pratt, 1838 162
 Kansa Methodist Mission 353
 —founding and brief history 43
 —illness of personnel, 1840 334
 —Methodist delegation at, 1842 437
 —1843 458
 —Rev. G. W. Love head of 448, 449
 —Rev. Lorenzo Waugh at 76
 —visitors, 1837, noted 64
 —work suspended, 1842 432
 Kansas (state): legislatures, 1866-
 1891, comment on 250-257
 —State University, Manhattan: centennial,
 noted 226
 —Teachers College of Emporia: anniversary
 publication *Qualities of Greatness*, noted 367, 368
 —articles on centennial, noted 225
 Kansas: chronology of events 1836-
 1843 41-81, 143-189, 324-359, 429-456
 —comment on 299
 —governors' inaugurals and receptions,
 article on, noted 224
 "Kansas, Crossing the": Alfred J.
 Miller's painting, reproduced, facing iv
 Kansas Assn. of Teachers of History
 and Social Science: 37th meeting,
 notes on 366
 "Kansas Before 1854: A Revised
 Annals": compiled by Louise
 Barry 41-81, 143-189
 324-359, 429-486
- Kansas Centennial Commission:
 donor 91-98
 Kansas City: article on, noted 488
 —city tourist park, 1920's, noted 139
 —"Exodusters" not wanted at 27
 —"L road," article on, noted 220
 —Seventh Street Methodist church history,
 noted 361
 Kansas City, Mo.: brief summary of
 town development, 1838-1846 161
 —ferry at, 1840's 430
 —Fremont at, 1843 467
 —French settlement residents, 1840
 (Father Point's list) 337
 Kansas City (Mo.) Cable Railway Co.:
 note on 274
 Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Drivers Tele-*
gram: file, 1884-1960, filmed 89
 Kansas City *Kansan*: article in, noted 361
 —progress edition, 1963, noted 226
 Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*: historical ar-
 ticles in, noted 220, 364
 Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*: historical
 articles in, noted 220, 364
 Kansas Civil War Centennial Commis-
 sion: commissioners, note on 367
 —note on 491
 Kansas Freedmen's Relief Assn. of To-
 peka 32
 Kansas Historic sites and markers: ar-
 ticle on, noted 225
 Kansas Historical Markers: additions in
 1962-63, notes on 83, 184, 492
 "Kansas Historical Notes" 108-112
 228-232, 365-368, 491-493
 "Kansas History as Published in the
 Press" 104-107, 220-227
 361-364, 488-490
- Kansas in Newspapers*: publication of,
 planned 83
Kansas Missions Tidning, Lindsborg 13
Kansas Monitor, Salina 13
 Kansas-Nebraska bill: R. R. Russel's
 article on, noted 488
 Kansas Pacific railway: lands, pur-
 chased for Swedish immigrants by 6
Kansas Post, Lindsborg 13
 Kansas Public Health Association 141

- Kansas river: American Fur Co. boats on 170
 —Delaware (Grinter) ferry, noted . . . 457
 —Fremont's route on south bank of, 1843 467
 —Wyandots' ferry of 1843 origin 484
 Kansas river crossing (at old Kansas Agency): American Fur Co. use of, 1837 64
 ——Alfred J. Miller's painting reproduced facing iv
 —used by Sir Wm. D. Stewart, 1843 . . . 460
 Kansas river crossing (Topeka area): American Fur Co. use of, 1838 147-149
 ——1839 169, 170
 —comment on 465
 —use, 1841, of 346, 353
 —1842, of 434, 438, 443
 —1843, of 460, 462, 465, 469
 — 477, 482
 Kansas river valley: in "Topeka" area, 1841, notes on 353
 Kansas Settler, Tecumseh: 1858 issue given Historical Society 92
 Kansas Staats Tidning, Lindsborg 13
 Kansas State Collegian, Manhattan: special edition, 1963, noted 226
 Kansas State Federation of Labor: donor 91
 Kansas State Historical Society: annual meeting, 1962, proceedings, 82—appropriations and budget requests 82, 83
 —archaeology report, 1961-62 84
 —archives division report, 1961-62, 84, 85 83
 —books published by, notes on 102
 —directors, roster of 365
 —88th meeting scheduled 98
 —executive committee report, 1962 . . . 94
 —First Capitol report, 1961-62 94
 —Funston Home report, 1961-62 83, 84
 —historical markers, notes on 184, 492
 —Kansas Historical Quarterly, The, notes on 83
 —Kaw Mission report, 1961-62 84
 —library, additions to book collection, 1961-62 190-216
 —report, 1961-62 85-87
 —manuscript division report, 1961-62 87-89
 —Memorial building, repair of 83
 —microfilm division report, 1961-62 . . . 89
 —Mirror, note on 83
 —motion picture showings, 1962 83
 —museum report, 1961-62 89-92
 —newspaper and census division report, 1961-62 92
 —nominating committee reports, 1961-62 98, 100
 —photographs and maps report, 1961-62 92, 93
 —presidential address, 1962 24
 —publications and special projects report, 1961-62 83
 —research subjects, 1961-62 93
 —secretary's report, 1961-62 82-95
 —Shawnee Mission report, 1961-62 95
 —treasurer's report, 1961-62 96, 97
 Kansas State University—A Pictorial History, 1863-1963: compiled by C. C. Howes, noted 231
 Kansas Tax Commission: donor 91
 Kansas Teacher, Topeka: article in, noted 363
 Kapes-co-wet (Pottawatomie Indian), 339
 Karr, Robert O., Girard 109, 492
 Kaskaskia Indians. See Peoria & Kaskaskia Indians
 Kaufman, Stanley, Topeka: donor 91
 Kaul, Robert H., Wamego 102
 Kavanaugh, W. W., Westport, Mo., 41, 57
 Kearny, George (son of S. W.) 59
 Kearny, Louisa (dau. of S. W.) 342
 Kearny, Mary (dau. of S. W.) 175
 Kearny, Mary Radford (Mrs. S. W.) 59
 175, 342
 Kearny, 2d Lt. Philip: to Fort Leavenworth, 1837 68
 Kearny, Stephen Watts 59, 70, 162, 175, 342
 —biographical note facing 49
 —colocater of military road 73
 —commandant at Fort Leavenworth 55
 56, 68, 70, 78, 161, 187
 —head of Third Military Dept. 441
 —host to Wm. D. Stewart 56
 —march, to Council Bluffs, Iowa, 1840 335, 336
 —to the Council Bluffs (Neb.), 1839 180
 —to Fort Gibson, 1839 185
 —1842 433
 —portrait facing 49
 —promoted colonel, 1836 53
 —to Fort Leavenworth, 1836 54
 Keelboat: on Kansas river, 1838 149
 "Keetz-ash" Indians 47
 Keim, Peter, Sabetha 241
 Keiser, J. W.: master S. Emilie 343
 Keiser, John D.: steambot captain 166
 Keith, Charlotte Keith: article by, noted 105
 Keller, Mrs. Erwin, Topeka 365
 —donor 89, 91
 Kelly, —: Santa Fe trader, 1839 171, 172
 Kelly, —: trapper, 1840 173
 Kelsey, Andrew: to California, 1841, 347
 Kelsey, Benjamin: and family, to California, 1841 347
 Kelsey, Melvin, Topeka: donor 91
 Kelsey, Nancy (Mrs. Benjamin): to West, 1841 346
 Kelsey family: to West, 1841 347
 Kemper, Bishop Jackson: in "Kansas," 78
 Ken-kosh (Pottawatomie Indian) 339
 Kennedy, Asst. Surg. Alfred W. 341
 Kennedy, Mrs. Nellie: donor 86
 Kennekuk (Kickapoo Prophet) 51
 176, 457
 Kennerly, W. Clark: with Sir Wm. D. Stewart's party, 1843 460, 482
 Kenrick, Rt. Rev. Peter R.: at "Kaw's mouth" 440
 —in "Kansas" 439
 Ker, Rev. Leander: chaplain at Fort Leavenworth 446
 Kerr, Rev. Joseph 41
 Kerrens, Mrs. Jean, Coffeyville: donor, 91
 Ketchum, Captain (Delaware chief) 57, 332, 470
 Ketchum, Rev. Isaac S.: assistant Indian agent 339
 Kickapoo Catholic Mission 144, 184
 —arrivals, 1838, note on 151
 —founding and brief history 51, 52
 —note on 457
 —personnel changes, 1838 151
 —shown on 1842 map facing 160
 Kickapoo Indians 62, 160, 449
 —at 1843 grand council 470
 —comment, 1842, on 445
 —council at Fort Leavenworth 52
 —livestock for, 1843, noted 476
 —location, shown on Hutawa's map, 1842 facing 160
 —notes on, 1836, 1839 51, 176
 —population, 1836 44
 —Pottawatomies on lands of 63, 71, 358
 —trades with, noted 176, 178
 358, 445
 —trading post for 71

- Kickapoo Indians: vaccinated, 1839 . . . 181
 —visited by Father De Smet . . . 151, 152
 Kickapoo Island: shown on 1842
 map . . . facing 160
 Kickapoo Landing . . . 51
 Kickapoo Methodist Mission . . . 58, 60, 457
 —births at . . . 42, 144, 183
 —shown on 1842 map . . . facing 160
 —Whitman-Spalding party at . . . 47, 48
 Kickapoo Prophet. *See* Kennekuk
 "Kickapoo-town" . . . 54, 55, 59
 Kidder, Lt. Lyman S.: killed, 1867, 106
 Kidder Massacre: news dispatches on,
 noted . . . 106
 Kiehl, Mr. and Mrs. —, Junction
 City . . . 386, 388, 397, 398, 401, 403
 405, 407, 415, 417, 422, 423, 428
 Kiewit, Fred: article by, noted . . . 220
 Kihegawatinga. *See* Fool Chief (Kansa
 chief)
 Kiisel, Henry L., of Sweden . . . 2
 Kilbuck, John (Munsee Indian) . . . 79
 King, E. V., Topeka: donor . . . 91
 King, Jesse: blacksmith . . . 189
 King, Mathew: blacksmith . . . 163
 Kingman, Marguerite: article by, noted, 220
 Kingsbury, Lt. G. P. . . . 41
 Kinnear, Rev. David: at Shawnee
 Mission . . . 184, 444
 —at Kansa Mission . . . 437
 —teacher for Kickapoos . . . 81, 163, 188
 Kinsler, Chester, Stevens co. . . . 366
 Kinsley: telephone service history,
 noted . . . 223
 Kinsley *Mercury*: article in, noted . . . 223
 Kinton, Mrs. Maxine L., Mansfield,
 Ohio . . . 217
 —donor . . . 89
 Kiowa Apache Indians: at Fort Gibson
 council, 1837 . . . 67
 Kiowa Indians: at Fort Gibson council,
 1837 . . . 67
 —Mildred P. Mayhall's book on, noted,
 —not at 1843 grand council . . . 470
 —P. L. Chouteau's 1836 report on . . . 47
 Kipp, James: American Fur Co. em-
 ployee . . . 167
 Kittle, Ruth, Jackson co. . . . 108
 Klenda, A. J., Marion co. . . . 108
 Kline, —: farmer at Shawnee Mis-
 sion . . . 332
 Kline, Charles . . . 181, 332
 Klipsch, —, Clay Center . . . 277
 Kloehr, J. B., Coffeyville . . . 365
 Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville . . . 100, 102
 Knoffloch, Elizabeth (Mrs. John) . . . 453
 Knoffloch, John . . . 453
 Knoffloch, Marie (dau. of John): mar-
 riage of . . . 453
 Knouft, Mrs. Henry, Holton: donor . . . 89
 Koch, Mrs. C. W., Southgate, Mich.:
 donor . . . 91, 93
 Koehne, Mrs. Grace, Coffeyville: donor, 86
 Konkapot, Robert (Stockbridge Indian), 188
 Kooztz, —: on Santa Fe trail,
 1839 . . . 181
 Koop, Waldo, Wichita: donor . . . 92
 Koopman, Mrs. M. A., Wichita . . . 230
 Kraybill, Ben . . . 246
 Krehbiel, John P., McPherson co. . . 111
 Kubin, Mrs. John, McPherson co. . . 111
 Kull, Ron, Topeka: article by, noted . . 224
 Kurcheval, Cholson: in charge of Pot-
 tawatomies' removal . . . 54
 Kutenai Indians . . . 54
- L
- La Barge, Joseph: pilot of S. Omega . . . 458
 Labette creek . . . 61, 330
 La Chapelle, Louis: killed, 1843 . . . 473
 La Chasse, Edouard: at Kaw's mouth, 337
 Lackstone, Miss —, Junction City . . 388
 La Cygne *Journal*: article in, noted . . . 221
 La Cygne *Weekly Journal*: incomplete
 file, 1870, noted . . . 92
 Ladd, Eliza Jane Blackford (Mrs.
 E. D.) . . . 116-119
 Ladd, Emma (child of E. D.) . . . 116-119
 Ladd, Erastus D.: biographical
 sketch . . . 114-116
 —letters in Marshall (Mich.) *States-*
 man, noted . . . 113-115
 —Quantrill's raid described in letter
 by . . . 116-121
 —to Kansas, 1854 . . . 114
 Ladd, Georgie (child of E. D.) . . . 116-119
 Ladd, John A.: to Kansas, 1854 . . . 114
 Ladd, Mary W. Tribou (Mrs. E. D.):
 death, noted . . . 116
 Ladd, Samuel, of Marshall, Mich. . . . 114
 Ladd, Winnie (child of E. D.) . . . 116-119
 Lady, Harvey C.: missionary . . . 248
 Lafèche, Joseph: trader, 1839 . . . 176
 Lafromboise, Joseph (Pottawatomie
 chief) . . . 335
 —marriage of his daughter, noted . . . 480
 Lagautherie (Lagoterie), Benjamin
 (son of Victor) . . . 54, 186
 —at Kaw's mouth . . . 337
 Lagautherie, Victor . . . 54
 La Harpe: article on, noted . . . 225
 Laidlaw, William: American Fur Co.
 employee . . . 167
 Lajeunesse, Basil: with Fremont, 1843,
 1843 . . . 485
 Lajeunesse, Francois: with Fremont,
 1843 . . . 485
 La Liberté, Pierre: at Kaw's mouth . . . 337
 Laman, Russell, Manhattan: novel
 Manifest Destiny by, noted . . . 368
 Lamar, Miabeau B. . . . 354
 La Motte, Capt. Joseph H. . . . 433, 434
 Lancaster, Columbia: in party going to
 Oregon, 1842 . . . 435
 Landon, Alf M., Topeka . . . 100, 102
 Lane, James H.: K. E. Bailes' book on,
 noted . . . 112
 Lane, Lt. John F.: Ohio Indians in
 charge of, 1832 . . . 125-135
 Lane, V. J., Wyandotte: editor . . . 28
 Lane, Franklin co.: settlement, 1838,
 at, or near . . . 143
 Lane County Historical Society: 1962
 meeting, note on . . . 109
 Lang, John D.: and S. Taylor, Jr., on
 "Kansas" tour . . . 449
 Lange, Adolph, family, Leavenworth:
 donor . . . 91
 Langham, Angus L. . . . 50, 53
 Langham, John J.: death on Santa Fe
 trail, noted . . . 151
 Langley, Ellsworth co.: comment on,
 1888 . . . 292
 Langsdorf, Edgar . . . 82, 95
 —donor . . . 91
 Lanning, Dr. —, Clay co. . . . 277
 Laramie's Fork (Laramie river),
 Wyo. . . . 149, 353, 354, 439, 443
 Larned: banking history, noted . . . 488
 Larpenteur, Charles . . . 145, 325, 342
 Larsen-Hansen family cemetery: arti-
 cles on, noted . . . 364
 Lass, William E.: book by, noted . . . 112
 La Suisse. *See* Swiss
 Las Vegas (N. M.) *Optic*: 1880-1884
 file, noted . . . 92
 Lathrop, Amy, Norton: donor . . . 89
 Latimer, Loren, Franklin co. . . . 109
 Laton, Rooks co. . . . 300
 Laurenson, —, Junction City: post-
 master . . . 386
 Lauterbach, August W., Colby . . . 102
 Lawrence, Dr. C. W. . . . 32
 Lawrence, Rev. Ernest, Wilmore . . . 110

- Lawrence: "Exodusters" to, 1879, 29- 33
 —founding, notes on 115
 —Quantrill raid, described by E. D. Ladd 121
 —100th anniversary observed, 491, 492
 —"sack of," 1856, noted 115, 116
 Lawrence Association of Kansas Territory 115
 Lawrence *Journal-World*: article in, noted 106
 "Lawrence Massacre, Erastus D. Ladd's Description of the": by Russell E. Bidlack 113-121
 Layman, Mrs. Augusta E., Topeka: donor 91, 98
 Leavel, Ormand, Jr., Leavenworth 110
 Leavenworth: decline of, 1870's 84
 —"Exodusters" at, 1879 33-35
 —First Baptist church history, noted 361
 Leavenworth Historical Society: 1962 meeting, note on 109, 110
 Leavenworth *Times*: articles in, noted 107, 361
 Lebanon, Smith co.: moved, 1887 288, 289
 Leckie, William H.: book by, noted 368
 Lee, Elizabeth: at Shawnee Mission 184
 Lee, Henry: with Fremont, 1843 485
 Lee, Rev. Jason 434, 445, 463
 —at Shawnee Mission, 1838 156
 Leedy, John W.: candidate for governor 14
 Legislatures of Kansas: 1866-1901, comment on 250-257
 Lehmborg, Mrs. George R., McPherson co. 111
 Leib, John: blacksmith 340
 Leigh, Mrs. Mary (Irvin) 156
 Leitch, George, Morris co.: article on, noted 105
 Lemons, John: blacksmith 340
 Lemons, Rebecca, Jackson co., Mo.: marriage of 158
 Lempnau, B. J., Topeka 230
 Leonard, Bill, Hutchinson: article by, noted 224
 Le Page du Pratz, Antoine S.: map, 1757, note on 59
 Leroux, Antoine 173
 Le Roy: Christian church history, noted 361
 Le Roy *Reporter*: article in, noted 361
 Leshner, Mrs. Ward, Fairbury, Neb.: donor 91
 Lessert, Adele (dau. of Clement): marriage of 340
 Lessert, Clement: at Kaw's mouth, 1840 337
 —interpreter 81, 163, 188, 340
 358, 451, 485
 —marriage renewed, 1836 54
 Lessert, Clement (son of Clement) 340
 Lessert, Julia Roy (Mrs. Clement) 54
 Letho (Shawnee chief) 57
 "Letter Edged in Black, The" (song): John W. Ripley's article on 371
 —sheet music title page reproduced 370
 —slides illustrating, reproduced facing 368, between 368, 369, and facing 369
 Le Vallier, Francis: interpreter 81
 Lewelling, Gov. Lorenzo D. 15
 Lewelyn, Royal, Broughton: donor 91
 Lewis, Erma W.: donor 95
 Lewis, Mrs. Joe, Chanute 230
 Lewis, Philip H., Topeka 99, 102
 Lewis, Roy, Home City: wire collection, noted 489
 Lewis, Seth, Marshall, Mich. 115
 Lewistown band of Shawnees. See Shawnee Indians
 Lexington, Mo. 66, 160
 L'Habitant, B. 336
 Liberty, Mo. 44, 45, 66
 Liberty, Mo.: traders of, 1841 351
 —Whitman-Spalding party at, 1836 44
 45, 47
 Liberty (Mo.) *Herald*: P. L. Edwards' "guidebook" published by 445
 Liberty Landing, Mo. 47
 Liebenthal Rush co.: historical article, noted 105
 Ligon, Mrs. A. N., Pittsburg 109, 492
 Lilleston, W. F., Wichita 100, 102
 Lincoln: article on settlement of, noted 363
 —Bethany Baptist church history, noted 361
 —Presbyterian church history, noted 361
 Lincoln county: "Topsy" school article, noted 224
 Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican*: articles in, noted 224, 361, 363
 Lind, Selma: article by, noted 225
 Linder, Ethel, Topeka: donor 92
 Lindgren, Mrs. Ida Nibelius: notes on letters by 8
 Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita, 95, 99, 102
 —address by, noted 99
 —essay on Lindsborg, noted 368
 —note on 1
 —plaque to 99
 —president, Historical Society 82
 —"The Swedish Immigrant and Life in Kansas," article by 1-24
 Lindsay, Francis: missionary 41
 Lindsborg: Bethany Lutheran church, notes on 11, 15, 16, 20, 21
 —E. K. Lindquist's essay on, noted 368
 —Messiah Lutheran church, note on 11
 Lindsborg *Localist* 15, 20-22
 Lindsborg *News* 7, 16
 Lindsborg *News-Record*: article in, noted 225
 Lindsborg *Posten* 12, 16
 —1898-1930 file, filmed 89
 Lingenfelsner, Angelus, Atchison 95, 102
 Linn, Sen. Lewis F., of Missouri 439
 Linn-Palmer *Record*: article in, noted 223
 Liquor. See Whisky
 Lisa, Manuel: R. E. Oglesby's book on, noted 368
 Little, Helen D., La Crosse 93
 Little Arkansas river 184, 468, 469
 —search for buried treasure on 59
 Little Blue river 65, 170, 350, 352
 353, 435, 439, 442, 463, 465, 469
 Little Cow creek 51
 Little Fox (Shawnee chief) 57
 "Little Neosho" river: note on 50
 Little Osage river 73, 74, 474
 "Little Verdigris" river: note on 50
 Little Vermillion creek 465
 Little White Bear (Kansa chief) 159
 Littlejohn, Philo B.: and wife, to Oregon, 1840 327
 Littleman, Jonas (Stockbridge Indian), 188
 Littleman, Rachel (Stockbridge Indian): marriage of 333
 Livingston, Sam, Ellsworth co. 219
 Lock, David 183
 Locke, Randolph & Co.: traders 444
 Logan, Mrs. D. E.: donor 91
 Logan, Herschel: article on, noted 363
 Logan, J. Glenn, Topeka 365
 Logan: articles on pioneer families of, noted 105
 Logan county: Swedish settlement in, noted 7
 Logan *Republican*: articles in, noted 104
 "Logatree." See Lagautherie
 Lohrding, Laura, Comanche 110
 Long, Anna B., Dickinson co.: marriage, noted 235
 Long, Richard M., Wichita 102
 Longshore, Mrs. Mary Bell 371

- Looney, Jesse: to Oregon, 1843 463
 Lord, Earl, Lyon co. 366
 Lose, Harry F., Topeka 100, 102
 Loudon, C. M. H., Westport, Mo. 41
 Loudon, W. T., Westport, Mo. 41
 Louison (Pottawatomie chief) 337
 Love, Rev. George W.: at Kansa Mission 448, 449, 458
 Love, Col. James W. 365
 Love, 2d Lt. John: on Santa Fe trail, 1843 466
 Lovejoy, Asa L.: at Bent's Fort, 1843, —to Oregon, 1842 434, 435
 Lovewell, Joseph Talpin: biographical sketch, noted 222
 Lowe, —, Phillipsburg 299
 Lowe, Mrs. Alvin, Council Grove 110
 Lower Cimarron spring: scene of Arapahoe-Pawnee battle 349
 Lowry, Mrs. Aden, Sedan: donor 91
 Lowther, Edwin B.: blacksmith 359, 451
 Lucas, Russell co.: note on, 1887, 279, 280
 Luders, Friedrich: with Sir Wm. D. Stewart's party, 1843 460, 461
 Luedke, Mrs. Dolores, Rawlins co. 230
 Lumpkin, Roy, Smith co. 110
 Luna, Antonio José 174
 Lundstorm, Clarence L. 363
 Lundstrom, John: and family, article on, noted 362, 363
 Lungler, Elizabeth Rode, Mayetta 488
 Lungler, Mary Etha (dau. of Elizabeth R.) 488
 Lupton, Lancaster P. 41, 154, 355
 —Fort Platte founder 334
 —on Santa Fe trail 178, 179, 476
 —to Rocky mountains, 1841 352, 353
 Lutheran churches. *See* Swedish Lutheran churches
 Lutzenlizes, Jacob 442
 Lybecker, Louis: quoted on Kansas 3
 Lykins, Abigail Ann Webster (Mrs. David) 451
 Lykins, Rev. David: marriage of 451
 Lykins, Delilah McCoy (Mrs. Johnston) 452
 —letter, 1840, by, noted 335
 Lykins, Dr. Johnston, 41, 72, 183, 338, 451
 —and wife, appointed AIMA missionaries 452
 —leave Shawnee Baptist Mission 450
 Lyman, Dr. John H.: to Santa Fe, 1840 328
 Lyon, Alice Van Petten: article by, noted 222
 Lyon county: historical articles, noted 106, 225
 Lyon County Historical Society: 1963 meeting, note on 366
 Lyons: salt mining history, noted 221
 Lyons *Daily News*: articles in, noted 221, 361
- M
- McAfee, Josiah B.: adjutant general 4
 McArthur, Mrs. Vernon E., Hutchinson, —donor 102, 89
 McCabe, Capt. Robert H. 78
 McCain, James A., Manhattan 102
 McCalister, Dr. and Mrs. —, Hastings, Neb. 380
 McCampbell, C. W., Manhattan: donor, McCarter, Mrs. Margaret Hill: article on, noted 222
 McCartney and Phelon trading post: article on, noted 362
 McCarty, Ed, Oneida: donor 91
 McCatharine, Miss —, Junction City: teacher 388
 McCloy, Mrs. J. Warner, Tucson, Ariz.: donor 91
 McClung, Rev. —, and family, Junction City 376, 388, 401, 408
 McClure, Capt. —, Junction City 422
 McClure, John: to Santa Fe, 1841 345, 350
 McCommick, —, Salina: resident, 1888 292
 McCoonse, Francis (Chippewa chief), 185
 McCormick, Asst. Surg. Charles 478
 McCormick, John: in McDaniel gang, 455
 McCoy, Alvin S.: review of Socolofsky's book on Capper by, noted 220
 McCoy, Eleanor (dau. of Isaac): marriage of 72
 McCoy, Rev. Isaac 41, 57, 63, 66, 72, 78, 79, 143, 156, 177, 183, 186, 328, 330, 338
 —AIMA officer 77, 448
 —*Annual Register*, 1837, notes on, 69, 70
 —at Smoky Hill-Republican junction, 1830 467
 —comm'r to treat with Indians 337, 338
 —ferry owner 430
 —guests, 1838, noted 148
 —guide for Indian delegation 155
 —*History of Baptist Missions*, note on, 328
 —Pottawatomie reserve laid out by 60
 —quoted 162
 —survey of Iowa and Sac & Fox line by 67
 —Wabausee's visit with, noted 358
 McCoy, John (brother of Wm.) 178
 McCoy, John Calvin (son of Isaac) 41, 143, 154, 155, 183
 —a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor 161, 162
 —business activities, 1836, note on 42
 —Cherokee survey by 56, 63
 —ferry owner 430
 —Indian provisions supplied by 177
 —Kansa north line surveyed by 53
 —"Kansas" (Mo.) platted by, 1838 161
 —marriage of 79
 —Osage's north line surveyed by 49, 50
 —Pottawatomie reserve surveyed by 150
 —quoted on S. *Ione* 452
 McCoy, Thomas, Marysville: article on, noted 105
 McCoy, Virginia Chick (Mrs. John C.), 79
 McCoy, William: trader 178, 440
 McDade, Genevieve Schuler, Topeka: donor 91
 McDaniel, David (brother of John) 454
 McDaniel, John: Mexican trader Chaves murdered by 454, 455, 468
 McDowell, Hamilton 183
 McDowell, John: return from West, 1842 444
 McDowell creek, Riley co. 467
 McEachron family, Topeka: article on, noted 222
 McElroy, Mrs. C. H., Merriam: donor, 91
 McElvain, John, of Ohio 75
 McElvain, Purdy: subagent 486
 McFarland, Helen M., Topeka 102
 —donor 89
 McGean, John B.: to West, 1843, 460, 461
 McGee, Allen 183
 McGee, Fry P.: a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor 161, 162
 McGee, James H. 183
 —ferry operator 430
 McGee, Milton: a "Kansas," Mo., lot buyer 162
 —note on 484
 —to California, 1843 469
 —whisky trade of, noted 484
 McGee family, Jackson co., Mo. 484
 McGiffert, Robert D., Topeka 141
 McGrath, Mrs. Edith, Barber co. 367
 McGraw, W. M. F., Marshall co. 105
 MacGregor, Mrs. R. 367
 McGrew, Mrs. William E., Kansas City, 102

- McIntosh, John C.: trader with Iowas, etc. 432
- McIntosh, Roly (Creek chief) 68
- McKay, Alexander (son of Thomas) 434
- McKay, John (son of Thomas) 434
- McKay, Thomas, of Hudson's Bay Co. 48, 434
- McKay, William (son of Thomas) 435
- McKenney, R. D.: blacksmith 42, 59
- McLeod, John, of Hudson's Bay Co. 48
- McMains, Virgil, Decatur co. 366
- McMaster, Mrs. —, Mankato: resident, 1883 394
- McNason, Robert, Topeka: donor 91
- McNeff, Lewis (Chippewa Indian), 63, 494
- McNight, [William S.?]: trader 344
- Macomb, Maj. Gen. Alexander 169
- Macomb, Surg. Edward 180
- McPherson, Mrs. James: death, noted, 129
- McPherson: city tourist park, 1920's, note on 139
- McPherson county: stone fort history, noted 363
- Swedish settlements, noted 14
- McPherson county district court: donor, 85
- McPherson County Historical Society: organization of, 1962, note on 111
- McPherson County News, McPherson: articles in, noted 104, 362
- McPherson Daily Sentinel: articles in, noted 106, 363, 489
- McQueen, Glen, Stevens co. 366
- McVicar, Dr. Peter: biographical sketch, noted 222
- Madison creek, Geary co.: mill history, noted 363
- Magill, —: at Kaw's mouth, 1840, 337
- Magill, Hattie, Marysville 104
- Magoffin, James W.: Santa Fe trader 348, 351
- Mahan, John H., Abilene 311, 314
320, 321, 418, 421
- Mahaska (Iowa chief) 152, 159
- see, also, White Cloud, Frank
- Maher, Ann, Barber co. 367
- Mail route: memorial for, 1836 41
- Maisons Cailles (Osage town) 329
- Majakita: name for White Hair, III 329, 441
- Majors, Alexander 154
- Malin, James C., Lawrence 100, 102
- "At What Age Did Men Become Reformers," article by 250-266
- Malm, G. N., Chicago 12
- Malone, James, Gem 102
- Man-chap-che-mani (Osage chief) 329
- Manchester, Dickinson co. 292, 293
310, 319
- Mandan Indians 62
- smallpox among 66
- Manhattan: city tourist park at, 1928, 139
- Manhattan Mercury: special edition, 1963, noted 226
- Mankato: L. Snow's letter, 1888, from 372, 373
- Mann, Dr. Clair V., Rolla, Mo.: donor 86
- Mannen, Howard, Miami co. 109
- Manon, Calvin: article by, noted 220
- Manrinhabotso (Osage town) 329
- Mansfield, Chester, Sumner co. 229
- Manuel, Harley, Jackson co. 108
- Marais des Cygnes massacre: noted 177
- Marais des Cygnes river 62, 63, 71
73, 158, 185, 349, 474
- article on name origin, noted 221
- Chippewa Indians on, 1839 185
- "falls of the" 433
- Ottawa Baptist Mission on 68
- Pottawatomie immigrants to 71, 72
336, 338
- Marais des Cygnes river: posts 474, 475
- see, also, Osage river; Trading Post, Linn co.
- Marais des Cygnes valley 155
- Maranville, Lea, Ness City 102
- Mariadahl, Riley co.: note on 18
- Marion County Historical Society: 1962 meeting, note on 108
- Mark, Leighton, Topeka: donor 91
- Markley, J. E. 363
- Marks, —, Council Grove: resident, 1888 308
- Marks family, Salem 399
- Marmaton river, Bourbon co. 73, 74, 356
- site chosen for Fort Scott on 432
- Marney, Hicks &: Santa Fe traders 180
- Marquette Tribune: article in, noted, 489
- Marriages in "Kansas": 1836-1843 41
58, 76, 158, 160, 174, 175, 184, 324
333, 336, 340, 343, 451, 453
- Marshall, —, Junction City: lawyer, 1880's 385, 395, 399
- Marshall, Anns (half-Delaware): marriage of 41
- Marshall, Helen V., Colorado Springs, Colo.: donor 89
- Marshall, William: Indian trader 41
- Marshall county: historical articles, noted 104, 105, 223
- Marshall County News, Marysville: articles in, noted 488
- Marshall (Mich.) Statesman: E. D. Ladd's description of Quantrill raid on Lawrence in 113
- Martin, —: Santa Fe trader 344
- Martin, Arlo, Kansas City, Mo.: donor, 91
- Martin, Mrs. Charles I., Topeka: donor 91
- Martin, John A. 401
- letters (on film), in Historical Society 88
- Martin, Julius: to California, 1843 469
- Martin, Walter, Douglass 108, 491
- Martin, William J.: to California, 1843 463, 470
- Marysville: historical articles, noted 104, 105, 223
- Marysville Advocate: articles in, noted 104, 105, 223, 361, 488, 489
- Mason, 2d Lt. George T. 466
- Mason, Lt. Col. Richard B. 53, 68, 459
- Mason, William: in McDaniel gang, 1843 454, 455
- Masterson brothers 88
- Masullo, June: article by, noted 488
- Mathevon, Mother Lucille: to Sugar Creek Mission 350
- Mathews, John: blacksmith for Osages 359, 451, 486
- Mathews, Virginia Lee, Goodland: articles by, noted 364
- Matson, Simon E., St. Francis: column by, noted 490
- Matthews, Cecil, Edwards co. 365
- Matthews, William H., Pittsburg: address by, noted 109
- Matthieu, F. X.: trapper 435
- Mattingly, William 72
- Mattison, Ray H.: speech by, noted 491
- Maumee, Ohio 75
- Maupin, Mrs. Vern W., Hutchinson 100
229, 491
- Mauzey, Joseph H., Topeka: donor 91
- Maxwell, Lucien: with Fremont in 1842, 1843 438, 439, 467
- Mayetta: article on, noted 488
- Mayhall, Mildred P.: book *The Kiowas* by, noted 112
- Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander, Wichita 100, 102
- Mazzella, Andrew: at Kickapoo Mission 51

- Mazzella, Andrews: to Council Bluffs, 151
 —to Sugar Creek Mission 352
 Mead, James, Wichita 59
 Means, Hugh, Lawrence 102
 Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg 102
 —retirement, noted 82, 83
 Me-chu-shing-a (Little White Bear) . . 159
 Meek, Stephen H. L.: overland to
 Oregon, 1842 434
 Meeker, Eleanor Richardson (Mrs.
 Jotham) 181
 Meeker, Emeline (dau. of Jotham) . . . 181
 Meeker, Rev. Jotham 41, 72, 77, 160
 181, 184, 324, 333, 347, 349
 —quoted 46, 75, 143, 145
 —to Ottawa reserve, 1837 66, 68
 Meeker, Maria (dau. of Jotham) 86
 "Meeker press" 70
 —see, also, Shawnee Baptist Mission
 press
 Memetekosikwe (Pottawatomie
 woman): marriage, noted 152
 Menard, Cyprian: with Sir Wm. D.
 Stewart's party 460, 482
 Menard, Jean Baptiste 480
 Mangarini, Rev. Gregory: to West,
 1841 346
 Menninger, Mrs. Grace, Topeka 365
 —donor 91
 —retirement, noted 82, 85
 Menninger, Dr. Karl, Topeka 100, 102
 Menominee (Pottawatomie chief) 160
 Mental hospital: article on Kansas' first,
 noted 220
 Mercer, Cynthia Burr (Mrs. Reuben):
 death of 335
 Mercer, Reuben: in "Kansas," 1840 . . 335
 Merk, Frederick: book by, noted 231
 Merriam, Everett Brooks: biographical
 sketch, noted 222
 Merriam, Johnson co. 46
 Merrill, Rev. Moses 335
 —death of 324, 344
 Messervy, William S.: trader 326, 344
 Metcalf and Richard: traders, 1840 . . . 334
 Methodist churches. See Swedish
 Methodist churches
 Methodist ministers: tours in "Kansas"
 by 68, 345, 457, 458
 Methodist missions and missionaries:
 notes on 42, 43, 45, 58, 60, 64, 68
 75, 76, 144, 157, 158, 162, 168, 171
 172, 174, 175, 183, 184, 187, 332, 334
 335, 343, 345, 348, 352, 356, 430-433
 437, 441, 443, 444, 448, 449, 453, 454
 457, 458, 474, 477, 484
 —see, also, Delaware Methodist Mis-
 sion, Kansa Methodist Mission, Kick-
 apoo Methodist Mission, Peoria Meth-
 odist Mission, Pottawatomie Meth-
 odist Mission, Shawnee Methodist
 Mission
 Mette, Jacques: interpreter 56
 Metz, L. V., Admire: donor 91
 Mexican traders: in Pittsburg, Pa. . . . 435
 —on Santa Fe trail 435, 436, 454, 461
 471, 478, 479
 Meyer, J. A., Riley co.: article by,
 noted 489
 Meyer, Marvin, Decatur co. 366
 Meyer, Ruth: articles by, noted 225, 363
 Miami county: Sons and Daughters of
 Pioneers of Stanton and Spring Ridge
 townships: 1962 meeting, note on, 109
 Miami Republican, Paola: article in,
 noted 489
 Michel. See, also, St. Michel
 Michel, Francis 357
 Michel, John 336
 Michel, Pelagie (dau. of Francis) 357
 Mickels, La Reine (Tayrien) 430
 Micksch, Rev. J. Christopher 79, 457
 Miles, George: at Kickapoo Mission . . 51
 —to Sugar Creek Mission 325
 Miles, William L. 336
 Milford: Madison creek mill history,
 noted 363
 —Mrs. Susan Snow's description of,
 1889 413
 Military Conquest of the Southern
 Plains, The: by W. H. Leckie, noted, 368
 Military escorts for Santa Fe traders:
 1839 168
 —1843 466, 471, 472, 478, 479
 Military expeditions: 1837-1843 73, 180
 185, 324, 325, 335, 341, 432
 433, 437, 468, 469, 494
 —see, also, under Fremont, Lt. John C.
 Military road, Western 53, 57
 —see, also, Fort Leavenworth-Fort
 Gibson military road
 Mill (steam): at Shawnee Mission,
 1843 484
 Mill creek, Wabaunsee: called "Wa-
 nun-ja-hu" 345
 —Kansa town on, 1841 168
 —note on other names for 467
 Millbrook, Mrs. Raymond, Detroit,
 Mich.: donor 87
 Miller, A. R., Ottawa co. 109
 Miller, Alfred Jacob 330
 —his "Crossing the Kansas," facing iv
 —"Kansas" paintings of, noted 64, 65
 —to Rocky mountains, 1837 64
 Miller, Alfreda, Edwards co. 365
 Miller, Daniel 187
 —Indian agent 473
 Miller, David, Topeka: donor 93
 Miller, Nyle H.: report, 1962, of 82-95
 Miller, Mrs. Nyle H., Topeka: donor . . . 91
 Miller, Mrs. Pearl 110
 Miller, Mrs. Reginald 110
 Miller, W. B.: master, S. Euphrasia . . 325
 —S. Oceana 343
 Milliken, Harold, Topeka: donor 92
 Miltonvale: hotel, 1888, comment on, 290
 —prairie fire at, 1888 314, 315
 Miltonvale Record: article in, noted . . 361
 Mine creek, Linn co. 73
 Minersville, Cloud co.: history, noted, 231
 Minnetaree Indians: smallpox among . . 66
 Mirage 297
 Misch, Dale, Coffeyville 365
 Mission creek, Shawnee co. 345, 449
 —Kansa Mission on 43
 Missouri: "Platte Purchase" added
 to 52, 61
 —Wetmore's Gazetteer of, 1837, notes
 on 66
 "Missouri, The 'Exodusters' on the":
 article by Glen Schwendemann, 25-
 Missouri Indians 62, 174
 —Keamy's council, 1839, with 180
 —situation, 1841 344
 —treaty, 1836, noted 57
 Missouri river: American Fur Co. boats
 on, 1842 442
 —at flood stage, 1843 458
 —Ellis ferry facing 160, 166
 —ferry, at Fort Leavenworth, noted . . 447
 —at "Kansas," Mo. 430
 —frozen till April, in 1843 452
 —Hague ferry, 1839 170
 —history of upper river steam boating,
 noted 112
 —Indian agencies and subagencies on,
 1837 62
 —Iowa and Sac & Fox remove to right
 bank of, 1837 67
 —Robidoux ferry, 1839 170
 —stage of, 1839, noted 165
 —steamboats on, 1836-1839 44, 45
 47, 49, 55, 62, 64-66, 68, 70-73, 75
 78, 79, 145, 146, 161, 165-167, 178

- Missouri river: steamboats on,
1840-1843 . . . 325, 330, 342, 343, 433
440, 441, 448, 452, 455, 458
459, 473, 481-485
—table of distances, 1837, notes on . . . 66
Missouri River Packet Company, St. Louis . . . 27
Mitchell. *See, also*, Michel, St. Michel, St. Michelle
Mitchell, —, Junction City: Y. M. C. A. secretary . . . 386
Mitchell, David D.: sup't of Indian affairs, St. Louis . . . 355, 357, 446, 454, 474, 478
Mitchell, John: assistant museum director . . . 90
Mitchell, R. B.: Indian houses built by, 187
Mitchell, William H.: farmer for Kansas . . . 437, 451, 485
Mitchell County Historical Society: 1963 meeting, note on . . . 229
Moats, Mrs. Orin L., Wyandotte co. . . 229
Moberley, F. H., Comanche co. . . 110
Moffet, A. H., Pawnee co.: biographical sketch, noted . . . 488
Moffitt, Fred, Marion co. . . 108
Mohler, Jacob Christian, Topeka: article on, noted . . . 222
Mohler, Martin, Topeka: article on, noted . . . 222
"Mo-hos-ca" (White Cloud) . . . 56
—*see, also*, White Cloud, Frank (Iowa chief)
Mongeon, Joseph (son of Thomas) . . . 336
Mongeon, Thomas (half-Osage), 333, 336
Mongrain, Baptiste: interpreter . . . 42, 59, 81, 164, 329
Mongrain, Charles: interpreter . . . 340, 359, 451, 486
Mongrain, Sophie (part Osage) . . . 329
Monroe, Rev. Andrew: visits to "Kansas," by . . . 68, 437
Montezuma *Press*: articles in, noted . . . 227
Montezuma State Bank: historical sketch, noted . . . 227
Montgomery, John D., Junction City . . . 102
Moody, Dorothy B.: article by, noted, 225
Moody, Thomas Cross, Johnson co.: article on, noted . . . 220, 225
Moore, Capt. Benjamin D. . . . 41
—at Fort Scott, 1842 . . . 432, 437
—on Santa Fe trail, 1843 . . . 466, 471
Moore, Clinton, Topeka: donor . . . 91
Moore, Mrs. Edward, Reno co. . . 229
Moore, J. P., St. Louis . . . 161
Moore, Joseph: creek in Platte co., Mo., named for . . . *facing* 160
—site of Weston, Mo., chosen by . . . 176
Moore, L. M.: donor . . . 91
Moore, Nina, estate, Topeka: donor . . . 91
Moore, Preston: blacksmith . . . 42, 59
Moore, Russell, Wichita . . . 100, 102
Moore, Asst. Surg. S. Preston . . . 41
Moore, William: contract, 1842, noted, 442
Moravian mission. *See* Munsee Moravian Mission
Moreland, D.: blacksmith . . . 340, 359, 486
Morgan, Alexander G.: at Fort Leavenworth . . . 47, 146
Morgan, Dale L., of Bancroft Library . . . 83
Morgan, Hiram W.: blacksmith, 164, 188
Morgan, Kate, Stevens co. . . 366
Mormon war, 1857-1858: R. W. Richmond's article on, noted . . . 227
Morrill, Edmund Needham: banker . . . 221
—candidate for governor . . . 14
Morrill & James Bank, Hiawatha: article on, noted . . . 221
Morris county: four Mile township history, noted . . . 362
—Highland township history, noted . . . 224
Morris county: Lower Big John school dist. history, noted . . . 223
—Ohio township schools article, noted, 105
—Rolling Prairie township history, noted . . . 362
Morris County Historical Society: articles by committee members, noted, 105
—1962 meeting, note on . . . 110
—work of, noted . . . 223
Morse, Samuel . . . 114
Morton, M. L., Chanute . . . 230
Morton, Nathaniel: McDaniel gang . . . 455
Moser, Silas: blacksmith . . . 359
Mosher, Orville W.: column by, noted . . . 106, 225, 362
Mosquito creek, Iowa . . . 335
Motorists. *See* Tourist camps
Motte, Asst. Surg. Jacob R. . . . 432
Moulden, Mrs. Alice, Jackson co. . . 108
Moundridge: pictorial history, note on, 231
Mount Muncie cemetery, Leavenworth co. . . 79
Mount St. Scholastica College, Atchison: *Daily Globe* articles on, noted, 221
Mount Sunflower: highest point in Kansas . . . 84
Mount Vernon, Va. . . . 270
Mountain-Plains Museum Conference, 1962: note on . . . 90
Muck-e-moote (Pottawatomie chief) . . . 339
Muck-kose (Pottawatomie chief) . . . 60
Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita . . . 102
Mulkey, Wesley . . . 183
Mullen, Frances, Ellsworth . . . 367
Muncie, Wyandotte co. . . . 79, 188
Munday, Isaac: blacksmith . . . 451, 485
Munger, Asahel: to Oregon, 1839, 169, 170
Munger, Eliza (Mrs. Asahel): to Oregon . . . 169, 170
"Municipal Campgrounds of Kansas, The": article by Clinton Warne . . . 137-142
Munsee Indians: confederation with Chippewas, noted . . . 185
—to "Kansas," 1837, 1839 . . . 79, 188
Munsee Moravian Mission: founding and brief history . . . 79
—mentioned . . . 433, 449, 457, 228
Munson, Dave . . . 254
Murdock, Marshall Marcellus . . . 223
Muscotah: Congregational church history, noted . . . 39
—"Exodusters" to, 1879 . . . 223
—Methodist church history, noted, 223
Museum Council of Mid-America, 1962: note on . . . 90
Musick, Edward E., Osage City: donor . . . 91
Musick, Mrs. Edward E.: donor . . . 86
Myers, Mrs. George, Fredonia . . . 230
- N
- Nacheninga (No Heart) . . . 159
—*see, also*, No Heart (Iowa chief)
Nadeau, Michael: blacksmith . . . 451
Nah-co-min (Delaware chief) . . . 57, 74
"Nam-pa-war-rah" (White Plume) . . . 159
—*see, also*, White Plume (Kansas chief)
Naniompa (Osage town) . . . 329
Nas-waw-kee (Pottawatomie chief): daughters of, noted . . . 144
Nation, Carry: Carleton Beals' book on, noted . . . 111
National Parks Magazine, Washington, D. C.: article in, noted . . . 220
National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Kansas: donor . . . 86
Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas: 1963 meetings, note on . . . 229
"Nau-che-ning" (No Heart) . . . 56
—*see, also*, No Heart (Iowa chief)

- Nautilus Club, Topeka: article on, noted 222
- Negro migration to Kansas: "Exodusters" of 1879, article by Glen Schwendemann 25- 40
- Neifert, Vera: article by, noted 488
- Neiswanger, David, Topeka 365
- Neiswanger, Don M.: article by, noted 222
- Neiswanger, Laura: article by, noted 222
- Neiswanger, Lillian Hughes, Urbana, Ill.: donor 89
- Neiswanger family, Topeka: article on, noted 222
- Nelson, Mrs. John, of Smoky Hill valley: death, 1868, noted 9
- Nelson, John Young: reminiscences, published 493
- Nelson, Mrs. Winifred M., Jackson co., Nemaha river. See Big Nemaha river
- Neodesha: J. W. Allen's history, noted, —motion picture theaters history, noted 362
- Neodesha *Daily Sun*: articles in, noted 362
- Neodesha *Register*: article in, noted 107
- Neosho river 50, 62, 63, 329, 475, 479
- Neosho River Subagency 62, 167
- "Nepeste" river: Spanish name for the Arkansas 184
- Nesmith, James W.: to Oregon, 1843, 462
- Nesoquot (Sac & Fox chief) 338
- Netawaka: "Exodusters" to, 1879 89
- Neufeld, Nick, McPherson co. 111
- Nevada, Hattie: composer "The Letter Edged in Black" 369, 370
- song writer 369
- Nevins, Allan: historian 439
- New England Emigrant Aid Company: Horace Andrews, Jr.'s article on, noted 222
- second company, 1854, to Kansas, notes on 114, 115
- New England Quarterly*, The, Brunswick, Me.: article in, noted 222
- New Gottland, McPherson co. 14
- Lutheran church history, noted 104
- New Lebanon, Smith co.: founded, 1887 288
- New Mexico: Texan Santa Fe expedition captured in 354, 355
- New York Indians: exploring delegation in "Kansas" 74
- "Kansas" reserve, notes on 74
- Newcheck, Elmer, Larned 228
- Newby, Elias: at Shawnee Friends Mission 69, 331
- Newcom, John W. (Stockbridge Indian) 187, 188
- Newell, Robert ("Doc"): with Bent train, 1836 50
- Newton, W. H.: blacksmith 340, 451
- Newton, William F.: blacksmith 81, 163, 188, 340, 358, 451
- Newton *Kansas*: progress edition, 1963, noted 226
- Nez Perces Indians: with Whitman-Spalding party, 1836 44, 46
- Nicheumanee (Walking Rain): chief of Little Osages 50
- Nicodemus, Keith, Decatur co. 366
- Nicodemus colony, Graham co. 32
- Nicollet, Joseph N.: expedition, 1839, of 167
- Ni-ka-wa-chin-tanga (Osage chief) 164
- Nishnabotna valley, Mo. 325
- No Heart (Iowa chief) 56, 159, 338
- Nodaway county, Mo. 61
- Nollman, Barbara, Columbus, Mo.: donor 91
- Non-on-da-gun-un (Delaware chief) 57
- death of 450
- portrait *facting* 449
- Norman, Mrs. Mary Yelm, Scott City: biographical sketch, noted 224
- Norris, William J.: Iowas' livestock supplied by 187
- "North Central Kansas in 1887-1889" (letters of Leslie and Susan Snow): edited by Lela Barnes 267- 323, 372- 428
- Northern Agency of Western Territory: employes, 1836, listed 42, 59
- Norway: Our Savior's Lutheran church history, noted 104
- Nugent, Walter: dissertation by, noted 14
- Nutt, Dorothy, Miami co. 109
- Nytt och Gammalt*, Salina: note on 12

O

- Oakley, Obadiah: to Rocky mountains, 1839 172, 173, 179
- O'Connor, Mother A.: to Sugar Creek Mission 350
- Oesterreich, B. H., Woodbine 228
- O'Fallen, —: on Oregon trail, 1842, 434
- Ogallah: post office article, noted 362
- Oglesby, Richard Edward: book on Manuel Lisa by, noted 368
- Ohio: removal of Indians from, 1832 122- 136
- 1843 477
- O-ke-mas (Pottawatomie chief) 165
- Oklahoma: families from Junction City area, bound for, 1889 423
- Olathe: Hayes house, article on, noted, 106
- Olathe *Daily News*: article in, noted, 106
- Oldham, Schuyler: in McDaniel gang, 1843 454
- Oleen, Mrs. Robert, Dwight 110
- Olive, I. P. "Print": book by H. E. Chrisman on, noted 111
- Olson, Frederick I., Milwaukee, Wis.: donor 89
- Olson, James C., Lincoln: address by, noted 366
- Olsson, Rev. Olof, Lindsborg 6, 12, 17, 22
- quoted 9, 19, 24
- Omaha Indians 57, 62, 174
- 110-Mile creek 172
- Opera company: at Erie 487
- Op-te-gee-zheek (Pottawatomie chief) 470
- Oregon: Dr. Marcus Whitman's ride East from 452
- emigration, 1841, to 347
- Fremont in, 1843 468
- missionaries overland to, 1839 170
- P. L. Edwards' "guidebook" on, noted 445
- Whitman-Spalding party bound for, 1836 44- 48
- "Oregon Dragons" 172
- Oregon trail: Bidwell-Bartleson party on 346, 347
- emigration of 1842 434, 435
- first missionaries across "Kansas" on, 1838 147, 148
- Fremont on, 1842 438, 439
- 1843 466, 467
- "Great Emigration" of 1843 461-463, 465
- Jesuit party on, 1843 460, 461
- journey, 1840 (American Fur Co.) on 327
- L. P. Lupton's caravan, 1841, 352, 353
- Rufus B. Sage on, 1842 442
- Sibille & Adams on 354, 443
- Sir Wm. D. Stewart's party on, 1843 460, 461

- Oregon trail: table of distances, Independence, Mo., to Platte 465
 —travellers, 1841, on, noted 352-355
 —used by American Fur Co. caravan, 1838 147-149, 156
 —Vasquez and Bridger on, 1842 444
 O'Reilly, Harrington 493
 Orphanage. *See* Jabbok Faith Missionary Home and Orphanage
 Orr, John C., Conway Springs 111
 Ortiz, —: on Santa Fe trail, 1843, 471
 Osage Agency 41
 —*see, also*, Osage Subagency
 Osage City: Eisenhower gospel wagon at 240
 Osage half breeds: lands, notes on, 1839 164
 —on Marais des Cygnes, 1840 333
 Osage Indians 62, 475
 —and Kansa, in fight with Pawnees, 1843 463
 —at 1843 grand council 470
 —at Fort Gibson council, 1837 67
 —attack on Pawnees, 1838 156
 —Capt. Nathan Boone's encounters, 1843, with 468, 469
 —chiefs, 1840, notes on 329
 —death of Clermont, II, noted 150
 —depredations, 1838, noted 145, 156
 —government buildings on lands of, 1843, noted 479
 —Hopefield Mission, No. 3, founded for 61
 —horses stolen from, 1838 156
 —Little Osages' location, 1836 50
 —location, 1843, of bands of 480
 —new subagent, 1839, for 166, 167
 —north boundary surveyed, 1836, 49, 50
 —population, 1836 44
 —1841 342
 —situation, 1839, note on 164, 165
 —1842 440, 441
 —summer hunt, 1840, account of 329, 330
 —Tixier's visit to 329, 330
 —towns of, 1840, listed 329
 —treaty of 1839, notes on 164
 —White Hair, III, deposed 456, 457
 —white prisoners purchased from Comanches by 351
 Osage river: Victor Tixier on 330
 —*see, also*, Marais des Cygnes river
 Osage [Marais des Cygnes] River subagency 62, 63, 71, 78, 155, 165
 181, 351, 436
 —employees, 1837-1843, listed 81, 164, 188, 189, 340, 359, 451, 486
 —Wea Mission buildings used by 157
 Osage Subagency 62, 74, 189
 —employees, 1835-1843, listed 42, 59, 81, 164, 340, 359, 451, 486
 —new building, 1843, note on 479
 —transferred to St. Louis superintendency 476
 Osawatomie: first mental hospital, near, noted 220
 —historical marker, 1962, noted 83
 Osawatomie *Graphic-News*: article in, noted 106
 Osborne, Mr. and Mrs. T. E., Neosho, Mo.: donors 90
 Osborne: St. Aloysius Catholic church history, noted 104
 Osborne County Farmer, Osborne: article in, noted 104
 Osinga, Angeliqne: marriage of 356
 Os-met (Pottawatomie Indian) 339
 Otero, J.: Santa Fe trader 461
 Otoe Baptist Mission 46, 324, 335, 344
 Otoe Indians 62, 174
 —and Missourias, population, 1840 326
 —hostilities, 1843, noted 473
 Otoe Indians: council, 1839, with 180
 —prisoners, at Fort Leavenworth 482
 —raids, 1840, noted 325
 —situation, 1841, of 344
 —"to-pe-o-ka" a word in language of, 64
 —treaty, 1836, noted 57
 —visited by De Smet 152
 Ottawa Baptist Mission 73, 77, 331
 —Au-to-kee's opposition to 324
 —birth, 1839, at 181
 —founding, and brief history 68, 69
 —marriages at 160, 333
 —new quarters, 1841 348, 349
 Ottawa County Historical Society:
 donor 89
 —1962 meeting, note on 109
 Ottawa Herald: article in, noted 104
 Ottawa Indians 62, 160, 449, 475
 —at 1843 grand council 470
 —death of two chiefs 324
 —delegation to "Kansas," 1838 155
 —mill for, 1841 347
 —population, 1836 44
 —removal from Ohio of, 1832 122-136 *passim*
 —reserve of, noted 155
 —to Kansas, 1837 75
 —1839 179
 —treaty, 1831, noted 122
 —vaccinated 153, 181, 331
 —white traders among, 1838, noted 145
 Ottawa language book 68
 Ottowukkee. *See* Au-to-kee
 Ouachinka-lagri. *See* Shinga-wassa
 Overland journeys to (and from) the Pacific: 1836-1839 47, 48, 147-150
 156, 169, 170, 181, 182
 —1840-1843 327, 346-348, 434, 435
 444, 452, 461-463, 465, 469, 470, 482, 483
 Overland journeys to (and from) the Rocky mountains: 1836-1839 48, 56, 64, 146-149, 154-156, 169, 170, 172, 173, 178, 179, 181, 182
 —1840-1843 327, 334, 350, 352-355, 438, 439, 442-444, 447, 459-461, 470, 471, 475, 485
 Overton, Aaron, Jackson co., Mo. 158
 Overton, Jesse, Jackson co., Mo. 57, 73
 Overton, William P., Jackson co., Mo.: to California, 1841 347
 Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence 102
 Owen, John M.: blacksmith 59, 81
 Owens, Samuel C.: a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor 161
 Owl Woman (Cheyenne Indian) 358
 Oxen: in use, 1838, in Kansas 297
- P
- Pabst, Mrs. Herman, Colby: donor 86
 Paddock, James W., Lawrence 367
 Padonia: Methodist church history, noted 361
 Padouca river: name for South Platte, 468
 Pahasah. *See* White Hair
 Painter, R. R., Elk City: article by, noted 224
 Palmer, Emeline: bride of Samuel Allis 44, 45
 Pa-ma-di-si (Pottawatomie chief) 337
 Pantle, Alberta: librarian, Historical Society 95
 —"Recent Additions to the Library," compiled by 190, 216
 Papin, Edward (son of Pierre M.) 329
 Papin, Joseph: ferry of 460, 462, 465
 —marriage of 76
 —notes on 76
 —resident at Kansas crossing (Topeka area) 328, 443, 477, 482

- Papin, Mary Josephine ("Josette")
 Gonville (Mrs. Joseph) 328
- Papin, Pierre D. 443
- Papin, Pierre Melicour: trader with
 Osages 329, 330, 357, 480
- Parcel, Melvin, Comanche co. 110
- Park, B. F., Franklin co. 109
- Parks, F. H., Franklin co. 109
- Parks, Joseph (Shawnee chief) 65, 183
 459, 485
- interpreter 42, 57, 59
- to Florida, 1837 74
- trader 152
- Parks, Mrs. Joseph 152
- Parks, William (Shawnee Indian) 183
- Parks & Findlay 72
- Parrakeet, Carolina: seen in Fort Leavenworth area, 1843 458
- Parrish, Mrs. L. E., Topeka 230
- Parsons *Daily Infant Wonder*: 1878-1880 file, filmed 89
- Parsons *Daily Republican*: 1880-1881 file, filmed 89
- Parsons *Eclipse*: 1879-1880 file, filmed 89
- Parsons *Sun*: 1878-1880 file, filmed 89
- Pa-sha-cha-hah (Kickapoo chief) 51
 52, 151, 152
- Pash-pa-ho (Pottawatomie chief) 165
- Patch, W. A., Emporia: article on, noted 225
- Patrick, William P. 185
- Patterson, Mrs. E. H., Ford 230
- Patterson, Joseph A.: speaker 90
- Patterson, Rev. Samuel G.: missionary to Quapaws 453
- Patton, A. Gwinn: return from West, 1842 444
- Patton, Rev. William: in "Kansas," 1843 457, 458
- "Pawnee City": founding of 218
- Pawnee county: Gem District school article, noted 488
- school history, noted 488
- Pawnee creek (tributary of Marmaton's South fork) 329
- Pawnee Fork (Pawnee river) 51, 181, 184, 476
- Pawnee Fork crossing (Santa Fe trail) 171, 172, 450
- Pawnee Indians 62, 174
 —census, 1840 326
- Kansa and Osage attacks, 1838, on 156
- losers in fight with Arapahoes, 1841, 349
- Loup band, human sacrifice rite, 1838, note on 144
- Samuel Allis missionary for 45
- not at 1843 grand council 470
- on Santa Fe trail, 1838 151
- Republic band, massacred by Kansa, 1840 339-341
- prisoners of Kansa, recovered 341
- Sioux raid on, 1843 473
- smallpox epidemic, 1838, note on 144
- visited by Agent Hamilton, 1840 326
- Pawnee Pict Indians 47
- Pawnee Rock 181, 476
- Ado Hunnius' sketch, 1867, of facing 161
- Matt Field's description, 1839, of 175
- Pawnee trail(s) 65
- Paw-ne-no-pashee (Osage chief) 480
- Paxton, W. M., Platte co., Mo. 176
- Payne, —: Santa Fe trader 151
- Payne, Antoine 333, 336
- Payne, David L.: article on, noted 226
- Payne, Mrs. Loyal F., Manhattan 102
- Peake, Rev. —, Fayette, Mo. 78
- Pearman, Robert: articles by, noted 220, 364
- Pearson, Abram (son of Moses) 70
- Pearson, Ann (dau. of Moses) 69
- Pearson, Joshua (son of Moses) 69
- Pearson, Mahala (dau. of Moses) 69
- Pearson, Moses 70, 331
- to Shawnee Friends Mission 69
- Pearson, Nathan (son of Moses) 331
- Pearson, Rhoda (dau. of Moses) 69
- Pearson, Sarah Pearson (Mrs. Moses) 70, 331
- to Shawnee Friends Mission 69
- Pearson, Timothy (son of Moses) 69
- Pechalker, William: blacksmith 81, 163
- Pedagogen, Lindsborg 13
- Peers, Adeline, Topeka: donor 91
- Perry, Rev. Edward T. 42, 75, 187, 430, 450
- at Delaware Mission 457
- at Pottawatomie Mission 157, 158
- quoted 432
- visits to Kansa Mission by 437, 458
- Peery, James Andrew (son of Rev. E. T.) 187
- Peery, Mary (or Margaret?) Jane (dau. of Rev. E. T.) 42
- Peery, Mary S. (Mrs. Edward T.) 42, 187, 430
- Peery, Susan Talbott (dau. of Rev. E. T.) 430
- Peffer, William Alfred 259
- Pelott, William 183
- Peltier, Louis 333, 336, 357
- marriage of 356
- Pemesco, John: blacksmith 188
- Penny, Mrs. Addie Underwood, Lawrence: donor 89
- Penny, Mrs. Lena Hicks: article on, noted 362
- Pensineau, Brigitte Aimable (dau. of Paschal) 54, 160
- Pensineau, Laurence: trader 51, 71, 160
- Pensineau, Lizette (Mrs. Louison) 160
- Pensineau, Louison 160
- Pensineau, Maria (dau. of Paschal) 159, 160
- Pensineau, Paschal 54, 159
- Pensineau's creek, Mo.: shown on 1842 map facing 160
- Pensineau's Landing, Mo.: shown on 1842 map facing 160
- Pensineau's trading post: shown on 1842 map facing 160
- Peoples' Advocate, McPherson 15
- Peoria, Baptist 57, 183
- Peoria & Kaskaskia Indians 62, 63, 449
- agreement, 1836, by 57
- at 1843 grand council 470
- population, 1836 44
- traders for, noted 474, 475
- vaccinated, 1839 181
- Peoria Methodist Mission 63, 453, 457
- "Peoria party": to West, 1839 171-173
- Pepinowah (Pottawatomie chief) 160
- Pe-pish-kay (Pottawatomie chief) 160
- Peppiatt, Frank, Rice co. 229
- Peppiatt, Mrs. Frank, Rice co. 229
- Pera, Alexis: with Fremont, 1843 485
- Pera, Francisco: to St. Louis, 1843 461
- Pera, Joaquin: to St. Louis, 1843 461
- Pera, Jose Leandro: Santa Fe trader, 461
- Pera, Juan: Santa Fe trader 461
- Perillard, Peter: miller for Pottawatomies 486
- Perrier (Peria), —: at Kaw's mouth, 337
- Perry, John (Shawnee chief) 57
- Peterson, Anton, McPherson co. 111
- Peterson, Chester, McPherson co. 111
- Peterson, Mrs. E. G., Edwards co. 365
- Petit, Rev. Benjamin-Marie 158, 160
- Petonoquette (Ottawa chief) 179
- Petracek, Anna, Decatur co. 366
- Petre, J. 336
- Petro, Kelsey, Topeka: donor 89
- Peyton, Henry: to West, 1841, and return 347, 354

- Pfaff, Mrs. Helen, Hugoton 228
 Pfeider, Mrs. Eugene, Horton: donor, 91
 Phelps, Mrs. Barbara, Portola Valley, Calif.: donor 91
 Phifer, Powhatan: blacksmith . . . 451, 485
 Philbrick, Waneta, Cloud co. 228
 Philibert, Francis 183
 Philibert, Gabriel: at Kaw's mouth . . 337
 —blacksmith 42, 59
 Phillippi, Mrs. Paul, Sumner co. 229
 Phillips, Jonathan: subagent for Wyandots 477, 483, 486
 Phillips, Marjean: article by, noted . . 220
 Phillips, O. R.: cofounder of Eustis . . . 294
 Phillips, William Addison: comments on library of 291
 Phillipsburg: "Fort Bissell" reconstructed by citizens of 108
 Phillipsburg Review: letter in, noted . . 225
 Phillipson, L[evi?]: to West, 1837 64
 Piankeshaw Indians 62, 449, 475
 —agreement, 1836, by 57
 —at 1843 grand council 470
 —population, 1836 44
 —vaccinated, 1839 181
 Piazzek, Joseph M., Valley Falls: letters and records of, noted 88
 Pickett, George C.: Josiah Gregg partner, 1839-40 168
 Pierce, Mrs. Alfred Clark, Junction City 388
 Pierson, Mrs. Arthur: article by, noted, 226
 Piert, Jonathan J. 183
 Pilcher, Joshua: Indian agent 57, 62
 — 65, 66
 —sup't of Indian affairs, St. Louis . . . 146
 165, 176, 177, 185, 334
 349, 351, 355
 Pioneer Adobe House and Museum, Hillsboro: article on, noted 363
 Pirogues: note on 149
 Pitman, Jackson: blacksmith 340, 358
 451, 485
 Pitts, Frances, Hodgeman co. 108
 Pittsburg Headlight: articles in, noted 226, 363, 364
 Pittsburg Sun: article in, noted 364
 Plains: historical marker "The High Plains," noted 83, 84
 Plains Indians: article on, noted 104
 Plainville Times: article in, noted . . . 225
 Plank, Marvin, Comanche co. 110
 Platte City, Mo. 443
 "Platte Country" (Hutawa's map, 1842): segment, reproduced, facing 160
 Platte county, Mo.: first court, noted . . 166
 —mentioned 61
 —organized, 1838 163
 "Platte Purchase" 56, 57, 77, 163
 —added to Missouri 52
 —Iowa and Sac & Fox leave, 1837 . . . 67
 —opened to settlement 61
 —Pottawatomies leave, 1837 70
 Platte river, Neb. 149, 352, 353, 435
 439, 442, 463, 465, 469
 —tables of distances from Independence, Mo., to 65
 Plattner, Mrs. Addie, Ford 230
 Plattsburg, Mo. 44
 Pliny: "swallowed up" in Gypsum City 279
 Ploussard, Mrs. Fred, Decatur co. 366
 Plum Buttes (Santa Fe trail) 184
 Po-ga-kose (Pottawatomie chief) 60
 Point, Rev. Nicholas, S. J.: at Kaw's mouth 337, 340
 —to West, 1841 346
 Politics in Kansas: 1866-1891, comment on 250-257
 —Swedish settlers' role in, discussed 13-17
 Polke, Benjamin C. (son of Wm.) 161
 Polke, Charles (son of Robert) 143
 Polke, Elizabeth Widener (Mrs. Robert) 143
 Polke, John W. (son of Robert), 143, 183
 —marriage of 343
 Polke, Mary A. (dau. of Robert) 143
 Polke, Oliver H. Perry (son of Robert), 143
 Polke, Robert 68
 —death of 464, 465
 —to "Kansas," 1837 148
 Polke, Robert T. (son of Robert) 143
 Polke, Sarah Ann Chick (Mrs. John W.) 343
 Polke, Thomas W. (son of Robert) 143
 Polke, William: conductor of Pottawatomies 160, 161
 Pomeroy, Eva Belle Glassford, Pasadena, Calif.: donor 88
 Pomeroy, Fletcher: Civil War diary, noted 88
 Pomeroy, Samuel C.: politician 251
 Pomme de Terre river 73, 432, 453, 474
 Ponca Indians 62
 Pony Express: Marysville stable, noted, —see, also, Hollenberg Pony Express Station 105
 Poole, Mrs. Chet, Webber: donor 89, 93
 Populist party: Swedish settlers' interest in 14-16
 —see, also, Politics in Kansas
 Porter, Jack, Stevens co. 366
 Porter, Rev. James 343
 Porter, W. G., Colby: note on 222
 Postal service: memorial, 1836, for . . . 41
 —post road authorized, 1836, note on, 44
 Pottawatomie Baptist Mission: a Baptist Board mission, 1837-1844 77
 —founding and brief history 76, 77
 —new buildings, 1840, at 335
 —under AIMA, beginning 1844 77
 Pottawatomie Catholic Mission (Council Bluffs, Ia.) 151, 152, 167, 352
 Pottawatomie Catholic Mission (Sugar creek, Linn co.) 436
 —at Pottawatomie creek site, briefly . . 158
 —church built, 1840, at 326
 —established on (Big) Sugar creek, 1839 165, 166
 —founding and brief history 165
 —girls' school opened at 350
 —new personnel, 1841, noted 352
 —Rt. Rev. Peter R. Kenrick at 439
 —school (boys') opened, 1840, at 332
 Pottawatomie creek, Miami-Franklin cos. 63, 165, 349, 333, 436
 439, 449, 464
 —arrival of Pottawatomies on, 1837 71, 72, 78
 —1838 160, 161
 —1840 338
 —Baptist mission on 76, 335
 —Catholic mission on, 1838-39 158
 165, 166
 —Methodist mission on 157
 —removal of Catholic Pottawatomies from 165
 —settlements on, 1838, noted, 143, 144, 152
 Pottawatomie Indians (of Council Bluffs, Iowa) 151, 152, 167, 336
 —along Missouri river, 1836 59
 —Catholic mission for 152
 —council removing to "Kansas" 338
 —Iowas on lands of 335, 338, 345
 —Kearny's council, 1839, with 180
 —move to Council Bluffs reserve 70
 —traders with, 1839, noted 176
 —troubles with Sioux, noted 437
 —visit of Wabaunsee and other chiefs with McCoy 358
 —visited by Kearny, 1840 335, 336
 Pottawatomie Indians (of "Kansas") . . . 62
 63, 183, 356, 449

Pottawatomie Indians (of "Kansas"):
 along Missouri river, 1836 59
 —at 1843 grand council 470
 —Catholic band to Sugar creek 165
 —councils with, 1840 336, 337
 —death of Chief Ash-kum 335
 —emigration, 1838, to "Kansas" 160, 161
 —grist mill for Pottawatomie creek
 bands 439, 440
 —illness among, 1839 181
 —large party to "Kansas" 1840 336
 338, 339
 —move from Kickapoo reserve,
 1837 71, 72
 —numbers, in Osage River Subagency,
 1842 436
 —petition, 1839, note on 165
 —population, 1836 44
 —"Prairie Band," note on 70
 —rations, 1838, for, noted 351
 —removal, 1836, to Little Platte (Mo.)
 country 54, 55
 —reserve, laid out on Marais des
 Cygnes, 1837 60
 —surveyed 150
 —St. Joseph & Prairie bands 436, 439
 —situation of, 1837 77
 —1842 436
 —To-pen-e-bee and band to "Kansas,"
 1837 78
 —traders with, noted 143, 176, 349, 475
 —treaty, 1836, note on 60
 —vaccinated, 1838 153, 181
 —visited by Jesuits, 1838 144, 152
 —Wabash and St. Joseph bands 436
 —contracts for 475, 476
 —to "Kansas," 1838 150, 158, 161
 Pottawatomie Methodist Mission 457
 —birth at 187
 —founding and brief history 157, 158
 Potter, Andrew: blacksmith 163
 —killed, 1839 176
 Powell, Ernest W., Cloud co. 228
 Powell, L. A., Marion co. 108
 Powell, Lamont, & Co., St. Louis 180
 Prairie Drummer, Colby: photographs
 in, noted 363
 Prairie fire(s): article on, noted 106
 —at Miltonvale, 1838 314, 315
 —on Santa Fe trail, 1843 479
 Praktiken, Lindsborg 13
 Pratt, Ann Eliza (dau. of John G.) 151
 Pratt, John G.: missionary 151, 342, 350
 —printer 70, 162, 342
 —return to "Kansas," 1840 338
 —to "Kansas," 1837 66
 Pratt, Lucius Bolles (son of John G.):
 notes on 350
 Pratt, Olivia Evans (Mrs. John G.) 66
 151, 338, 350
 Pratt county: article on early history,
 noted 221
 Pratt *Daily Tribune*: article in, noted 221
 Pratte, Bernard 443
 Pratte, Bernard, Jr. 354
 —steamboat captain 71
 Pratte, Cabanne & Co.: Fort Platte a
 post of 471
 "Preface to the Settlement of Kansas,
 A": article by Dorothy V. Jones, 122-
 Prentice, Charles W., St. Louis 26
 Presbyterian Board of Foreign Mis-
 sions 456
 Presbyterian missions and missionaries:
 notes on 41, 61-63, 77, 78, 80
 155, 157, 325, 337, 338, 456
 —see, also, Hopefield Mission (No. 3),
 Iowa, Sac & Fox Presbyterian Mission,
 Wea Presbyterian Mission
 Preuss, Charles: with Fremont, 1842 438
 —1843 466
 Prieu, Louis: at Kaw's mouth 337

Printing press: at Presbyterian mis-
 sion, 1837 456
 Proffitt, Brice, Reno co. 229
 Proffitt, George 72
 Protestant Episcopal Church: Rev.
 Henry Gregory of, at Fort Leaven-
 worth 162
 —second chaplain at Fort Leavenworth
 also an Episcopalian 446
 Provost, Etienne: guide for Audubon 459
 —in Nicollet party, 1839 167
 —to Rocky mountains, 1837 64
 Prudhomme, Gabriel: estate sale, 1838,
 noted 161
 Prudhomme, Mrs. Gabriel: at Kaw's
 mouth 337
 Prudhomme family: at Kaw's mouth 337
 Pruitt, Benjamin W. 440
 Pryor, Mary Jane: marriage of 356
 Pugh, Sarah Ann: marriage of 175

Q

Quail shooting: in 1887, comment on, 279
 Quantrill, William C. 113
 —article on his bride, noted 220
 —review of Albert Castel's book on,
 noted 220
 Quantrill raid: on Baxter Springs,
 noted 109
 —on Lawrence, article on, noted 106
 —E. D. Ladd's description of, 116-
 121 121
 —Mrs. Lauretta L. Fox Fisk's water
 color of, reproduced facing 113
 —100th anniversary observed, 491, 492
 —R. E. Bidlack's introduction to
 E. D. Ladd's description 113-
 116 116
 —R. S. Stevens' description, noted 224
 —Swedish casualties, noted 3
 —on Olathe, article on, noted 106
 Quapaw Indians 62
 Quapaw Methodist Mission: founded,
 1843 453, 454
 —see, also, Crawford Seminary
 Quenneville, See, also, Canville
 Quenneville, Elizabeth: marriage of 333
 Quenneville, Francois 333
 Quenneville, J. 336
 Quincy, Ill. 160
 Quindaro: decline, noted 27
 Qui-qui-to (Pottawatomie chief) 60, 143

R

Radford, John: to West, 1838, and
 return 147, 156
 Ragan, Jacob 183
 —a "Kansas" Mo., proprietor 161, 162
 Ragland, Mrs. Robert F., Potter: donor, 91
 Rain, James (Munsee Indian) 188
 Rainmaking: in 1893, item on 219
 Ralston, Mrs. U. A., Topeka: donor 91
 Randolph: series of notes and stories
 on, noted 361
 Rankin, Mrs. Alice, Barber co. 367
 Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence 100, 102
 367, 491
 Rankin, James (Wyandot Indian): in-
 terpreter 486
 Rath, Ida Ellen, Dodge City 365
 Rattlesnake creek, Rice co. 469
 Rawlins County Historical Society:
 1963 meeting, note on 230
 Raymond, Henry H., Dodge City: diary,
 filmed 88
 —notes and letters of, noted 88
 Raynesford, Howard C., Ellis, 98, 100, 102
 —B. O. D. trail-marking project
 of 100, 492
 Reading, Pierson B.: to California,
 1843 470

- Red Vermillion creek, Pottawatomie co. 53, 438, 465
 Redfield, Abraham, of Missouri 432
 Redman, Rev. William W.: visits to "Kansas" of 68, 345
 Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons 100, 102
 Reed, William C., Independence, Mo.: editor 325
 Reest, Mrs. Margaret, Sumner co. 229
 "Reformers, At What Age Did Men Become": J. C. Malin's article, 250-266
 Reid, Paul M., Mission: donor 91
 Reilly, Ed, Jr., Leavenworth 109
 Remington, Ada, estate, Osawatimie: donor 86, 91, 92
 Renaud, Marguerite 333
 Rennick, Henry: teacher 42, 59, 81
 Rennie, Helen, Gray co. 366
 —recollections, noted 227
 Reno County Historical Society: museum, opened 491
 —1963 meeting, note on 229
 Republic county: Zion cemetery history, noted 231
 Republic County Historical Society: 1963 meeting, note on 228
 Republican party: Swedish immigrants affiliated with 13-16
 —see, also, Politics in Kansas
 Republican river 53
 —Fremont's route along, 1843 467, 468
 Requa, William C. 41
 —mission Hopefield, No. 3 established by 61
 Reshaw (or Richard), John: trader 334
 443, 470, 471
 Reynolds, Dr. John C.: army paymaster, 145
 Reynolds, Stewart M. (or L.): blacksmith 188
 Rhinehart, Jesse: blacksmith 457, 486
 Rialto ("the Rialto"): shown on 1842 map facing 160
 Rice, Luther (part Pottawatomie) 78
 165, 183, 338
 —interpreter 188, 340, 359, 451, 486
 Rice, Michael: millwright 69
 Rice County Historical Society: 1963 meeting, note on 229
 Rich, Everett: article by, noted 220
 Rich, Hiram 55, 187, 447, 459
 —biographical data 351
 —sutler and postmaster at Fort Leavenworth 351, 430
 —trader 351
 Rich, Hiram, Jr. 430
 Rich, Julia (Mrs. Hiram) 430
 Rich, Medora Easton (dau. of Hiram), 430
 Richard (or Reshaw), John: trader 334
 443, 470, 471
 Richards, Mrs. Charles, Rice co. 229
 Richardson, Dr. and Mrs. —, Abilene: residents, 1888 322
 Richardson, Harry H., Wyandotte co. 229
 Richardson, Myrtle, Edwards co. 365
 Richardson, Paul 357
 —on Santa Fe trail, 1839 181
 —to Rocky mountains, 1839 169, 170
 —trip East by, 1838, noted 156
 Richardson, Preston: farmer for Sacs & Foxes 358, 451, 485
 Richardson, William P.: Indian sub-agent 356, 358, 431, 445, 451, 485
 Richmond, Robert W. 95
 —article by, noted 227
 —talk by, noted 109
 Rickman, Robert: return East, 1842 444
 —to California, 1841 347
 Riddick, Leoto Frances, Topeka: donor, 89
 Riegle, Wilford, Emporia 82, 102, 366
 Riffel, Al, Marion co. 108
 Riley, Riley co.: cemetery history, noted 489
 Riley County, Leonardville: article in, noted 489
 Rinckenbaugh, Floyd, Coffeyville 365
 Ripley, John W., Topeka 98, 102, 365
 —article "The Letter Edged in Black" by 369-371
 —donor 86
 —note on 369
 Risvold, Floyd E., Minneapolis, Minn.: donor 89
 Ritter, John, Mitchell co. 302, 303
 Rivard, Frances Roy (Mrs. Joseph) 337
 Rivard, Joseph: at Kaw's mouth 337
 River Brethren. See Brethren in Christ Church
 Riverton, Wyo. 156
 Robbins, Richard W., Pratt 102
 Roberts, J. W., family, Oskaloosa: donor 93
 Roberts, Larry W., Wichita 102
 Roberts, Mrs. Lou, Chanute: donor 91
 Roberts, Bishop Robert R.: in "Kansas," 1842 432, 433
 Robertson, Dr. James I., Jr. 492
 Robidoux, Antoine: fort on Uinta, noted 447
 —on Santa Fe trail, 1841 357
 Robidoux, Joseph, Sr. 80, 160, 176, 459, 473
 —post office, 1840, at post of 331
 —St. Joseph founded by 481
 —trading locations in "Kansas," noted 357, 358, 475
 Robidoux, Joseph, Jr. 56, 357
 —at Blacksnake Hills, Mo. 151, 152
 Robidoux, Julius C.: ferry operator 170
 —postmaster 331
 Robidoux, Michel 358
 Robidoux's Landing, Mo. 170
 Robinson, Beeby: millwright 439
 Robinson, Dr. Charles: Lawrence assn. president 115
 Roby, Samuel C. 183, 484
 Rock creek, Pottawatomie county 465
 "Rock Salt" (salt plains), of Oklahoma, 469
 Rockwell, B. & Co., Junction City: store, burned, 1888 392
 Rocky mountains: first white women to cross, noted 48
 —see, also, Overland journeys to (and from) the Rocky mountains
 Rodell, John A., Lindsborg 22
 Rodgers. See, also, Rogers
 Rodgers (Rogers?), Benjamin: blacksmith 188, 340
 Rodgers (Rogers?), Wilson: blacksmith 163, 188, 340, 358
 Roebke, Doris, Holton: donor 89
 Roenigk, David J., Morganville: donor, 89
 Rogers. See, also, Rodgers
 Rogers, Cornelius: to Oregon, 1838 147
 Rogers, [Edward?]: return East of, 1841 354
 Rogers, James (Jim): a Shawnee(?) Indian 467, 468
 Rogers, Joseph (John?): on Cherokee Neutral Lands 474
 Rogers, Lewis (Shawnee Indian) 177
 Rogers, Thomas Jefferson: a Shawnee(?) Indian 467, 468
 Rogers, Wilson: blacksmith 163, 188, 340, 358, 451
 Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green 102, 108
 Rollin, Rev. David B. 60, 61
 Rollin, Edward (son of David B.) 60
 Rollin, Eliza(?) (dau. of David B.) 60
 Rollin, Sarepta Reed (Mrs. David B.), 60
 Romaine, —: to West, and return, 1841 346, 354

- Rooks county: McCoy survey party in, 1836 53
 —Mt. Pleasant Methodist church history, noted 104
Rooks County Record, Stockton: articles in, noted 104, 107
 Root, —, Council Grove: comment on, 1888 308
 Rose, Franklin T., Topeka 102
 Rose Hill, McPherson co.: Mission Covenant church, note on 19
 Rosebert, Ruby Holland: article by, noted 220
 Rosebush, Waldo E.; booklet on firearms, noted 231
 Rosedale, Wyandotte co. 27
 Rosenius, Carl 17
 Ross, Fred, Jr.: donor 91
 Ross, James: on Santa Fe trail, 1842 447
 Ross, John (Cherokee chief) 163, 470
 Ross, Millard, Mulvane 111
 Round Grove, Johnson co.: same as Elm Grove 467
 —see, also, Elm Grove
 Roush, Harvey, Lincoln, Neb.: donor, 91
 Rowe, Mrs. Ivan, Lawrence 367
 Rowe, Mrs. T. T., Topeka: donor 91
 Rowland-Workman party 344, 345
 Roy, John Baptiste: interpreter 456
 Roy, Julia 54
 Roy, Peter: ferry operator 430
 Royston, Mrs. Ella, Harvey co. 491
 Rubert, H. C., Courtland 489
 Rubeti, John: interpreter 451, 485
 Rubeti(e), John B.: blacksmith 188, 340, 358
 Rucker, 2d Lt. Daniel H. 466
 Ruff, Lt. Charles F.: at Fort Leavenworth 341
 Rumpf, Dan B., Topeka: donor 93
 Rundstrom, Dr. John: stone fort of, noted 363
 Runnels, Cecil H., Anaheim, Calif.: donor 91
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell 102
 Ruppenthal, L. H., McPherson co. 111
 Russell, Robert R.: article by, noted 488
 Russell, Don, Chicago, Ill. 93
 Russell, Capt. John B. F. 54
 Russell: First Congregational church history, noted 223
 Russell county: Gilt Edge ranch history, noted 226
 Russell *Daily News*: article in, noted 223
 Russell *Record*: article in, noted 223
 Ryder, —: Santa Fe trader 151
- S
- Sabetha: Eisenhower gospel wagon at 241
 Sac & Fox Indians (of the Missouri) 62, 152, 475
 —article on, noted 106
 —"census," 1837 67
 —council at Fort Leavenworth 52
 —farms, houses, etc., for, 1839 187
 —featured in *Heritage of Kansas* issue, noted 221
 —J. C. McIntosh, trader with 432
 —Joseph Robidoux, Sr., trader with 357, 358
 —mill for, 1839 187
 —mission for 77
 —reserve, surveyed, 1838 155
 —schoolhouse for, 1842 431
 —situation, 1840 338
 —to "Kansas," 1837 67
 —traders with, 1839, noted 176
 —treaty, 1836, notes on 55, 56
 —see, also, Iowa, Sac & Fox Presbyterian Mission
- Sackett, Marjorie: article by, noted 368
 Sackett, S. J.: article by, noted 363
 Safari Museum, Chanute: 1963 meeting, note on 230
 Sage, Rufus B. 355
 —note on his *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains* 353
 —to Rocky mountains, 1842 442
 —to West with Lupton, 1841 353
 Sage, William J., Harvey co. 228, 491
 Sageser, A. Bower, Manhattan, 98, 100, 102
 St. Francis *Herald*: S. E. Matson's column in, noted 490
 St. Francis Regis parish (present Kansas City, Mo.) 337
 St. John, Gov. John P. 31, 39, 251
 St. Joseph, Mo.: town of, platted 1843 481
 St. Joseph river, Mich. 78
 St. Louis, Mo.: "Exodusters" at, 1879 25-27
 —Negro churches, 1879, note on 26
 St. Louis, Indian superintendency of: changes, 1837, in 62
 St. Marys: city tourist park at, 1902 137, 138
 St. Marys *Star*: articles in, noted 367
 St. Michel. See, also, Michel
 St. Michel (St. Mitchell), Francis, 333, 357
 —marriage of 356
 St. Michel (St. Mitchell), Jean Baptiste: marriage of 333
 St. Michel (St. Mitchell), Pelagie (daughter of Francis) 357
 St. Vrain, Ceran 51
 —on Santa Fe trail, 1843 464, 472, 481
 —see, also, Bent, St. Vrain & Co.
 St. Vrain's Fort. See Fort St. Vrain
 Salem, Jewell co.: comment, 1888, on 374, 375
 Salemsborg, Saline co. 6
 Salina: hotels, comment on, 1888 290, 292, 385
 —Methodist church dedicated, 1888 291
 Salina *Globe-Sun*: article in, noted 223
 Salina *Journal*: articles, in noted 107, 226, 363
 Saline county: Swedish settlements, noted 14
 Salt creek, Leavenworth: comment on name facing 160
 Salt mining: at Lyons, historical article, noted 221
 Salter, Mrs. Susanna Medora: home bought for a museum 228, 229, 367
 Sandell-Berg, Lina 17
 Sander, Christina M., Victoria: donor, 91
 Sanders, Paul, Belle Plaine 111
 Sandrue, M.: Santa Fe trader 461
 Sands, Lewis H. 70, 78
 Sandzén, Dr. Birger: comment on 20
 Sanford, John F. A. 167, 446
 Sanford, O. L., Olathe 89
 San Jacinto Monument: inscription, quoted 45, 46
 San Jacinto river, Tex. 45
 San Miguel, N. M. 184
 Santa Anna: defeated at San Jacinto 45
 Santa Fe *Magazine*, Chicago: articles in, noted 224
 Santa Fe railroad. See Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad
 Santa Fe trade and traders: 1836-1839, 41, 66, 67, 69, 150, 151, 168, 169, 171-175, 180, 181, 183, 184
 —1840-1843 326, 328, 331-333, 344, 345, 348, 351-355, 357, 435, 436, 440-442, 454, 455, 461, 471, 472, 476, 478-480, 485
 Santa Fe trail: McDaniel's gang on, 1843 454, 455
 —Snively and Texans in area of 464

- Santa Fe trail: trader Chaves murdered, 1843, on 454, 455
 —traveled, 1963, by Al Carter 492
 —see, also, Santa Fe trail journeys
 Santa Fe Trail Association: 1962 meeting, note on 228
 Santa Fe trail journeys: 1836-1839 50
 51, 69, 151, 154, 155, 171-175
 178-184
 —1840-1843 326, 328, 330-333, 344
 345, 348, 349, 351-357, 435, 436
 440, 444, 447, 449, 450, 452, 454
 461, 471, 472, 476, 478-482, 485
 Sapling Grove, Johnson co., 148, 169, 346
 —a "hickory wood" 169
 Satterlee (Delaware Indian) 72
 Satterlee, Dr. Benedict: journey to Pawnees 44, 45, 47, 48
 Satterlee, Mrs. Benedict: illness and death of 44, 47
 Sauer, Mrs. George: article by, noted, 107
 Sau-ke-nosh (Pottawatomie chief) 335
 Sautterelle river 65
 Saville, A. H., Topeka 365
 Sawyer family, Junction City: residents, 1888 394, 409
 Say, Thomas: Otoe words recorded by, 64
 Saylor, Mrs. John, Rice co. 229
 Scandia 373, 375
 —Amana Lutheran church history, noted 361
 —"Exodusters" to, 1879 39
 Scandia *Journal*: articles in, noted 104, 361
 Scandinavian Agricultural Society of Chicago 6
 Scandinavians. *See* Swedes in Kansas
 Schaafe, D. D., Lawrence 367
 Schaefer, Muriel, Harvey co. 491
 Schenck, Lena Baxter: articles by, noted 222
 Schermerhorn, Rev. John F., Utica, N. Y.: in "Kansas" 74
 Schirkofsky, Mrs. Ray, Topeka 230
 Schmidt, Elma, Dodge City: donor 89
 Schmidt, John, Rush co. 105
 Schmidt, Menno E., Harvey co. 491
 Schoenthaler, Mrs. Barbara: article on, noted 362
 Schoepfel, Sen. Andrew F.: papers of, given Historical Society 87
 Schoepfel, Mrs. Andrew F.: donor 87
 Schoolcraft, Abraham S. 185
 Schoolcraft, James L.: to "Kansas," 1838 155
 Schroeder, Bob, Stevens co. 366
 Schruben, Francis W.: article by, noted, —donor 88
 Schultz, Mrs. A. C., High Point, N. C.: donor 91
 Schultz, George, Wichita 366
 Schweitzer, Alma, Franklin co. 109
 Schweitzer, Wilma: article by, noted 489
 Schwendemann, Glen: "The 'Exodusters' to the Missouri," article by, 25-40
 —note on 25
 Scott, Angelo, Iola 102
 Scott, Moses H.: assistant emigrant agent 78
 —Indian trader 144, 154
 Scott, Gen. Winfield 124
 —fort named for 432
 Scoville, Giles E., Atchison 39
 Scruggs, Nat. H., Westport, Mo. 41
 Searcy, Christopher: in McDaniel gang, 1843 454
 Searcy, Gallatin: in McDaniel gang, 1843 454
 Searcy, Leonard: farmer for Sacs & Foxes 81, 164
 "Sea-sa-ho" (Sturgeon): Sac & Fox chief 56
 Seaton, Richard M., Coffeyville 365
 Second U. S. dragoons: regiment authorized, 1836 49
 Secondine (Delaware chief) 57
 Self, John 183
 Sellen, Robert, Baldwin 366
 Selves, William, Sr., Cottonwood Falls 108, 492
 Seminole Indians: at 1843 grand council 470
 Seneca & Shawnee Indians 62
 —removal from Ohio of, 1832 122-136 *passim*
 —treaty, 1831, noted 122
 Seneca Indians: at 1843 grand council 470
 Seventh U. S. infantry 49
 Seward county: county seat fight history, noted 489
 Seward County Historical Society, Liberal 93
 Shahan, David: blacksmith 81
 Shakopee (Sac & Fox chief) 338
 Shaler, Annie Beauchemie (Mrs. N. T.): death of 453, 458
 —marriage of 76
 Shaler, Rev. Nathan T. 453
 —at Peoria Mission 457
 —marriage of 76
 Shattuck, Mrs. Phyllis Seacat 110
 Shau-uc-ke-be (Pottawatomie Indian) 453
 Shaw-be-my (Pottawatomie chief) 338
 Shawnee Agency 59
 —buildings, noted 62
 Shawnee Baptist Mission 46, 76
 —births at, noted 59, 60, 151, 336
 350, 450
 —end of J. Lykins' connection with 450
 —John G. Pratt and wife to, 1837 66
 —marriage, 1839, at 184
 —new missionaries, 1839, at 171
 —printing at, noted 68, 70, 162, 342
 —return of Pratts to, 1840 338
 Shawnee County Historical Society: donor 86
 —officers, 1963, listed 365
 Shawnee County Historical Society: Topeka's College Hill area featured in *Bulletin* of 222
 Shawnee Friends Mission 174, 433
 —article on, noted 489
 —births at, noted 70, 331
 —buildings erected, 1836 46
 —Henry Harvey family at 331
 —in 1840-42, noted on 331
 —Lang & Taylor at, 1842 449
 —school opened, 1837 69
 —status of, 1843 477
 Shawnee Indians 62
 —agreement, 1836, by 57
 —at 1843 grand council 470
 —band from Arkansas to "Kansas," 1839 177
 —blacksmiths' house built on reserve of 174
 —camp meeting of Methodists 458
 —death of Chief Wy-lah-lah-piah 482
 —from Ohio to "Kansas" 1832 136
 —in Florida Indian war 74, 75
 —Methodist meeting house built by 343, 344
 —migrations of Missouri bands, noted, 177
 —paid annuity, August, 1836 46
 —population, 1836 44
 —1839, note on 177
 —removal of Ohio Shawnees, 1832 122-136 *passim*
 —saw and grist mill built for 69
 —traders, 1839, listed 178
 —treaty, 1831, noted 122
 —vaccinated, 1839 181
 —see, also, Seneca & Shawnee Indians

- Shawnee language books: of 1841, 342
 noted
- Shawnee Methodist Mission (1830-1839; Wyandotte co. site) . . . 64, 76
 —births at, noted . . . 45, 144, 174
 —marriages at, noted . . . 58, 174, 175
 —Rev. Jason Lee at, 1838 . . . 156
 —Rev. Lorenzo Waugh to, 1837 . . . 75
- Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian manual labor school (1839-1862; Johnson co. site) . . . 343, 437, 449, 466, 474
 —births at, noted . . . 335, 352, 431, 441
 —Bishop Roberts at . . . 433
 —building of . . . 166, 171, 172
 —death of Wm. Johnson at . . . 432
 —Dr. M. Whitman at, 1843 . . . 465
 —"examined" by ministerial delegation, 1843 . . . 457
 —harvest, 1840, note on . . . 332
 —illustration . . . facing 329
 —J. C. Berryman sup't of . . . 356
 —Kansa youths in school at . . . 348
 —new building, 1841, at . . . 343
 —opening of manual labor school, 1839 . . . 184
 —personnel, 1842 . . . 443, 444
 —relocation (from Wyandotte co.), 1839 . . . 167, 171
 —Rev. Joseph Williams at . . . 348, 448
 —site described, 1839 . . . 172
 —steam mill at, 1843 . . . 484
- Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society: officers, 1963, listed . . . 110
- Shawnee Prophet. *See* Ten-squa-ta-wa
- Sheinkonig, Frank . . . 276
- "Shekomeko" (Munsee settlement): note on . . . 79
- Sheldon, Rev. Charles M.: article on, noted . . . 222
- Shelton, Frank M., Topeka: donor . . . 91
- Sherar, Mrs. Elmer, Douglass . . . 108, 491
- Sherer, William: Osage Subagency built by . . . 479
- Sherman Center, Sherman co. . . 293, 294
- Sherman county: articles on churches of, noted . . . 223
 —county seat war, comment on . . . 293, 294
 —Pleasant Home church history, noted, 223
- Sherman County Herald*, Goodland: articles in, noted . . . 104, 223, 364
- Shideler, Ralph, Girard . . . 92
- Shields, Mrs. O. J., Marion co. . . 108
- Shingawassa (Osage chief) . . . 164, 457
 —at 1843 grand council . . . 470
 —other names for . . . 329
- Shirley, John . . . 442
- Shortess, Robert . . . 172, 173, 179
- Sho-tal-sah-bas (Osage chief) . . . 441
- Shotwell, James: death, 1841, of . . . 347
- Shrewder, Mrs. Roy V., Ashland . . . 102
- Shunganunga creek, Shawnee co. . . 148, 353, 437, 447, 453, 467
- Sibille, John: trader . . . 354, 443, 470
 —arrested, 1842 . . . 443
- Sibille & Adams: traders . . . 334, 354
- Sibley, Mo. . . 66
- Side Splitter*, The, Ellsworth co.: "gems" from . . . 219
 —note on . . . 219
- Siegrest, Jefferson J., Logan: article on, noted . . . 105
- Sillem, —, of Germany . . . 56
- Silver Lake, Shawnee co.: Eisenhower evangelists at . . . 240
- Simerwell, Fanny Goodridge (Mrs. Robert) . . . 77
- Simerwell, Robert . . . 41, 63, 335, 449
 —and family to Pottawatomie creek . . . 76, 77
 —blacksmith . . . 340, 359, 451, 486
 —missionary, under Baptist Board, 76, 77
- Simerwell, Robert: missionary, under AIMA . . . 24, 77
- Simerwell, William A.: blacksmith, 359, 451
- Simons, Dolph, Lawrence . . . 102
- Simpson, James M.: blacksmith . . . 163
 . . . 174, 188, 340, 358, 451, 485
- Simpson, Asst. Surg. Josiah: to Fort Scott . . . 437
 —with Boone on 1843 march . . . 468
- Simpson, Asst. Surg. Richard F.: on Santa Fe trail, 1843 . . . 466
- Simpson, William, Atchison: donor . . . 89
- Sin-ba-nim (Pottawatomie chief) . . . 165
- Singer, R. E., Jackson co. . . 108
- Sin-qui-waugh (Pottawatomie chief) . . . 60
- Sioux Indians . . . 62
 —battle with Delawares, 1841 . . . 356
 —depredations, 1842, noted . . . 435
 —fight with Pawnee Loups, 1838 . . . 144
 —Hiram Rich a trader with . . . 351
 —hostile to Pottawatomes . . . 437
 —hostilities, 1843, noted . . . 473, 484
 —Pawnee village raided by, 1843 . . . 473
 —smallpox, 1837-38, among . . . 66
 —treaty of Yancton & Santee bands, 1836, noted . . . 57
- Sire, Joseph A.: master of S. *Omega* . . . 458, 473
- Skiggett, Henry (Stockbridge Indian), 188 . . . 188
- Slagg, Mrs. C. M., Manhattan . . . 100, 102
- Sloan, E. R., Topeka . . . 102
- Smallpox: aboard S. *St. Peters*, 1837 . . . 66
 —among Indians in 1830's . . . 66, 127, 128, 144
 —at Manhattan, 1889, noted . . . 409, 418
 —vaccinations for "Kansas" tribes, 153, 331
- Smart, James: a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor . . . 161
- Smart, Thomas A.: at Westport Landing . . . 146, 161, 337
- Smelser, D. W.: contract for Indians, 1843, noted . . . 476
- Smet, Rev. Pierre-Jean de. *See* De Smet, Rev. Pierre-Jean
- Smith, Albert J.: with Chippewas in "Kansas" . . . 72, 185
- Smith, Alvin T.: and wife, to Oregon, 1840 . . . 327
- Smith, Rev. Asa B.: to Oregon, 1838 . . . 147-149
- Smith, D.: miller for Sacs & Foxes . . . 188
- Smith, E. Willard: trip to South Platte, 1839, by . . . 179
- Smith, Elizabeth (Mrs. John P.) . . . 42
- Smith, G. Paul: elocutionist . . . 416
- Smith, Glee, Larned . . . 229
- Smith, Gustavus P. (son of John P.) . . . 42
- Smith, Jedediah . . . 221
- Smith, John (Shawnee Indian) . . . 130
- Smith, John P.: blacksmith . . . 41, 42, 59, 72, 81
- Smith, Lawrence, Coffeyville . . . 365
- Smith, S. E., Crawford co. . . 492
- Smith, Sarah G. White (Mrs. Asa B.): to Oregon, 1838 . . . 147, 148
- Smith, Sidney: to Oregon, 1840, 172, 173
- Smith, Lt. Sidney: with Sir Wm. D. Stewart's party, 1843 . . . 460, 482
- Smith, Mrs. Stella . . . 110
- Smith, Theodore, Washington, D. C. . . 271
- Smith, W. R.: diary, given Historical Society . . . 87
- Smith, Walter Ashton: donor . . . 91
- Smith, William V.: blacksmith, 42, 59, 81
- Smith Center, Smith co.: railroad at, 1887 . . . 287
- Smith County Historical Society: 1962 meeting, note on . . . 110
- Smoky Hill river: "fishing" in, January, 1888 . . . 292
 —Fremont at mouth of, 1843 . . . 467
- Smoky Valley Alliance No. 2535 . . . 15

- Smurr, Elden, Harvey co. 491
 Snell, Joseph W. 87, 95
 —thesis of, noted 86
 Snively, Jacob: and Texans, confronted
 by Captain Cooke, 1843 471, 472
 —in "Kansas," 1843 464, 471, 472
 Snook (s), —, Tescott: resident,
 1888 310
 Snow, Conrad E., of New Hampshire 268
 Snow, Edwin, Snowville, N. H. 267
 Snow, Helen Perkins (Mrs. Edwin) 267
 Snow, Leslie Perkins: biographical
 data 267, 268
 —letters, 1887-1889 268-323, 372-428
 Snow, Susan Eliza Currier (Mrs. Leslie P.) 267
 —letters, 1888, 1889 403-428
 Snow, Will, Snowville, N. H. 376
 Society of the Sacred Heart: nuns of,
 at Sugar Creek Mission 350
 Socolofsky, Homer E., Manhattan, 101, 102
 —book on Arthur Capper by, noted 368
 —review of, noted 220
 Sod house: of 1888, described 288, 298
 —museum, in Scott co., note on 493
 Soda Springs, Ida. 347
 Sohl, Stanley D., Topeka 90, 95
 —donor 91
 Soldier creek, Shawnee co. 53, 65, 346
 —called "Black Soldier," or "Black
 Warrior" 462
 —Oregon emigrants on, 1843 461, 462
 —Sir Wm. D. Stewart's party at 460
 Soldiers' reunion: at Dodge City, 1910,
 photograph facing 232
 Solomon, Dickinson co. 377
 Solomon river 53
 —Fremont on North Fork of 468
 Song slides: of "The Letter Edged in
 Black," reproduced facing 368
 —between 368 and 369, and facing 369
 —Robert B. Hansford's production of,
 discussed by J. W. Ripley 369-371
 Sons and Daughters of Pioneers of Stanton
 and Spring Ridge townships,
 Miami co.: 1962 meeting, note on 109
 Souders, Eunice: article by, noted 107
 Souders, Floyd, Cheney 93
 South, F. Jay, Lyon co. 366
 South Haven *New Era*: article in,
 noted 364
 South Pass 48, 439
 South Platte river 439, 442
 —Fremont on, 1843 468
 —trading forts, 1838-39, notes on 154
 155, 178, 179
 Southern Baptist Convention: AIMA
 affiliated with 448
 Southern Plains, *The Military Conquest
 of the*: by W. H. Leckie, noted 368
Southwest Daily Times, Liberal: articles
 in, noted 489
 Southwest Swedish Colonization Com-
 pany 7
 Southwestern Bell Telephone Co., To-
 peka: donor 91
 Southwestern College, Winfield: history
 seminar, noted 111
 Spalding, Eliza Hart (Mrs. Henry H.):
 to Oregon, 1836 44, 45, 47, 48
 Spalding, Rev. Henry H.: to Oregon,
 1836 44-48
 Spear Mrs. Mildred, Cottonwood
 Falls 108, 492
 Spiegel, Joseph, Logan: article on,
 noted 105
 Spoveszer, A. M., Atchison 295
 Sprague, Arline, Miami co. 109
 Sprague, Isaac: with Audubon,
 1843 458, 483
 Spring river, Cherokee co. 73, 185, 432
 454, 474
 Springer, James P.: return from West,
 1842 444
 —to California, 1841 347
 Squires, Lewis M.: with Audubon,
 1843 458, 483
 Stanley, Arthur J., Jr., Bethel 102
 Stanley, Arthur J., Sr., Lincoln co.:
 article by, noted 224
 Stanley, Glenn: recollections, noted 220
 Stanley, John Mix: at Indian council,
 1843 470
 Stanley, Mary Wilson (Mrs. Thomas
 H.) 431
 Stanley, Thomas H.: at Shawnee
 Friends Mission 481
 Staples & Butts 442, 443
State Parks, The: book by Freeman
 Tilden, noted 112
 State Printer, Topeka: donor 91
 Stateler, Rev. Learner B.: at Shawnee
 Mission 343, 344
 —on military road, 1843 474
 —to "Kansas," 1837 75
 Stateler, Melinda Purdom (Mrs.
 L. B.) 75
 "Steamboat mound," Franklin co. 63
 Steamboats: on the upper Missouri,
 book on, noted 112
 Steamboats (on the Mississippi river)
 —*Colorado* 25
 —*Grand Tower* 26
 Steamboats (on the Missouri river)
 —*Admiral* 473
 —*Albany* 325
 —*Antelope* 145, 167, 325
 —*Bedford* 325
 —*Boonville* 49, 55, 73, 78, 79
 —*Bowling Green* 343, 440
 —*Bridgewater* 62
 —*Chariton* 44, 49, 62
 —*Colonel Woods* 343, 455
 —*Dart* 49, 62
 —*Diana* 45, 47, 49, 55
 —*E. H. Durfee* 28, 29
 —*Edna* 440, 455
 —*Emilie* 343, 440
 —*Euphraste* 325, 330
 —*Fanny Lewis* 27, 28
 —*Fayette* 62
 —*General Brooke* 440, 455
 —*General Leavenworth* 178, 325, 343
 —*Howard* 49, 62, 70, 148, 151, 165
 —*Huntsville* 440
 —*Iatan* 343, 455, 483
 —*Ione* 452, 455
 —*Iowa* 49
 —*Joe Kinney* 27-29, 35
 —*John Aull* 455, 481, 483
 —*John Hancock* 49
 —*Kansas* 49, 62, 68, 70, 72, 165, 178
 —*Lebanon* 441, 442
 —*Malta* 178, 186, 325, 343
 —*Mary Tompkins* 343, 455
 —*Naomi* 178, 325
 —*New Haven* 448, 484
 —*Nodaway* 477
 —*Oceana* 343, 346, 433, 440, 455
 —*Omega* 440, 455, 458, 459
 473, 482
 —*Osceola* 325
 —*Phillos* 62
 —*Pirate* 165, 167
 —*Pizarro* 146, 161, 178, 184
 —*Platte* 325
 —*Republic* 477
 —*Rhine* 178, 325
 —*Rienzi* 325
 —*Rovena* 440, 455
 —*St. Charles* 49
 —*St. Peters* 64-66, 71, 75, 79, 145
 169, 178
 —*Shawnee* 166, 178, 325, 343

- Steamboats (on the Missouri river):
Siam 55
 —*Smelter* 178
 —*Thames* 325, 330, 343, 440
 —*Tiskilwa* 49
 —*Tobacco Plant* 455
 —*Trapper* 342, 473
 —*Vermillion* 455
 —*Weston* 455
 —*Wilmington* 151, 152, 178
 Stebbins, George C., Salina 279
 Stebbins, Mrs. S. L., Kansas City, Mo.:
 donor 91
 Steen, Capt. Enoch 41, 180, 478
 Steerman, Mrs. Everett, Emporia:
 Native Daughters president 229
 Stenton, Mary H.: at Shawnee Friends
 Mission 69
 Sterling *Bulletin*: article in, noted 221
 Sterling College, Sterling: historical
 article, noted 221
 Stern, Madeleine B.: book by, noted 112
 Stevens, John: mountain man 148
 Stevens, Robert Smith: article on,
 noted 224
 —note on 224
 Stevens County Gas and Historical Mu-
 seum: 1963 meeting, note on 366
 Steward, John: at Shawnee Friends
 Mission 431
 Stewart, Benjamin: blacksmith 485
 Stewart, Donald, Independence 100, 102
 Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka 102
 Stewart, Sir John A.: death, noted 156
 Stewart, Mrs. Oscar F., Butler co. 226
 Stewart, William Drummond: at Fort
 Leavenworth, 1836 56
 —"Sir William" in 1838 156
 —to West, 1836 48
 —1837 64
 —1838, and return 147, 156
 —1843, and return 459-461, 482
 Stinson, Andrew H. (not J.?) 183, 188
 189, 359
 Stinson, Thomas N.: blacksmith 486
 Stockbridge Indians 449
 —at 1843 grand council 470
 —to "Kansas," 1839 187, 188
 Stockton, J. S., Wyandotte 29
 Stockton: article on first public ceme-
 tery, noted 107
 Stokes, Montfort 47, 68, 150
 Strickland, —, Junction City:
 banker, 1888 387, 406
 Strong, Lincoln, Smith co. 110
 Stroup, Dr. J. D., Hope 235
 Strouts, Mrs. Howard, Wilsey 110
 Stryker, L. V. D. 41
 Stubblefield, Paul: article by, noted 220
 Stumbo, Mrs. R. W., Golden, Colo.:
 donor 89
 Stutz, John G. 138
 Sublette, Andrew W. 172
 —Indian trader 154, 178, 179
 —partnership with Vasquez ended 444
 Sublette, Solomon P. 171
 —guide for Jesuit party, 1843 460, 461
 —on Santa Fe trail, 1842 447
 Sublette, William L. 470
 —a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor 161, 162
 —quoted 443
 —with Sir Wm. D. Stewart, 1843 459
 460, 482
 "Sublette's Trace": described,
 1839 169, 170
 —note on, 1838 149
 —table of distances on 65
 —used in 1837 64
 Sugar creek, Linn co. 77, 165, 166, 183
 335, 349, 350, 436, 449, 453
 474, 475
 Sugar Creek Mission. See Pottawatomie
 Catholic Mission Suisse. See Swiss
 Sumner, Capt. Edwin V.: at Fort Leav-
 enworth 58
 Sumner County Historical Society:
 1962 meeting, note on 111
 Survey(s): of Cherokees' reserve,
 1836-37 56, 63
 —of north Kansas line, 1836 53
 —of north Osage line, 1836 49, 50
 —Western military road 73
 Sutter, John Augustus: to West in
 1838 147, 150
 Sutter's Fort, Calif. 470
 Soenska Herolden, Salina 22
 —note on 12
 Swallows, John D.: teacher 42, 59, 81
 Swan, Miss —, Junction City: resi-
 dent, 1888 388, 390, 394
 396, 399
 Swanock, Captain (Delaware chief) 57
 Swanson, Ernest, Cloud co. 228
 Swanson, Roland, Pittsburg: donor 93
 Swanson, Roy, Coffeyville 365
 Swart, Fred, Ford co. 365
 Sweany, Catharine: marriage of 184
 Sweany, Hubert 184
 Sweany, Johanna Boys (Mrs. Hubert),
 Swede Center, Neosho co.: Swedish
 Baptist church, note on 19
 Swedenborg, Emanuel 114
 Swedes in Kansas: article by Emory K.
 Lindquist 1-24
 —political leanings of, noted 13-16
 —Quantrill's raid casualties, noted 3
 —source material on, noted 3
 Swedish Agricultural Company, First,
 of McPherson co. 6
 Swedish-American Republican clubs: in
 Kansas, noted 15
 Swedish Baptist churches in Kansas:
 notes on 19
 Swedish Colonization Company, South-
 west 7
 "Swedish Immigrant and Life in Kan-
 sas, The": article by Emory K. Lind-
 quist 1-24
 Swedish Immigrant Community in
 Transition, The: note on 368
 Swedish language: adaptations, notes
 on 12
 —retention of use in Kansas, notes
 on 10-13
 Swedish Lutheran churches in Kansas:
 notes on 11, 15-20
 Swedish Methodist churches in Kansas:
 note on 19
 Swedish newspapers: and periodicals in
 Kansas, notes on 12-15
 —in the U. S., notes on 1-3, 5, 13, 15
 Swenson, Dr. Carl, Lindsay 6, 15
 16, 19, 20, 22
 —a dedicated Republican 14-16
 —article on, noted 225
 —Bethany College founder 19, 20
 —quoted 13, 15, 16, 24
 Swenson, Mrs. Carl 20, 22
 Swenson, John P., Junction City: let-
 ters, 1865, noted 4
 Swift, Elisha P.: interpreter 358
 "Swiss" (trapper): on Santa Fe trail,
 1839 181
 Swiss (Suisse), Joseph (Osage half-
 breed) 357, 441
 Swords, Capt. Thomas: at Fort Leaven-
 worth 57, 73, 74, 185, 442, 443

T

- Table of distances: Independence, Mo.,
 to Platte river via Oregon trail, John-
 son-Winter) 465

- Table of distances: Missouri river (St. Louis to Fort Leavenworth) 66
 —"Sublette's Trade" (Independence, Mo., to the Platte) 65
 Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation 474
 Ta-ka-ta-couche (Kiowa chief) 68
 Talbert, B. F.: in McDaniel gang 455
 Talbot, Theodore: with Fremont, 1843, —quoted 467, 485
 Talbott, Rev. Nathaniel M.: at Kickapoo Mission 457
 —missionary to Pottawatomies 158
 "Tallee" (or Tally): Osage chief, 164, 469
 Talmo, Republic co.: history, noted 231
 Tandy, Charleton, H., St. Louis 26
 Taos, N. M. 174, 175, 447
 Tarr, Mrs. J. S. 110
 Taschetta, Pete, Topeka: donor 91
 Tate, George W.: a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor 161
 —stock for Kickapoo supplied by 476
 Tawakoni Indians: at Fort Gibson council, 1837 67
 Tawan-ga-hais (Osage chief) 164
 Taylor, Blanche, Topeka: donor 91
 Taylor, George: master, *S. Naomi* 178
 Taylor, Harold O., Pittsburg: article by, noted 226
 Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs 98, 102
 —president-elect, Historical Society 99
 Taylor, Mrs. John H., Chapman: article on, noted 364
 Taylor, Lucy Hobbs: biography of, noted 112
 Taylor, R. Roy, Ford co. 365
 Taylor, Samuel, Jr.: and J. D. Lang, on "Kansas" tour 449
 —at Indian council, 1843 433
 —in Florida campaign, 1837 470
 Tayrien, La Reine "Rene" 430
 Tecumseh (Shawnee chief) 58
 Teeter, Mrs. V. L., Partridge: donor 89
 Templar, George, Arkansas City 102
 Ten-squa-ta-wa (Shawnee Prophet): death of 58
 Terbovich, John B.: article by, noted 363
 Terrett, Capt. Burdett A. 41, 466, 472
 Terrien, Cyprian (son of Ignatius) 430
 Terrien, Ignatius: Kaw's mouth resident 429, 430
 Terrien, Louise Valle (Mrs. Ignatius) 429, 430
 Terrien, Mary Louise (dau. of Ignatius): marriage of 429
 Tesson, Baptiste: with Fremont, 1843, 485
 Texan battalion. *See* Snively, Jacob
 Texan Santa Fe expedition, 1841, 354, 357
 —Martias Dias a spy for 436, 437
 Texas: battle of San Jacinto, 1836, 45, 46
 Thayer, Eli: Horace Andrews, Jr.'s article on, noted 222
 —Kenneth S. Davis' article on, noted, 224
 Theses: on Kansas subjects, note on 86
 Thievery, Mother —: at Sugar Creek Mission 350
 Thiele, Judge and Mrs. Walter, Topeka: donors 91
 Thomas, E. A., Topeka 98-100, 102
 Thomas, Sister M. Evangeline, Salina, 102
 Thomas, Okla. ter.: Jabbok orphanage at 242-248
 Thomas county: articles on lawyers of, noted 222
Thomas County Cat, Colby 222
 Thomas County District Court: donor, Thompson, —: Santa Fe trader, 1839 180
 Thompson, J. T. V., of Missouri 55, 187
 Thompson, P. W.: agent for St. Louis merchants 180
 Thompson, Phillip F.: trader 172
 178-180, 355
 Thompson, Lt. Philip R. 180
 Thompson & Craig: Indian traders, 1838 154
 3
 Thorson, A.: quoted on Kansas 3
 Throckmorton, J., St. Louis 179
 Tiblow, Henry: interpreter 81, 163
 188, 340, 358, 451, 485
 Tieperman, Ada, Edwards co. 365
 Tilden, Freeman: book by, noted 112
Tiller and Toller, Larned: articles in, noted 488
 Tillotson, Mrs. L. R., Topeka: donor, 91
 Tillotson, R. J., Lane co. 109
 Tillotson, Mrs. R. J., Lane co. 109
 Tipton, Sen. John, of Indiana 160, 183
 Tipton, John (Pottawatomie Indian): teacher 480
 Tixier, Victor: book by, noted 329
 —tour of Osage country, 1840, by 329, 330
 To-ca-sa-ba (Osage chief) 469
 Todd, Mary: marriage, 1839, of 174
 Todd family, Glen Elder: "Cottage Home" keepers 383
 Tolbert, Agnes: booklet by, noted 231
 Tomlinson, John C., Atchison: mayor 35, 37
 Tomlinson, William P.: quoted, 1858, 177
 Tonsing, Rev. Ernest F., Topeka: donor 88
 Toomes, Albert G.: to Santa Fe, 1841, 345
 Topeka: Central Park Christian Church, article on, noted 222
 —Central Park school, articles, on, noted 222
 —College Hill area historical articles, noted 222
 —College Hill school, article on, noted, 222
 —Edwin Wolf's reminiscences of, noted 364
 —Eisenhower evangelists at 240
 —Euclid Methodist Church, article on, noted 222
 —"Exodusters" at, 1879 33, 39
 —Fire Station no. 5, article on, noted, 222
 —first American Fur Co. crossing of Kansas river at, or near, in 1838, 147, 148
 —Jordan Bakeries, Inc., article on, noted 222
 —Nautilus Club, article on, noted 222
 —Thurston-Van Petten home, article on, noted 222
 —Ward-Meade house, note on 343
 —Westminster Presbyterian Church history, noted 222
 —Whittemore house, article on, noted, 222
 —word origin from "to-pe-o-ka": 64
 —*see, also*, Kansas river crossing (Topeka area)
 Topeka Public Library: donor 89
 Topeka State Journal: articles in, noted 224, 361
 To-pen-e-bee (Pottawatomie chief) 78
 165, 336, 453
 —to "Kansas," 1837 78
 To-pen-ebi, 2d (Pottawatomie Indian), 339
 Tornado: anecdote of 279
 —at Cunningham, 1888 309
 —in Dickinson co., 1888 319
 Torok, Mrs. Paul, Highland: donor 89
 Toronto *Republican*: articles in, noted, 227
 Toth, Huffaker: donor 95
 Tourist Camp Bureau: organized, 1924, 140
 Tourist camps: in Kansas, in 1920's 137-142
 Towanda: Evaline Edmiston's recollections of, noted 227
 To-wan-ga-ha (Osage chief) 468
 Townsley, Will, Great Bend 102
 Towson, Thomas: in McDaniel gang, 1843 454
 "Tow-wac-car-ro" Indians 47

Trading Post, Linn co. (American Fur Company post) 166, 176, 349
 433, 474
 —marriages at, noted 324, 333, 336
 —note on origin 177
 Trager, Abraham: blacksmith 486
 Trail City: article on, noted 224
Trail Guide, The, Kansas City, Mo.: article in, noted 227
 Trails: Marshall county, article on, noted 105
 Travelers Protective Assn.: convention at Salina, 1888, noted 318
 Trego, Mr. and Mrs. Harlan: to Kaw Mission 95, 96
 Trego county: Swedish settlement in, noted 7
 Tremble, —: at Kaw's mouth 337
 Trembley, Mrs. Wilfred, Cloud co. 228
 Trenor, Capt. Eustace 341, 441
 Tribou, Mary W.: marriage, noted 116
 Trippets, William P.: miller for Iowas, 188 188
 Trott, —, Junction City: bookseller, 386
 Troup, Abram, Logan: article on, noted 105
 Trovinger, P. V., Junction City 386
 Trowbridge, Mrs. Harry M., Wyandotte co. 229
 Troy: St. Charles Catholic church history, noted 361
 Truax, Grace, Gray co. 366
 Trudeau, James De Berty 329
 Truitt, Hattie, Los Angeles, Calif: donor 91
 Tshonga Sabba (Osage chief) 469
 Tuggle, Rev. William: at Shawnee Mission 444
 Turner, Mary Bowers (Mrs. William), 180
 Turner, William: interpreter 60
 —marriage, 1838, noted 160
 Turner, Wyandotte co. 184
 Tushquaquier (Ottawa chief) 179
 Tuttle, G. S.: brickmaker 173
 Twine, Rev. William M., Atchison 36

U

Umbach, Mrs. Walter, Ford 230
 Union Fur Company 448, 484
 Union Mission (Okla.) 41
 United Brethren mission. *See* Munsee Moravian Mission
 United States: army, Western Dept., 1836, note 58
 —Corps of Topographical Engineers, 1838 act for, noted 153
 —Fremont's expeditions for, 1842, 1843 438, 466-468
 —Indian Department, revised regulations, 1837 62
 —National Cemetery No. 1, Fort Scott, articles on, noted 221
 University of Oklahoma Press, Norman: publications, 1962, noted 112
 Unruh, E. G., Marion co. 108
 Unruh, William, Lindsborg 366
 Upper Missouri Agency 62
 —Andrew Drips agent of 446
 Ury, Lt. Asbury 41
 Utterback, William W., Topeka: donor, 91

V

Valentine, Mrs. Venna Wilson 110
 Valley Center: Mrs. Herman Fann's thesis on, noted 106
 Valley Center *Index*: thesis in, noted 106
 Vallier, Francis L.: interpreter 55
 Van Bibber, A. B. 183
 Van Brunt, Henry: article by, noted 220
 Van Buren, Pres. Martin 60, 61
 Van Buren, Ark.: Josiah Gregg expedition, sets out from, 1839 168

Van Buren, Ark.: Josiah Gregg expedition, return of, 1840 169
 Van Buren county, Mo. 44
 Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia 102
 Van der Borgh, Francis: at Sugar Creek Mission 166
 Van Derveer, Lt. J. S. 41
 Van Deventer, Mrs. R. W., Wellington: donor 91
 Vandusen, —: with Thomas Fitzpatrick, 1842 449
 Van Dyke, June: articles by, noted 225, 226
 Vang Mary, Edwards co. 365
 Van Hoessen, Isaac Newton, Lawrence 30
 Van Horn, John: blacksmith 188
 Van Lew, Avis, Topeka: donor 91
 Van Liew, Walter, Lawrence: donor 91
 Van Quickenborne, Rev. Charles F., S. J. 51, 54
 Vasey, Mrs. Fred, Topeka: donor 91
 Vasquez, Auguste: with Fremont, 1843, 485
 Vasquez, Louis: Indian trader 154, 155
 178, 179
 —to Rocky mountains, 1842 444
 Vasquez & Bridger: partners, 1842-1855 444
 Vasquez & Sublette: traders on South Platte 154, 178
 Venables, Mrs. Van, Smith co. 110
 Verdigris river 164, 441
 Verhaegen, Rev. Peter Joseph, S. J., 151, 152
 —"Kansas" visit, 1841, noted 350
 —to Pottawatomie creek, 1838 152
 Vermilion river, S. D. 167
 Vermillion river, Pottawatomie co. 438
 Verreydt, Rev. Felix L., S. J. 76, 166
 357, 453
 —at Kickapoo Mission 52
 —at Sugar Creek Mission 352, 480
 —portrait facing 328
 —to Council Bluffs, 1838 151
 Vertefeuille, Joseph: at Kaw's mouth 337
 Vick, Lt. —, Junction City: resident, 1883 386
 Victoria: St. Fidelis Catholic church history, noted 104
 Vielguth, George, Logan: article on, noted 105
 Vincent, Bishop John Heyl: at Junction City 418
 Vine Creek, Ottawa co.: comment, 1888, on 298
 —tornado at, 1888 319
 Vines, Bartlett: to California, 1843 469
 Viohl, Mrs. Esther, Topeka: donor 91
 Vital records, Kansas: note on 86
 Vliets: Owens General Store histories, noted 488
 Vogel, Lewis 183
 Vogler, Rev. Jesse: to "Kansas," 1837, von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton 100, 102
 Vulgamore, Opal, Milton 111

W

Wabaunsee (Pottawatomie chief) 338
 —at grand council, 1843 470
 —biographical note 358
 —visit to Westport, Mo. 358
 Wabaunsee county: "Exodusters" to, 1879 32
 "Wacco" Indians 47
 Wa-cho-chais (Osage chief) 164
 Waconda Spring: article on, noted 107
 Wade, Samuel 183
 Waggener, Balie P., Atchison: donor, 93
 Wagon Bed Springs: Garden City Telegram "section" on, noted 221
 Wagon Wheel Press, Shawnee Mission: publication by, noted 112

- Wah-cha-ha (Hard Chief) 159
 Wakarusa river 85, 115, 148, 345
 348, 353, 437, 462, 467
 Waldenstrom, P. P. 18
 Waldo, Calvin 442
 Waldo, Daniel: to Oregon, 1843 469
 Waldo, Dr. David 184
 —in Santa Fe trade 171, 172
 Walenta, Mrs. Wesley, Belleville 228
 Walker, Bob, Stevens co. 366
 Walker, Elias M.: blacksmith 59
 Walker, Rev. Elkanah B.: to Oregon, 1838 147, 148
 Walker, Harold, Sumner co. 229
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton 100, 102
 Walker, Isabella (dau. of Joel P.) 327
 Walker, Isaiiah (Wyandot Indian) 79
 Walker, Joel P.: to West in 1840 327
 Walker, John (son of Joel P.) 327
 Walker, Joseph (son of Joel P.) 327
 Walker, Joseph Reddeford 327
 —guide for Chiles party, 1843 469
 Walker, Lawrence M., Pittsburg 492
 Walker, Mary Richardson (Mrs. Elkanah B.) 147, 148
 Walker, Mary Young (Mrs. Joel P.) 327
 Walker, Matthew R. (one-quarter Wyandot): portrait facing 449
 —to "Kansas," 1843 477
 Walker, Newton (son of Joel P.) 327
 Walker, Mrs. Wadene, Crawford co. 492
 Walking Rain (Nicheumantee): Little Osage chief 50
 Wallace county: Swedish settlement in, noted 7
 Walnut City, Butler co.: articles on, noted 226
 Walnut creek, Barton co. 175, 182, 469
 —called "Rio de Nuezes" 184
 Walnut creek crossing (Santa Fe trail), —travelers delayed at, 1843 472, 471
 Walnut river: once called "Little Neosho" 50
 Walnut Valley Times, El Dorado: note on 490
 Walsh, Frank 90
 Walters, Lester C., Topeka 365
 Walton, Ambrose: return from West, 1842 444
 Walton, Major: return from West, 1842 444
 Wam-goe-see (Pottawatomie chief) 335
 Wand, Rev. Augustin C., S. J.: pamphlet by, noted 367
 Wa-nun-ja-hu creek 345
 Wapakoneta and Hog creek bands of Shawnees. See under Shawnee Indians
 Wapuatuck (Kickapoo Indian): murder by, 1839 176
 Ward, —, Rocheport, Mo.: Santa Fe trader 351
 Ward, Alice (dau. of Anthony A.) 343
 Ward, Allen T. 343
 —millwright 484
 Ward, Anthony (son of Anthony A.) 343
 Ward, Anthony A.: marriage of 343
 —wheelwright at Shawnee Mission 444
 Ward, Emily J. (dau. of Anthony A.) 343
 Ward, John Allen (son of Anthony A.) 343
 Ward, Mary E. (dau. of Anthony A.) 343
 Ward, Mary Jane Foster (Mrs. Anthony A.) 343
 Ward, Seth E.: note on 154
 —to Rocky mountains, 1838 154
 Ward, Mrs. T. C., Copeland: donor 86
 Ward, William (son of Anthony A.) 343
 Ward-Meade house, Topeka: note on 343
 Ware, James R.: trader, 1840 168, 169
 Warfield, Charles A.: Texas colonel 454, 461, 464
 Wark, George H., Caney 102
 Warne, Clinton: "The Municipal Campgrounds of Kansas," article by, 137—note on 137
 Warner, Mrs. May, Topeka: donor 91
 Warner, Merle, Gray co. 366
 Warner, Mrs. W. P., Ford 230
 Warnica, Frank: donor 95
 Warren, Frank and Whitney, Topeka: donors 92
 Warren, Nelson A.: blacksmith, 59, 81, 163
 Warren, Mr. and Mrs. Robert P., Emporia: donors 91
 Washington, Pres. George: tomb, and home, note on 269, 270
 Washington, Washington co. 377
 Washington, D. C.: Leslie P. Snow's letter (1887) describing 268-272
 Washington State University, Pullman, Wash.: donor 89
 Washington (Pa.) *Western Telegraph and Washington Advertiser*: file 1795-1797, filmed 89
 Was-saw-we (Pottawatomie Indian) 339
 Waterville *Telegraph*: "Tales of Randolph" in, noted 361
 Watkins, Thomas: teacher for Pottawatomies 480
 Watustradt, Bert, Burlingame: donor 91
 Waugh, Rev. Lorenzo: at Kansa Mission —to "Kansas," 1837 75, 76
 Wau-sa-on-o-quet (Ottawa chief): death of 324
 Wa-wa-la-peah. See Wy-lah-lah-piah
 Wawiakachi (Pottawatomie Indian): marriage of 144
 Wea creek, Miami co. 62, 71, 157
 Wea Indians 62, 155, 160, 449
 —agreement, 1836, by 57
 —at 1843 grand council 470
 —Chouteaus traders with 349
 —population, 1836 44
 —traders, noted 474, 475
 —trail to Little Osages' town, noted 50
 —vaccinated, 1839 181
 Wea Presbyterian Mission, 41, 62, 63, 71 —closed, 1838 157
 Weathered. See, also, Wethered
 Weathered, Robert 183
 Weaver, Allen M., Topeka: donor 91
 Weaver, Benjamin O., Mullinville: talk by, noted 110
 Weaver, Mrs. E. B., Topeka: donor 91
 Webber, Miss —, Junction City: resident, 1888 388
 Webber, Frank: article on, noted 105
 Weber, Charles M.: to California, 1841 346, 347
 Webster, Abigail Ann: marriage of 451
 —missionary teacher 338
 Wedin, Mrs. Paul, Wichita 230
 Weed, Gen. Mahlon S., Kansas City: donor 90
 Weede, Dr. G. W., Crawford co. 492
 Wellington *Monitor-Press*: article in, noted 488
 Wellman, Dick, Alden: donor 91
 Wellman family, Junction City: residents, 1888 416
 Wells, Hannah Dukemineer (Mrs. Thomas) 431
 Wells, J. B. 73
 Wells, Thomas: at Shawnee Friends Mission 431
 Welter (or Wetler?), —: to West in 1838 147
 We-saw (Pottawatomie chief) 60
 Western America, Conference on the History of: 1961 meeting, noted 111
Western Folklore, Berkeley, Calif.: Kansas folklore articles in, noted 363
Western Home Journal, Ottawa: 1869 issue, noted 92

- Western Kansas, Pioneers of:* by Myrtle D. Fesler, note on 231
- Western military road: authorized, 1836 53
- Indians' assent to, 1836, note on 57
- survey of Fort Leavenworth-Fort Coffee section 73
- work on, 1838, noted 158
- see, also*, Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road
- Western Missourian*, Independence, Mo.: quoted, 1842 433
- Western Star*, Coldwater: article in, noted 104
- Western Territory, Acting Superintendency of the: note on, 1837 62
- Westerners Brand Book, The*, Chicago: article in, noted 106
- Westfield (Munsee settlement) 79, 188
- Weston, Mo. 178, 440, 473
- a town of 300, 1839 176
- shown on 1842 map facing 160
- Westport, Mo. 41, 63, 72, 74, 75, 78, 79, 146-148, 153, 155, 169, 175, 177, 181, 182, 186, 337, 338, 343, 346, 358, 449, 451, 452
- Eisele bakery, noted 441
- Ewing, Clymer, & Co. merchants in, 1839 183
- outfitting point, 1837 72, 73
- Westport Landing, Mo. 166, 186, 337, 350, 440, 452, 467, 477
- ferry at, 1840's 430
- notes on 42, 146
- sale of land, 1838, notes on 161
- Wethered. *See, also*, Weathered
- Wethered, Samuel: trader 168, 480
- Wetmore, Alphonso: gazetteer by, notes on 66
- We-we-saw (Pottawatomie chief) 165, 337
- Weymeyer, H.: a "Kansas," Mo., lot buyer 162
- Wharton, Maj. Clifton 53, 179
- on 1839 march 180
- Wharton, Clifton Ormsby (son of Clifton) 179
- Wharton, John Burgwin (son of Clifton) 179
- Wharton, Josephine (dau. of Clifton), 179
- Wharton, Mary Etta (dau. of Clifton), 179
- Wharton, Oliver Franklin (son of Clifton) 179
- Wharton, Oliveretta Ormsby (Mrs. Clifton) 179
- Wheatley, Sen. William, of New Mexico 228
- Wheaton, Mother, Tabor, Ia.: evangelist 241
- Wheeler, Rev. James: to "Kansas" 1843 477
- Whetstone, Mrs. T. J., Reno co. 229
- Whipple, Tom 160
- "Whiskers, Mr." 259, 260
- "Whiskers, Reformers, and Age", 258-
- "Whiskey Point" Geary co.: note on 295
- Whisky: arrest of traders in "Kansas," 1842 443
- Shawnees and Ottawas of Ohio on drinking sprees 131, 132, 135
- sold to Indians by McGee and sons 484
- White, ———: captain of Santa Fe caravan, 1837 69
- White, Mrs. ———, Junction City: resident, 1839 424
- White, Mrs. Ben E., Bonner Springs 93
- donor 89, 91
- White, Dr. Elijah: overland to Oregon, 1842 434, 435
- White, Elliott H., Topeka 365
- White, Joe (Shawnee Indian) 130
- White, Joseph: steamboat captain 74
- White, Lonnie J.: article by, noted 104
- White, Patrick: with Fremont, 1843 485
- White, W. H. and Sarah, Morris co.: biographies of, noted 223
- White, William Allen: Ruby H. Rosenberg's article on, noted 220
- White City, Morris co.: article on, noted 362
- White City Register: articles in, noted 224, 362
- White Cloud, Frank (Iowa Chief) 56, 152, 159, 338
- "White Feather" spring, Kansas City 58
- White Hair, III (Osage chief) 164, 441, 480
- called "Majakita" 329, 456
- deposed, 1843 456, 457
- White Hair (uncle of Osages' great chief) 329
- White Hair, George (Osage chief), 329, 441
- White Plume (Kansa chief) 76
- death of 159
- White Plume, II (Kansa chief) 159
- death of 334
- descriptive note 330
- on summer hunt, 1840 330
- portrait of, noted 64, 65
- Whitecotton, William, Elkhart 228
- Whitehill, Walter Muir: book by, noted 111
- Whitewater river: once called "Little Verdigris" 50
- Whiting: "Exodusters" to, 1879 39
- Whitlock, James: blacksmith 59
- Whitman, Dr. Marcus: journey, 1836, to "Oregon" 44-48
- 1842-43, east from Oregon 452
- 1843, to Oregon 462, 463, 465
- Whitman, Narcissa Prentiss (Mrs. Marcus): to "Oregon" 44, 45, 47, 48
- Whitman, Perrin B.: to Oregon, 1843, 465
- Whitman, Walt: house, noted 220
- Whitman-Spalding party: cattle of, not first overland to "Oregon" 494
- to "Oregon" 1836 44-48
- Whittemore, Laurens E., Topeka: article by, noted 222
- Whittemore, Margaret, Topeka: article by, noted 222
- Wichita: Bethany United Presbyterian church history, noted 104
- Catholic diocese 75th anniversary celebrated 107
- St. Paul's Methodist church history, noted 104
- West Side Presbyterian church history, noted 361
- Wichita Democrat: article in, noted 488
- Wichita Eagle and Beacon Magazine: articles in, noted 222, 225
- Wichita Eagle-Beacon: "Kansas" edition, 1963, noted 490
- Wichita Evening Eagle-Beacon: articles in, noted 104, 361
- Wichita Indians: and related bands, notes on 47
- at 1843 grand council 470
- Wichita Morning Eagle: 1959-1961 file, filmed 89
- Wichita Sunday Eagle-Beacon: articles in, noted 363, 488
- Wikus, J. L., Topeka: donor 91
- Wilbur, Allen, Lindsborg 22
- Wilbur, Mrs. Allen, Lindsborg 22
- Wilcox, Dr. Harry M. 108
- Wiles, Mary: article by, noted 107
- Wiley, Lucy, Jewell co. 367
- Wilkerson, Mrs. Grace, Russell: donor, 88
- Wilkins, Mrs. Clara, Topeka: donor 91
- Wilkins, Mrs. Walter, Chapman 228
- William (half-breed Osage): blacksmith 359, 451, 486
- Williams, Charles A., Bentley 102
- Williams, Eli (Stockbridge Indian) 188

- Williams, George (Shawnee chief) . . . 57
 Williams, Rev. Joseph: on Santa Fe trail, 1842 . . . 447
 —to West, 1841 . . . 347, 348
 Williams, Lena, Cowley co. . . 109
 Williams, Max R., Topeka: donor . . . 89
 Willoughby, Keith: articles by, noted, 222
 Wilson, Albert G.: postmaster at Fort Leavenworth . . . 187
 —sutler at Fort Leavenworth . . . 187, 351
 Wilson, Francis, Ellsworth co. . . 230
 Wilson, Genevieve C. (Mrs. Robert) . . . 350
 Wilson, Genevieve Caroline (dau. of Robert) . . . 350
 Wilson, Gladys, Stevens co. . . 366
 Wilson, Hiero T.: at Fort Scott, 1843, 480
 Wilson, James N., Logan: article on, noted . . . 105
 Wilson, Moses G.: a "Kansas," Mo., proprietor . . . 161
 Wilson, Paul E., Lawrence . . . 100, 102, 367
 Wilson, Richard L.: to Santa Fe, 1841 . . . 348, 349
 Wilson, Robert: blacksmith . . . 183, 189
 340, 350, 359, 451, 486
 Wilson, Samuel: contract for Fort Scott, noted . . . 442
 Wilson county: Brooks school article, noted . . . 107
Wilson County Citizen, Fredonia:
 Winifred B. Burtis' articles in, noted, 223
 Wilson reservoir . . . 227
 —archaeological survey in . . . 84
 Wiltz, Mr. and Mrs. A. N.: to Shawnee Mission . . . 95, 96
 Wind River mountains . . . 439, 482
 Windscheffel, Arno, Smith Center: donor . . . 91
 Winfield *Courier*: article in, noted . . . 104
 Winfield *Daily Courier*: progress edition, 1963, noted . . . 226
 Winnebago Indians . . . 186
 Winscott, Jesse B. . . 442
 Winter, William H.: coauthor of travel narrative . . . 465
 —to Oregon, 1843 . . . 465
 Winters, Mrs. Franciska, Neodesha . . . 93
 Wire: article on, noted . . . 489
 Wisconsin territory: Henry Dodge governor of . . . 53
 Wislizenus, Dr. Frederick A. . . 357
 —on Santa Fe trail, 1839 . . . 181
 —to Rocky mountains, 1839 . . . 169, 170
 Withers, Mrs. Robert . . . 110
 Witty, Thomas: archaeologist . . . 95
 —paper by, noted . . . 82
 —talk by, noted . . . 110
 Wooster (P), N. (P) . . . 336
 Wolf, Mrs. Harry D., Topeka: donor, Wolf creek ("river"), Doniphan co. . . 62, 67, 80, 155
 —Presbyterian mission on . . . 77
 Wolfe, Carmie S.: article by, noted . . . 222
 Wolff, Edwin: reminiscences of Topeka, noted . . . 364
 Woman's Kansas Day Club: donor, 86, 90
 —1963 meeting, note on . . . 230
 Womer, Emmett, Smith co. . . 110
 Wood, Joseph: to Rocky mountains, 1840 . . . 173
 Wood, Martha C., Olathe: article by, noted . . . 106
 Wood, Paul B., Elmdale . . . 108, 492
 Woodbury, Frank H., Kansas City, Mo. . . 370, 371
 Woodring, Harry H., Topeka . . . 102
 —interview, note on . . . 88
 Woods, Archibald . . . 447
 Woodson county: articles on cattle industry of, noted . . . 227
 Woodward, Mrs. Chester, Topeka: donor . . . 89
- Wooster, Lorraine Elizabeth: article on, noted . . . 363
 Wootton, Richens Lacy ("Dick"): with Bent train, 1836 . . . 50, 51
 Worcester, Donald E. . . 493
 Worcester Historical Society, Worcester, Mass. . . 224
 Workman. *See* Rowland-Workman party
 Wornall, John . . . 45
 Wossaonukwut. *See* Wau-sa-on-o-quet
 Wossota (Osage Indian) . . . 333
 Wot-sing-a, Angelique: marriage of . . . 356
 Wright, Miss —, Junction City . . . 399
 405, 406, 408, 414, 416, 417, 424
 Wright, C. O., Topeka: article by, noted . . . 363
 Wright, Mrs. Gladys B., Hodgeman co. . . 108
 Wright, John R., Junction City . . . 386
 394, 399
- Wyandot Indians: comment on the "half breeds" . . . 477
 —delegations to "Kansas" 1839, 177, 186
 —ferry, of 1843 origin . . . 484
 —move across the Kansas river, 1843, 483
 —Munsees on lands of . . . 79
 —removal to "Kansas," 1843 . . . 477
 —sections of Delaware lands purchased by . . . 485
 —situations in 1843 . . . 483
 Wyandot Subagency: employees, 1843, of . . . 486
 Wyandotte: "Exodusters" at, 1879, 25-30
 —size, 1879, note on . . . 28
 Wyandotte County Historical Society: 1963 meeting, note on . . . 229
 Wyatt, P. J.: article by, noted . . . 363
 Wyeth, Nathaniel J.: expedition, 1834, mentioned . . . 156
 Wy-lah-lah-piah (Shawnee chief): death of . . . 482
- X
- Xavier, Mother —: at Sugar Creek Mission . . . 350
- Y
- Yellowstone river . . . 442, 448, 458
 484, 484
 Yelm, Mary, Scott City . . . 224
 Yoacham, Daniel, Westport, Mo. . . 72
 —a "Kansas," Mo., lot buyer . . . 183, 186
 182
 Yoacham, George W. . . 183
 Yoakum, Helen, Leavenworth . . . 100
 Yoos, Mrs. Ivy, Atwood . . . 230
 York, Mrs. Henry, Lane co. . . 109
 York, Mrs. Lois, Junction City: donor, 89
 Young, C.: a "Kansas," Mo., lot buyer, 162
 Young, John B. . . 183
 Young, Martha: sister-in-law of Joel P. Walker . . . 327
 Young, Orville: article by, noted . . . 105
 Young family, Junction City: residents, 1888 . . . 415, 416
- Z
- Zachow, Mrs. Fred, Eau Claire, Wis.: donor . . . 86
 Zimmerman, John, Emporia . . . 366
 Zimmerman, Michael, Linn co. . . 166
 Zimmerman, Phil, Topeka: donor . . . 91
 Zindel, Louis: in Nicollet party, 1839, —with Fremont, 1843 . . . 167, 467
 Zirkle, Otis B., Brownton, W. Va. . . 93
 Zook, J. M.: evangelist . . . 242, 243
 Zook, Mary E. (Mrs. J. M.) . . . 242
 Zook, Bishop Samuel . . . 239

