

[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

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newspaper published a historical feature by Bretz noting the research projects being done by the Elizabeth M. Watkins Community Museum.

A centennial plus five years was observed by Marquette in 1979, but settlement of the area began a number of years even before the town's founding in 1874, according to an article in the *Marquette Tribune*, August 1, 1979. The newspaper feature page included the story on the city's early years, photographs, and reproductions of the original town plat and charter of the town company drawn up by organizers in Hans Hanson's three-room home, the largest house in the area at that time.

A special issue of the *St. Marys Star*, August 2, 1979, was devoted to St. Mary's College with a number of historical articles on the town and the college and with reprints from the newspaper of articles and pictures of the fire which destroyed the Immaculata Chapel, November 8, 1978. The college, which was a seminary of the Society of Jesus until it closed in 1967, stood idle for several years and is now the property of the Society of the Friends of St. Pius X, which plans restoration of the chapel and other historic buildings on the old mission site.

Leavenworth celebrated its 125th birthday in 1979, and the *Leavenworth Times*, August 9, 1979, published a historical feature on the city's origins. Connie Parish wrote the account tracing some of the city's growth from 1854 when the town company headed by Gen. G. W. Gist decided on the name "Leavenworth City" after the already renowned Fort Leavenworth which had been established in 1827. On June 14, 1979, the *Leavenworth newspaper* began a six-part series on Susan B. Anthony, social reformer and sister of Col. D. R. Anthony, early Leavenworth newspaper publisher. The series, written by J. H. Johnston, III, concluded on June 30, the day before the new dollar coin bearing Miss Anthony's likeness went into circulation.

Although much of Hutchinson's fame is based on the city's salt mines, it was once a center for mining soda ash. Today, however, only rubble and a score of tumble down buildings remain of the plants and mines of the industry that during World War I employed so

many people a streetcar line was built to transport them to and from work. Beccy Tanner wrote the article on the nearly forgotten Hutchinson operation which appeared in the *Marquette Tribune*, August 15, 1979.

Southwest Kansas has been claimed by France, Spain, and Mexico, and recently the Texas State Library said it was a part of the Republic of Texas, but it was "pretty much of a lawless area . . . and the Indians had the run of the land." James Eye, in a recent column, "Kansas As Eye See It," noted the Texas claim and sketched some other early history of the area which was once an independent republic. Papers carrying the article, August 15, 1979, included the *Manhattan Mercury* and the *Hillsboro Star-Journal*.

Mulvane, located on the line between Sedgwick and Sumner counties, owes its beginning and early prosperity to the coming of the Santa Fe railroad. It was even named for a Topeka financier and director of the railroad, Joab Mulvane. In observance of the town's 100th birthday, a special commemorative issue of the *Mulvane News* was published August 16, 1979. Historical articles, most of them written by Ruth Costello and George Smysor, include an account of how the town got its name.

McPherson in the fall of 1979 observed the centennial of the coming of the railroad to the community. After a seven-year struggle, residents in February, 1879, approved a bond issue to secure a railroad from Salina. When the Santa Fe mortgaged the road for more than the agreed amount, however, county commissioners refused to issue the bonds and the first rail line came to the area without costing the people anything, according to an article by Steve Seibel in the *McPherson Sentinel*, August 22, 1979.

Clinton Reservoir, in the Wakarusa valley, was constructed for purposes of flood control, water conservation, and recreation, but the lake dislocated people in nine communities, according to Martha Parker, president of the Bloomington-Clinton Historical Society. Charles Adolewski interviewed Ms. Parker for an article in the *Baldwin Tele-News*, August 23, 1979, in which he traced the struggle area residents and their advocates had with the Corps of Engineers over a museum project

which would preserve the history of the area. Included in the newspaper article is historical information on the valley communities compiled by Ms. Parker and Betty Laird, co-authors of *Soil of Our Souls: Histories of the Clinton Lake Communities* (Lawrence, Colorado Press, 1976).

A granite marker, 100-year-old wagon wheel ruts, and at least one gravesite mark the east-west path of the historic Santa Fe trail as it crosses McPherson county. An article by Alan Montgomery in the McPherson *Sentinel*, August 23, 1979, describes evidences of the trail in the county, particularly the Little Arkansas river crossing, where the wagon wheel ruts are still visible.

Groups of Girl Scouts and their leaders have researched the area of Turkey creek in southwestern Pratt county and hope to restore a cabin believed to be one of the first built in the area. The cabin, on land that later became the Turkey Creek Girl Scout camp, if restored could be used as a living unit for scouts studying how people lived in pioneer days. Doug Weller wrote a feature article printed in the Pratt *Tribune*, August 25, 1979, which includes information gathered by the scouts from their research and interviews with relatives of persons known to have lived in the cabin.

Kansans who have lived 100 or more years are favorite subjects for newspaper feature articles. John Ed Klutsenbeker remembers the first automobiles but didn't think at the time that they were here to stay. The Arkansas City centenarian was interviewed by Judy White for the Arkansas City *Traveler*, August 28, 1979. Beloit has several residents who have celebrated 100 or more birthdays. Mrs. Lillian Kimerer has seen many changes in her 100 years. An article including some of her memories was in the *Solomon Valley Post*, Beloit, July 19, 1979. Mrs. Cora McMillan's parents homesteaded in the Beloit area in 1876, and she and a twin sister were born August 13, 1879. An article on Mrs. McMillan and her family was in the Beloit *Daily Call*, August 25, 1979. Mrs. Stella Cornwell, Lawrence, was 104 years old August 19, 1979. Interviewed by Roger Martin for the Lawrence *Journal-World*, August 18, 1979, she said she never expected to live so long, but old age for her has been a time of peace and fulfillment. Mrs. Virginia Hatton,

Wellington, came to Sumner county at the age of three, and the Wellington *Daily News*, August 16, 1979, wished her a happy 103d birthday with an article by Alda Boyd. Jane Gregory, McPherson, celebrated her 104th birthday August 15, 1979. An article in the Hutchinson *News*, August 19, 1979, about the event included some of her thoughts about her long life. Mrs. Kate Darnell, Kansas City, never drove a car, and never had a job outside her home, but has no regrets after 100 years of living "through practically everything." Andrea Stewart wrote the Kansas City *Kansan's* article about Mrs. Darnell's centennial birthday August 20, 1979. Mrs. Louise Fredrika Springer Yust, Newton, observed her 100th birthday with several celebrations including a family reunion and centennial program at her church. Betty Reeves compiled an article on Mrs. Yust's life and the 100 years of history she has witnessed for the Newton *Kansan*, August 10, 1979. Mrs. Nellie Row, Garnett, remembers 100 busy years and only "the good things." According to the Garnett *Ander-son Countian*, July 26, 1979, she has been a lifelong sports enthusiast and listens to Royals baseball games except when something more important interferes, like her centennial birthday reception on July 22, 1979. Mrs. Josephine Hill Boyd, Greensburg, lived and taught piano for many years at Kinsley. Two articles in the Kinsley *Mercury* recognized her 100th birthday July 24, 1979. Leona Hargadine Travis, a former student, wrote a tribute in the July 26, 1979, issue, and Gracia Johnston wrote the feature story, July 19, 1979, that included a quotation from Mrs. Boyd's autobiography.

Dr. Klingberg's oil, an ointment still used for cuts or burns, was invented by a country doctor born near Hope in 1875 and who practiced in the community many years until his death in 1949. His son, Melvin Klingberg, who still lives in Hope, provided the information for a "Historically Speaking" column in the Hope *Dispatch*, August 29, 1979. Another recent subject of the newspaper feature, which appeared in the *Dispatch*, August 8, 1979, was the old town bandstand, a popular gathering place and community landmark, which is now "long gone" and only a pleasant memory.

Centennials are usually observed with a celebration, but the great Ottawa county tornado

of 1879 was not an occasion to boast about, according to the Minneapolis *Messenger*, August 30, 1979. However, in commemoration of the event, which occurred May 30, 1879, the newspaper printed the account of the story taken from the Minneapolis *Sentinel* (forerunner of the *Messenger*).

Jim Williams, 93 and oldest living resident of the community of Fairmount, was interviewed by Mary Wohlforth for an article on the small country town which appeared in the *Basehor Sentinel*, August 30, 1979. Platted in 1867, the town had a population of nearly 150 in the 1880's, but only about 15 families live there now.

The Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty pageant, held every three years now, commemorates the signing of the peace treaties between the five tribes of Plains Indians and the United States government which took place in October, 1867, near the present city of Medicine Lodge. An article in the Medicine Lodge *Barber County Index*, August 30, 1979, describes the movement that started before World War I and finally consummated in 1926 in the organization of the Medicine Lodge Indian Peace Treaty Association. Information for the article which details the events leading up to the first pageant in 1927 was taken from the minute books of the association.

The Rosedale United Methodist church, Kansas City, observed its 100th anniversary September 9, 1979. Brief articles on the church and its centennial celebration were in the Kansas city *Kansan*, September 7, 1979, and Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, September 8, 1979.

On the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the American depression, *Kanhistique*, Ellsworth, published a special issue devoted to "how it was in the 30's in Kansas." Articles in the October, 1979, issue included "Depression Glass Sought Eagerly" by Dorothy Grothusen, Ellsworth; "A Soil Conservation First" by John Meisenheimer, Altamont; and "Unemployment . . . and the CCC" by Margaret Aspergren, Burr Oak. Short contributions by readers recalled the days of drought and dust and the ingenuity of cooks who could make beans do for every dish but dessert.

A new English translation of a pioneering Lindsborg woman's childhood memories was

printed in 1978. Martha Winblad is the translator and Elizabeth Jaderborg, the editor, of *Anna Olsson, "A Child of the Prairie,"* first published in 1917. Anna Olsson, who wrote the book in Swedish about her childhood in Lindsborg, immigrated to America from Sweden with her parents when she was three years old. The 121-page paperbound book includes an appendix with recipes for Christmas cookies and words and music to the traditional Swedish children's hymn, "Children of the Heavenly Father."

During the bicentennial year, Dorothy N. Hoobler wrote a series of stories about St. Marys which were printed in the St. Marys *Star-Valley Ho!* Historical articles on pioneer families, city businesses, churches, and clubs were researched in standard histories, newspapers, and other records, and people who were interviewed shared memories, letters, and pictures. In 1978 the articles were collected in a 65-page book, *And They Called the Site "St. Marys,"* published by the Valley Ho! Publishing Co., St. Marys. Pictures borrowed from individuals and the St. Marys Historical Society, and other old photographs, postcards, tin-types, and sketches illustrate the text.

Strawberry Hill, a Neighborhood Study, is the result of a federally funded survey of Strawberry Hill, an inner-city neighborhood in Kansas City, Kan. In an effort to describe the community as it is today and how it came to be that way, the study focused on the history, ethnography, and physical characteristics of the neighborhood. Published in 1978 under the auspices of the Community Development Program of the city of Kansas City, the paperbound book has a final section recommending boundaries for a proposed Strawberry Hill Historic District.

Margaret Hain Houser is the author of *They Dared to Come, a Biography of the First Settlers of La Crosse, Kansas*, printed in 1978. The 101-page paperbound book was compiled from family histories written by settlers or their descendants, interviews, newspaper files, and other records. It includes a chapter on the town's beginnings and a section of early photographs. The period covered in the history is from about 1877 when La Crosse was founded, up to about 1924.



Our Heritage, Havensville, 1878-1978, is a paperbound book issued by the Havensville centennial book committee in connection with the community's 100th anniversary observance in 1978. A major portion of the 184-page book is devoted to family histories of residents, and there are many photographs throughout. Other material includes information compiled from area newspapers and brief histories of the school, post office, community organizations, and churches.

Finding that no complete listing of Kansas authors of children's literature had been done, Leona M. Shadle undertook the project. The result is the paperbound *Kansas Authors of Books for Children and Young People, 1850-1975*, printed by Ag Press, Manhattan, in 1978. Material was gathered from standard sources and correspondence with publishers and contemporary authors. The compilation includes biographical material on 131 authors, and information on more than 550 titles.

A History of the Kansas Council I.R.A. (International Reading Association) Including History of Local Councils, compiled by Leona Shadle, was issued in 1978. The 109-page paperbound book is a compilation of material on the first 15 years of the state council of the International Reading Association, chartered in 1964, and contains data on most of the local councils in existence in 1978. Included is information collected from the state and local groups on their history, officers, programs, and activities.

The Topeka Genealogical Society in 1978 printed *Early Marriage Records, Labette County, Kansas, 30 October 1867-13 April 1878, 15 May 1880-27 March 1881*. The records are extracted from the *Southeast Kansas Independent-Observer*, Oswego, which in 1971 began publishing such records in a series for readers interested in genealogy. Genealogical society members prepared the index which includes the names and ages of bride and groom, the date of the marriage, and where applicable, the probate judge who officiated. There is also an index by brides' maiden names.

Memories of her mother's Kansas kitchen and the traditional holiday baking are interspersed with recipes in Norma Jost Voth's *Peppernuts, Plain and Fancy*. The small pa-

perbound book published in 1978 by Herald Press, Scottsdale, Pa., is illustrated by Ellen Jane Price. It contains basic recipes for the small cookies with many fancy variations, and includes notes on traditions connected with the peppernuts which have been baked for more than a century by Russian Mennonite women.

Isaac Mooney, pioneer preacher who founded Towanda and organized its first church, died in 1902, and the church building which stood for 52 years as a monument to him, was razed in 1977. *The Mooney Memorial Christian Church, From Christian Church to United Methodist Church of Christ, a History*, is a record of Mooney's life, describes the beginnings of Towanda, and is a history of the Mooney Memorial church through its merger in 1973 with the United Methodist church. The 216-page book by Dorothy Starr was printed in 1978 by Mennonite Press, Inc., North Newton.

Centennial Reflections, 1878-1978, is a history of the Marion Christian church issued by the church in 1978 in connection with its 100th anniversary. The spiral-bound, 10-page record of the church, compiled by Maude Thompson, includes several photographs of church buildings used over the years, and sections on past history, women's work, and present history. There are excerpts from official minutes, a list of charter members, and some references to early church history from Marion newspapers.

The Mennonite church at Halstead, organized in 1875, split into two congregations in 1877 when a second attendance center was established in Christian to serve families in that area. In 1978 the First Mennonite church of Christian celebrating its 100th anniversary, published a spiral-bound *Centennial Chronicle*. The 60-page book contains many photographs and information on the church's history, voluntary service, and pastors, and a concluding section on the church's future written by the current pastor, James Gingerich.

The Long Island United Methodist church in 1978 issued a 10-page booklet on the 100th anniversary of its organization. *Centennial Celebration, 1878-1978*, included photographs of church buildings, the order of worship for the centennial service September 10, 1978, a list of ministers that have served the congrega-



tion, and a brief history of the church. First services were held in the dugout home of one of the member families, and the first appointed minister came in 1880.

James L. Herrick is the compiler of *Death Notices as Listed in Neosho Valley/Hartford Times and Burials in Hartford Cemetery, Lyon County, Kansas*. The spiral-bound book published by the Topeka Genealogical Society in 1978 contains obituary abstracts for a period of more than 70 years and a listing of burials for Hartford cemetery from 1859 to 1977.

Early historical writers reported so glowingly on the junction of the rivers in what is now Geary county, that pioneers claimed the description in Genesis of the Garden of Eden fit the area. So a pictorial history published by the Geary County Historical Society in 1978 is entitled *Garden of Eden*. Compiled by John B. Jeffries and Irene Jeffries, the book covers the first 100 years of Geary county, with the emphasis on the first 50 years. In addition to the picture sections, there is a brief history of the county and biographical sketches of several of the photographers.

Prairie Recipes and Kitchen Antiques, published by Wallace-Homestead Book Co., Des Moines, Iowa, in 1978, is a book of recipes gathered from pioneer families at Wayside, Kan., the site of the original "Little House on the Prairie." Written by Wilma Kurtis and Anita Gold, the book includes photographs and descriptions of kitchen antiques as well as the kitchen-tested recipes. There is an introductory section on the Ingalls family and the little house they built on the Kansas prairie, made famous by children's author Laura Ingalls Wilder and the current TV series.

The Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson, Jefferson and Pottawatomie Counties, originally published in 1890, was reprinted in 1978 by the Topeka Genealogical Society. Chapman Bros., Chicago, published the first edition, which included in addition to the biographies, portraits of some of the subjects and sketches of their residences. An index has been added to the reprint by the genealogical society.

My Folks Claimed the Plains is a collection of homestead stories compiled and edited by Virginia Haggart and Dorothy Harvey. The

162-page paperbound book published by Stauffer Communications, Inc., in 1978, is a sequel to an earlier volume, *My Folks Came in a Covered Wagon*. Both are collections of stories handed down in the families of contributors who responded to a request from *Capper's Weekly* that readers help preserve some of the folklore of the Plains.

A numerous people, the Pottawatomie Indians are dispersed over several states, and the Kansas Pottawatomes, or "Prairie Band," still occupy a reservation near Mayetta. A new book on the tribe, *The Potawatomis, Keepers of the Fire*, by R. David Edmunds, was published in 1978 by the University of Oklahoma Press. The 367-page book, volume 145 in the Civilization of the American Indian Series, has a number of full-page illustrations and maps.

The Chanute Genealogical Society in 1978 printed *Cemetery Inscriptions of Neosho County, Kansas*. Reba Jones was chairman of the committee which cataloged all the cemetery inscriptions of the 12 townships of the county. There are more than 28,000 names listed, and the location and condition of the 57 cemeteries in the county are noted as of 1977.

The Riley County Genealogical Society, Manhattan, printed in 1978 an index, *1895, Kansas State Census, Riley County*. Evelyn J. Brown compiled the census listing which includes page number, town or township, name, age, sex, birthplace, where from to Kansas, occupation, and military record. Some other data including agricultural information is not given. The book is paperbound and has 125 pages.

Index to the Wichita Eagle and Beacon, January-June, 1975, compiled by Carroll E. Peterson, was printed in 1978 by Emporia Kansas State University Press. Intended mainly as a guide to news events, including sports, the reference work contains a record of news items concerning Kansas and Kansans and all editorials written by local staff. The 285-page paperbound index is organized into general subject headings and includes few specific names.

Joel Haworth, Lyon County, Kansas Pioneer, Ancestors and Descendants, 1699 to 1978, is a genealogical record compiled by Louise Rhodes Baker and others. The paperbound family history covers 298 years of Haworth



lineage. Joel Haworth, born in Ohio in 1819, settled in Lyon county in 1856 and built the first sawmill in the county on the Cottonwood river. An Abolitionist, he conducted an underground railway station for slaves fleeing from the South. Three of the eight children of Joel and Sarah McKee Haworth were born in Kansas.

Metropolitan Wichita, Past, Present, and Future has chapters by eight contributors—specialists in political science, urban affairs, sociology, economics, and business. The paperbound volume published for Wichita State University by the Regents Press of Kansas, Lawrence, in 1978, was edited by Glenn W. Miller and Jimmy M. Skaggs. Subjects covered include the city's history, population composition, educational opportunities, labor force, financial structure, industry, commerce, and politics.

As early as 1865 there was a relay point called Wilson Creek Station on the Butterfield Overland Despatch route running from Atchison to Denver. Later the settlement known as Wilson Station was designated Attica, then Bosland, then finally became Wilson again. Frank Sibrava is the author of a 12-page pamphlet, *History of Wilson*, outlining the history of the Ellsworth county town.

The great grasslands of the American prairie may be taken for granted by some people, but not by Patricia D. Duncan, author/photographer and promoter of a Tallgrass Prairie National Park in Kansas. In 1976 she completed "The Tallgrass Prairie: An American Landscape," a major exhibition for the Smithsonian Institution. Her book, *Tallgrass Prairie, the Inland Sea*, published by the Lowell Press, Kansas City, in 1978, is a continuation of her love affair with the land and its people. The author supplements her beautiful pictures with a personalized account of the prairie region and its impact on those who live there.

In 1879 and 1880 there was a Negro exodus from the Southern states to Kansas. *In Search of Canaan, Black Migration to Kansas, 1879-80*, by Robert G. Athearn, tells the story of the migration. Writing almost entirely from primary sources, the author describes and explains the "Exoduster" movement and sets it into perspective as a phenomenon in frontier

history. The 338-page book was published by Regents Press of Kansas, Lawrence, 1978.

From Big Hill on, an Autobiography by Oliver Lee Furse covers a period of 133 years. His father was in his 60's when Furse was born so his family's story stretches from pre-Civil War days to the 1970's. Born on a farm near Cherryvale, the author recalls Kansas farm and small town life, his struggles for an education, his career as a petroleum engineer, and retirement in Texas. San Felipe Press, Jenkins Publishing Company, Austin, Tex., published the 200-page book in 1978.

The early years of Kansas were characterized by violence, political intrigue, and land speculation. William Michael Shimeall's thesis, "Arthur Inghram Baker: Frontier Kansan," is the story of one Upper Neosho pioneer whose life and death added to the understanding of those years. Baker came to Kansas in 1846, and his business and political ventures provide for the historian a microcosmic study of the state's territorial history. Shimeall completed his work, a master's thesis at Emporia State University, in 1978.

Lake Quivira, incorporated as a third class city in Johnson county in 1971, has a history—in its name at least—going back to Coronado's visit to Kansas in 1541. The major portion of the book, *Lake Quivira, Kansas, the First Fifty Years*, however, focuses on the development of the resort-residential community since 1928. Jack W. Holder, Jr., includes in his history brief chapters on organizations such as the Garden Club and Volunteer Fire Department, as well as a record of Quivira, Inc., and its private development efforts. The 87-page paperbound book was published in 1978.

The history of Franklin, the first town in Douglas county and now a ghost town, is told in *Mankind Yields* by Josephine Shirar McGonigle. The 181-page paperbound book, published in 1978, has many illustrations, a bibliography, and name index. Appendixes list burials in three cemeteries—Blue Mound, Old Franklin, and Saint John's Catholic. Chapters trace early settlement of the proslavery town and its role in the conflict between North and South when nearby Lawrence was the rallying point for Free-Staters.

ABOUT OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ELEANOR L. TURK is assistant dean, School of Humanities and Sciences, Ithaca (N.Y.) College. She has degrees from Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, the University of Illinois, Urbana, and the University of Wisconsin, Madison. She has had both teaching and administrative experience at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, and other schools. Dr. Turk is the author of several articles and a book review which have been accepted for publication in historical journals.

A native of Colorado, JEANNE P. LEADER has a B. A. degree from Adams State College, Alamosa, Colo., and a M.A. from Texas Christian University, Fort Worth. She was employed in 1977-1978 as a museum curator and assistant reference librarian at Adams State College and currently is librarian, counselor, and adminis-

trative assistant at Moffat (Colo.) Consolidated School.

ERICH FRUEHAUF was born in northern Bohemia and received a Ph.D. in agriculture from the University of Leipzig in Germany. He came to central Kansas in 1926 and has lived on the same farm since that time. For a detailed account of his life on the farm, *see* his reminiscences in this issue.

PHILIP A. GRANT, JR., was born in Massachusetts and received his Ph.D. from Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. He is currently associate professor of history at Pace University in New York City. He is the author of numerous articles published in scholarly journals across the country.

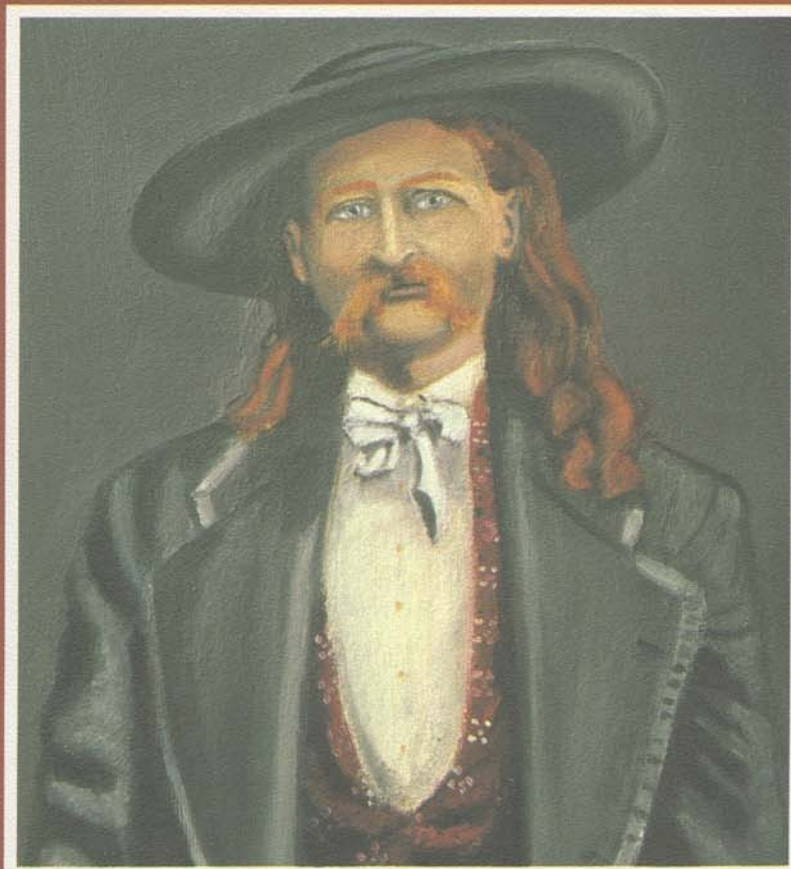
COMING ATTRACTIONS

Joe Rosa, the English authority and writer of Western history, is the author of a story on "Wild Bill" Hickok, which will be featured in the Winter issue of *Kansas History*. Rosa's own painting of "Wild Bill" will appear on the

cover of the magazine. The concluding installment of Erich Fruehauf's "Fifty Years on a One-Family Farm in Central Kansas" and other articles will be included in the issue.

KANSAS HISTORY

A JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL PLAINS



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The Kansas State Historical Society solicits diaries, letters, and other original records, books and pamphlets written by Kansans or about Kansas, territorial and state newspapers up to 1876, photographs, and maps and atlases of the state. The Society will also be glad to consider objects suitable for the museum, especially those having a direct connection with Kansas history.

Gifts and bequests for the furtherance of the Society's work will be gratefully received. Such remembrances, in various forms, are appropriate permanent memorials to the interests of an individual or a group. A representative of the Society will be glad to consult with anyone wishing to make a gift or to establish a bequest or endowment. Address the Executive Director, KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 120 W. Tenth St., Topeka, Kan. 66612.

THE COVER

Oil on canvas by Joseph G. Rosa, of James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok, from a photograph made by George Rockwood, New York, circa 1873. See Rosa's article on Hickok beginning on page 231.

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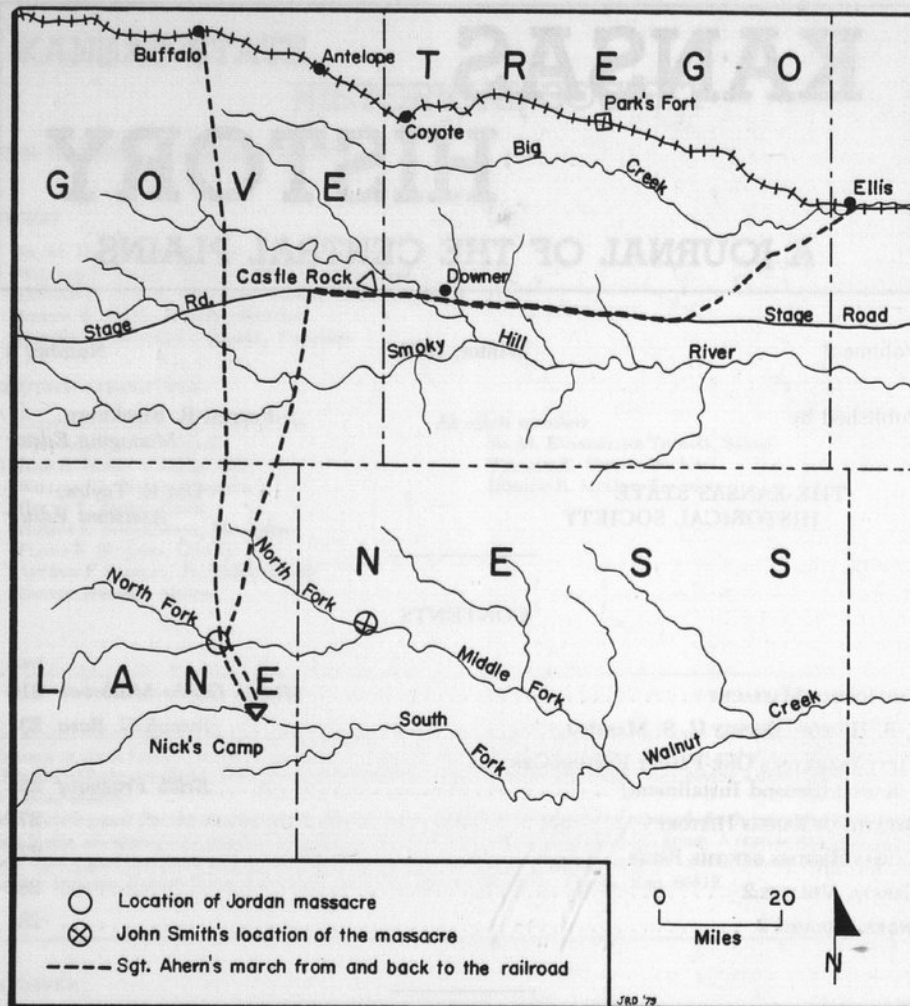
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In August, 1872, the Jordan hunting party was massacred in western Kansas and the wife of one of the men carried off by the Indians. The above map shows two possible sites for the location of the massacre. The dotted line is the route of Sgt. Daniel Ahern's cavalry detachment from Fort Hays which found the bodies of Dick and George Jordan and the hired man, Fred Nelson. Dick's wife, Mary was believed "carried off to a fate worse than death" and was never found, though the government kept up the search for 10 years. The only Indian atrocity in the area, the Jordan massacre was an oft told tale by old buffalo hunters who settled in Ness county later. The sister of Mary Jordan, Jennie Martin, also included an account of the tragedy in her *A Brief History of the Early Days of Ellis, Kansas*. Map drawn by Julie R. Dubbs.

THE JORDAN MASSACRE

MINNIE DUBBS MILLBROOK

ELLIS was denominated a town in Kansas, when the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, built its track through that location in the fall of 1868. For two years it was little more than a pumping station where the steam engines stopped for water. Railroads often were built to serve communities already established, but in the West the railroad quite frequently came first, its builders convinced that given a little time the whistle stops it had set up would become the nuclei of thriving towns that would support the railroad. Ellis was well out—perhaps a hundred miles—beyond the frontier line of settlement in eastern Kansas and had little visible future until in 1870 the railroad, now the Kansas Pacific, decided to transfer its shops and division point from Ellsworth to Ellis. Job seekers and town builders saw opportunities and the town began to grow.

The first woman resident was widow Martha A. Smith, who arrived on August 10, 1870, with her brood of children—five girls and two boys. She expected to be made manager of a bunkhouse for the railroad workers but when she arrived there was not a roof in town under which she might take shelter with her family. As one of her daughters wrote, "We sat on a pile of ties and began to cry. . . . There were about a hundred men here then and I think they all came to meet us." Out towards Big creek the railroad had built a side track and set out a line of box cars to accommodate the men building the roundhouse and shops. The Smith family moved down into one of these cars and lived there until the bunkhouse was finished. It was a long two-storied building containing 24 rooms, "a large window in each room," all rented within two days after its completion.¹

1. The story of the Smith family has been written several times. The main sources used here have been: Jennie Martin, *A Brief History of the Early Days of Ellis, Kansas*; Joseph H. Beach, "Mother Smith, of Ellis," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12, pp. 347-352. The children were all born in Texas where the father, W. H. Smith, died in 1858. The family returned to Illinois where several Smith uncles lived. John McGinnis or Col. P. A. McGinnis, master mechanic on the railroad, was chosen by the company to homestead the quarter of land on which Ellis was situated, he selling it to the railroad. A relative of the Smiths, McGinnis was said to have arranged for the family to come to Kansas and promised to find employment for Mrs. Smith. The Smith children were: Mary, Angeline, Laura, Josephine, Jennie, William, and John.

Early in 1871, John H. Edwards came to Ellis to establish a hotel for tourists, travelers and prospective settlers. His hotel became famous for its food and service though at first it was housed in discarded cars and adjoining shacks. The place was a civilized oasis in the rude Western town. "His table linen and dishes were white. . . . He kept the best help he could get and paid good wages. All eatables were shipped from Kansas City. . . ." ² Several of the Smith girls found employment there as waitresses and one of the still enduring jokes of the place and period is Josie Smith's story of what she told the tourists from the East about the reconstituted dried milk that was served in the dining room. She said the unfamiliar concoction was buffalo milk and they believed her. Mother Smith's girls—Mary, Angeline, Laura, Josephine, and Jennie—did not remain waitresses long. Young ladies were scarce in the West and within three years all five of the girls were married.³

AS ELLIS grew, other enterprising folk came in to find opportunity in the rapidly growing town. Among them was the A. J. Jordan family from Kentucky which arrived early in 1871 and bought the Western Hotel just completed by builders from Ellsworth. However, it was said the management of the hotel was beyond the strength of Mrs. Jordan, and the family moved on out to a homestead a mile west of town. The hotel was sold to Thomas K.

2. Jno. H. Edwards came to Kansas as general ticket agent of the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, railroad before 1867. Gov. Samuel Crawford appointed Edwards justice of peace for Ellsworth county and on June 22, 1867, one of the county commissioners. In that year he was proprietor of the Anderson House of Ellsworth. He was elected as state representative from Ellis county, 1870-1872. In 1873-1874 he was a member of the state senate.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12, p. 348.

3. Mary Smith, 25, married Richard Jordan, 25, November, 1871, record not found. Angeline Smith, 20, married W. Harry Lithgow, 29, on December 30, 1870, county record. Laura A. Smith, 20, married Thomas K. Hamilton, 28, on August 22, 1872, county record. Josephine Smith, married Joseph Harvey, marriage record not found. Jennie Smith, 19, married Sumner Martin, 27, on May 27, 1873, county record. According to the state census of 1875 William Smith was 18 years old and John 17 at that time.

Hamilton and Joseph Harvey.⁴ There were six sons in the Jordan family: Richard, 25 years, was the oldest, followed by Curtis, called Kirt or Kirk; then A. J. or Jack and the three younger boys, Nicholas, George, and Jefferson or Jep. Three girls, still younger, completed the family.⁵ The two oldest boys became buffalo hunters and Jack found a job as conductor on the railroad.

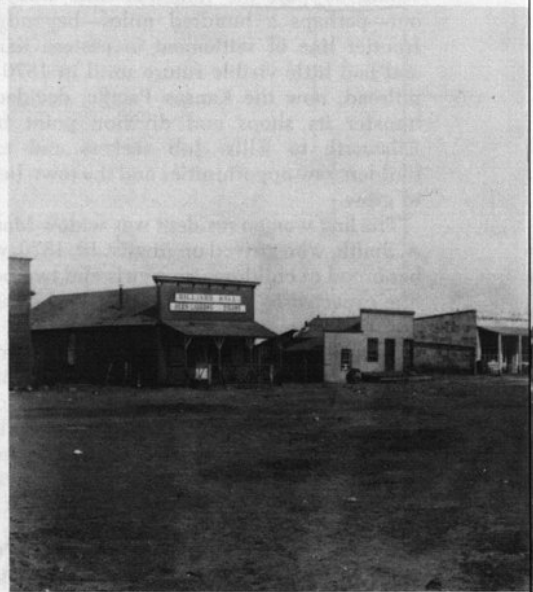
In November, 1871, Richard, or Dick, Jordan married Mary Smith and took her to live at Parks Fort (now WaKeeney) where he had established the headquarters of his buffalo business. He had built a small frame house adjacent to two large dugouts abandoned by construction workmen after the railroad had built through. He used the dugouts for drying the meat and curing the hides of the buffalo he shot on his hunting trips. The hides and meat were shipped to the East. The only other resident of Parks Fort was the telegrapher installed in a box car near the railroad track.

In July, 1872, Mary Smith Jordan was in low spirits after losing a baby and decided to go with her husband on his next hunting trip. Before leaving she went to Ellis to visit her family. Her mother tried to dissuade her from going so far away from home but Mary insisted it would do her good. She had gone along before and there was no danger; the Indians were now on reservations in Indian territory and Dick was master of all the perils of the plains.

The Jordans took off on their hunt August 1, 1872, in two mule-drawn, covered wagons, well-equipped and well-provisioned. They were accompanied by Dick's younger brother, George, and a hired hand, Fred Nelson. Queen, the Jordans' Newfoundland dog, also went

with them. They were to be gone about six weeks and would be unable to communicate with anyone, unless in their search for buffalo they should get as far south as Dodge City. They would hunt the country to the south and west, possibly as far west as Granada, Colo. No one was to worry as they might be gone six weeks.⁶

THREE weeks after their departure, the elder Jordans on their farm near Ellis were awakened one night by the dog Queen, whining at their door. The return of the dog made



4. Besides operating this hotel for a time, Hamilton and Harvey built a little store and express office, which Harvey operated. One night the railroad payroll of \$22,000 was stolen from the express office and Joe Harvey was missing. There are several stories as to his apprehension, threatened hanging, and escape but none that can be verified. He never came back to Ellis and his wife, Angeline Smith, also quietly left town and disappeared.—Kittie Dale, *Echoes and Etchings of Early Ellis* (Denver, Big Mountain Press, 1964), p. 27.

5. The Jordan family has been difficult to reconstruct. The census records usually so helpful in this respect have been useless since the Jordans came to Ellis in 1871 and by 1875 (Kansas census) the father was dead and all the sons gone from Ellis except Jack. Howard Raynesford, Ellis historian, left his findings on the family. Letters to this writer in July and August, 1949, from Marian S. Morrell (Mrs. J. R.), daughter of Ann Jordan Sperry (Mrs. Frank D.) gave some family information. The three Jordan girls were Kate, Ann, and Jennie. Kate died on the farm west of Ellis while a schoolgirl. Jennie married a Mr. Terry and Ann married Frank D. Sperry and lived near Ellsworth. Ann was nine years old when her family came to Kansas; she was 87 years old when she related her memories to her daughter to put in the letters.

them slightly uneasy though they reminded themselves that the dog had been sent home before because she interfered with the hunting. Still as time lengthened and the hunters were more than six weeks gone, their families began to worry. Jack inquired of chance hunters he met along the line, had they heard or seen anything of the Jordans?

Late in the evening of September 30, a

6. This story of the beginning of the hunt is the one used and agreed upon by the many tellers of this tale. See footnote 1 for sources.

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hunter by the name of Kent⁷ came from the south into Buffalo Station (now Park) on the railroad, reporting he had seen a camp on the Pawnee river about 40 miles south, apparently deserted with some wagons and remnants of harness all cut up. He had ventured to look in the wagons, finding a grain sack with the name "R. Jordan" on it. Fearful of Indians he had come away without further investigation. His story was immediately telegraphed to John H. Edwards, now a representative in the Kansas legislature as well as hotelkeeper and prominent citizen of Ellis. Edwards in turn tele-

A party of four, three men and one woman, left Parks Fort on line of K.P.R.R. about seven weeks since; nothing heard from them until today a hunter and a red man came into Buffalo Station and reports having found their wagons on Pawnee Creek, forty miles south of Buffalo Station, with horses standing around and harness cut up, apparently done by Indians from all appearance, no one had been near the camp for some time.⁸

John Edwards repeated much the same information in a dispatch to the *Kansas Commonwealth*: "On Tuesday of last week a hunter by the name of Rent came into Buffalo station and reported having found two wagons . . . with the harness lying around and cut up, all



First denominated a town in 1868, Ellis in 1870 was little more than a pumping station on the Union Pacific track about 100 miles beyond the frontier line of settlement in Kansas. But that year the railroad transferred its shops and division point from Ellsworth to Ellis and the town began to grow. The first woman resident was Martha A. Smith, a widow with a brood of seven children, who arrived in August, 1870, to manage a bunkhouse for railroad workers. One of her daughters, Mary, was one of four victims in the Jordan massacre two years later. Townspeople were shocked and a search party, including Mary's brother, John, set out to follow the trail into Indian territory. Photograph of Main street in Ellis, taken in the 1870's, courtesy DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.

having the appearance of having been deserted some weeks. He saw in the wagon a sack with the name R. Jordan, Park's Fort on it and came in without making further search. . . ."⁹

Lt. Col. Thomas H. Neill of the Sixth cavalry, commanding at Fort Hays, responded

graphed the commanding officer at Fort Hays concerning the Jordan party, their return overdue, and now this report of abandoned wagons and fear of an Indian attack: "Can you send out troops to hunt for them or their bodies?"

Since the various details of what the hunter found varies according to the teller, the telegram of Edwards to Fort Hays is reproduced here. It was dated September 30, 1872.

7. This hunter's name has been written variously as Kent or Rent, probably Kent, but Howard Raynesford once called him Curley West.—*Ellis Review and Headlight*, September 5, 1929.

8. Records of the War Department, United States Army Commands, Department of the Platte, "Letters Received," File 2592-M-1872, National Archives. While the massacre of the Jordans took place in the army Department of the Missouri, the records pertaining to the case were sent to nearby states in the effort to find the Indians involved. Unless otherwise indicated all the army records cited in this case were from this source. These records were lent to Howard C. Raynesford who incorporated them into a 26-page manuscript, "Jordan Massacre, Ness Co., 1872," dated 1950.

9. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, October 10, 1872. Although this letter or dispatch was dated October 1, it was evidently written after October 5, since it gave the location of the Jordan camp as on the Middle fork of the Walnut, a fact that was not known to Edwards until October 5. This letter also appeared in the weekly *Commonwealth* on October 17 and in the *Junction City Union* on October 12.

quickly to this call for help and on October 1, "sent a detachment of one non-commissioned officer and ten (10) privates of the 6th Cavy. to Buffalo, there to take along with them as guide the man who on Sept. 30 had seen the wagon."¹⁰ Sgt. Daniel Ahern with his 10 men left Hays City at 2:45 A. M. on October 2 on a train which apparently stopped at Ellis where Nicholas Jordan, brother of Dick, and Thomas K. Hamilton, brother-in-law of Mary Smith Jordan, joined the expedition. At Buffalo presumably the hunter, Kent, joined the party, though this is not mentioned in any of the accounts.

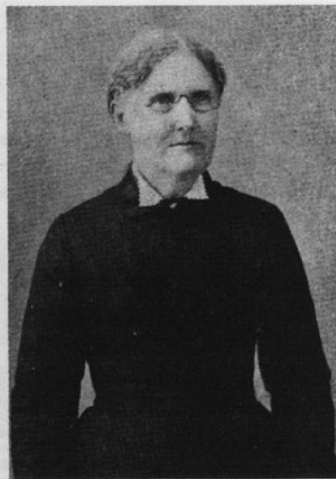
Since history buffs may be interested in tracing the route of this journey to a spot now in dispute, the log kept by Sergeant Ahern on that part of the journey is reproduced here. It will be remembered that the direction was generally south although the sergeant veered to the west or the east at times.

10. Col. Thomas H. Neill, Sixth cavalry, to Asst. Adj. General, Department of the Missouri, October 6, 1872.

October 2, 1872. Left Hays City at 2:45 A.M. proceeded by rail to Buffalo Station a distance of 70 miles, arrived at Buffalo Station at 10 o'clock A. M. took off our horses and fed them and the detail had dinner; left Buffalo Station at half past twelve P.M. and marched in a southwesterly direction; crossed Big Creek at its head a distance of 4 miles from the R. R. crossed Hackberry Creek at 3:30 a distance of 15 miles from the R. Road changed the direction then and proceeded in a southeasterly direction for about 2 miles passing and leaving to our left a large sandstone rock and cave, a distance of 6 miles from Castle Rock and arrived at camp at 5:30 having marched 21 miles. Camped in a ravine with very little water to be found in holes and stagnant; got water for use and drinking out of small spring with a box in it on the right of the road; the spring was not known by any of the party; grass very poor; wood none.

October 3rd, Left Camp at 7 o'clock; went in a north [south ?] westerly direction for about 4 miles crossing the Butterfield trail and at 8 o'clock moved in an easterly direction for 5 miles and crossed the Smoky River, traveling southeast for 30 miles; met a party of hunters on the middle fork of the Walnut a mile east of the place where the wagons were last seen on this creek we found the bodies of the Jordan boys and the Swede who accompa-

A telegram brought the news of the massacre to Ellis.



Martha A. "Mother" Smith



Mary Smith Jordan

"'Read it,' screamed Mother Smith and when she heard that Mary had been captured she fainted dead away."



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nied them; the first body was recognized by his brother as Richard Jordan he knowing him by clothing he had on. The second was recognized as the Swede. It getting too late for us to continue the search we broke camp again at 5 o'clock and crossed the middle fork of the Walnut and marched about S.S.E. for 5 miles, went to the hunting camp about 6:30 P.M. Wood plentiful, water scarce and grass poor distance traveled about 44 miles.¹¹

As to the finding of the bodies, we have several accounts, one given Colonel Neill at Fort Hays, who reported in turn to his superior:

He found Jordan's body . . . with a bullet hole in the breast and another in the left shoulder, the head was scalped all round, it was covered with a blanket; his wife's sunbonnet underneath her check apron was found elsewhere.

The body of the Swede hired Servant was found . . . about 300 yards from R. Jordan's body, he had been shot in the hip in front and the ball is supposed to have passed through the spine, he was scalped twice, both of these bodies were much dried up as if death had taken place several weeks ago.

A leather bag was found containing trinkets which will be sent in—and a bag made of blue jean sewed up with buffalo sinews containing sugar. The scalping would seem to confirm the belief that the killing was done by Indians.¹²

Edwards in his dispatch to the *Kansas Commonwealth* wrote thus:

On arriving at the place the wagons were found to have been taken, and no trace of any one seen until one of the soldiers who was hunting for a lost knife, discovered a blanket and upon the removal of it was horrified at discovering the body of a man, which proved to be that of Richard Jordan, shot through the shoulder and breast. On further search the body of the Swede was found about two hundred yards off across the creek, lying on his face and shot directly through the body; both were scalped.¹³

As to the exact location of the Jordan camp, Sergeant Ahern gives little information except to state that he had traveled 65 miles from Buffalo Station and found the bodies on the Middle fork of the Walnut instead of the Pawnee as had first been reported. But he does give a more specific clue to the location in his final entry of the day, October 3, when he "marched S.S.E. for 5 miles, went to the hunting

camp. . . ." Undoubtedly the hunting camp to which he went was Big Nick's, a meat ranch where buffalo meat and hides were cured. This camp was located on the north side of the South fork of the Walnut in a grove of trees where the town of Alamota now stands, a few miles west of the Lane-Ness county line. In this vicinity the Middle and South forks of the Walnut are about five miles apart. Though there is little written record of this camp and its brief existence, the story of it and the nearby massacre of a family by the Indians, came down by word of mouth through a number of the old buffalo hunters who settled in Ness county later. The names and dates were garbled but as it was the only Indian atrocity that happened in that area, it was a prized and oft-told tale of their hunting days.¹⁴ Sergeant Ahern perhaps partially confirmed his night at Big Nick's when he wrote as to the evening of October 3, "Wood plentiful."¹⁵ On all the other nights of that trip he had written, "Wood none."

It is the known location of Big Nick's camp and the trees that fix the location of the massacre, several miles into Lane county where a large draw comes from the north into the Middle Walnut. In Lane county this draw or drain is called the North fork of the Walnut and at its juncture with the Middle fork there is some swampy ground and bluffs to the south.

14. Some of the old buffalo hunters who told this story were Noah Chenoweth, Doc and James Litton, and Thad Levan. James Litton was an early settler on the Walnut in Ness county where he lived seven or eight years before moving on to Washington territory. He wrote his reminiscences for the *Ness County News*, Ness City, February 3, 1923. "There were other dugouts near the west line of the county built by old hunters. Also one of the longest, if not the longest, dry house to be found on the western buffalo range was located on the creek just across the Ness County line. It was built by C. A. Nichols, better known as 'Big Nick,' an old government (sic) buffalo hunter, who was making the South Fork his headquarters at that time. These dry houses were used for the drying of buffalo meat. The hides were stretched in the sun to dry."

Going on, Litton describes the massacre itself though he gets the name, dates, and some details wrong. "It was in the latter part of the summer of 1870, as afterwards related by C. A. Nichols or 'Big Nick,' that a hunting party of the Allison family left Ellis for the South Fork on their honeymoon. . . . We found the bodies of the two men and the brother lying on the bank of the South Fork after the three had been killed near where the old trail crosses the creek and about a half mile above it," Big Nick said. "The men were murdered by small band of Indians and the two young women were undoubtedly taken into captivity."

There was a trail running from Big Nick's camp to Fort Hays which endured for some years after Nick had dismantled his camp. This trail entered Ness county at slightly east of the camp and angled north and east leaving the county at Page creek on the northern border. An item in the *Ness County Times*, May 20, 1880, reads: "Last Friday two men came from the east via the Nick trail."

15. Confirming the existence of trees in this vicinity are the field notes of the surveyor, who, going east, north of the South fork in July, 1871, wrote, "Water in pools, timber on creek, elm, ash and cottonwood."

11. Sgt. Daniel Ahern, Co. A, Sixth cavalry, to the Acting Adjutant, Sixth cavalry, Camp near Fort Hays, Ks.

12. Col. Thos. H. Neill, Sixth cavalry, to Asst. Adj. Genl., Dept. of the Missouri, Ft. Leavenworth, October 7, 1872. This letter is puzzling indeed for Neill wrote: "A few moments since I had an interview with a Mr. McKenny—brother of Mrs. Jordan—who guided my detachment of 6th Cavalry (which has not yet returned) from Buffalo Station to the point where the massacre took place." Surely this person was T. K. Hamilton and not a Mr. McKenny whose name appears nowhere else in this case and who was not either a brother of Dick Jordan or Mary Smith. In a letter of October 8, Neill writes, "A Mr. Hamilton from Ellis called on me yesterday." Perhaps a clerk miswrote the name in the letter of October 7.

13. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, October 10, 1872.



Sergeant Ahern's report continues:

October 4, 1872. Left camp at 8:30 procured a tool for the purpose of burying the body found; on arriving at the vicinity of the murder we found the body of the Swede¹⁶ about 500 yards S. E. of the first body and lying upon his face and being like the first one scalped, the former being wholly scalped that is all the skin taken off his head, the latter having part removed; we then made a thorough search for the missing body but finding it to be in vain and having found a hat supposed to be his in the Creek his brother and brother-in-law arrived at the conclusion that the body was concealed in the Creek. So after a fruitless search we dug a grave and buried the bodies side by side on a small elevation about 20 or 30 yards from the Creek. The place was selected by the brother and is on the north bank of the stream. Having accomplished our mission the relations of the deceased left us and proceeded to return home leaving us.

It must have been at least midmorning when Thos. Hamilton and Nicholas Jordan left the burial spot on the Walnut to ride the 65 or 68 miles back to Buffalo Station. There is no story of this ride though it was accomplished in rather notable time. On October 5, a telegram went out to Edwards from Buffalo Station.

We found the remains of R. Jordan and servant and appear to have been dead 5 or 6 weeks—failed to find the body of George—but suppose it to be in a swamp near where the others lay—from signs we found—Mary is alive and carried off by the Indians—whom we suppose to be a band of Kiowas.¹⁷

When this telegram came in to Ellis there was hesitation as to who should take the dreadful news to Mother Smith. A neighbor finally volunteered but she collapsed just inside the door, wordlessly holding out the message to Jennie, the daughter. "Read it," screamed Mother Smith and when she heard that Mary had been captured she fainted dead away. They had all been in Ellis long enough to have heard how Indians abused their woman captives. It was a fate worse than death.¹⁸ But the story was not yet complete. Sergeant Ahern's narrative of October 4 continued:

We fed or rather let our horses graze for an hour longer. A party of hunters now coming up and traveling in the direction of Hays and wishing our company we went with them to find a good crossing for their heavily laden wagons. In doing so we found the remaining body. This one was also scalped and horribly mutilated having 5

arrows in his body one of them being in his mouth. As the other party had taken the tools we were unable to bury him so we marked the place well and started for Hays marching in a N.E. direction for about 8 miles when we camped for the night on a small ravine with barely water enough for the horses, arriving about 5 o'clock, grass fair, wood none, 13 miles.

Colonel Neill in his report wrote of the body of George Jordan filled with arrows, "the latter will serve to fix the tribe." And then again later after Sergeant Ahern had returned to Fort Hays, bringing two of the arrows, "one he drew embedded in George Jordan's heart about five inches, the two arrows are said to be Kiowa arrows, they have a blue band around the notched end, and three grooves down the side."¹⁹

T. K. Hamilton visited Colonel Neill at Fort Hays on October 7 asking further help from the army and Neill sent a detachment of one non-commissioned officer and two men with a wagon "to accompany Mr. Hamilton from Ellis to Walnut Creek and assist him in the procurement of the remains, and in the further search of his sister in law." At that time Hamilton gave Neill a description of Mary Smith Jordan—"five feet high, dark hair, dark complexion, dark grey eyes, the sinew of her left leg was cut in the calf which caused her to limp slightly."²⁰

In Ellis in October, 1872, there were no coffins to be had but the carpenters at the railroad shops turned to and out of such wood as was available made three coffins, that were ready to be taken by the soldiers and relatives on this second trip to bring the bodies home. John Edwards described the return of the party.

19. Neill's letter to the Department of the Missouri, October 7, 1872.

20. Neill's letters of October 7 and 8, 1872. Sergeant Ahern had returned to Fort Hays on October 8. Since the route of his homeward journey may be of interest to some historians it is given below.

"October 5. Broke camp at 8:45 A. M. marched N.E. until we reached the Smoky River which we crossed about 65 miles S.W. from Fort Hays; went into camp on the north bank of the Smoky having marched about 20 miles. Wood none, water plentiful, grass poor. Arrived in camp 4:30.

"October 6. Left camp at 7 o'clock A. M. Marched in northerly direction for 5 miles passing to the S.W. of Castle Rock, arriving at Stage road to Hays at 8:30 o'clock; marched N.E. for about 20 miles camping for the night (at) Downing; good grass, water excellent and plentiful, wood none. Distance marched 25 miles.

"October 7. Left camp at 7 o'clock marched in a N.N. Easterly direction for about 20 miles when we reached the line of the Kansas Pacific R.R. about 10 miles west of Ellis. Marched east for 10 miles and the horses being so tired I had to stay there as they were unable to proceed further; procured oats and fed the animals the first they had since we started from Buffalo Station. Stopped for the night at Ellis having marched 30 miles. Arrived at Camp at 2:30 P.M.

"October 8. Left camp at 7 o'clock marched in an easterly direction reached Camp at Fort Hays Kansas."

16. The sergeant apparently forgot the Swede, Fred Nelson, had been found the afternoon before.

17. A copy of this telegram was sent by Neill to his headquarters. However, Howard Raynesford contended that this was not a telegram but a note sent to Edwards, written on both sides of a piece of paper 4¼ x 7¾ inches later in the possession of S. J. Hamilton, son of T. K. Hamilton.—Raynesford, "Jordan Massacre."

18. Martin, *Brief History*, p. 16; Dale, *Echoes and Etchings*, p. 115.

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The troops and citizens that went on the second expedition returned on Sunday last but without any clue as to the fate of Mrs. Jordan. A trail was found going south, but from the lapse of time since the occurrence took place it was too indistinct to follow more than a mile or two,²¹ so the party giving up all hope in that direction, took up the bodies of the three men and returned to this place. Notice of the time of arrival was brought in by one of the party, Mr. Hamilton, the night before, and Chaplin Collins from Fort Hays, came up with quite a number of citizens to attend the funeral, which was the most solemn scene witnessed in this section of the country for years. The services were impressive, and if sympathy could relieve the sorrowing relatives, they would have received the sympathy of the entire community.

And here again since the Topeka paper had a wide circulation on the frontier and someone just might see Mary Jordan in some far-off place, another description of her was given: "black hair and eyes, rather pleasing in manners and looks; was slightly lame in the left hip or knee, caused by white swelling, and one of her limbs was shorter than the other."²²

ABOUT a week after the funeral a search party of eight persons composed entirely of citizens without the aid of the military, left Ellis "to take up the trail of the Jordans to try to find and rescue Mrs. Jordan." According to Howard Raynesford, Ellis historian, this party consisted of Matt Gibbs, chief scout at Hays, Jim Campbell, asst. scout, Harry Comstock, another scout, Hill Peach, a hunter, Wheeler, a teamster, Pat McKenna and Frank Augustine, neighbors of the Smiths', and finally John Smith, 15-year-old brother of Mary Jordan.²³

From the Jordan camp site this scouting party followed the Indian trail over the slope to the southwest at a gallop it was so plain. They crossed the Walnut after riding a mile or so, crossed the Arkansas about six miles west of Fort Dodge and camped on the Cimarron just over the Kansas Line in Indian Territory, at the same camp, so John said, where the Indians had camped.

21. Jennie Martin in *A Brief History*, pp. 16-17, wrote: "My sister had a storm cloak that was as long as her dress and fastened down the front with little straps of the same material as the cloak. The soldiers found a few pieces torn in strips, from the straps of this coat. They thought they had a trail, but it only lasted a short way." Another version of this comes from James Beach's story of Mother Smith: "At the time of the hunting trip Mrs. Jordan was wearing a new balmoral underskirt, which had been given her by her mother and which could be easily identified. She had torn strips from this and had dropped them at intervals."

22. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, October 18, 1872. Edwards's second letter to this newspaper.

23. It is impossible to identify most of these men. Patrick McKenna is shown on the state census of 1875 as a railroad conductor living in Ellis with a wife and three children. While his name resembles that of the Mr. McKenny who visited Colonel Neill at Hays on October 7, there is no evidence that he was a relative of the Smiths. Frank Augustine was a mechanic living in Ellis in 1875 with a wife and two young children.



John H. Edwards, who came to Kansas as general ticket agent for the Union Pacific railroad, Eastern division, before 1867, later was a social and political leader in Ellis where he was manager of the Ellis House, a famous hotel in the town. He was elected to the house of representatives from Ellis county in 1870 and 1872, and later served in the state senate. When word came of the Jordan massacre, he telegraphed Fort Hays asking for troops and sent a dispatch to the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, reporting the news.

While eating supper the whole party was arrested by soldiers from Fort Dodge, it being against the law for citizens to carry arms in Indian Territory. The boy, John Smith, brother of the woman the Indians had captured, was determined to push on after the Indians, and when the soldiers started to take them back to Fort Dodge became very wrathful and cursed the soldiers for not only *not trying themselves* to rescue the girl but actually preventing anyone else from trying to. The result was that he was put in irons and taken to Fort Dodge in an ambulance while the others were allowed to ride their horses. And it took the combined efforts of his brother-in-law, T. K. Hamilton, Rep. J. H. Edwards, and Governor Harvey to secure his release from the Military authorities.²⁴

Though the army itself did not make an attempt to follow the Indian trail, letters were sent at once to the various army departments as well as to the superintendents of the Indian agencies, whose wards might have been involved. As early as October 11, Gen. John Pope, commander of the Department of the Missouri, in which department the massacre and abduction had occurred, wrote that he didn't think the Kiowas could possibly be involved as none of them had been north of the

24. This story appears only in Howard Raynesford's manuscript on the Jordan massacre. No supporting documentation has been found for it either in the Fort Dodge records or in the Kansas governor's correspondence.

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Committee also has a Point
very far from the Point
with other Indian Point
all of which together with
portions of the Quaker Supp
-ers to have been won on
taken by Mr. Jordan on the
trip I shall be ready to go
-with to the Quakers.

This Quaker talking
place within the borders of
our State by Indians fed
and protected by the U.S.
Government only goes to show
that the only policy for us is
to insist that if the Government
wishes to pursue its damnable
Quaker policy, it must do so
without the Border of our State
we certainly have authority
over our own Territory and
should pass such laws as
will prevent the Quakers

from settling first within its
limits I trust you will take
this matter immediately in
hand and have Quakers
and through Quakers made
for Mr. Jordan

I am Respectfully
Yours Obedt
J. H. Edwards

To his Excellency Harvey
Governor of Kansas

John H. Edwards wrote Governor Harvey October 6, 1872, about the "outrages" in western Kansas that he said called for "immediate action upon the part of the Government."



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Arkansas for two years. "The laborers of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Rail-Road are scattered along the Arkansas from Fort Dodge to the western line of the State, and companies of cavalry are patrolling the river on both sides along that whole distance. It is impossible for any of the southern Indians to have crossed the Arkansas without the knowledge of these parties." He thought that the murders must have been committed by Osages, hunting along Walnut creek, or by Indians from the north who had been hunting along the Republican, Solomon, and Saline. He voiced again the re-

"The soldiers soon after found the Body of George Jordan pierced with seventeen arrows."

peated complaint that the Indian bureau gave Indians permission to hunt over lands ceded by them to the government and open to settlement by the whites, and then when trouble occurred, blamed the army for not protecting the citizens.²⁵

From Camp Supply down near the Cheyenne Indian reservation, Col. John W. Davidson wrote on October 20:

I have seen Medicine Arrow and Little Raven the principal men of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes and they assure me that none of their people were engaged in this act. The story I learn is about this. A party of Northern Cheyennes and Sioux were coming down to visit the Southern Indians. Near the head of Walnut Creek they came across a party of Buffalo Hunters, and one of the Indians approached them and was warned off. He then laid down his gun to show he was friendly and still approached the Camp—when he was shot dead by the hunters. Being too large a party to attack, the Indians left, and coming down Walnut Creek met the Jordans and killed the men, took away the woman, and left the horses in the camp²⁶ to show they were not a marauding party but committed the act in revenge. This is the Indian story and I merely mention it here that inquiry may be prosecuted among the Northern Indians for the person of Mrs. Jordan.²⁷

This letter with all the enclosures and correspondence relating to the case were therefore sent to Gen. E. O. C. Ord, commanding the Department of the Platte, who in turn sent

them out to Fort McPherson, Fort Laramie, and Fort Fetterman with the suggestion that a reward of five or 10 ponies be offered to the chiefs of the bands for the recovery of Mary Jordan. Then General Ord wrote asking the approval of the reward from his superior officers. His letter ascended upward through the levels of army command, each officer indicating his opinion on the back of the letter. Gen. Phil H. Sheridan wrote, "After having her husband and friends murdered, and her own person subjected to the fearful bestiality of perhaps the whole tribe, it is mock humanity to secure what is left of her for the consideration of five ponies." General Sherman concurred, "so long as ransoms are paid to Indians, so long will they steal women, to use, and sell." William Belknap, secretary of war agreed with his generals and sent notice of the decision to the Indian bureau. General Sherman sent orders "forbidding the practice of ransom in future cases."²⁸

But still there came no positive news of Mary Jordan. The governor of Kansas wrote urgent letters to the military authorities, the Kansas state legislature urged by John Edwards, passed a resolution. From General Davidson at

"The supposition here and among those posted in Indian matters is that she has been carried off to a fate worse than death."

Camp Supply came another letter dated November 24. "The last information I get is that the Jordan party was murdered by Cheyennes or Arapahoes from the North, on their way back from a visit to these Southern Indians, and that they also Murdered Mrs. Jordan on the road."²⁹

MEANWHILE the Indian bureau worked on the case, trying to find out just who the guilty individuals might be; the tribesmen loath to give information on their fellows. Though their superintendent finally ferreted out the matter to his own satisfaction still he

25. Maj. Gen. John Pope to Gov. James M. Harvey, October 11, 1872, Archives, Kansas State Historical Society.

26. The Jordans drove mules, for which the Indians cared little. When the hunter Kent found the camp, the mules were not there although he saw the wagons. Before the search party arrived the wagons were also gone.

27. Gen. John W. Davidson to Asst. Adj. Gen. Dept. of the Mo., October 20, 1872.

28. Records of the War Department, Office of the Adjutant General, "Letters Received," File 4805-AGO-1872, National Archives.

29. Gen. John Davidson to Asst. Adj. General, Dept. of Mo., November 24, 1872.

FROM ELLIS.

The Jordan Massacre.

ELLIS, Kan., Oct. 16, 1872.

To the Editor of the Commonwealth:

In my last letter I promised to write you further in regard to the massacre of the Jordans, and the supposed abduction of Mrs. Jordan. The troops and citizens that went on the second expedition returned on Sunday last, but without any clue as to the fate of Mrs. Jordan.

A trail was found going south, but from the lapse of time since the occurrence took place it was too indistinct to follow for more than a mile or two, so the party, giving up all hope in that direction, took up the bodies of the three men and returned to this place. Notice of the time of their arrival was brought in by one of the party, Mr. Hamilton, the night before, and Chaplain Collins, from Fort Hays, came up with quite a number of the citizens, to attend the funeral, which was the most solemn scene witnessed in this section of the country for years. The services were impressive, and if sympathy could relieve the sorrowing relations, they would have received the sympathies of the entire community.

When I gazed upon the three coffins my mind wandered back to a scene on the banks of the Saline river, in 1869, when the stark and stiff bodies of men, women and children were found cruelly mutilated by these incarnate devils, and I looked forward with anxiety to the coming of another spring when the grass shall have grown and the well-fed, well-cared-for savage can again take the field in search of human scalps.

The *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, October 18, 1872, published a letter from John H. Edwards reporting on the Jordan massacre and asking the paper's readers on the frontier to help in the search for Mrs. Jordan.

Governor Harvey has promised that he will do all that he can to recover the person of Mrs. Jordan, and to bring to speedy punishment the perpetrators of the outrage, and gentlemen connected with the army have given assurances that no effort will be spared to find her. Your paper having so large a circulation on the frontier, can aid much in this matter and in view of this fact, I will give as accurate a description of Mrs. Jordan as I can from memory. She is about twenty-six or seven years old, medium height, dark complexion, black hair and eyes, rather pleasing in manners and looks; was slightly lame in the left hip or knee, caused by white swelling, and one of her limbs was shorter than the other; her full name is Mary Jordan. Should any of your readers at the several outposts become interested in the matter, they can if any information be obtained, forward the news through your office to me at this place, and receive the thanks of her afflicted friends.

Yours truly, J. H. EDWARDS.

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had no direct witnesses or anyone willing to testify against the culprits. John D. Miles, superintendent of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency, Indian territory, wrote on the 29th of September, 1873, a year after the tragedy, to Edward A. P. Smith, commissioner of Indian affairs in Washington:

I have to report that I have made every effort that prudence would seem to dictate to ferret out the matter, if possible ascertain who the guilty parties were.

From the first information on the subject I was satisfied that there was one or two young men (Cheyennes) attached to this Agency that were implicated in the murder, but it has been very difficult (to) get an expression from any one in the tribe. On my last visit in last month (Aug) I learned from a reliable source the following particulars.

"Old Bear" a northern Cheyenne left the main Cheyenne camp near Camp Supply in August 1872 in company with three (3) other Cheyennes named as follows: "Buffalo Meat," "Coon" and "Broen-hi-o," two of whom I believe belonged to this Agency. On reaching the Walnut country in the western portion of Kansas, they run on the Jordans, murdering the men and taking captive the Mrs. Jordan whom I believe they kept a day or two for the purpose of gratifying their fiendish desires and after having exhausted their animal desires in outraging her person, killed her. There can be little doubt but the above is something near a correct account of the fate of the unfortunate family. "Old Bear" and "buffalo Meat," I believe are up north. "Coon" was during the past summer promoted to the position of a Chief, and was accidentally shot and instantly killed on 14th day of last mo. (Aug) by one of his own people (named "Man-Walking-Under-a-Cloud") in a drunken spree from whiskey furnished Cheyennes by Mexican "outfits" while camped near "Antelope Hills." The other young man "Broen-hi-o" is the brother of the "Young Medicine Man" attached to this Agency—could not learn of his whereabouts.

"... the funeral, which was the most solemn scene witnessed in this section of the county for years."

It is possible I may have got some of the names wrong & perhaps some of the particulars, but there is *no doubt* but that the murder was committed by Southern and Northern Cheyennes jointly on their way up north.

One of the Cheyenne Chiefs was quite anxious to know why this matter was *continually being inquired after*. Should any further information come to my knowledge on this subject I will forward at once.³⁰

Drunkenness among the Indians was a great problem at this time but the Indians would not

reveal the names of the men who sold them the whiskey. Some of the chiefs were taken to Washington and lectured on the importance of cooperating with their agent in regard to known criminals in the tribe,³¹ but the scolding was without result.

Other details were added to the story of the Jordan massacre. In March, 1873, a hunter came to Ellis and the Smiths to tell them that when out hunting the year before he had visited the Jordans in their camp on August 16, saw the dog and was told their hunt had been

"I looked forward with anxiety to the coming of another spring when the . . . savage can again take the field in search of human scalps."

successful and they were about to go on home. It was estimated thereafter that the Jordans had been killed about August 19.³²

Also there was later testimony as to the event that triggered the attack of the Indians on the Jordans. A buffalo hunter, George Brown, wrote of it in his memoirs:

Bob and Jim Carter met these Indians between the Arkansas river and the Pawnee before they murdered the Jordan family. . . . When they saw the Indians coming Bob Carter got upon his wagon and motioned the Indians not to come, but they kept coming as fast as their horses would bring them. Then the men fired a volley into them and killed one Indian. Then the Indians drew off and were seen no more. The Jordan family were the next whites they met up with.³³

Strangely enough the Smith family seems never to have known or accepted the government's final version of the capture and killing of Mary Jordan. Jennie Martin wrote that the government had "ordered a big reward and called a number of chiefs to Washington. There was only one tribe that knew of this massacre and it was not going to tell anything. . . . The government . . . kept up the search among the Indians for ten years, but never saw or heard a word of her [Mary]."³⁴

31. J. D. Miles to Enoch Hoag, Lawrence, November 4, 1873, Records of Bureau of Indian Affairs, Central Superintendency, "Letters Received," Record Group No. 75, National Archives.

32. Martin, *A Brief History*; Dale, *Echoes and Etchings*, p. 117.

33. "Life and Adventures of George W. Brown," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17, p. 119.

34. Martin, *A Brief History*, p. 18.

30. Jno. D. Miles, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indian Agency, Indian territory, to Edward P. Smith, commissioner of Indian affairs September 9, 1873, Records of Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Letters Received—Upper Arkansas Agency," H968-1873, Record Group No. 75, National Archives.

Altogether the frontier took a heavy toll of the Jordan family. In 1874 the father, A. J. Jordan, died.³⁵ The second son, Curtis, Kirk or Kirt, in 1872 was a big buffalo hunter out of Dodge City, working "three four-horse wagons and 20 men"³⁶ as well as being called "a leader among the rougher element of the hide men." His reaction to the murder of his brother and Mary Smith Jordan was violent and he was said to be ready to kill any Indian he ran across. Later he seems to have gone into the business of stealing horses and early in 1874 was captured by a military detachment out of Fort Wallace. However, some hours later he was able to slug his guard and escape.³⁷ According to the family record Kirt was killed "while he and a cousin were hunting in the south."³⁸ In 1876 Jack was killed by a stroke of lightning while driving a team to a ranch owned by the Jordans north of Grinnell.³⁹ Jefferson was crippled by a fall from a horse but was still living in Denver in 1937. That left only Nicholas who was said to have died in Arkansas though he lived for some years south of Fort Wallace.

MOTHER SMITH continued to live with her youngest daughter in Ellis until her death in 1910. Both her sons became engineers on other railroads. In 1929 when Jennie Martin died, her brother John Smith of Moberly, Mo., returned to Ellis for the funeral. Persuaded by some of the local historians he went with them on an exploring trip to locate the spot on which the Jordan massacre had occurred 37 years before. It will be remembered that in 1872,

John, then a lad of 15 years had gone out with a group of civilians, who had tried to follow the track of the murdering Indians into Indian territory. Following hopefully in the footsteps of that expedition, the 1929 party traveled across country to Downer, then west until south and west of Castle Rock,⁴⁰ they dropped directly south until they came to the Middle fork of the Walnut. "The long gradual slope to the north, the course of the little stream, the little bend in which the wagons were, the marshy slough in which the body of George was found, the rocky bluff to the south, and the slope to the southwest over which went the trail of the departing Indians," were all found and recognized by Mr. Smith.⁴¹

This spot where the Ness county North fork of the Walnut comes into the Middle fork has much the same aspect as the similar junction of the Lane county North fork and the Middle fork of the Walnut some 10 miles to the west. John Smith and the local historians reported no mileages of the trip in search of the massacre site. Sergeant Ahern on his way back to Hays did. He marched 28 miles from the site northeast to the Smoky Hill river and then five miles due north to the old "stage road." After camping all night there he marched the next day 20 miles to Downing (Downer). Distances on the old Butterfield trail were and are well-known. If Sergeant Ahern was 20 miles west of Downer when he came out on the stage road he was about 10 miles west of Castle Rock Station on the old trail and still well west of the John Smith location of the massacre to the south, and this though he claimed to have marched northeast towards the river and the stage road. If the hunter Kent who brought the news of the massacre to the railroad, had come north from the John Smith location, he would have come out on the railroad somewhere between Coyote (Collyer) and Antelope (Quinter) and not at Buffalo (Park), 10 miles to the west.

35. Hays *Sentinel*, January 5, 1877, resume of past events, "October, 1874 . . . Died: A. J. Jordan, of Ellis."

36. Gary L. Roberts, "From Tin Star to Hanging Tree," in *The Prairie Scout*, Kansas Corral of the Westerners, Inc., Abilene, v. 3 (1975), p. 33.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-42, 49-50; Robert M. Wright, *Dodge City, Cowboy Capital* (1913), pp. 160-161, 166-167.

38. Marian S. Morrell to M. D. Millbrook, August 7, 1949; Howard Raynesford stated Curtis Jordan was killed while hunting in canebrakes in Mississippi.

39. *Ellis County Star*, Hays City, July 13, 1876. "At the time the lightning struck him he was standing up in his wagon, laughing and talking to Jep when all of a sudden, the horses stopped and the deceased fell forward to the ground, holding on to the lines. The horses started when he fell and dragged the body some ten feet before Jep succeeded in stopping them. Being a cripple, and unable to get the body in the wagon, he returned to the station for assistance."

40. Raynesford, "Jordan Massacre, Ness Co." Also see *Ellis Review-Headlight*, September 5, 1929.

41. In that plains country there are few landmarks except the creeks and Castle Rock. It is not Castle Rock itself but rather the high bluff or escarpment behind it which can be seen as much as 35 miles in all directions. All early day travelers in that region mention Castle Rock.



J. B. HICKOK, DEPUTY U. S. MARSHAL

JOSEPH G. ROSA

JAMES BUTLER HICKOK, immortalized as "Wild Bill," was a legend in his time. During the 20 years of his life spent upon the Western frontier, in a variety of roles including stagecoach driver, teamster, wagonmaster, detective, scout, and spy in the Civil War and in the Indian wars, and as a policeman and deputy U. S. marshal in various parts of Kansas, he achieved a reputation second to none. But it was 1867 before he attracted nationwide attention.

In the February, 1867, issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* there appeared a semifictional and highly controversial account of "Wild Bill's" adventures written by Col. George Ward Nichols. Some editors dismissed the "Wild Bill" of the story as a "desperado," while others devoted considerable space and effort to describing him as a man of "coolness and courage" who was also "quiet and not of a quarrelsome disposition." Yet most of them seemed agreed on one important point: that "Wild Bill" was a "dead shot with a pistol."¹

This conclusion was shared by many of his contemporaries, one of whom recalled that "his arms were Colt's 'navies,' and in the rapid and wonderfully accurate use of them it is admitted he had no equal in the West. They were handsome ivory-handled articles, and were always at that time swinging to his belt." The writer also noted that Hickok owed his success to his "ability to draw and discharge his pistols with a rapidity that was truly wonderful, and a peculiarity of his was, that the two were presented and discharged simultaneously, being 'out and off' before the average man had time to think about it." Convinced as he was that "every man did the same," Hickok pulled his pistols with intent to kill, for the number of would-be assassins and glory-hunters who dearly wanted the reputation as his killer left him no choice.²

Understandably, such a man evoked mixed reactions. To his many friends and admirers "Wild Bill" was an heroic figure. They spoke of his generosity, his kindness, and a strength of character that sometimes led him into reckless defense of honor or the protection of a friend; but a man who resorted to violence only when provoked. Others, however, many of whom had never even met him, and who based their reactions upon hearsay, were highly critical of both his character and his claim to fame. They believed that his natural grace and confident bearing, which had so impressed such people as Gen. and Mrs. George A. Custer, was in reality cold-blooded arrogance. In place of the fearless individual who inspired the myth was a creature who enjoyed "getting the drop" on unsuspecting victims, first with a disarming smile and then the sudden shot. Thus, like so many historical characters, the real "Wild Bill" Hickok was an enigma, very much the victim of his own reputation.

Nonetheless, in appearance at least, Hickok matched his legend. He was over six feet tall and well proportioned. His auburn hair³ was worn shoulder length, and was complemented by a straw-colored mustache. As was to be expected of someone with such coloring, his skin, despite years of exposure to plains weather, was inclined to be pallid and his forehead freckled.⁴ But his contemporaries all recalled one dominant feature: his eyes. Blue-gray in color, they stared one straight in the face during conversation, and matched his friendly and courteous manner. But when he was aroused they became coldly implacable and few could hold his angry gaze for long.

"Wild Bill's" real and imaginary exploits as a frontier peace officer have been well docu-

3. This color is based upon contemporary recollections and the existence of a lock of his hair at the New York Public Library. However, his niece stated recently that family recollections of it were as being "blond" with perhaps a "reddish tinge of auburn."—Ethel A. Hickok to Joseph G. Rosa, January 31, 1979.

4. The only original glass negative of a Hickok portrait known to the author is that made by E. E. Henry of Leavenworth circa 1867. In October, 1977, I was permitted to examine both it and a print from it. Hickok's freckles are very clear, as are other normal facial lines rarely shown in available photographs.

1. Atchison *Champion*, February 5, 1867. Similar comments regarding Hickok's pistol prowess appeared in the Springfield (Mo.) *Weekly Patriot*, January 31, 1867.

2. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, August 30, 1876.

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KANSAS HISTORY

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

No. CCL—FEBRUARY, 1867.—Vol. XXXIV.



WILD BILL.

SEVERAL months after the ending of the civil war I visited the city of Springfield in Southwest Missouri. Springfield is not a burgh of extensive dimensions, yet it is the largest in that part of the State, and all roads lead to it—which is one reason why it was the *point d'appui*.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1867, by Harper and Brothers, in the Clerk's Office of the Southern Court for the Southern District of New York.
Vol. XXXIV.—No. 201.—T

A reproduction of the first page of the semifictional and highly controversial article by Col. George Ward Nichols, in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, February, 1867, that brought "Wild Bill" nation-wide attention.



J. B. HICKOK, DEPUTY U. S. MARSHAL

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mented, yet not much has appeared in print concerning his brief period as a deputy U. S. marshal—an appointment that one serious historian at first doubted, but later came to accept as fact.⁵

Why anyone should seriously doubt that Hickok, in company with many of his contemporaries, served in such a capacity is perhaps explained by the prestige involved. In Western legend United States marshals rank with Texas Rangers and the Royal North West Mounted Police of Canada. So romanticized have they become that the public, aided or prompted by imaginative novelists and moviemakers, accept their role as one of judge, jury and, if need be, executioner. So to suggest that famous characters were at one time or another Texas Rangers or deputy U. S. marshals added considerably to their status.

In reality, of course, these organizations are nothing like their mythical counterparts. The rangers and the "Mounties" are police forces, whereas the role of the United States marshal is political. Created by an act of congress in 1789, the office of United States marshal is a Presidential appointment subject to confirmation by the senate. Marshals are appointed for a period of four years (some have served for longer periods) and are assigned to a district which can encompass a whole state or a part of it. In the early days certain districts included territories.

A great deal of the responsibilities of the old-time marshals are today undertaken by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, but in the context of this article, emphasis will be placed upon their involvement in federal crimes such as counterfeiting, desertion from the army, theft of government property (in particular horses and mules), and the murder of Indians on and off the reservation. The apprehension of murderers is normally a state and not a federal responsibility; but if asked to assist by state authorities, the old-time marshal or his deputies usually did so.

The early marshals were able to recruit deputies to assist them who were paid fees and traveling expenses. Until 1896 commissions were the exception rather than the rule, and little is known concerning the issue of badges prior to that date. Nonetheless, every man had

either a letter of authority or some means of identification when performing his duties. Each marshal had an office deputy to handle correspondence, issue instructions and generally take care of the paper work, leaving the routine arrests, serving of warrants or subpoenas, and other duties to the field deputies. Many of these men were already serving peace officers, and it was they who inspired the legendary deeds for which the United States marshal gets credit in fiction.⁶

JAMES BUTLER HICKOK spent several years in Kansas prior to the Civil War. A native of Homer (later renamed Troy Grove), Ill., he was born there on May 27, 1837, and was the fourth of seven children (five boys and two girls: one brother having died in infancy). According to family sources, he arrived in Kansas in June, 1856,⁷ and found himself involved in the Kansas-Missouri border wars that had broken out following the opening up of the territory for settlement in 1854. The majority of Kansans, or "Free Soilers" wanted the territory to remain slave-free; but proslavery Missourians did not, so "Bleeding Kansas" became the battle ground between rival "Free Soil" and "Missouri Border Ruffian" guerrilla bands and militia units until the territory achieved statehood in January, 1861.

James had been accompanied to the territory by his elder brother Lorenzo, but Lorenzo soon returned home, leaving James to fulfill their original intention: to find suitable farming land so that either the family or he and his brothers could settle upon it. It is evident, too, that sometime during this period the name "Bill" is associated with James Hickok. Family recollections that Lorenzo was called "Billy Barnes" (no one now remembers why) and the use of the name by the brothers during their trek to Kansas territory may account for it; but "Wild Bill's" nephew, Howard, alleged that James first received the name "Bill Hickok, or Shanghai Bill on account of his slim and supple form."⁸ It is now certain that the future

6. For an excellent résumé of the office and duties of U. S. marshals, see Larry D. Ball, *The United States Marshals of New Mexico and Arizona Territories, 1846-1912* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1978), pp. 1-17.

7. For the latest Hickok biography, see Joseph G. Rosa, *They Called Him Wild Bill: The Life and Adventures of James Butler Hickok* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), hereinafter cited as *TCHWB*.

8. Howard L. Hickok, "The Hickok Legend," unpublished manuscript, copy in possession of the author.

5. Ramon F. Adams, *Burs Under the Saddle* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 84. The late Mr. Adams later accepted my evidence to the contrary.

"Wild Bill" was not the celebrated "Shanghai Bill" of territorial fame, a character that turns up regularly in semifictional accounts of the period. Indeed, one well-known Hickok biographer has his hero involved in a shooting match with the giant-size "Shanghai Bill" in order to gain entry into the celebrated "Red Legs" guerrilla band.⁹

Some believe that "Shanghai Bill" was in fact the celebrated "Shang" made famous by Sen. John J. Ingalls in his "Catfish Aristocracy;"¹⁰ but he was not the man. "Shanghai's" true identity came to light by accident with the discovery of the records of the First Territorial District Court, Territory of Kansas. Charged with grand larceny (but discharged) was one William Hanschen *alias* "Shanghai Bill."¹¹ Little is known of Hanschen, but he may have been the infamous border ruffian named "Shanghai" who, at the election for the LeCompton constitution on December 21, 1857, voted 25 times. The names of his "votes" were apparently copied from the St. Louis business directory.¹²

James Hickok settled in Montecello, Johnson county, where he laid claim to 160 acres of land. But it soon became clear to him that what one acquired in Kansas one had to fight for, and despite rumors that the place was settling down, it was still a very hard land. In an undated letter to his family he recalled its lawless activities:

... you dont no what a Country this is for drinking and fighting[,] but I hope it will be different some time and I no in reason that it will when the Law is put in force[,] there is no Common Law here now hardly at all[,] a man Can do what he pleases without fear of the Law or any thing els[.] there has been two awful fights in town this week[,] you dont no anything about sutch fighting at home as I speak off[,] this is no place for women and children yet[,] all though they all say it is so quiet here. . . . if a man fites in kansas and gets whipped he never says anything more A bout it[,] if he does he will get whipt for his trouble.¹³

Evidently, Hickok impressed the citizens of Montecello, because he was put up as one of

the candidates for village constable at an election held in the township on March 22, 1858. Curiously, an examination of the original return shows that of the eight candidates Hickok came third with 20 votes; I. S. Anderson received 28 and B. Y. Reynolds 25. Either the return was disputed, or perhaps those figures have a meaning that can no longer be interpreted, for it was Hickok who received a commission as constable signed by the acting governor of the territory on April 21.¹⁴

In between working on his claim and helping others, James was asked by the county sheriff to assist him in the serving of subpoenas. On August 16, 1858, he advised his family that "I have been and served three summonses this morning . . .," adding that if two local horsethieves were to be caught they would probably "be run upawful soon to the top of Some hill[,] I guess[,] where they wont steel Any more horses. . . ." ¹⁵

The early territorial records disclose that one "Wm. Hickok" was a witness in the case of the Territory *vs.* George W. McIntire (the charge is not defined) who appeared before the court first in April, 1858, and again in May, 1859.¹⁶

On March 28, 1859, the election for township officers again took place at Montecello, but Hickok was not one of the candidates. Although his name appears on the census taken in July, it is believed that his appearance was only brief, and that he soon left the territory. Family sources suggest that this was because of their objection to his romance with the part-Indian daughter of John Owen who had befriended him when he first came to Montecello. Others tend to support the view that he had found employment with Russell, Majors, and Waddell as a teamster or stagecoach driver. Whichever version is correct, it may explain his absence in the light of my recent discovery of a court case involving one "J. Hickox" charged with contempt.

A warrant was issued to the United States marshal on March 4, 1859, stating that "J. Hickox," summoned to serve as a petit juror at the Second Judicial District Court at LeCompton on October 5, 1857, had failed to appear.

9. Frank J. Wiltach, *Wild Bill Hickok: The Prince of Pistoleros* (New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1926), pp. 4-7.

10. William E. Connelley, "Wild Bill—James Butler Hickok," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17 (1926-1928), pp. 9-10.

11. The U. S. *vs.* William Hanschen *alias* Shanghai Bill, indictment for grand larceny, U. S. District Court records, Kansas territory, 1855-1859, Archives department, KSHS.

12. Connelley, "Wild Bill," p. 10.

13. Original letter in the possession of Hickok's niece, Ethel A. Hickok, Troy Grove, Ill.

14. "Election Returns," Montecello township, Johnson county, Kansas territory, Archives department, KSHS. See also, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 5 (1891-1896), p. 485.

15. James Butler Hickok to his family, August 16, 1858, original in the possession of Ethel A. Hickok.

16. "Territorial Court Records," Archives department, KSHS.



Several attempts were made to find "J. Hickox," but without success. Deputy U.S. Marshal P. T. Colby received further instructions to find Hickox on June 23, 1860, but by August 21 he declared that no property had been found, and that the defendant was "Supposed to be at Willow Springs." The document was filed on August 23 and no further action was taken, by which time the court's fine and costs had amounted to \$32.55.¹⁷

Time may establish if "J. Hickox" was James Hickok, for according to early residents, both Hickok and John Owen were with James Lane's "Free State Army" during the fall of 1857. At about the time "J. Hickox" was supposed to be in court at Lecompton, James Hickok was seen at Highland, employed as a bodyguard for Lane.¹⁸

William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody¹⁹ provided another possible reason for Hickok's disappearance in 1857. Cody claimed that he was present when Lew Simpson's ill-fated wagon train carrying army supplies to Salt Lake was captured and burned by Mormons in October. Simpson and his men were spared and spent the winter at Fort Bridger, returning to Leavenworth in July, 1858. Evidently Cody's memory was at fault, or Hickok returned to Montecello some months ahead of his companions in time for the March elections.²⁰

In July, 1861, at a place called Rock Creek Station, some miles from Beatrice, Neb. ter., Hickok was involved in an incident in which D. C. McCanles and two other men were killed. Folklore has dubbed the affray the "McCanles Massacre" and upped the total killed to 10, and historians still argue over the details and regard it as perhaps the most controversial facet of Hickok's career.²¹

From Rock Creek, Hickok went to Missouri where he enlisted in the Union army as a teamster, soon graduating to wagonmaster, and eventually to courier and scout. This latter employment has been interpreted by some writers to mean "spy" because several of Hickok's real and imaginary activities as a scout tend to support this conclusion.²² Much of Hickok's war service was spent in Arkansas and southwest Missouri, and in the latter state he was "better known . . . as 'Wild Bill'" for a still indeterminate reason.²³

Discharged as a scout at Springfield, Mo., in June, 1865,²⁴ Hickok remained in the city all through the summer and fall. On July 21 he and a former scouting friend named Davis Tutt fell out over a card game and their subsequent "duel" inspired the part-fact, part-myth of the face-to-face gunfight that is an essential part of the gunfighter legend. They shot it out on the market square at a distance said to be 75 yards. Tutt fired first and missed, but Hickok's ball found his heart and, as Tutt fell, Hickok turned on his friends and offered to fight anyone who disagreed with the outcome. They declined and "Wild Bill" was arrested by the military authorities. On August 5 he was tried for manslaughter (the original charge of murder had been dropped), found not guilty and released.²⁵

Among those who had stood bail for Hickok following his arrest had been his old employer and friend from the Civil War, Capt. Richard Bentley Owen.²⁶ When he was transferred to Fort Riley, early in January, 1866, as assistant post quartermaster, Owen wrote to Hickok, who had remained in Springfield where he had been an unsuccessful candidate for city mar-

17. Case No. 84, the U. S., vs. J. Hickox, indictment for contempt, records of the U. S. District Court, K. T.

18. William E. Connelley, *Wild Bill and His Era* (New York, the Press of the Pioneers, 1933), p. 18.

19. William Frederick Cody was born on February 26, 1846, at Le Claire, Iowa. His family emigrated to Kansas when he was a child. During the Civil War he served briefly in the Seventh Kansas cavalry. Following the war he achieved a reputation as a scout and guide. He acquired the title "Buffalo Bill" during the period he supplied meat to the construction workers of the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, then building across Kansas. In 1883 Cody organized his now legendary "Buffalo Bill's Wild West" and toured the world. He died on January 10, 1917.

20. Cody's (and presumably Hickok's) involvement in the Simpson adventure has been questioned many times. The latest research suggests that he was not involved, and there is strong evidence to refute the claim that he rode for the pony express.—Dr. John S. Gray to Joseph G. Rosa, September 17, 1978.

21. For a full discussion of this incident, see Connelley, "Wild Bill," pp. 1-27; George W. Hansen, "True Story of Wild Bill-

McCanles Affray in Jefferson County, Nebraska, July 12, 1861 (with additional maps, photographs, and sketches by Addison C. Sheldon, et. al.), *Nebraska History Magazine*, Lincoln, v. 10 (April-June, 1927), pp. 67-146; Charles Dawson, *Pioneer Tales of the Oregon Trail and of Jefferson County* (Topeka, Crane & Co., 1912), pp. 178-184, 209-224; Rosa, *TCHWB*, pp. 34-52; Joseph G. Rosa, "George Ward Nichols and the Legend of Wild Bill Hickok," *Arizona and the West*, Tucson, v. 19, no. 2 (Summer, 1977), pp. 135-162.

22. Rosa, *TCHWB*, pp. 63-71.

23. Springfield (Mo.) *Weekly Patriot*, July 27, 1865.

24. "Records of the Quartermaster General," 1861-1865, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; see, also, "Abstracts of Accounts," Settlements of the Third Auditor of Accounts of Capt. R. B. Owen, assistant quartermaster, U. S. A., payments to J. B. Hickok (1864-1865), *ibid*.

25. Springfield (Mo.) *Weekly Patriot*, August 10, 1865.

26. Richard Bentley Owen, the celebrated "Captain Honesty" of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, served as a regimental quartermaster in several Missouri regiments before being appointed acting assistant quartermaster at Rolla, Mo., on July 3, 1862, and depot quartermaster at Springfield, Mo., on October 19, 1865. At the close of the war he was instructed to close the depot at Springfield, and in December, 1865, was posted to Fort Riley.



shal at the September election,²⁷ and requested that he report to Fort Riley as he could use him.

According to the much repeated story, Owen was disturbed by the lawlessness and rowdiness that existed at Fort Riley, then the jumping off place for emigrants moving West, and also the base of a large number of underpaid and disillusioned soldiers of the frontier army. He promptly recommended Hickok to General Easton²⁸ for the position of deputy U. S. marshal at the post with the additional task of maintaining law and order. However, an examination of military records reveals that Hickok was actually employed as a "guide" with the added responsibility of "hunting up Government property." Perhaps it was this latter task that inspired the myth that he was a deputy U. S. marshal at this time.²⁹

DESPITE some intensive research, it has not been possible to establish any service on Hickok's part for the then U. S. marshal for Kansas, Thomas Osborn,³⁰ because the emolument returns of the United States marshal, District of Kansas, for the period 1866-1871 are incomplete. However, it has been verified that Hickok was employed sporadically between 1867 and late 1870. Available returns show that he was paid \$615 in fees and expenses for the period January-June, 1868, and although no payments are shown for the latter half of that year, or the first half of 1869, during the period July-December, 1869, he had earned \$108.15.³¹

Hickok's appearances at Fort Riley for most of 1866 were sporadic. Available evidence indicates that when Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman and Gen. John S. Pope arrived at the post in May he was detached to act as a guide. Sherman and Pope split up at Fort Kearny, N. T., and Pope continued on an expedition to Santa Fe, N. M. Col. James F. Meline, one of Pope's staff members, recalled that "Wild Bill" was employed as a "scout and guide," and it is apparent that he accompanied the expedition to Santa Fe and back. Newspaper reports and

post returns confirm that Pope returned in September, and that Hickok was absent between May and September and had accumulated \$225 in back pay.³²

Sometime in 1866 Hickok either renewed the acquaintance of or teamed up with the celebrated Jack Harvey,³³ well known in guerrilla circles in the Civil War and as a scout and courier during the post war Indian wars, and by the close of the year they were actively employed at the post.

On January 1, 1867, John Tobin and William Wilson stole two mules from Fort Riley. Unfortunately for them, on the 11th they encountered a "James Haycock" and his partner Jack Harvey. The pair confessed to Hickok and Harvey that they had sold the mules. While Harvey went off to recover them, Hickok swore out a complaint on the 12th and the pair were arrested by Deputy U. S. Marshal Byron Farrell, and on the 21st they were committed for trial. Bail was granted, but as neither could put up the money they remained in jail. By the time the pair came to trial in April both Hickok and Harvey were out on the plains serving as scouts for the army engaged in Hancock's Indian War, but the trial went ahead and both men were found guilty.³⁴

Post returns indicate that Hickok had renewed his contract with the government on January 1. The return for April discloses that he was listed as a wagonmaster for March-April, but from May 1, on the orders of General Hancock, he was to be listed and paid as a scout \$100 per month. He served in this capacity for the newly formed Seventh cavalry regiment until late August.³⁵

32. Rosa, *TCHWB*, pp. 90-92; James F. Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback: Santa Fe and Back: A Summer Tour Through Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and New Mexico, in the Year 1866* (New York, 1868), p. 17; Mrs. Elaine C. Everly, Military Archives division, National Archives, to the author, April 25, 1978.

33. Jack Harvey was born in 1836 in New York State and came west in 1862, where he served among Kansas guerrillas and scouts on the frontier. He was reputed to be a member of Capt. William S. Tough's "Buckskin Scouts." No evidence has been found to prove any service on his part as a deputy U. S. marshal, but on at least one occasion he assisted Deputy U. S. Marshal John Schott bring in a prisoner. Harvey was regarded as Hickok's "partner" and they were only separated when Jack died tragically, the victim of tuberculosis, at Ellsworth on March 27, 1868.—*Leavenworth Daily Times*, February 23, 1866; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, March 17, 1868.

34. Case No. 482, the U. S. vs. John Tobin and William Wilson, larceny, District Court, District of Kansas, Record Group No. 21, Federal Archives and Records Center, Kansas City, Mo. The *Leavenworth Daily Times*, April 24, 1867, noted that Capt. Searcy had brought the prisoners down and they "will serve their time out in the penitentiary of Michigan."

35. "Records of the Quartermaster General," 1867-1869, National Archives.

27. Hickok came in second of five candidates.—Rosa, *TCHWB*, p. 84.

28. Connelley, *Wild Bill and His Era*, p. 90; Rosa, *TCHWB*, p. 86.

29. Post returns, "Records of Persons Hired by the Quartermaster's Department, Fort Riley, Kan.," 1866, National Archives.

30. Thomas Osborn served as U. S. marshal in 1864-1866. He later became governor of Kansas.

31. "Emolument Returns of the United States Marshal, District of Kansas," 1866-1871, National Archives.

J. B. HICKOK, DEPUTY U. S. MARSHAL

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When the February issue of *Harper's* reached Kansas late in January, 1867, and Nichols's controversial article, "Wild Bill," was read with general interest, Hickok found that his regional reputation was now nationwide, and he would spend the rest of his life with the dubious distinction of being "good copy" among editors and others anxious for news of his latest exploits.

It is possible that his sudden fame prompted the incoming U. S. marshal, Charles C. Whiting,³⁶ to employ him as a deputy, but Whiting may easily have known Hickok from the territorial period. Nonetheless, the earliest reference so far found confirming Hickok's service is in October, 1867, when he subpoenaed one James Quinlin to appear as a witness before the district judge at Topeka on October 15 in the case of the United States *vs.* John Reynard charged with counterfeiting U. S. currency.³⁷ In a similar case against John Hurst,³⁸ held during the same term of court, Hickok was among the witnesses for the prosecution, as was U. S. marshal Whiting and B. Searcy,³⁹ the latter an enigmatic figure who has long eluded historians.

An interesting case that involved Hickok as a witness concerned James Atkinson, a resident of Junction City. It was alleged that on January 10, 1867, he had tried to pass a counterfeit \$50 treasury note to a James Brown. This note subsequently disappeared, but a number of witnesses were called, and following several adjournments the case went to trial in October, 1870. During the initial evidence it was dis-

closed that Hickok had roomed with Atkinson in the January, and had been told by the defendant that he had a counterfeit \$20 bill, and that he was in the habit of passing such bills in Missouri betting at horse racing. However, he was quick to add that if caught he took back the money and gave good money in return. "Wild Bill" was not impressed and when he himself became one of Atkinson's victims and unwittingly passed on such a note in settlement of a debt, he was furious. He hastily retrieved the note and confronted Atkinson.

Atkinson was arrested and in his statement Hickok claimed that Atkinson and Brown had both offered him \$16 each if "I would say that [it] was not the bill he passed me, they were partners together." Other witnesses claimed that the bill had passed from hand to hand. When the case eventually came up for trial it was never fully prosecuted, for in the docket book is the notation "*Nolle prosequi* by U.S. Dist. Atty," and the date October 27, 1870.⁴⁰

Hickok's business in Topeka back in 1867 evidently followed upon a visit he made to Leavenworth from Fort Harker on October 7 when his presence was noted on a train.⁴¹ On his return to Fort Harker on the 21st, he met an editor traveling in the same car as himself, Jack Harvey and others who had "just come in from a scouting expedition under Gen. Sherman." Hickok was not, of course, employed as a scout at this time. Perhaps he and his erstwhile companions had met by accident or design, and in celebrating the event, or the successful nature of their own trip, they were all "more or less affected by frequent potations from their bottles, and Wild Bill himself was tipsy enough to be quite belligerent," noted the editor who had watched their behavior with interest, but excused it on the grounds of the hazardous nature of their existence.⁴²

POSSIBLY the first published reference to Hickok as a deputy U. S. marshal is to be found in November, 1867, when the *Hays City Railway Advance* reported that a man in Springfield, Ill., when arrested and charged with robbery, had claimed to be the "Wild Bill of Harper's Monthly." The *Advance* was

36. Charles C. Whiting was born at Fryeburg, Maine, on February 26, 1837, and arrived in Kansas in 1855. In August, 1858, he was elected a constable of Topeka township, and in 1863 and 1865 served as sheriff of Shawnee county. On March 7, 1867, he received his commission as U. S. marshal for the District of Kansas.—*Topeka State Record*, January 5, 1870; "Records of the Department of State," Washington, D. C.

37. Case No. 509, the U. S. *vs.* John Reynard, possessing counterfeit money, Record Group No. 21, Federal Archives and Records Center. See, also, Case No. 563 in which Reynard was charged for a similar offense. This time D. R. Anthony was involved. According to an affidavit signed by C. C. Whiting, Anthony attempted to persuade the marshal to drop the charges. Cases Nos. 533-534 and 544 concern James Quinlin charged with selling liquor to the Indians.

38. Case No. 504, the U. S. *vs.* John Hurst, passing counterfeit money, Record Group No. 21, Federal Archives and Records Center. Hurst was found not guilty.

39. Sometimes called "Circy," his real name was B. Searcy. He was a victim of the cholera outbreak at Fort Harker in July, 1867, but the *Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, July 27, 1867, noted that "Capt. Searcy, the popular Deputy U. S. Marshal . . . was also very sick, but would not yield to the monster." On the 31st the paper published a letter from him praising the efforts of those who had saved his life. Searcy's name appears as witness in several cases before the court, and on one occasion was himself ordered to appear for contempt.—Case No. 657, the U. S. *vs.* B. Searcy, Record Group No. 21, Federal Archives and Records Center.

40. Case No. 586, the U. S. *vs.* James Atkinson, passing counterfeit money, *ibid.*

41. The diary of Adolph Hunnius, 1867, Manuscript department, KSHS.

42. *Manhattan Independent*, October 26, 1867.