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ally disarmed, they will have renounced utterly and unreservedly the very idea of fighting as a means of settling any question."¹¹⁹ Haldeman-Julius even suggested that America's independence from the British Crown might have been achieved by peaceful means, noting,

... who can deny that, perhaps more slowly, independence could have been secured by peaceful political development, responding to the natural growth of the country and the need of adjusting old arrangements to new issues? Is Canada, for example, essentially less free than the United States?¹²⁰

WHILE it is true that Haldeman-Julius continually condemned what he regarded as the ignorance and irrationality of American society, it is also true that he frequently did so by employing his own kind of ignorance and irrationality. One journalist has said of the Girard publisher that "in his own publications, he fought bunk, sham and baloney with his own particular brand of baloney, bunk and sham."¹²¹ Although Haldeman-Julius repudiated "bunkist" appeals characterized by violent emotionalism, he himself could resort to virulent name-calling, particularly when discussing Catholicism and fascism. Indeed, he believed they were one and the same; German National Socialism and the "Mussolini-Pope regime"¹²² were, in his mind, firmly rooted in Roman Catholic intolerance and persecution. In view of the publisher's own painful experience with Catholic persecution, one can at least partially understand why he so often fought religious bigotry with his own antireligious intolerance. Yet did his Little Blue Books which so hatefully attacked Roman Catholicism in any way contribute to a general hatred of Catholics? Haldeman-Julius could despise a philosophy without necessarily hating its adherents, yet could all his readers do the same?

In *Is Adolf Hitler a Maniac?* (1930), Haldeman-Julius distorted truth and reported hearsay information as fact. He declared that the whole of Germany was suffering under Hitler's rule, and that most Nazis were homosexuals. Although the publisher was a pacifist, he suggested that violent means might be nec-

essary to remove Hitler from power. The editor's characterizations of prominent Americans were frequently unfair, as when he portrayed Herbert Hoover as a deceitful capitalist totally insensitive to the sufferings of America's unemployed. His judgments were sometimes puzzling, as when he condemned the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the grounds that "it pretended to be social and uplifting while in fact it was strictly political."¹²³ Although he fought against racial hatred, he published a Little Blue Book of jokes about American Negroes which characterized them as both wise and stupid. He did not see this as harmful, noting in 1928, "A sense of humor will save many a serious situation from disaster. Then, too, the desire to laugh at ourselves is healthy—it will keep us sane, and at the same time promote the sum total of human happiness."¹²⁴

In 1919 Emanuel Haldeman-Julius had launched a crusade for enlightenment, freedom, and human happiness. He had declared war on Babbitts and bunk, and some of the most prominent social critics in America had rallied to his call. Many were themselves authors of Little Blue Books. During the 1920's, the Haldeman-Julius farm became something of a national cultural retreat, hosting such personalities as painter Abraham Walkowitz, Clarence Darrow, Anna Louise Strong, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., opera singers Lawrence Tibbett and Enrico Caruso, and Jane Addams.

IN 1933 Marcet Haldeman-Julius sued her husband for separate maintenance, claiming he had refused "to supply her funds for household expenses."¹²⁵ Although the suit was granted, the couple still lived in the same house for the next eight years. Marcet died in 1941, and the following year Haldeman-Julius married his secretary, Sue Haney. On April 18, 1951, the Girard publisher was found guilty of federal income tax evasion. Defense Attorney Douglas Hudson stated that his client was a self-educated man having little experience in bookkeeping.¹²⁶ Haldeman-Julius himself

119. E. Haldeman-Julius, *How Can We Wipe Out the Crime of War?* (Girard, Haldeman-Julius Company, 1930), p. 6.

120. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

121. Baker, "Title-Changing Was Haldeman-Julius Formula," p. 22.

122. E. Haldeman-Julius, *What Gods Cost Man* (Girard, Haldeman-Julius Company, 1933), p. 15.

123. Walter Green, "Haldeman-Julius Saw His Empire in Ruins," *Topeka Sunday Capital-Journal*, April 12, 1959, p. 22A.

124. E. Haldeman-Julius, *The First Hundred Million*, p. 29.

125. "Haldeman Sues Julius," *Kansas City Star*, December 4, 1933, p. 1.

126. "U. S. Claims Girard Publisher 'Skimmed-Off' Book Profits," *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 12, 1951, p. 12.

claimed that he had "only made honest mistakes."¹²⁷

The publisher was given a \$12,500 fine, six months in prison, and three years probation. Yet he was unable to serve the sentence, as he drowned in his swimming pool on July 31, 1951. The coroner ruled the death accidental.

Marcet Haldeman-Julius once said that of all the literary figures in history, she thought her husband was most like Voltaire. In his *Little Blue Books*, the Kansas publisher continually spoke out against bigotry, violence, and human suffering. Haldeman-Julius strongly believed in the freedom of individuals, regardless of their color, creed, or sex. People had always sought personal freedom, he maintained, because human beings were happiest when they were free.

According to the publisher's second wife Sue, "Emanuel loved life and he loved people—all kinds of people, from his celebrated friends right down to the big red-faced milk-

man who trudged by our farm daily."¹²⁸ Haldeman-Julius was active in the Girard Chamber of Commerce, the founder of the Girard Kiwanis Club, and a member of the Knife and Fork Club. He helped Girard Italians pass their naturalization tests by tutoring them in English, and frequently welcomed visiting college students to his home with the greeting, "How nice of you to come!"¹²⁹ Asked in later years why he enjoyed life, the Kansas publisher replied:

I find life worth living, because I enjoy good music, great books, beautiful thoughts of truth and freedom, pleasant home life, exchange of ideas, masterpieces left by the world's greatest thinkers . . . black bread smeared with homemade butter, magnificent orchestras, letters dictated by my grandchild . . . honest, friendly neighbors, brand new calves, newly plowed ground, burning logs that make the house smell sweet, my wife's lovely garden, the fields mantled in snow, soft-voiced old people, laughing children . . . the long yawn that says it's time to turn in.¹³⁰

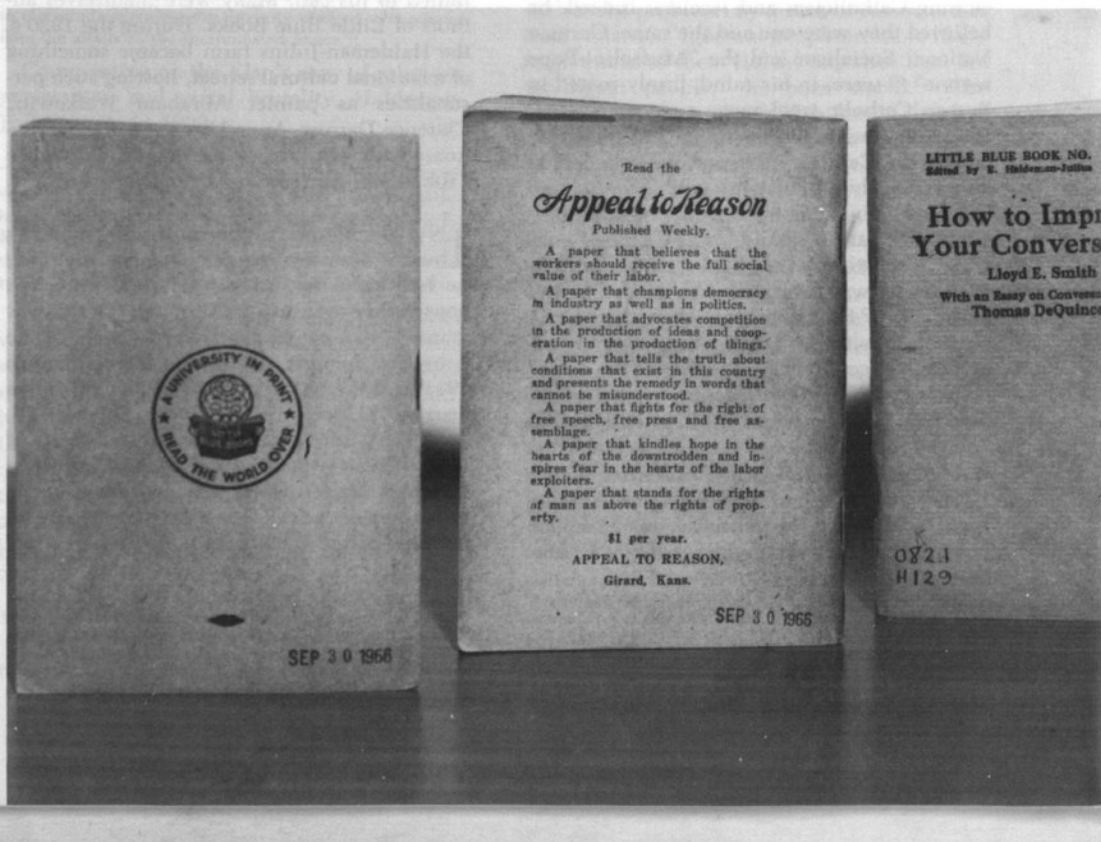
At the time Emanuel Haldeman-Julius

128. E. Haldeman-Julius, *The World of Haldeman-Julius*, p. 11.

129. *Ibid.*

130. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

127. "Haldeman-Julius Case Goes to Jury," *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 18, 1951, p. 2.



moved to Girard, in 1915, there were many critics who viewed the American intellectual scene with despair. Haldeman-Julius, nevertheless, remained optimistic, regarding the provincialism, religious hatred, and racial brutality of American life as passing phenomena. They were not here to stay, the Kansas publisher believed, because he did not think the American people really desired that kind of society. While Haldeman-Julius did believe that the majority of Americans were ignorant and that many of them were aggressively bigoted, he remained convinced that this was a consequence of circumstance rather than choice. And he hoped that his Little Blue Books, the "Democracy in Books," would give all Americans, especially the poor, the opportunity for the kind of educational self-improvement that would one day enable them to enjoy fuller lives of individual freedom and

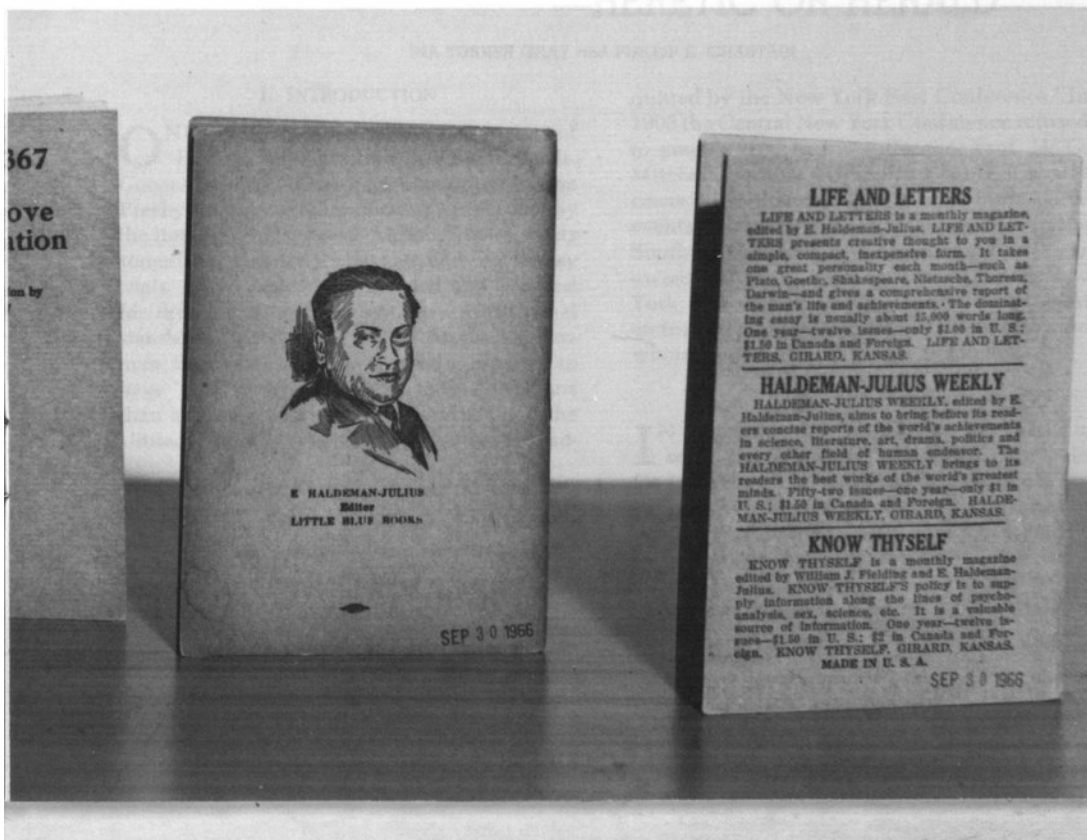
personal happiness. "Freedom was an especially important word to him all his life, and the Constitution was his bible," the editor's second wife recalled years after his death. "He believed a well-informed man was an asset to his country and valiantly opposed those who would seek to stifle freedom of speech. . . ." ¹³¹ Haldeman-Julius asked his readers as early as 1923, "Should workmen who delight in *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, the poetry of Keats, the plays of Shakespeare, the essays of Schopenhauer, Bacon and Emerson, inspire fear of the part they may play in the future of society?" ¹³²

Although the Kansas publisher thought American society was plagued by Babbitts and bunk, he never doubted there were many Americans who genuinely wanted to expand

131. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

132. E. Haldeman-Julius, *Miscellaneous Essays*, p. 57.

More than 500,000,000 Little Blue Books in over 6,000 different titles were printed by the Haldeman-Julius Press between 1919 and 1951. One popular category was self-improvement; other subjects in demand were literature, political philosophy, and sex education. Haldeman-Julius also published the socialist newspaper, the *Appeal to Reason*, and other periodicals which he advertised on the back covers of some of the books. Other covers carried a line drawing of the publisher and the logo, "Little Blue Books—A University in Print Read the World Over."



their minds. Believing that knowledge was the key to happiness, he earnestly hoped his Little Blue Books would not only provide mass enlightenment, but they would also inspire the person whom he affectionately called the "young American scholar." The editor had faith that this young scholar, once discovered, would one day continue his war against hatred, intolerance, and human misery.

Emanuel Haldeman-Julius was confident of this when he wrote from Girard in 1928:

Somewhere in America this young man is—perhaps

waiting and longing for this opportunity. He may be a young Jew on the East Side in New York City. He may be a young Negro in Harlem. He may be a farm boy in Kansas or Minnesota. Or this young scholar may be a girl. . . . And neither sex nor race will bar the right person from this opportunity. He is waiting somewhere—this young scholar. He will hear and recognize my call. For this call will not only be spoken—it will be published—and it will go throughout the country. I have confidence that it will not fail to reach the one for whom it is intended. Surely, in this great, lively, ambitious America there is such a potential scholar. Somewhere he will be found. Now unknown, he shall be greatly known.¹³³

133. E. Haldeman-Julius, *What America Needs* (Girard, Haldeman-Julius Company, 1928), p. 45.

THE HERESY TRIAL

IS STILL BEHIND CLOSED DOORS.

Members of the Committee
Counsel for Both Sides

Refuse to Talk—The Bishop's
Order Not Allowing

Newspaper Men in the Trial Is
Being Obeyed to the Letter
and They Wait Outside.

A Pretty Good Report
of the Proceedings
Was Secured.

What promises to be the greatest trial of the century in church circles is going on in Arkansas City. Granville Lowther, the Methodist minister from McPherson, a man of undoubted ability, whose standing in the world of deep thinkers, is firm, is charged with being a heretic and a committee from the Southwest Kansas conference is hearing the charges brought against him.

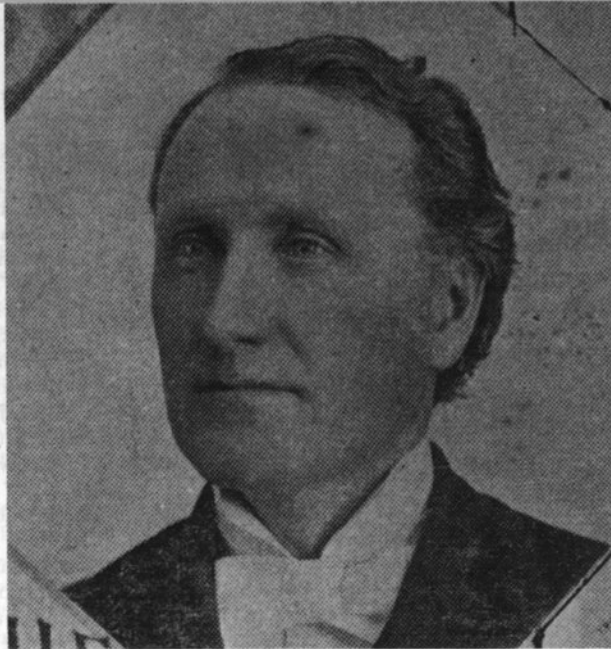
Granville Lowther was born in West Virginia and at the age of 17 years moved west to Illinois. There he entered the ministry of the Methodist church and for a number of years was an active elder in that state. Twenty-seven years ago he moved to Kansas and became a member of the Southwest Kansas conference, where he holds his membership at the present time.

He is a progressive man given license to deem bible study and his

specifications paper on this for men to study. This man should be the master of the statement made until the work of the completed, that when Christ is finished, "and This is true of finished his work how we are to and make it God. Thus a martyr. This in his willings "I die daily," apostles and all ages. All contribution the bringing of ment with God effect.

The above doctrines of forth in Arid in the United and contrary forth in our is al to us, while and died to death and to with God, right the "If God by his on the cross and right hand of

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GRANVILLE LOWTHER

—HERETIC OR HERALD

INA TURNER GRAY and PHILLIP E. CHASTAIN

I. INTRODUCTION

ONE OF THE most sensational aspects of Protestantism has been heresy trials. Generally Methodists were content to let the Presbyterians and other denominations occupy the limelight in this area. Although Methodists sometimes boasted that they had no heresy trials, it was possible to be tried and expelled for disseminating ideas contrary to doctrinal standards.¹ In fact the famed Methodist layman, Borden Parker Bowne, who is reported to have "reached the minds of more Christians than any other philosopher of religion in the United States,"² was tried for heresy and ac-

quitted by the New York East Conference.³ In 1905 the Central New York Conference refused to grant a trial to his colleague, Prof. H. G. Mitchell, because of the disturbance it would cause. Nevertheless, they censured him.⁴ These events, as well as the single heresy trial in the Southwest Kansas Conference, may be seen as exceptions to the rule. In Kansas, as in New York, the conference chose one of its most eminent members, Granville Lowther, toward whom to point the finger of suspicion.

II. THE MAN

IN 1886 Granville Lowther received a call to serve the Methodist Episcopal church in Dodge City. "This call was largely if not entirely due to a snow storm. Neither the pastor nor the parishioners could ever question the divineness of that call."⁵

Title-page photos: Granville Lowther (1848-1933), McPherson minister, was tried and convicted of heresy by the Southwest Kansas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1902 at Arkansas City for his evolutionary interpretations of scripture. Although the trial was held in secret session, area newspapers carried full accounts as in the above example from the Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*, March 28, 1902. Lowther was a leader in the conference and at one time president of Southwestern College at Winfield.

1. Nolan B. Harmon, "Heresy," *Encyclopedia of World Methodism* (Nashville, United Methodist Publishing House, 1974).

2. Charles W. Ferguson, *Organizing to Beat the Devil* (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1971), p. 424.

3. *Dictionary of American Biography*, ed. Allen Johnson, II (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), p. 523.

4. Stephen G. Cobb, "Mitchell, Hinkley Gilbert," *Encyclopedia of World Methodism*.

5. Charles C. Lowther, *Panhandle Parson* (Nashville, Parthenon Press, 1942), p. 14.



It happened this way: Lowther had gone west to look for a location where he might regain his health. He favored Kansas because it had been abolitionist from the beginning and because of the prohibition law upon its statute books. And so he found himself unexpectedly snowbound in a railroad car in Dodge City. When a church committee needed a preacher to supply the church on Sunday, Lowther was so glad for a chance to get really warm that he forgot his ills and went bounding up the street in the storm.⁶ For the next 16 years he was a very active member of the Southwest Kansas Conference.

Not only did he serve as president of the Freedman's Aid and temperance societies and as a trustee of Southwest Kansas College, Winfield, Baker University, Baldwin, and Dodge School of Theology, Dodge City, but he was a member, secretary, or chairman of at least 11 important committees. He was the pastor at Dodge City, 1887-1888; Larned, 1889-1890; Wellington, 1891; Newton, 1892-1893; McPherson, 1900-1901; and presiding elder of the Winfield district for six years.⁷ In addition, this largely self-educated scholar, who somehow carried a B. D. after his name, taught history and English at the College of Western Kansas in Dodge City,⁸ taught mental and moral philosophy at Southwest Kansas College (the former name of Southwestern College),⁹ and was vice-president and acting president of the school. This was hardly the schedule for a sick man.

The conference journal records that Lowther transferred from the Iowa or Upper Iowa Conference¹⁰ but Lowther's own biographical sketch says he came from Tuscola, Ill., to Dodge City.¹¹ Granville had been born in Doddridge county, Virginia (later West Virginia), on January 19, 1848, the son of Jesse and Hannah Leeson Lowther.¹² When he was 17 he moved with his parents to the eastern

edge of central Illinois where he lived on a farm. In 1874 he began to serve nearby churches including Chrisman and Pilot. By 1882 he had become a Methodist minister and was appointed to Potomac. From 1883 to 1885 he was at Tuscola.¹³

He married Elizabeth Anne Boyce on December 22, 1869.¹⁴ She died on February 7, 1889, leaving five children: Ada May (Mrs. H. S. Wilkinson), John Franklin, Charles C., Lola E. (Mrs. Jesse Clyde Fisher), and Mabel Elizabeth (Mrs. W. T. Schwarz). His second marriage was at Great Bend, on July 9, 1890. The bride was Linna May, daughter of the superintendent of schools, William Reece.¹⁵

In 1891 Lowther became a member of the board of trustees of the Southwest Kansas College and for the next 10 years he gave a great deal of his attention to that institution. In 1894 he became vice-president of the board and from 1896 to 1900 he was chairman. Also, in 1894 he became a member of the executive committee of the board and served as its president from June 21 that year until December 17, 1895. In the fall of 1898 he again took over the leadership of that committee to which he belonged from 1894 to 1899.¹⁶

According to the May 21, 1895, minutes of the executive committee: "The Bd. decided to lease the school to G. Lowther, C. A. Place, C. E. Lowe, V. V. Price, Prof. Franklin, and Prof. Dunlevy for the succeeding college year on practically the same conditions as last year, specifying that Lessees shall be bound for the full year unless released by the Bd. of Trustees." The board of trustees minutes for July 23, 1895, simply read: "The Bd. decided to lease the institution to C. A. Place and G. Lowther." Thus Lowther assumed coownership of the college for a year.

On December 14, 1894, the Winfield *Daily Courier* announced: "Rev. Lowther has been elected to occupy the position of president of the college after this term." Lowther stated it this way:

13. Illinois conference journals.

14. The 1889 Southwest Kansas Conference "Journal" gives the date as 1879 which cannot be correct as the third child, Charles, was 10 in 1886.—See Charles C. Lowther, *Dodge City, Kansas* (Philadelphia, Dorrance and Company, Publishers, 1940), p. 19. Could this be another instance of the failure of the "brethren" to get things straight about G. Lowther and an omen of things to come?

15. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. 28, p. 418.

16. From minutes of the board of trustees and the executive committee.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

7. Southwest Kansas Conference "Journals," 1886-1901. The "Journals" were included in annual volumes of conference reports called, in the later years, *Minutes*.

8. Sister Mary Cleophas Kelly, "A History of Soule College of Dodge City, Kansas 1887-1910, as an Example of Frontier Higher Education" (unpublished dissertation, 1962), p. 35.

9. *Catalogs*, 1895, 1896.

10. Southwest Kansas Conference "Journal," 1886, pp. 56, 59.

11. Unless otherwise annotated, biographical information comes from this sketch which is in possession of the Commission on Archives and History, Southwestern College, Winfield.

12. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, James T. White & Co., 1940), v. 28, p. 418.



During my term of Presiding Elder, the Southwest Kansas College, Winfield, was in severe financial straits, on account of the panic of 1893. President M. E. Philips resigned and Professor Rice took his place. Then Professor Rice resigned and I took his place, acting president, collecting moneys and teaching a class in Psychology free of charge, at the same time doing the work of the District as P. E., from which I drew my salary.

The new job seemed to call out the very best in the man. It was a sufficient challenge for his considerable abilities. The December, 1894, *Southwestern Collegian* was enthusiastic: "Presiding Elder Lowther makes a very popular instructor. Indeed Bro. Lowther is an 'all-round man': preacher, revivalist, editor and teacher." Again in January, 1895, the *Collegian* editorialized: "In . . . President Lowther's speech, we find the key to his peculiar fitness for the place; the fact that he knows so well and is so well known throughout the conference, renders him the most fitting person, to stand between the homes and the school of the conference." At the reception for the new members of the faculty, "Pres. Lowther's response was characteristic of the man; elegant, instinct with faith, the very embodiment of purpose." The February *Collegian* covered "The Faculty Lectures": "A short account was given in the last issue of Pres. Lowther's able discourse upon a psycho-religious subject. . . . President Lowther can handle such topics with perfect ease showing a depth of thought and study not to be surpassed."

As president of the college (spring term 1895) Lowther held high ideals for the school. He wrote: "The Christian college, is one in which persons are converted, as well as instructed; one in which the building up of a religious character is considered of more importance than the latest social hop." ¹⁷ In February the *Collegian* printed a pious and orthodox article entitled "College Spirit" and signed G. L.:

On the day of prayer, when the President asked those who would pray for the success of the institution, and make the college the subject of daily prayer to arise, nearly the whole body of students arose. . . . A large majority of the students are Christians and bear on their hearts the feeling that they must get the unconverted saved, before the school year shall close.

Years later, in 1911, the *Courier* summed up

17. "Why Do We Need a College in Southwest Kansas?" *Southwestern Collegian*, January, 1895.

the contribution Granville Lowther made to the college:

During those dark days, Granville Lowther, Presiding Elder of this District and Chairman of the Board of Trustees "without the hope of fee or reward," exercised the duties of president and gathered about him a faithful faculty of scholarly and devoted men and women who worked, not for themselves, but solely for the salvation of the institution. . . . Thus this institution was forever saved to Methodism and this salvation was made possible by W. C. Robinson, Mr. Hinshaw, Granville Lowther and Rev. W. H. Rose.¹⁸

Here is a man at the peak of achievement. As the *Courier* stated on March 29, 1902, he was a "man of undoubted ability." He was popular with his peers for in 1896 they elected him on the first ballot as one of three delegates to represent them at the General Conference in Cleveland.¹⁹ Then, as now, election as a delegate proclaimed top ranking among conference members. The bishop showed his confidence in Lowther by appointing him, not only to large and important churches, but also to the presiding eldership. Baker University had seen fit to confer upon Lowther the honorary doctorate in 1899.²⁰ The *Topeka Journal* called him "one of the best read men in Kansas." Dr. Lowther has left for us samples of his lucid writing. He was editor of the *Southwestern Advocate*, an unofficial publication of the Southwest Kansas Conference. He was also in demand as a speaker. For instance, it is a matter of record in the journals that he gave major addresses for groups meeting during the 1891 and 1892 conference sessions. The faculty had elected him president of the college ²¹ and the trustees had chosen him for numerous positions of leadership. For 10 years he was a trustee of the Winfield Chautauqua Assembly and for many years president of the Kansas State Holiness Association.²² Indeed, a writer from the *Central Christian Advocate* declared that he "never heard one word of Dr. Lowther except of tenderness and respect, founded on his talents, his character, his usefulness and his consecration."²³

It was against this outstanding man that

18. "To Have New President," *Winfield Daily Courier*, June 23, 1911.

19. Southwest Kansas Conference "Journal," 1896, p. 193.

20. *Who Was Who in America* (Chicago, A. N. Marquis Co., 1942), v. 1, p. 751, Lowther was listed in *Who's Who in America* from 1922-1934.

21. *Western Methodist*, Wichita, March 26, 1896.

22. *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, March 22, 1902.

23. *McPherson Daily Republican*, April 5, 1902.



eight of his fellows leveled the charge of heresy. Lowther believed in "evolution as a philosophy" and preached it from his pulpit, but he did not expect to be declared a heretic. He was convicted and "of course he was crushed."²⁴ More than half a century later his daughter wrote: "My father's teaching and preaching is exactly what is being taught in the churches now. Father was 40 years ahead of his time in thought. He was far more brilliant than his contemporaries who sat in judgment on him."²⁵ When Dr. A. E. Kirk, a subsequent president of Southwestern College, wanted to write the story of Dr. Lowther's life, his sons objected seriously. "That affair cut so deep that none of us ever wanted it mentioned. They feared their younger generation would not understand."²⁶

Lowther was able "to rise above the injury."²⁷ After the trial, he "took the lecture platform" in Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma and "organized a People's Church at Wichita" where he published a paper *Social Ethics*. In 1906 he moved to Yakima, Wash., and bought a small fruit farm. There also he edited a four-volume *Encyclopedia of Horticulture* and a magazine *Fancy Fruit*. A book of his poems was published in 1922. He entered the ministry of the Congregational Church in 1915.²⁸ At the community Christmas Eve service in 1924 he was honored as a highly respected citizen.²⁹ He died in Seattle, on September 9, 1933.³⁰

III. THE TRIAL

FOLLOWING his term as presiding elder of the Winfield district in 1900, Granville Lowther was appointed to the pastorate of the Methodist Episcopal church in McPherson.³¹ During this period, as a result of his extensive reading of German and French philosophers, i.e., Hegel, Kant, Fichte, Spencer, and out of his own thinking, he developed an evolutionary interpretation of the atonement of Christ. Lowther presented his unorthodox views in a

paper called "Atonement," which he read at the McPherson District Conference held at Frederick, on February 26, 1902.³²

A month later on March 26, the Southwest Annual Methodist Episcopal Conference to which Lowther belonged convened at Arkansas City.³³ On the second day of the conference, following the examination of the character of the ministers, the presiding bishop, W. F. Mallalieu, announced that charges against Lowther, signed by eight members of the conference, had been placed in his hands. The three specific charges stated that certain interpretations in the "Atonement" paper were not in harmony with the larger catechism of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The first charge involved the interpretation of the conversation the serpent had with Eve in Genesis 3. It identified the "serpent as a man, one who had not yet come into the consciousness of God, and was classified with the beasts."

Specification number two stated that "Adam and Eve, at the time of creation had no moral perception of their obligation to obedience, that in eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil they had a higher vision of spiritual things than formerly and consequently felt guilty."

The third specification dealt with the interpretation of Christ's death upon the cross. Lowther stated that "Christ died for man to show man how to die for man."³⁴ According to those bringing the charges against Lowther, this interpretation differed from and was considered "subversive of the doctrines of Atonement set forth in the Articles of Religion III and IX as set forth in the large catechism, which says He (Christ) suffered and died to save us from eternal death and to purchase for us peace with God, righteousness and eternal life."³⁵

The official 1902 conference journal contains no specific details of the trial because Bishop Mallalieu called for it to be conducted in secret session with only the results to be given to the conference. He said "it would be well to give not one single word to the press in any way."³⁶

24. Letter from Lola Lowther Fisher to Grace Hayes Jones, February 19, 1954. It was this letter which aroused my interest in Granville Lowther.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. Letter from Lola Lowther Fisher to Rev. Phillip E. Chastain, August 16, 1957.

28. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. 28, p. 418.

29. *Yakima (Wash.) Republic*, December 20, 1924.

30. *Who Was Who in America* (1942), v. 1, p. 751.

31. Southwest Kansas Conference "Journal," 1900.

32. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 27, 1902, Lowther's "Atonement," pp. 17, 19-21, 42.

33. Southwest Kansas Conference "Journal," 1902.

34. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 27, 1902. Also "Atonement."

35. *M. E. Discipline*, 1900.

36. *Winfield Courier*, April 3, 1902.

But his words went unheeded and area newspapers carried full accounts of the trial proceedings. Using accounts from the press and material from the 1902 S. W. Kansas Methodist Episcopal "Journal," we want to reconstruct the story of the trial in chronological order.

The account of the trial proceedings in the *Wichita Eagle*, March 27, 1902, told of the formal presentation of the charges against Lowther. Although arraigned on charges of teaching doctrines contrary to the creed of the M. E. Church, the word "heresy" was not used.

The first bill of charges was not considered because it was not signed; however, the second one, which contained signatures of eight conference ministers, was accepted. The charges were not read to the conference because the bishop said "he presumed that they were familiar to all present."³⁷ They were "entertained by the conference, and D. D. Akin, from Marion, upon motion, was appointed to act as counsel for the church. He named T. W. Jeffery, Winfield, as assistant counsel."³⁸ Named as counsel for Lowther were Charles G. Wood from the Illinois Conference and W. H. Rose of Winfield.³⁹

To bring the Lowther case to trial, it was necessary to follow one of the guidelines of the 1900 edition of the M.E. Church *Discipline*, using a "Select Number" to hear the evidence and render a verdict. "Twenty names had been selected by the elders (presumably conference officers) and the bishop, and Rev. Lowther passed on thirteen of them."⁴⁰

A "select number" of 11 were appointed as follows: W. Reace, Meade; F. C. Fay, Garden City; W. A. Van Gundy, Wellington; H. J. Ducker, Winfield; W. L. Dexter, Caldwell; J. L. Patterson, Stafford; I. A. Bartholomew, Walton; Stephen Brink, Cheney; J. N. Roberts, Mt. Hope; I. N. Pierce, Garfield. C. F. Howes, Newton, was chosen as the chairman of the "select number" to act as trial judge. L. M. Riley, as assistant secretary of the conference, served as "select number" secretary.⁴¹

Four members of the "select number" entered the ministry through the S. W. Kansas

Conference, and the remainder had transferred into the conference. Several held smaller churches and were among the younger and newer members of the conference. The selection of this group made up of younger and less experienced men may have influenced the outcome of the case in a manner which Lowther had not expected. Although younger, they were not necessarily more liberal in their theological views or more sympathetic to Lowther's position.⁴²

Lowther's trial began Thursday, March 26, 1902, in the Arkansas City Christian church.⁴³ The defense moved to have "the case dismissed upon the technical point that Dr. Lowther had never been served with the charges until Wednesday evening (March 25) at 6 o'clock."⁴⁴ The motion intended to show that the defendant did not have sufficient time to prepare his defense. It stated, however, that Lowther had seen a copy of the charges "about ten days ago." This was a reference to the "unsigned" bill of charges.⁴⁵

The defense counsel then stated that a third bill of charges was presented which differed from the other two. But after some discussion it was decided that the charges were substantially the same. The main point of difference between the second and the last was the reference to the place where the heretical statements were made. The papers were amended to read "that the sentiments were uttered (by Lowther) at Frederick, Kansas, on February 26, 1902."⁴⁶ Chairman Howes stated that the defendant "had plenty of time to prepare his defense and the trial proceeded."

At this point the prosecution wanted to admit as evidence a stack of letters written by

42. Armour Evans in a conversation with Ina Turner Gray, October 13, 1975. Rev. George Hathaway Parkinson, son-in-law of E. C. Pollard, one of Lowther's peers in the ministry in 1902, told Evans in Chicago about his father-in-law's assessment of the choosing of the "select number." After the trial, Pollard told Lowther: "You made the mistake when you challenged your peers, because we don't agree with you, but we would not vote to put you out." In other words, Lowther might not have been judged so harshly by the older and more experienced ministers of the conference.

43. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 27, 1902. Later the proceedings were moved to the church basement for greater secrecy. The leaking of the trial information to the press angered Bishop Mallalieu. He was quoted in the *Eagle*, March 29, 1902, as follows: "The report of the proceedings of the trial commission are reported in this morning's paper [*Wichita Daily Eagle*]. Either some one connected with the case has given the information away or the reporter listened on the outside. . . . An effort should be made to find who has given the secrets away." But the news story concluded with "all attempts, however, to find the source of the *Eagle's* story have failed."

44. *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, March 28, 1902.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 28, 1902.

37. *Ibid.* Also Southwest Kansas Conference "Journal," 1900, p. 82.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Winfield Courier*, April 3, 1902. Wood, evidently an old friend from the Illinois M. E. Conference, was chosen by Lowther to represent him. One newspaper account stated that Wood had received legal training before entering the ministry.

40. "The Conference," *Winfield Daily Courier*, March 28, 1902.

41. Southwest Kansas Conference "Journal," 1902, pp. 66-68.



Lowther which contained statements held to be heretical. The defense objected to the introduction of materials which were not specified in the bill of charges.⁴⁷ The objection was sustained by Chairman Howes.

The lawyers for the church based their case on Lowther's "mis-interpretation of the fifth article of religion found in the M. E. Discipline."⁴⁸

The newspaper story continues with an account of the trial proceedings:

The entire afternoon was spent in the examination of witnesses for the prosecution. The first witness called was Rev. E. S. MacCartney, of Florence who was on the witness stand 45 minutes. Most of the questions were asked by the attorney for the prosecution who carefully covered all the points of the case. There was but little cross-examination by the attorneys for the defendant. "Were you at Frederick, Kansas, on February 26, 1902?" the witness was asked by Rev. Akin. "I was." "What was the occasion of your being there?" "A district conference of the McPherson district was in session." "Was the defendant at that conference?" "He was." "Did he have any part of the program?" "He did. He read a paper on the "Atonement." "You have heard the specifications in the bill of charges?" "Yes." "Did the paper of Rev. Lowther contain what he is alleged to have said in the bill of charges?" "Yes." The second witness called was Rev. A. B. Hestwood.

His testimony was not given in any press account, but he was quoted by a *Wichita Eagle* reporter as stating "that a Methodist minister should preach Methodist doctrine."⁴⁹ According to the newspaper accounts, no other witnesses were called, and by 6:30 p.m. Thursday, all the evidence, according to the prosecution, was in the hands of the court.⁵¹

When the court convened Friday afternoon, March 27, the prosecution reopened its case because the original copy of Lowther's "Atonement" had not been admitted as evidence. All of the comments which were made on Thursday were from memory and the attorney for the church wanted the court to have a copy of Lowther's paper.⁵²

The lead-off witness was Rev. J. A. Davis, presiding elder of the McPherson district where Lowther served. "Have you seen the copy of the paper which was read by Rev. Mr. Lowther at the district conference at Frederick

last February?" the witness was asked by T. W. Jeffery, the assistant prosecutor.

"I have seen the original paper and I made a copy of it, which I now have in my possession," Davis said. It was offered as evidence.⁵³

The attorneys for the defendant stated that they wished to introduce the original copy as evidence. Davis stated that the original copy had been changed since he made his copy. "The statement of Brother Davis will leave the committee under the impression that the defendant changed the papers with the idea of assisting his case," said Rev. W. H. Rose.⁵⁴

The committee chairman ruled that the copy of the original should be introduced as evidence. Comparisons were then made of the pertinent sections of both copies. After the reading was concluded, Rose stated that "there is no material difference in the two copies. We are willing that either should be introduced as evidence." The newspaper concludes the account: "Rev. Lowther was thus cleared from any suspicion of dishonesty or unfairness in connection with the case."⁵⁵

The trial continued on Friday evening with Lowther speaking in his own defense:

I am glad one of the books by which my teachings are to be tried is the Bible, for that book contains the highest examples of purity, the sweetest promises, the highest hopes of time and eternity. I am glad from the best biblical literature of modern time to have the severest tests applied. I have yielded no point of doctrine but have simply employed modern and scientific language to express it. I have gone three times carefully through the Bible, in order to bring the facts of science and our statements of theology and the Bible into harmony with each other. I have not found it necessary to change any fundamental principle of theology, but to clothe them in the language of modern thought rather than that of 150 years ago.⁵⁶

I do not deny that Eve was tempted by Satan, but I do deny that Satan appeared in the form of a serpent. My views are biblical, and not out of harmony with the essen-

53. *Ibid.* This action cast suspicion upon Davis, particularly concerning his motives regarding Lowther, and the legalities of the case. The *Daily Eagle*, March 30, 1902, carried this comment: "It is openly charged today Rev. J. A. Davis distributed copies of the alleged heretical paper among ministers before the conference convened, and that some who read the paper were on the trial committee."

54. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1902, says that this last remark by Rose "was stricken from the record."

55. After an examination of the original copy of Lowther's "Atonement," now in the Kansas West United Methodist Conference secretary's file, the authors find no evidence that the copy had been deliberately changed in any way. The text does contain check marks and notations presumably placed there by persons who wished to quote the marked passages. The cooperation of conference secretary, Gerry Winget, made this material available.

56. *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, March 29, 1902, a quotation from an "alleged" verbatim account of Lowther's speech in his defense.

47. *Ibid.*

48. This article states, in part, that the "Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation." —See M. E. Discipline, 1900, p. 20.

49. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 28, 1902.

50. *Ibid.*, March 27, 1902.

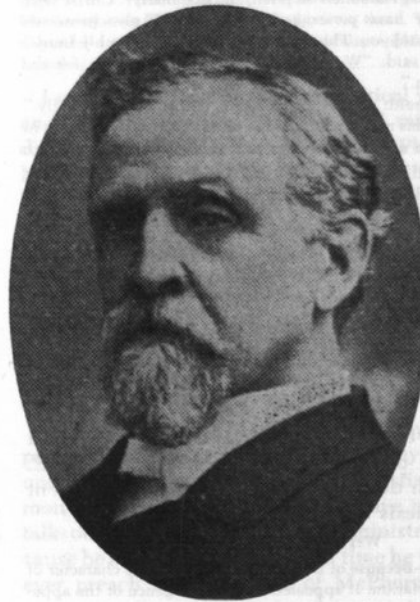
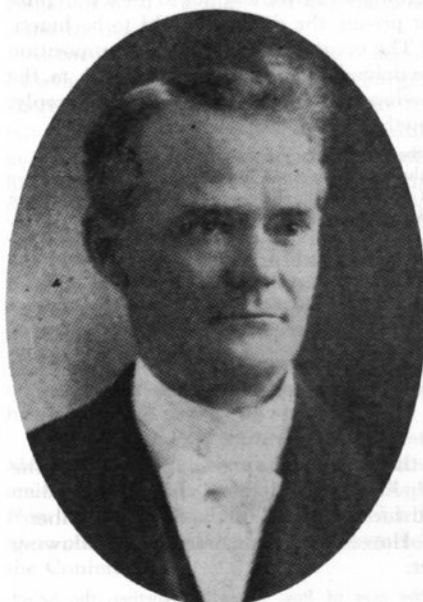
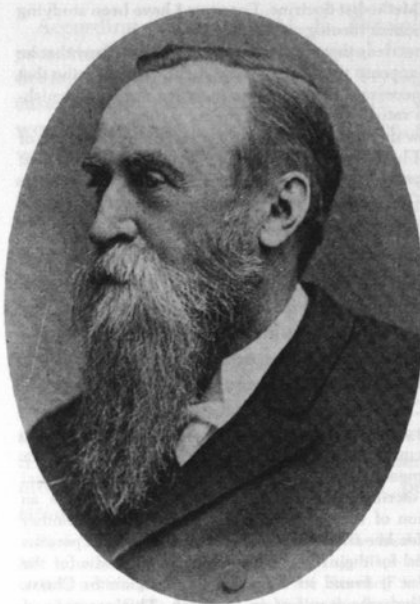
51. *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, March 28, 1902.

52. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 29, 1902.

GRANVILLE LOWTHER—HERETIC OR HERALD

183

Bishop W.F. Mallalieu, *right*, wanted to keep the heresy trial of Granville Lowther secret, but area newspapers published detailed reports of the proceedings. C.J. Howes, *lower right*, was chairman of the "select number" who rendered the unanimous guilty verdict. J.A. Davis, *below*, was presiding elder of the McPherson district where Lowther served and a leader in bringing the charges against him. Photographs copied from *Official Minutes of the Southwest Kansas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1902*, 1908, and 1907 respectively.



tials of Methodist doctrine. For years I have been studying to harmonize theology with nature.

I do not deny that Christ died for man; but I deny that he died to appease the wrath of God. I deny the doctrine that it was necessary for some one to suffer death or punishment to satisfy the claims of divine justice.

I know that the Bible speaks of salvation by the blood of Christ. I hold that the word "blood" means "life," and that Christ gave his life for us as a supreme manifestation of the love of God to man. We should remember that much of the Bible is written in figurative language.⁵⁷

In the verbatim account of his defense speech, Lowther presented his "evolutionary" views. He gave in detail, and in wording similar to that found in his original paper, historical background of the doctrine and concluded with his views of atonement:

Sixth—It is not vicarious in the sense that Christ was a voluntary victim to propitiate the wrath of the Father, so that he could place a quitclaim in the hands of Jehovah for the payment of all debts to Him. It was an example of that law of sacrifice that wins through all nature and is an expression of the very heart of God, as when a mother suffers for her child, the examples of love where persons have died for their friends, and where martyrs die for the truth. But it found its highest manifestation in Christ, where God was manifest in the flesh. This example of Christ should be multiplied by exactly the number of [his] disciples. Thus died Stephen, the first martyr. Christ said, "If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute [persecute] you. The servant is not greater than his Lord."

John said: "We ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."

Paul said: "I am crucified in Christ." "I die daily." "Have this mind in which was also in Christ, who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no reputation and became obedient unto death."

Now what principle of essential truth is subverted here? What would be the practical effects on men if they followed these teachings? It would result in a speedy answer to Christ's prayer: "That they all may be as we are, even as Thou Father art in me and I am thee that they also may be one in us." Now what harm can come to the church or the world from these teachings? If these ideas should prevail it would speedily save this world. Shall a minister of Christ be turned out for preaching the law of sacrifice commanded by Christ?⁵⁸

Lowther speaks specifically to the first charge of "mis-interpretation" of the M. E. Church doctrine, which classified the serpent in Genesis 3 with the beasts:

WHY CALLED A SERPENT?

First—Because of the subtle and serpentine character of the temptation. It appealed to the indulgence of the appetite and the ascendancy of the flesh over the spirit.

Second—The first written language was picture lan-

57. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 29, 1902, a summary of Lowther's speech in his defense.

58. *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, March 29, 1902.

guage and the picture of a serpent would be the most natural figure by which to express the temptation. . . .

Third—It is common in all lands to call persons with dominant traits of character, by animals possessing these characteristics. John called the Jews serpents, a generation of vipers. Christ called Herod a fox. Judah was a lion's whelp. We have many Christian names such as Lion, Bear, Hawk, Bird, Wolf, Crow and Fox. The ensigns on the flags of nations are the "British Lion," "Russian Bear," "American Eagle," "Southern Confederate Serpent," etc. It does no violence to scripture interpretation, nor to any principle of truth to say that the serpent was a wily, cunning man, or that Satan appeared in the form of such a man, rather than to suppose what is impossible today and contrary to all known laws of life, that real serpents walked upright, reasoned and talked.⁵⁹

Following Lowther's speech which reportedly required "about three hours of time" ⁶⁰ to deliver, the prosecutor Akin made the opening address for the church, followed by attorneys for the defense, and Akin making the summary.⁶¹

The "select number," after hearing the arguments and after taking the first vote which apparently went against the defendant, decided to give Lowther a chance to avoid expulsion from the ministry of the M. E. Church by signing an agreement not to preach in public or private the doctrines held to be heretical.⁶² The court communicated its proposition to the defendant and gave him until 8 a. m. the following morning (March 29) to make a reply.

Lowther's answer follows:

To the President and Committee:

In the case against me for heresy in which you have found me guilty of the charges preferred, [sic] and agree not to execute the penalty provided I would sign a paper agreeing not to teach in public nor in private the views which have been the basis of the charges against me. I beg leave to reply that I thank you for your feeling of regard and sympathy which offers me a possible way of escape from the natural consequences of your decision, but must decline to accept it, because I could not be honest with myself and the cause of Christ which I, as a minister of Christ, represent and enter into such an agreement.

Most truly yours,

G. LOWTHER ⁶³

At the close of the morning session of the S. W. Kansas Conference, Bishop Mallalieu called for the report of the "select number." C. J. Howes, chairman, made the following report:

In the case of Rev. Granville Lowther, the Select

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*, March 28, 1902.

61. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1902.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*

Number, after hearing the evidence and arguments of counsels, find the accused guilty of each and every specification set forth in the bill of charges and specifications; and we find further that the specifications sustain the charge; and we find him guilty of disseminating doctrines contrary to and subversive of the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the said Granville Lowther, having refused to sign a paper to the effect that he would not in the future teach or disseminate the doctrine taught in the paper forming the basis of the charges and specifications in the case, is hereby expelled from the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Arkansas City, March 29, 1902.

The report was signed by the 11 members of the "select number." The decision was unanimous.⁶⁴

According to a newspaper account, Howes, before reading the guilty verdict, said: "This is one of the saddest moments of my life, and I am called upon to perform a duty that is one of the hardest I have ever attempted."⁶⁵ He commented upon the "kindly feeling" the committee had for Lowther. Following the reading of the guilty verdict, "over half the ministers were in tears and sobbing as if their hearts would break. The bishop dismissed the troubled congregation with 'O, that God may help us to stand by the old gospel'."⁶⁶

According to the newspaper account, Lowther did not consider the charges of "heresy" to be of a serious nature. He told a reporter that "he did not expect the verdict of guilty and as yet had made no arrangements for his future." In the same interview, he is reported to have said that he did not intend to appeal the verdict to a higher court.⁶⁷

Another press account said that the defendant "would save all rights of appeal in his heresy case. It was further announced that he does not believe he will use them at this time, but he wanted to be prepared so that if the occasion ever arises that he does want a rehearing he can get it."⁶⁸

The 1902 M.E. "Journal" states that on Monday, March 31, the last day of the conference, that Lowther "filed notice of an appeal from the decision of the Select Number. The same previously authorized was recognized by the Conference."

According to the 1900 M. E. *Discipline*, a provision was made for an appeal from the decision by an annual conference. Trying such cases would be "triers of Appeals" which would constitute a judicial conference, and it would be made up of 15 elders from conferences "conveniently near." It "may reverse, in whole or in part, the finding of the Annual Conference, or it may remand the case for a new trial."⁶⁹

On Sunday evening, March 30, Lowther preached at the M.E. church in Geuda Springs and later returned to his home in McPherson, arriving on Thursday, April 3. That evening a "Grand Reception" was given to Lowther at the home, hardly the homecoming of a "heretic." The gala event was reported in detail in the McPherson *Weekly Republican*. There was much food, and "over three hundred" persons attended.

Prof. T. S. Johnson made a speech on the backbone of Mr. Lowther, which was very interesting, after which he recited a little poem entitled "To the Heretic," which he wrote himself. Mr. Lowther replied to the first speech by Mr. Johnson, making the evening very entertaining. . . . This reception will never be forgotten by Mr. Lowther or his many friends who were there. They all departed for their homes at a late hour, wishing Mr. Lowther success in the future.⁷⁰

Lowther's "evolutionary" theological views, and even his expulsion from the M. E. ministry did not dampen the feelings the McPherson Methodists felt for their pastor. During the S. W. Kansas annual conference it was reported that "some of the ministers are expressing a desire that they be not assigned to the pastorate of the McPherson church when the appointments are read . . . for the church has petitioned for the return of Rev. Mr. Lowther, and it is feared that his successor will not find his task an easy one."⁷¹ His successor was his counsel, W. H. Rose.⁷²

Remaining in McPherson, Lowther preached at the opera house on Sunday afternoon, April 7, and had a "very interesting sermon on 'What is Man?'" He also gave a short talk on his departure from the ministry, because he says it might be the last time he would ever preach to the people of McPherson.⁷³

64. Southwest Kansas Conference "Journal," 1902, pp. 85-86.

65. Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*, March 29, 1902.

66. "Is Guilty of Heresy," Winfield *Daily Courier*, March 31, 1902.

67. Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*, March 29, 1902.

68. Winfield *Daily Courier*, April 1, 1902.

69. M. E. *Discipline*, 1900, p. 149.

70. McPherson *Weekly Republican*, April 4, 1902.

71. Wichita *Daily Eagle*, March 30, 1902.

72. Southwest Kansas Conference "Journal," 1902, p. 73.

73. McPherson *Weekly Republican*, April 11, 1902.



If Lowther intended to pursue his appeal of the guilty verdict from the "select number," he should have ceased his ministerial functions and not continued to preach. His "preaching" on two different occasions made an appeal impossible under church law, according to his counsel, C. G. Woods.⁷⁴ Woods said, "The records in the case were all straight and every preparation had been made to appeal when he (Lowther) announced that he did not wish to take the case up."⁷⁵ Woods was disappointed that Lowther "acted against the rules of the church." He felt the case would have been "won in the higher court," because "the only reason it was lost was the personal prejudice entertained by some of the members of the trial committee against Lowther on account of his political views."⁷⁶

IV. EVALUATION OF THE TRIAL

AS ONE VIEWS the disturbing "heresy" trial period in the life of Granville Lowther from a distance of nearly three quarters of a century, the question which surfaces is: "Was Lowther a heretic or herald?"

He was tried for "mis-interpreting" doctrines of faith in the M. E. Church *Discipline* of 1900. Found guilty, he was "expelled from the ministry of the M. E. Church." This might have been a crushing blow to a lesser person. He was hurt, but was able to overcome much of the personal trauma of the trial and its aftermath, and distinguished himself in the field of horticulture. He also found fulfillment in the ministry of another denomination.

What can be said about the trial itself? As one studies the press account of the proceedings in detail, the "heresy" issue fades into the background, and a conspiracy of sorts against Lowther begins to emerge.

It was true that he did present an "evolutionary" interpretation of the atonement concept that departed from the orthodox position, but it was done openly before his district conference.

This was a period in our history when Darwinian thought was being felt in theological

circles many places in the world. Biblical studies were being invaded with the "higher textual criticism" philosophy. The scholars whose works were read and studied by Lowther were presenting different interpretations of the traditional doctrines of God, Man, and Society, which later infiltrated into all modern theological thought.

It seems unfair that Lowther was singled out to be tried for holding "Heretical" beliefs as though he were the only M. E. minister who held such ideas. One newspaper report stated "that some [meaning Lowther's brother ministers] thought the charges against him were trivial, and non-essential. Some ministers stated the Rev. Lowther was not the only heretic in the conference."⁷⁷

Even Bishop Mallalieu, the episcopal leader, who presided over the 1902 M. E. conference and whose theology was "revivalistic" in nature, stated "that the disbarred minister was heretical at some points, but if the conference wants to split on doctrine, there were several other ministers who ought to be disbarred."⁷⁸

It is doubtful that the trial would have been held had it not been for the rather devious work of Lowther's presiding elder, J. A. Davis. It was a motion by Davis that brought the charges against the defendant to the floor of the conference.⁷⁹ According to the testimony, Davis secured the original atonement paper, and made a copy of it. One account states he "distributed copies of the alleged heretical paper among ministers before the conference convened, and that some who had read the paper were on the trial committee."⁸⁰

This action was contrary to proper legal and disciplinary procedure outlined in the 1900 M. E. *Discipline*, dealing with "a member of an Annual Conference who disseminates, publicly or privately, doctrines which are contrary to (the) Articles of Religion."

In the interval between the sessions of the Annual Conference the Presiding Elder shall call not less than five or more than nine Members of the Conference to investigate the case, and, if possible, bring the accused and the accuser face to face. He shall preside throughout the proceedings,

77. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 30, 1902.

78. *Dodge City Globe-Republican*, April 3, 1902. Massachusetts born Wilbur F. Mallalieu (1825-1911), who presided at the 1902 M. E. conference in Arkansas City, was the author of several books, including one on the subject of revivals, *The Why, When, and How of Revivals*.—F. D. Leete, *Methodist Bishops* (Nashville, Parthenon Press, 1948).

79. Southwest Kansas Conference "Journal," 1902, pp. 81-82.

80. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 30, 1902.

74. *Winfield Courier*, April 24, 1902.

75. *Ibid.* Woods must have been familiar with an 1860 General Conference decision which stated "the appellant, since his expulsion, has continued to preach as if still in full ministerial powers . . . has forfeited his right of appeal." —Reported in F. J. Cooke, *The Judicial Decisions of the General Conference of the M. E. Church* (Cincinnati, Jennings & Pye, 1903), p. 49.

76. *Winfield Courier*, April 24, 1902.



and shall certify and declare the verdict of the Committee; and shall cause a correct record of the charges, specifications, proceedings, and the evidence in the investigation to be kept and transmitted to the Annual Conference.⁸¹

Had Davis felt that there were justifiable reasons for bringing charges against Lowther for "disseminating" views contrary to the "Articles of Religion," he should have followed the disciplinary procedures. Instead he circulated copies of the atonement paper among the ministers of the McPherson district, and apparently sanctioned the circulation of one or more bills of charges.⁸²

It appears that Davis personally set out to damage the ministerial career of Granville Lowther, and apparently was aided by ministers of the McPherson district. No doubt they were threatened by Lowther's erudition and his popularity. Mutual hostility may have been building between Lowther and Davis over a period of years. Both joined the conference in 1886.⁸³

Lowther gave much leadership to the church, served large congregations, was elected to General Conference, and gave exceptional guidance and help to the S. W. Conference college in Winfield. There is no evidence that Davis was too highly regarded by the conference.

It is understandable that many of Lowther's peers were awed by his knowledge and abilities. They were provincial in theological outlook, and in order to join the conference, studied books prescribed by the M. E. *Discipline*. None were written by the then current European scholars. Most conference members were unfamiliar with modern Biblical scholarship and were so fearful of one of their peers who would advocate evolutionary interpretations of Biblical stories that they voted him out of the ministry.⁸⁴ They won their point, but it is questionable that the conference benefited by losing the talents of such a leader as Granville Lowther.

But, notwithstanding the provinciality of Kansas clergy in the early 1900's, the theological climate was changing, and in 1902 in

Frederick, Granville Lowther presented an interpretation of a portion of the Adam and Eve stories in Genesis that was one of many to be studied, discussed, and accepted by later generations of Methodist ministers and lay people.

V. AFTERMATH

SOME OF THE tragic dimensions of the trial were reflected in the disrupted lives of at least two of the five Lowther children.

In 1898 the young son, Charles, had dropped out of Southwest Kansas College to serve as a supply minister at Roy in present Oklahoma. The next three years he preached at Geuda Springs. By 1902 he had decided to join the Southwest Kansas Conference and give up his earlier ambition of being an editor or a printer which he had held in 1895 when he was listed as publisher and business manager of the *Southwestern Collegian*.⁸⁵ That same year his older brother John Franklin was associate editor of the paper and his father was vice-president of the college and chairman of the executive committee of the board of trustees. At that point the college was well supplied with Lowthers.

But once again Charles's vocational plans were changed. An item in the March 31, 1902, *Winfield Courier* puts it succinctly: "Charley Lowther was up for admission to the ministry at the Arkansas City Conference, but after the action taken by that body against his father, refused to join."

Charles never became a Methodist preacher, but he did join the ministry of the Congregational Church.⁸⁶ An entertaining writer, he has at least two books to his credit which memorialize those early days—*Dodge City, Kansas* and *Panhandle Parson*.

For the daughter Lola E., the situation was quite different but just as traumatic. She was engaged to Jesse Clyde Fisher who graduated from Southwestern and joined the conference on trial in 1901. But, as she wrote in 1954, "our engagement was broken when the church had the heresy trial. I could not then marry a Methodist minister."⁸⁷

Fisher married Effie Pyle and spend eight

81. M. E. *Discipline*, 1900, para. 222, sec. 1.

82. "Heresy Trial," *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, March 28, 1902. Was Davis responsible for collecting the letters written by Lowther and alleged to be heretical? Circumstantial evidence appears to indicate that he was.

83. Southwest Kansas Conference "Journal," 1902, p. 66.

84. According to his counsel, his political views were also feared.

85. C. Lowther, *Panhandle Parson*, p. 67.

86. This information comes from his daughter, Mrs. Carroll M. Bartell, in a letter from Ann Grange, niece of Charles Lowther and granddaughter of Granville Lowther, written to Ina Turner Gray on April 10, 1976.

87. Letter to Grace Hayes Jones.

years as a missionary in India. He was serving as superintendent of the Liberal district when she died in 1935.

By this time Lola's father was dead so her housekeeping duties for him had ended and she was living in the East near her sisters' families. Jesse went to see her and they were married in 1936. After his death in 1951 she took his place on the board of trustees of Southwestern College and gave his valuable

collection of Indian artifacts to the college. According to a former president, Dr. C. Orville Strohl, Mrs. Fisher was very generous in her support of the college which her father had once headed and once "owned."⁸⁸ Today the Fisher collection is the one tangible evidence on campus of a daughter's loyalty and of the man who saved the college but lost his own good name.

88. Interview, March 3, 1976.

THE 1864 DIARY OF CPL. SETH KELLY

Edited by ANNE E. HEMPHILL

I. INTRODUCTION

SETH KELLY was born at West Milton, Ohio, on April 23, 1836, to Samuel and Mahala Yount Kelly. He was a descendant of David O'Kelia, "the Irishman," who came to America as a lad of 10 or 12 about 1637. There were eight children in Samuel Kelly's family—Allen, John, Daniel, Mary, Jane, Seth, Enos, and Leonidas, and in the fall of 1852, upon the death of Samuel's brother and sister-in-law, Seth and Mary Ann Kelly, three more children were added to this household. They were David, Eli, and Sarah.

Samuel Kelly was a manufacturer by trade, being skilled in the use of heavy machinery. By faith, he was a Quaker. He believed in educating his children according to their talents. Mary attended Cooper Academy in Dayton, Ohio, and became an educator. Jane, Seth, and David took two-year courses at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio,¹ and Leonidas attended the public schools of Troy, Ohio, where his sister Mary and her husband, William N. Edwards, were teaching. The others were trained as machinists, business men, or farmers.

Mahala Yount Kelly died in April, 1856, and in the fall of that year, having completed his college course, Seth went to Kansas territory, which was then the site of the border-ruffian conflict that preceded the Civil War. Here he laid claim to a quarter section of land (SW ¼ of Sec. 3, Twp. 14 S, Rg. 20 E) in the valley of Coal creek in Douglas county, about 10 miles south of Lawrence. Entering into the life of this frontier community, Seth became an early member of the Coal Creek Social Library Association, and its second treasurer. This group was organized on November 22, 1859, for "the

moral, social, and intellectual improvement of its members."² The library was housed in the home of its first librarian, George Cutter.

As a man of 22 years, George Cutter had come to Kansas in the spring of 1856 from Oak Grove, Wis., in Dodge county.³ In the fall of 1858, his brother and sister, Alfred and Charlotte A. Cutter, came to Kansas from the family home at Dracut, Mass., to share the new frame house George was just completing. The mother, Charlotte Varnum Cutter, and three younger children, Martha, John, and Sarah, arrived in the spring of 1859. The father, John Pierce Cutter, had died in San Francisco in January, 1850, one of the "forty-niners" who failed to find gold. He was from a family that had emigrated from England in 1647 and whose descendants included many prominent professional men and women and successful farmers.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Seth Kelly and a number of his Kansas friends, including Alfred Cutter, joined Company B, Ninth Kansas volunteer cavalry that was being mustered into service during the months of September, October, and November, 1861. Seth joined this group on October 12, 1861, and saw service in several states and territories. He was discharged on November 19, 1864, after serving slightly more than three years.

Like so many others in the Coal creek valley, Seth Kelly felt the influence of William E. Barnes, a native of Dracut, Mass., who had come to Kansas with George Cutter. Barnes had been trained in the nursery business in Massachusetts and purposed to develop such a farm here on the prairie. That kind of work apparently appealed to Kelly for, following his discharge from military service, he arranged to go into partnership with Barnes. He sold his own farm and, with Barnes, bought 20 acres of

1. Three volumes inscribed, "Seth Kelly, Antioch, May 1854," are still in the family library. They are Vols. 1, 3, and 4 of a four-volume set entitled, *The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians and Grecians*, by Charles Rollin (translated from the French; New York, Leavitt and Allen, 1853).

2. "Minutes of the Coal Creek Social Library Association," November 22, 1859-February 1, 1870, p. 1.

3. *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia* (Chicago, F.E. Compton & Company, 1958), v. 13, map, pp. 206-207.



Seth Kelly (1836-1868), *left*, began building the stone house pictured below in April, 1866. To that home in October, 1866, he brought his bride, Martha Varnum Cutter, *right*. The house, located two and one-half miles north of Baldwin, still stands. The persons seated on the terrace steps in the foreground are, *left to right*: Sarah E. Cutter, Seth Kelly's sister-in-law; Martha C. Kelley, Seth Kelly's granddaughter; Mrs. Martha V. Gill, Seth Kelly's widow, and William H. Gill, Martha's second husband, who was responsible for construction of portions of the house that are of sandstone and limestone. Standing in the rear of the group is Helen G. Gill, elder daughter of Martha V. and William H. Gill. This photograph was taken about 1911.





virgin land on the north slope of a range of wooded hills lying in the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 21, Twp. 14 S, Rg. 20 E. Here, in April, 1866, Kelly commenced building a stone composite house which still stands.

To this house in October, 1866, he brought his bride, Martha Varnum Cutter. Their joy was brief, however, as it shortly became evident that Seth had a cancerous growth, although it was not immediately recognized as such. This cancer, that had been slow in developing until this time, was caused by bruising as Kelly's army mount had repeatedly stumbled, throwing him against the saddle horn. By October, 1867, the condition had become so severe that he was advised by Dr. Sylvester B. Prentiss of Lawrence, a family friend, to seek the advice of a surgeon in St. Louis. He entered Sister's Hospital (Mullanphy) in St. Louis on October 22, 1867. Two days later a malignant tumor weighing three pounds, nine ounces was removed from the area of the groin.

Martha Kelly had been unable to go with her husband to St. Louis for she was expecting their first child. The baby was born November 16, 1867, and was named George Edwards Kelly. His mother later changed the spelling of the name to Kelley.

Seth Kelly died May 13, 1868, and was buried near the crest of the hill above his home. The body was later moved to the Vinland Cemetery which was established in 1873.⁴

Little remains to tell of the man who dreamed of an enduring home overlooking a broad expanse of rolling prairie except two diaries (one is printed here; the other tells of building his house), two letters, and the affidavits of two persons who testified in regard to Seth Kelly's health following his military service.

When a G.A.R. post was organized at Vinland in the Coal creek valley October 10, 1889, it was named the Seth Kelley Post, No. 410, honoring the first man in the area to die of service related injuries following the Civil War.

It is not known whether Kelly kept a diary during the first two years of his military service.

4. The first burial recorded in the Vinland Cemetery, northeast of Vinland, is that of the father-in-law of Alfred Cutter, William A. Davis, born February 24, 1811; died May 11, 1873.

II. THE DIARY, 1864

FRIDAY, JAN. 1, 1864.—Staid all night at Mrs. [Charlotte V.] Cutter's last night. Went to camp and in crossing the Kansas River broke thru the ice and wet both feet and frosted them in travelling to camp, a distance of 12 miles.

SUNDAY, FEB. 7, 1864.—Paid by the Pay Master of the United States Army \$52.35 at Sarcoxieville,⁵ Deleware [Delaware] Agency, Kansas, by Major Eldridge.

MONDAY, FEB. 22, 1864.—Left camp at Big Stranger,⁶ arrived at Mrs. Cutter's at sundown. There I always find a welcome and kindness for which I fear I cannot be able to show sufficient gratitude.

TUESDAY, FEB. 23, 1864.—Sergt. J.W. [John] Walton and self called on S.L. and Lady [Solomon Lapham and wife, Harriet Varnum]—took dinner. Saw likeness of M. & C. [Martha and Charlotte Cutter, Harriet's cousins] whom I have not seen for a long, long time⁷ and was glad to see their well remembered faces. Evening went to the Sociable at Barbers. Saw for the first time Miss F— of whom I [have] heard so much.

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 24, 1864.—Visited the neighbors today. Called at Castle Thunder and saw the fair inmates.

THURSDAY, FEB. 25, 1864.—This morning shouldered a spade and marched for the patch of Terra Firma that I call my own and commenced a disultory warfare upon some antiquated weeds around grape vines and trees. Evening visited Miss [Mary ?] Chapman in company with Miss L., Sergt. [Amos or John] Walton & Frank [Varnum]. Pleasant time.

FRIDAY, FEB. 26, 1864.—Enjoyed a great amount of rest today. Read in "Cecil Dreeme" [by Theodore Winthrop]. Also a few chapters to Miss S—h [Sarah Cutter?]. Prairie fire west of the Creek burned Walton's corn and fence.

5. Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas: A Cyclopaedia of State History* (Chicago, Standard Publishing Company, 1912).—"Sarcoxie (sometimes called Sarcoxieville), a hamlet of Jefferson County, is located in Sarcoxie township, 9 miles southeast of Oskaloosa . . . 11 miles north of Lawrence . . ." v. 2, pp. 650-651.

6. Stranger creek. Big Stranger and its tributary, Little Stranger, run south through the center of Leavenworth county, and empty into the Kansas river east of Lawrence near Linwood.—*Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture* (Topeka, Geo. W. Martin, Public Printer, 1875). p. 310.

7. Charlotte A. Cutter had gone to Muscatine, Ia., in November, 1861, to marry Albert Wm. Smith whom she had met in Kansas. Martha Cutter had gone to Iowa in March, 1863, to be with her sister for the birth of Charlotte's first child, Wilbert Poole Smith. Staying on, due partly to the border ruffian activities in Kansas such as Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, August 21, 1863, Martha taught a school near Muscatine. Both women returned to Kansas in April, 1864, Charlotte for a visit and Martha to stay.



SATURDAY, FEB. 27, 1864.—Called upon [Daniel] Cheney [or Cheeney] and [Henry] Landon, the place where I had the honor of supping with a dear friend now far away.⁸ How tenaciously do pleasant memories cling about one's heart. The wind is howling without, fitfully and fearfully. [Called on] Stephen B—ys & Lady, [Thomas] Work & Lady, also Mrs. Brown.

SUNDAY, FEB. 28, 1864.—Deleware [Delaware] Agency. Crossed the Kaw at Eudora in company with S. Lapham, Alf [Alfred] Cutter & F.B. [Frank] Varnum. Day was cold and blustery. A letter from Mary [his sister] awaited my arrival there.

MONDAY, FEB. 29, 1864.—Worked on the Muster Rolls today. Rec'd news that our Regt. was to join Gen. Stilles command. We may possibly be of some positive service to our country yet. We have been on the negative pole long enough.

TUESDAY, MAR. 1, 1864.—On guard tonight. Wrote a letter to L. [Leonidas, his brother] today. Nothing of importance occurred in camp this day.

WEDNESDAY, MAR. 2, 1864.—Good easy time on guard. Did an unusual amount of rest and endured it heroically.

THURSDAY, MAR. 3, 1864.—Put wagon tongue in Uncle Samuel's wagon this day. Visited Indian camps to purchase maple sugar. Their evaporating process is not attended with that degree of cleanliness that one would desire about their edibles.

FRIDAY, MAR. 4, 1864.—Made out requisitions for clothing and Quarter Ms. [Master's] Stores preparatory to going into the field. Read a sermon preached in the Plymouth [Plymouth] Church, Brooklyn by the Rev. H.W. Beecher, "Honor thy Parents—Honor the King."

SATURDAY, MAR. 5, 1864.—Commenced reading "Women in White" and at Sundown find myself very much interested. Find feelings portrayed—vividly—that I have experienced oft and again. How green those feelings live in one's memory? [!] Like herbage the foliage may die, yet the roots are ever green and full of vitality. The softening rain and genial sun cause them to renew their verdancy.

8. Daniel Cheney and Henry Landon were neighbors of Kelly. When Martha Cutter taught school at Blue Mound in the spring and summer of 1862, she boarded at Landon's. At that time he was living in Wakarusa township.

SUNDAY, MAR. 6, 1864.—Continued the reading of W. in White, became more and more interested.

MONDAY, MAR. 7, 1864.—Revisited the C.C. [Coal creek] Staid at Mr. [John] Rodman's [just north of Kelly's quarter section] in company of Sergt. A. Walton. Enjoyed genuine old "Kaintucky" Hospitality. Called on Miss F., was received very pleasantly. Saw a Miss Doniphan, sister of Ella. Looked at the ruins of my fence, nearly all destroyed by fire.

TUESDAY, MAR. 8, 1864.—Mr. H. [Henry] Landon's rented my farm to a Mr. Smith. Made arrangements to take father's fencing⁹—150 posts and about 500 rails. Not very good. Read a letter from Mrs. [John] Faucett to Mrs. Landon.

WEDNESDAY, MAR. 9, 1864.—In Camp: Staid at Landon's last night. Paid him \$15.00. Came by the way of Lawrence. Business is very brisk and houses are being built up very fast. Soon the devastation and ruin will have disappeared and Quantrill's Raid will be counted as one of the horrors past.

THURSDAY, MAR. 10, 1864.—Wrote a letter to Father—Rained almost all day, not fast but slowly—one of the many such as come in this blustery month. Boys are talking about the murder of Parkman by Webster and the murderer J. Colt, brother of Col. S. Colt who murdered a man for 500 dol.¹⁰

FRIDAY, MAR. 11, 1864.—Mother Earth was shrouded in white this morning. But the Glorious sun with genial influence succeeded in dismantling her and tonight she is as "Brown and Sere" as ever. For guard this night. I have the honor of being in command—Stable Call!

SATURDAY, MAR. 12, 1864.—All quiet in Camp—weather damp and disagreeable. Slight sprinkling of rain and snow. I got vaccinated by Dr. Still of Eudora, paid 25 cts. Matter from the arm of Miss G—d. Did not sleep much last night. Fancies not of the pleasantest kind disturbed my brain.

9. Samuel Kelly had come to Kansas prior to the war and had taken a claim north of Blue Mound but had not been content to stay.

10. Dr. John White Webster of Boston, Mass., who was convicted of the murder of Dr. George Parkman, a wealthy eccentric of Boston. Involved was a sum of \$2,432 owed to Parkman by Webster.—*Dictionary of American Biography* v., 19, pp. 592-593; *Newsweek*, August 23, 1971; "Boston Mangler," a review of a book, *The Disappearance of Dr. Parkman*, by Robert Sullivan. Apparently, J. Colt was being compared by Kelly's buddies with Dr. Webster.

SUNDAY, MAR. 13, 1864.—I. Vining died last night of "Cerebro Spinal Meningitis [meningitis]"—Spotted fever. Today read Sermon by H.W. Beecher "and when he was come near and saw the city, he wept." On fatigue—hailed a load of wood. O that Peace would settle down again upon this distracted land—that we might pursue the bent of our own inclinations so far as they may be honorable at least.

MONDAY, MAR. 14, 1864.—Somewhat unwell.

TUESDAY, MAR. 15, 1864.—Moved Camp to Lawrence. 9 companies here of the 9th Regt. Col. Lynde. Am not well tonight.

WEDNESDAY, MAR. 16, 1864.—Was loafing more or less today. Feel some better than yesterday.

THURSDAY, MAR. 17, 1864.—Decided improvement in the state of my health. Could manage to worry down my full allowance of the good things from Uncle Sam's table.

FRIDAY, MAR. 18, 1864.—Lawrence, Kansas. In Camp.

SATURDAY, MAR. 19, 1864.—Reading Dead Secret by Willkie Collins. Drilled on horse back, by Lieut. H. Brandley.

SUNDAY, MAR. 20, 1864.—Went to Unitarian Church in Co [company of] Cooper, Walton, Morehead, Meyers, Burdick. Parson Brown delivered Sermon. Evening attended Temperance Lecture by Mr. Goss. Saw Miss L.B.

MONDAY, MAR. 21, 1864.—Drilled Battalion. Drill Major, Pomroy [Pomeroy]. I acted as Sergt. Major. We did very well for the first performance. Went out to Mrs. Cutter's¹¹ and stay tonight.

TUESDAY, MAR. 22, 1864.—Snowed last night to the depth of 2 or 3 inches. Took dinner at Henry Landon's. Settled up my affairs. Due me 4 dollars. Made arrangements with [Daniel] Streeter to take charge of my things. Mrs. Fanning [to] keep my cows, two cows to the 1st of March for the use. Heifers till fall.

WEDNESDAY, MAR. 23, 1864.—Staid at Gillilands last night with Sergt. A. Walton in the town of Franklin¹² and returned to Camp about noon.

11. Kelly went often to Mrs. Cutter's not only because he found a friendly welcome there but to check out books from the Coal Creek Library that was housed in the Cutter home. This library still exists but has had a building of its own in Vinland since 1900.

12. The town of Franklin was located two and one-half miles east and one-half mile south of the present intersection of Highway K-10 and Haskell avenue, Lawrence.

THURSDAY, MAR. 24, 1864.—Tried to sell my gray Horse, was offered 100 Doll. Evening went to Old Folks Concert.

FRIDAY, MAR. 25, 1864.—On Camp Guard—Was paid off by Major Bowen, \$57.85. Warm pleasant day. I can not speak well of our efficiency as disciplinarians. Something wrong somewhere.

[A LISTING OF THE GUARD.]

1 Duncan	Lapham	1	B
2 Pole	Halmark	2	
3 Cathers	Casvier [?]	3	B
1 Orley	Bray	4	B
2 Ferguson	Harmon	H 5	
3 Cooper	Perkins	H 6	
1 A.A.Kesson	Coffin	H 7	
2 Whetlock	A. Murdock	8	A
3 Sanders	—[?]	9	A
	Yates	10	A

First Relief—25th March 1864

SETH KELLY, Corpl. in charge

SATURDAY, MAR. 26, 1864.—Came off guard at 9 o'clock. Capt. Coleman was officer of the day. Received a letter from [my] Sister [Jane] Tenney announcing the death of grandfather [Frederick] Yount at 85. Died Mar. 6, 1864.

SUNDAY, MAR. 27, 1864.—Went upon Mount Oread [at Lawrence] this morning and had a fine view of Lawrence & suburbs, not withstanding a high wind and a considerable amount of dust blowing. Went, 11 a.m., to Congregational Church. Saw and shook hands with Miss P. Attended Sabbath School, "28th Chapt. 50 v. Math."¹³

MONDAY, MAR. 28, 1864.—Wet and blustry with snow. Cooks unable to get our meals. Went to town and patronized the Castin Bakery. Wood & Pease paid a note of \$80.00. Maj. Pomroy in command issued circular to Commander of Squadrons charging them to see to the neatness of them.

TUESDAY, MAR. 29, 1864.—Snowed and blowed last night. Had to turn out in the middle of the night to stake down the tent. The wind and wet having drawn the pegs. Cold dose. At noon started out upon the creek [Coal creek]. Visited my old Castle. Found Mr. Smith and family ensconced in the cellar in order to be more comfortable. Went to Cheney's and staid all night. Mr. C. agreed to assist in putting up my fence.

13. Since there is no 50th verse in the 28th chapter of Matthew, even in an 1860 edition of the Bible, it is presumed that Kelly's memory failed. The chapter closes with "the Great Commission," which has often been used as a sermon text.



WEDNESDAY, MAR. 30, 1864.—Left Cheney's about 8½ o'clock [a.m.] and called at Mr. Landon's old place. Arrived at the camp at 1 o'clock [p.m.] found the boys in new tents. Attended Methodist festival.

THURSDAY, MAR. 31, 1864.—Snowed all day. Laid in tent and slept.

FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 1864.—Read a few pages in "India, China and Japan" by Bayard Taylor.

SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1864.—Prepared to "take up the line of march." Will, according to order, march tomorrow morning.

SUNDAY, APRIL 3, 1864.—Struck tents at 9 o'clock a.m. in a shower of rain. Went ahead of the Regt. and called on H. Landon—took dinner. Went on to Mrs. Cutter's house. Wrote two letters, one to father, another to [cousin] Eli. At 8 o'clock commences to rain. Bids fair to be a foul night.

MONDAY, APRIL 4, 1864.—Paid [Wm. E.] Barnes \$100. for which he receipted, which, together with a note of \$75.00, I let Mrs. Cutter have for safe keeping. Started again about 9 o'clock, called at Sulphur Springs [home of the Jonathan Dunn family], took dinner at Lanesfield and reached camp S.E. [of] Gardenor [Gardner] in season to make a charge on gab pile.

TUESDAY, APRIL 5, 1864.—Left Bull Creek at 8 o'clock a. m., reached camp on Wea Creek ¹⁴ about 1 p.m. Were drilled on the route by Major Pomroy. The morning was fair and our Regt. made a very Respectable appearance. Our company was 3rd Squadron of 1st Battalion.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6, 1864.—Harrisonville, Mo. Encamped in the Brush after much delay and a great deal of engineering on the part of Major P. The Maj. put us thru the drill. I acted as Sgt. Maj. We passed over a great deal of fine country but entirely deserted—fences and houses destroyed. Once where there was peace and plenty, desolation marks the place.

THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1864.—Traveled near twenty-five miles. Encamped Big Creek, passed through Rosehill [Mo.], a small village destitute of inhabitants. Only two houses

looked as if they were tenanted. Farms were nearly all in ruins. And solitary chimneys point out the happy hearth stones of days gone by. Such are some of the horrors of war.

FRIDAY, APRIL 8, 1864.—Traveled 8 or 10 miles today. Struck tents in the rain. Marched in the rain and pitched tents in the rain. Passed some good farms and country bears less evidence of vandalism than that previously passed. Detachment [of] Co. B. formed the vanguard. Lieut. H.W. [Hugh Welch] Williams in command.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 1864.—Rain and wind today. Camped in the woods near Clinton, Mo. through which we have passed. Clinton looks as tho' it had been a prosperous little town in bygone days and the country around is beautiful and fertile.

SUNDAY, APRIL 10, 1864.—Six miles from O[s]ceola, Mo. Crossed Grand River today. Fine sunshiney day. Major P. drilled us again. One man put under guard for firing a revolver, another for killing a hog. Took dinner near camp. Paid 30¢. Traveled about 15 miles. Forage rather scarce. Old Jim [his horse] growing rather thin.

MONDAY, APRIL 11, 1864.—Rain all day. Crossed Osage River at O[s]ceola, Mo. Town burned by Jim Lane three years ago. Went out foraging. Got a couple of bundles of oats straw. Thought I would take dinner but seeing the preparations, concluded I would not.

TUESDAY, APRIL 12, 1864.—Saint Clair Co., Mo. Human[s]ville, Bloomingville or some other ville or dale. Went into camp early. Will probably lay by a day or two in order to shoe up the horses and mules. Washed three pieces and saved, thereby, fifteen cents. This has been a fine day. Grass is growing rapidly and I find that there are several kinds of flowers in bloom. Yesterday I saw a cherry tree in full bloom.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13, 1864.—Crossed Sac River. Go on guard tonight. 11 o'clock posted relief. Camped near Melville.

Guard mounted April 13, 1864 near Melville, Mo. Lieut. Conner, officer [of the] guard. Kelly and Anderson, Corpls.

Harris	Co. E	Ward	Co. J
Hays	" E	Wilson	" J
Flight	" S	Johnson	" B
Simcox	" S	Hutcheson	" B
Wolf	" S	Burup	" H
Rapp	" L	Doran	" H

14. "Bull creek is a tributary of the Marais des Cygnes, and flows south about the center of Miami county. It is thirty miles directly west of Warrensburg [Mo.], and about thirty-eight miles southwest of Pleasant Hill [Mo.]. Paola is located on Bull Creek."—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11, p. 275, "Memorial Monuments and Tablets in Kansas." "Wea Creek . . . flows into Bull Creek shortly before it reaches the Marais des Cygnes."—John Rydjord, *Indian Place-Names* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman 1968), p. 251.

THE 1864 DIARY OF CPL. SETH KELLY

195



Seth Kelly, corporal in Company B, Ninth Kansas volunteer cavalry, kept a diary in 1864 recording his experiences with the company and describing its movements that year, primarily in Missouri and Arkansas. This map includes places mentioned in the diary.



196

KANSAS HISTORY

Standsbury	"	G	Carroll	"	D
Mahaffy	"	G	Roll	"	K
Hadley	"	C	Martin	"	—
Ward	"	J	Watson	"	K

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1864.—Marched in the rear of the wagons today. Passed thru a wooded country and very broken, bearing trace of Iron Ore. Passed thru Melville—Co. B Boys made a horse race with Mo. State Militia and were beaten. Were relieved of some fifteen hundred dollars.

FRIDAY, APRIL 15, 1864.—Springfield, Mo. In camp south of town. Saw two women each with a yoke of oxen plowing in a field by the roadside. War and the Rebellion has taken away the male population. I write this by the light of the camp fire, near the scene where J. [John C.] Fremont's bodyguard made their famous charge. This is the 8th anniversary of Mother's death.

SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1864.—Wilson Creek. Went over this celebrated battlefield this afternoon and saw the graves of those brave men who fell in the cause of Liberty on the tenth day of Aug. '61. It is a place of melancholy interest to us Kansans for it was here that so many of Kansas' men fell.¹⁵ There are many traces of the conflict to be seen yet after nearly three years have passed.

SUNDAY, APRIL 17, 1864.—James River. We camp where [Brig.] Gen. [James G.] Blunt's command encamped after their campaign in Arkansas.¹⁶ This creek is a beautiful stream, water clear and pure. This is the region of the Ozark Mts. Hills covered with flint stone and Jack oak.

MONDAY, APRIL 18, 1864.—Crossed James River 12 times today. The country [is] better timbered and a better soil generally. Hills higher and clumps of cedar are more frequently seen. Read a portion of Henderson's Speech in the Senate in favor of the amendment of the constitution abolishing Slavery in

the United States. Encamped on Roaring River.

TUESDAY, APRIL 19, 1864.—Two miles South [of] Berryville, Arkansas. Country changed very much for the better—better soil. People have all moved to town. Berryville is crowded—refugees, men, women and children. Even the church is filled. The women are better looking and more tidy than I expected to see them.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20, 1864.—Exciting times today. Detachment sent out after a party supposed to be rebels but proved to be friends. I had charge of a party of flankers. Pine woods, splendid timber.

On top of Ozark Mountains, April 20th, 1864. In the midst of a pine forest. Preparations made to meet Rebels and Bush Whackers. Old Jim is lame in one or both of his fore feet. Poor fellow received only a quart of corn for his breakfast this morning and where his supper is to come from, I doubt that the Quartermaster knows.

THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 1864.—Kingston, Arkansas. Marched with the wagons. Rained this morning. Detachment out fighting Bushwhackers or some of Gen. Cooper's command (rebel). Have not heard of their success. Went out foraging this afternoon. Carried corn in my overcoat sleeves, and Rye in the sheaf. Paid 50 cents. Mules eat up seven wagon tongues last night.

FRIDAY, APRIL 22, 1864.—Did not move camp today. Went out with a detail for forage. 'Twas the most disagreeable job that I ever did, to take the necessities for life from those that are poorly supplied at best. I hope that I will have but little more of such work to perform. Rain tonight. Mud and water ankle deep before our tents.

SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1864.—Continues to rain. Slept in a wet bed last night and the prospect is worse to-night. Our fire before our little tent feels comfortable for the time being. We will be unable to leave this camp for several days on account of mud. Guard doubled for to-night.

SUNDAY, APRIL 24, 1864.—Sitting on an Arkansas Fence around an Arkansas field and letting old Jim feed on Arkansas grass. Looking on Arkansas hills, hearing Arkansas owls among them and seeing the remains of an Arkansas porker lying near me that some

15. Quoting from Richard Cordley's *Pioneer Days in Kansas* (Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1903), p. 156, "... the battle of Wilson's Creek, one of the most desperately fought battles of the war. Of the thirty-seven hundred men engaged, fourteen hundred were either killed or wounded. The First Kansas lost four hundred of its men, and every commissioned officer but one was either killed or wounded. ... That battle of Wilson's Creek saved Missouri to the Union, and probably saved Kansas from devastation."

16. In the winter of 1862 and 1863, Brig. Gen. James C. Blunt, a native of Hancock, Me., sailor, physician, and Free-Stater in command of "the Department of Kansas," made a raid into Missouri and Arkansas rounding up as many slaves as he could to bring to Kansas and freedom.—Blackmar, *Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History*, v. 2, pp. 199-200.



g[ang]ster has slain and roasted. Went foraging and succeeded in getting some wheat.

MONDAY, APRIL 25, 1864.—Moved from Kingston this morning. Traveled about five miles. Heard the rumor that the Rebels under Gen. [Sterling] Price had defeated our forces and captured 2000 men and killed seven hundred, that Little Rock and Ft. Smith had fallen. I doubt the report. One or two Union families leave this part of the country with us. Beautiful sunshiney day.

TUESDAY, APRIL 26, 1864.—Encamped after passing about 20 miles over the mountains. Our prospect for supper and shelter seems rather dubious. Teams are reported five miles back and mules have given out. Thank fortune the night bids fair to be pleasant.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27, 1864.—Encamped on Mulberry Creek. Turned my horse on somebody's wheat. Bathed in the cool mountain stream. Took breakfast yesterday morning at 5 o'clock a.m. Had nothing to eat until this afternoon. About the longest fast that I ever performed, but it was done for the honor of our beloved country.

THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1864.—Routed out of bed this morning at 2 o'clock by the sound of the General. Rain had almost inundated our camp and the creek was rising rapidly. We had to pass the Rubicon as soon as possible or be water bound for no telling how long. After camping, went out foraging five miles. Several pretty women, secesh, bewitching. Good circumstances, no men. Got plenty of corn, also honey. Ladies chew tobacco—[it's a] fact—I saw it. Widow Carter.

FRIDAY, APRIL 29, 1864.—Got down in the Arkansas [river] bottom within a few miles of the town of Ozark [Ark.]. Capt. Holman's company caught a Bushwhacker and killed him. Five others [were] fired upon by the advance guard. Corn up an inch above the ground. Sugar maple in full foliage, also birch. On guard to-night, Second Relief.

Second Relief mounted April 29, 1864.

Taylor	[Co.] K
Roll	" K
Adding	" L
Davis	" L

SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1864.—Crossed the Arkansas river. The foliage of the forest seems to be more luxuriant than farther north. Guard on north bank overlooking the ferry. Boat busy

plying between either shore transporting wagons and troops. A camp of contrabands below us. Some washing, others picking over cotton. Swallows skimming the air—altogether a very picturesque scene. Camped at Evans farm, one mile and [a] half from the river.

SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1864.—Land of Bushwhackers. Quite a number seen near camp. Dick Abraham taken prisoner and stripped of clothing and arms and turned loose. Our mess larder rather empty—no salt, no sugar, no salt meat and in fact but little of anything. Our commissary officer takes more interest in filling his own pockets than the stomachs of his men.

MONDAY, MAY 2, 1864.—Crossed Grand Prairie and encamped ten miles from Ft. Smith. Co. B marched in front. Nothing noteworthy took place today. The country was very beautiful and in times of Peace would be pleasant to live in.

TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1864.—Camp within 2 miles of Fort Smith, Ark., without forage for our horses and but little grass. Dined on "slapjacks" made of bran and thought them very good. Rumored that Gen'l's Steele and Banks [were] defeated and presume that we will be ordered to join the former.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 1864.—Sergt. A. Walton and I out at farmhouse watching our horses graze, hearing a woman tell of her troubles. Engaged a little girl to do washing.

THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1864.—Struck tents and moved to the Arkansas river opposite Van Buren [Ark.] where we are crossing. Passed the large farm and fine farm house of Rector Ex. Gov. of Arkansas, now a Major in the rebel service. Nothing but air for Jim's supper and his breakfast will be from the same board.

FRIDAY, MAY 6, 1864.—Camp on the east side of Mulberry Creek. Went out after forage. Found an old maid, something near fifty years of age, took some corn from her. She was camp[ing] out. Asked where her husband was. Said she never had any nor didn't want any of the lazy— The balance was too inelegant to be put in writing. Read in the Atlantic Monthly.

SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1864.—3rd Battallion marched in the rear today. Encamped near the place that we encamped on the 29th ult. Every citizen, man, woman and child that we see wears a woebegone countenance, as tho their lives were harassed beyond all endurance.



Some of our boys discovered two human skulls in a shop. One of these bore signs of being sawed up for some purpose or other, perhaps made into rings to adorn some fair "secessia's" delicate finger.

SUNDAY, MAY 8, 1864.—Ten miles west of Clarksville [Ark.]. Beautiful day, travelled but a few miles. Could get occasional glimpses of the Ozark Mts. off to the northward, in their well timbered sides showing the different shades of green. Splendid wheat to be seen growing on either side of the road. The 9th considers it U.S. property and pastures it without compunction of conscience.

MONDAY, MAY 9, 1864.—Clarksville, Ark. Camped on Gen. Hindman's old camping ground. Town filled with Refugees.

TUESDAY, MAY 10, 1864.—Found a nest of the most beautiful little rebels that I ever saw. Sang some rebel songs and played on the piano. They did not chew tobacco. Robinson by name. Left [at] 12 [noon] for Van Buren on a forced march to reinforce Cloud. Camp fifteen miles west of Clarksville.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1864.—Van Buren. Traveled 42 miles. Arrived here 11 p.m. tired and sleepy. Halted in town a few minutes, laid down on the pavement and slept a little while. Com'd [command] moved out on the River Bank and Bivouacked. Expect a fight at Ft. Smith tomorrow.

THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1864.—Crossed the river today. No sign of rebs. Swam our horses across. Camped within one mile of Ft. Smith. Wood ticks very annoying, are very ardent in their attachment to one's person. Seem to have a partiality for the "Human form divine" and dive in.

FRIDAY, MAY 13, 1864.—Visited the Fort. Citizens and Soldiery busy at work on the fortifications, and felling trees so as not to obstruct the range of the guns. Moved 4 miles south of Town and are Bivouacked in the woods. On guard to-night.

Second Relief, Friday, 13 May 1864.

1 Cutter	[Co.]—
2 Stoker	" C
3 Hunter	" C
4 DeLong	" C
5 Dixon	" C
6 Vanoy	" L
7 Splaire	" G
8 Peters	" G
9 Williams	" Q

SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1864.—Thirteen years ago today I cut my name on a Beech tree in the corner of the wood north of the little orchard near West Milton, Miami Co., Ohio. Since then they have graded a R.R. and the old Beech has been felled to make way for the Iron Horse which never came. So soon, passes away the work of man. In camp.

SUNDAY, MAY 15, 1864.—Alarums of War are rife this morning. Two Companies sent out [to] reconnoitre. Militia from Skulville ran into camp last night, [a] distance [of] 12 miles. Report Marmaduke's forces approaching. Nothing definite.

MONDAY, MAY 16, 1864.—Went to town today. Had old Jim shod. Saw Gen. Theyer [Thayer] and his army come into town—2 Regts. of negro[e]s. Soiled and war worn, heroes of the late fight down on Red River and on their retreat. Several Boats came into port today, loaded with troops and commissary stores. Women looking for their husbands and sons. All confusion and Bustle.

TUESDAY, MAY 17, 1864.—Herded horses this forenoon. Went with Corp. Cooper to a house and filled our canteens with milk, 10 cts. Pitched our tents after dinner. Saw George Leonard, Co. F, Kansas. 2nd R. Cav. Capt. [Asaph] Allen arrived yesterday. Today the officers are smiling over Brandy Peaches.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1864.—John Faucett and Stephens¹⁷ visited us today. Read some account of the Early Life of an Old Bachelor in the Atlantic Monthly. Rumored that 2 St[ea]mb[oa]ts were captured by the Rebs., also Dardenelles [Dardanelle] and Clarkesville.

THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1864.—Went on a scout to Schullyville, crossed Poto[Poteau] Creek at a ford which the rebels had obstructed by falling large trees on the opposite landing. The village was deserted, and partially burned. U.S. Troops had been stationed there, built a stockade. We did not see a single human being. Schullyville is in the Choctaw nation.

FRIDAY, MAY 20, 1864.—Herded horses this forenoon. Went with Corp's [W.S.] Hunt and [Silas H.] Cooper about a mile for milk which we found upon a high hill at the house of an old lady who had living with her several fami-

17. John F. Faucett of Coal Creek enlisted in Co. H, 2d Kansas Cavalry, August 28, 1862, and was mustered out in July, 1865.—*Portrait and Biographical Record of Leavenworth, Douglas and Franklin Counties, Kansas* (Chicago, Chapman Publishing Company, 1899), pp. 436-437. Stephens was John Stevens of Coal Creek who was in the same company.

lies whose protectors were in the army. She had a very pleasant place. Moved camp this afternoon nearer to Ft. Smith.

SATURDAY, MAY 21, 1864.—Moved Co. B into [Ft.] Smith after dark. Bivouacked in an oak grove. Our duty is to do provost guard—most disagreeable duty that we ever performed. Our movement disconcerted several little plans that I had fashioned out in my mind. But then “the best laid plans of mice and men aft gang aglee.”

SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1864.—Encamped under a grove of Oak Trees in town in the vicinity of a church. Divine services are being performed, and the music of many voices comes floating through the green foliage, on the summer breeze, and carries me back to the good old times when I was a child and accompanied my mother to the little school house across still-water, when the old and the young joined their voices in harmonious praise to Him who presides over the Universe.

MONDAY, MAY 23, 1864.—Nothing of importance today. Herded horses in the afternoon. Was on the look out for beauty. Seems to be rather scarce article, and of the frailest character.

TUESDAY, MAY 24, 1864.—Crossed the Poteau Creek and herded horses in the bottom, became covered with wood ticks. I never knew that there could be so many. Saw cane on its native ridges, small in growth yet nevertheless cane.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1864.—Corp'l of the Guard today. Read in Contarini Fleming by B.D. Israeli [Benjamin Disraeli]. Glowing language—descriptions of Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Egypt and other lands.

THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1864.—Watered horses in Poteau Creek and while there heard marvelous stories about the disappearance of men, mysteriously, whilst bathing in its waters. Negro[s] say that large fishes carry them away or kill them. Negro saw a Gar twelve feet long. Finished Contarini Fleming.

FRIDAY, MAY 27, 1864.—Wrote a letter to Enos. Talk of being relieved from Provost Duty and reporting to the Commander of the third Brigade, Col. Lynde. To do light duty around Brigade Head Quarters.

SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1864.—Unwell today.

SUNDAY, MAY 29, 1864.—Herding horses out toward Van Buren. Lying under the Sassafras

Tree. Hear the Lark, Quail piping their happy songs, as they did in days long gone by, along the wheat field fences and the edge of the woods.

MONDAY, MAY 30, 1864.—On Guard. Posted Sentinel at Col. Lynde's Headquarters of the 3d Brigade. Lent Sergt. W.T. Kirby ten dollars. Hot day. Heard that Gen. [U.S.] Grant had [an] 11 day's fight, and occupies second line of entrenchm[en]ts before Richmond [Va.]. Lost 40,000 men.

TUESDAY, MAY 31, 1864.—Laid in Camp today. Came off of guard at 7 o'clock [a.m.] Saw wagon loads of Refugees on their way to Kansas.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1, 1864.—On Herd all day, led J.W.'s [John Walton's] horse some. Slept under the sassafras trees.

THURSDAY, JUNE 2, 1864.—Out herding today under the sassafras trees. Heavy showers last night, the atmosphere cooled and purified, Grass refreshed and brightened up. Talked with [Benjamin F.] Meyers about the characteristics of the “Rackensack” ladies.

FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1864.—On Sick Report, took 3 Pills, com. cath. [common cathartic]. Worked to satisfaction. Bill Furguson [Wm. O. Ferguson], R. [Roland P.] Murdock [a bugler for the company] and myself sang some sentimental songs tonight. Wrote [a] letter to Leonidas today. Traded Horses with H. Hegwer.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1864.—Herded horses 4 miles East of [Ft.] Smith. Walton, Cooper, Hunt, Murdock, and J.D. Gibson [are] in the Orderly Tent Quarreling who shall get [a] coffe pot full of water. Silas [Cooper] will not draw. I go and get the aqua.

SUNDAY, JUNE 5, 1864.—Staid in Camp. Read some in Queechy [by Anna Warner]. Brought up olden memories connected with a former reading of the same, at my old Home.

MONDAY, JUNE 6, 1864.—On herd. Read in a Spanish Teacher. Learned a few Spanish words.

TUESDAY, JUNE 7, 1864.—On herd. Rained a good shower. Read in “the Mysteries of the Court of Stewart.”

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 1864.—On Guard. Nothing to read, time hangs heavily on my hands.

THURSDAY, JUNE 9, 1864.—Herding. Corpl. [W.S.] Hunt and self went berrying, picked a couple Quarts Black berries. Got a taste of



George Cutter, *left*, built this frame house at Vinland in 1858. Cutter was the first librarian of the Coal Creek Social Library Association, and the library was in his home.

Mulberries also. Led [Frank] Pettingill's and Albert Filner's horse[s].

FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 1864.—I did all the above this day and did not do it yesterday. 'Twas a mistake—Hunt and self.

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1864.—In charge of the herd today, heavy rain. Ground covered with water. Rec'd paper last night from [sister] Mary containing [an] account of the Battles of Grant. My army [the herd] considerably Demoralized, Retreated with the remnant of troops in good order. Reached camp [at] 4 o'clock p.m.

SUNDAY, JUNE 12, 1864.—Four months more and then I will have served my country a term of three years. Sworn into the service on the 12th day of October 1861 By Lieut. Bo[w]man, [at] Ft. Leavenworth.

MONDAY, JUNE 13, 1864.—In charge of herd. Sent R. P. Murdock five dollars.

TUESDAY, JUNE 14, 1864.—On Guard. Studied Olendorff's Spanish, like it much.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1864.—Gen'l Thayer Reviewed the troops at this post. Largest Body of troops that I ever saw. Negro[e]s presented a very "Good Military" appearance. Co. B on the left of the line, Kirby Commander.

THURSDAY, JUNE 16, 1864.—Rain. Hauled a load of rails from the River opposite Van Buren.

FRIDAY, JUNE 17, 1864.—In charge of the herd. Ordered in at half past one o'clock. Detachment sent out under Lt. Steele, Co. A, 9th K. C. [Kansas cavalry]. Hot, oppressive, damp. Wrote a letter today [to cousin] Eli, Charleston, West Virginia.

SATURDAY, JUNE 18, 1864.—On Guard. Rec'd a letter from [sister] Jane [Tenney] stating [that her] husband and two brothers [have] gone forth to defend the integrity of their Government.

SUNDAY, JUNE 19, 1864.—On herd, under an oak "sans cullotes." Enjoying the fitful breezes that come languidly up over the prairie. 11 p.m. ordered out on a scout with Col. Lynch.

MONDAY, JUNE 20, 1864.—Was in the saddle all night last night—Did not discover an enemy. 8 Bushwhackers killed several citizens and hence the alarm. Awful hot day, could find comfort no place.

TUESDAY, JUNE 21, 1864.—Herd. Flag of truce came in today. Reported from Ft. Washington. Rebel Dr[ive] began, the business of

which has not transpired. I presume not important business however. The Veterans joined [the] Co.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22, 1864.—Rec'd two letters, one from Mary and 1 from W. E. Barnes. On Guard. Flag of truce started out but was brought back on some account.

THURSDAY, JUNE 23, 1864.—In charge of the herd. Rain. Read Brownlow's and A. Pryor's debate on the perpetuation of American Slavery. Brownlow made a lame argument. I do not retain that high opinion [of] him that I [had].

FRIDAY, JUNE 24, 1864.—Wrote a letter to Mary.

SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1864.—Laid in camp, doctoring a sore throat. Adopted the cold water system.

SUNDAY, JUNE 26, 1864.—Continuation of Sore Throat. Wrote letter to [W. E.] Barnes.

MONDAY, JUNE 27, 1864.—Turned in Sabre.

TUESDAY, JUNE 28, 1864.—Sore throat very little better. On Guard. Mail came in from Fayetteville. Party was attacked by Bushwhackers. Two men killed. Steamer came up the River.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 29, 1864. Lay in Camp.

THURSDAY, JUNE 30, 1864.—Mustered for another two month's pay. On foot without arms.

FRIDAY, JULY 1, 1864.—Rec'd orders to march.

SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1864.—Struck tents at 8 o'clock and laid in our broken Camp all day. Made some Ordinance Issuances and Receipts for Lt. Brandley. Sent our tents down the River by boat to Little Rock. Consequently will have to Bivouack.

SUNDAY, JULY 3, 1864.—Left camp at Ft. Smith this morning and crossed the Arkansas River at Van Buren with the 3rd Battalion. Capt. Flesher, commander—camped on the River bank below town.

MONDAY, JULY 4, 1864.—Woke once more on our Nation's natal day and heard the National salute fired at Ft. Smith. Camped on Little Mulberry Creek. Passed the body of a dead negro, who with 4 companions fell victims to a party of Bushwhackers.

TUESDAY, JULY 5, 1864.—Camped on the same ground that we were on the 7th of May. 2 Bushwhackers captured today.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 6, 1864.—Ten miles from Cedarville [Ark.]. Bivouacked in the woods.

Unwell today. Went to hospital and took medicine. Large fields of wheat and no harvesters.

THURSDAY, JULY 7, 1864.—Passed through Cedarville. Some of it has been burned since May last. Camped on Big Piney Creek 9 miles from Clarksville. One year ago today Co. B had a fight with the Ute Indians in the Rocky Mountains.

FRIDAY, JULY 8, 1864.—Dover [Ark.]. Pretty houses painted white. Plenty of forage and Bushwhackers. Passed through pine woods. Hot and dusty and very disagreeable traveling.

SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1864.—Passed through Russelville [Ark.] on the Dardanelle's Road—which place we also passed on the opposite side of the River. Camped on the River bottom.

SUNDAY, JULY 10, 1864.—Our road ran along the Arkansas River among the heavy timber. Saw many large plantations but most of them had fallen to ruin. Some however were considerably cultivated, Corn mostly. This is the best part of Arkansas I have seen.

MONDAY, JULY 11, 1864.—Passed through Lewisburg at which place there were quite a number of troops stationed. Bivouacked 7 [mi] this side.

TUESDAY, JULY 12, 1864.—Passed over some broken country. Bivouacked again on the Ark. River. Went out with John Pearson to forage, had tremendous time killing a sheep. After much labor we succeeded in securing one. Saw cypress trees for the first time.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13, 1864.—Traveled through dense woods intertwined with most luxuriant wild vines, also cane brakes, young. And tall cypress trees and pine and cedar.

THURSDAY, JULY 14, 1864.—Arrived opposite Little Rock, went into camp down the River. Once more saw the "Iron Horse."

FRIDAY, JULY 15, 1864.—Visited the city, did not like the looks of it very well—Indulged in lemonade, etc. at fabulous prices.

SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1864.—In Camp. Battery on the opposite side of the River practicing at firing at target.

SUNDAY, JULY 17, 1864.—This day seems more natural than any Sunday that I have passed for many a day. Detailed for Picket Guard tonight. In charge of 8 men. Picket on the Cincinnati Road. Lieut. Parsons, Co. E. officer [of the] guard.

MONDAY, JULY 18, 1864.—All quiet on Picket last night.



TUESDAY, JULY 19, 1864.—In camp. Major P. [Pomeroy] went out on a three day's scout with [the] greater part of his Battalion. I stayed behind on account of an indisposition and sore backed horse. The weather is almost insupportably hot. Water bad, etc, etc.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 20, 1864.—Read Harry Lonquis and wrote a letter to [brother] Enos and devoted a due proportion of my time to the consuming the fat things U. S. provides his boy's with. Beef and stewed apple, Bread and butter.

THURSDAY, JULY 21, 1864.—Mounted guard this 9 a.m. with seventeen Kaw Indians—would make very good soldiers if they could talk English and understand orders. Picket Guard. Took a prisoner suspected of being a spy.

FRIDAY, JULY 22, 1864.—All quiet last night. Prisoner got up, away in the night—Indian sentinel cocked his gun and gave a grunt. Prisoner cried out, "not shoot a man in his sleep" and dropped back in his bed—Indian language and Indian songs do not sound different here from what they do among the wild tribes among the Kentucky Mts.

SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1864.—Woke this morning with swollen eyes. Eat breakfast with difficulty. Wrote two letters, one to Barnes, another to Jane. Detachment sent for 2 days more rations, also a lot of ammunition.

SUNDAY, JULY 24, 1864.—Nothing of interest transpired. Pickets were relieved by the 10th Illinois. Looks as tho' the "ninth" was about to change pace. Some members of Co. C have served three years today. A party of marauders came within a few miles of Camp last night and robbed a man and shot him.

MONDAY, JULY 25, 1864.—Picket on River Road. None are allowed to go out without a pass from the Provost Marshal. Our camp [is] in a grove of large cottonwood trees on the River Bank.

TUESDAY, JULY 26, 1864.—All quiet last night with the exception of firing across the River and away to the north.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 27, 1864.—Changed position of camp today. Left swung around and occupied the ground that the right formerly occupied.

THURSDAY, JULY 28, 1864.—Laid in tent quietly nearly all day—read a few pages in Pilgrim's progress where Chr. [Christian] and

Hopeful went out of the Enchanted ground and Entered the confines of Heaven.

FRIDAY, JULY 29, 1864.—Detailed as carpenter to report to wagon Tommy to manufacture Handbarrow. Made one of an old flour Barrel. The ninth Kansas are so notoriously bad that they are not trusted out of the Picket line.

SATURDAY, JULY 30, 1864.—Went to depot today. Eat a pie and a cake. Drank lemonade and paid 60 cts. On Fatigue this afternoon. Worked excessively. Wrote a letter from [to] Mrs. W. L. [Jane] Tenney. 8 years ago today I attended a convention in Dayton, Ohio and heard A. Brukmann, C. Clay, G. Smith and others.

SUNDAY, JULY 31, 1864.—Fine shower, had good sleep. Witnessed an extensive battle among the ants, hundreds are lying around dead. Four tribes inhabit four trees and the area between those trees are litterally covered with the dead and dying.

MONDAY, AUG. 1, 1864.—Maj. P. [Pomeroy] attempted to drill [the] Battalion twice this morning. Was frustrated by rain. Were Reviewed by Brig. Gen'l Carr.

TUESDAY, AUG. 2, 1864.—Feed pretty well today. Read the Continental Monthly. Sgt. [A. B.] Watson and Corp. [T. B.] Murdock, [Geo. W.] Zinn and Pvt. [Wm. A.] Pierce and [James R.] Mathers came from Fort Smith. Rec'd letter from Leonidas, dated July 5, Fort Ethan Allen, near Washington [D. C.].

WEDNESDAY, AUG. 3, 1864.—Sick last night—Better today. Bought daily paper—National Democrat. No news.

THURSDAY, AUG. 4, 1864.—Hunted for grey poney [pony] which has been absent from Camp for the past three days without leave. Will have to brand him as a deserter if he does not report soon. Viewed considerable of Rebel defenses, they are extensive.

FRIDAY, AUG. 5, 1864.—Heavy wind last night. Camp was in considerable danger of being disturbed by falling trees. Several trees were laid prostrate by the severity of the wind. On guard today. Corpl. of first Relief. Lt. Parsons, Officer [of the] Guard. Capt. Allen, Officer of [the] Day.

SATURDAY, AUG. 6, 1864.—Spent the day Reading fair Rosamund by Pierce Egan. Ate water melon. A large force passed the camp early this morning. Will hear from them in a few days.