

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

### **Section 81, Pages 2401 - 2430**

You'll find the latest in Kansas scholarship in Kansas History, issued quarterly by the Kansas Historical Society, Inc. This scholarly journal, recipient of awards from the Western History Association and the American Association for State and Local History, publishes new research on Kansas and western history and offers interesting, well-illustrated articles that appeal to both the serious student and the general reader. Searchable text is not yet available.

Creator: Kansas State Historical Society

Date: 1978-2009

Callnumber: SP 906 K13qh

KSHS Identifier: DaRT ID: 217226

Item Identifier: 217226

[www.kansasmemory.org/item/217226](http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/217226)

KANSAS  
HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY

## A History of the Kansas State Guard

231



Posing for the camera of the Coffeyville Journal are "fifth columnists" apprehended during training exercises in October 1941.

personnel with CMTC (Campus Military Training Corps) and ROTC (Reserve Officers' Training Corps) experience.<sup>13</sup>

The recruiting drive, which began in early May, was well under way. Age requirements differed between the ranks. For those seeking commissions as officers, the maximum age was sixty-four, while

13. General Orders, No. 5, May 7, 1941, 1; "Col. C. H. Browne Will Command Kansas Guard," *Topeka State Journal*, May 8, 1941; General Orders, No. 9, August 6, 1941, 1; "To Form New Guard Units," *Holton Signal*, May 15, 1941.

those in the enlisted ranks were expected to be between the ages of twenty-one and fifty. Age restrictions varied, like the results of the physical examinations, during the course of the war to meet manpower needs. In terms of supply, the State Military Board was obligated to furnish uniforms and arms to the State Guard. At times this caused considerable confusion. According to Army Regulations 850-250, "The uniform prescribed and furnished by the state for its State guard should be unmistakably different from that of any Federal military force and from that heretofore authorized for certain units of the National Guard of the several States." Also, the uniform designated was to be marked in such a way as to clearly identify the wearer as a member of the State Guard. The State Guard was not to compete with the War Department in the procurement of uniforms. This even included the selection of sleeve braid. The Kansas State Guard could choose any color other than brown, gold, yellow, black, and forest green to be "worn on all overcoats, coats and shirts." The Kansas State Guard selected two uniforms. The summer dress uniform was composed of cotton khaki with a black tie. On the left shoulder, a blue-and-yellow patch was worn to signify membership in the State Guard. The Fruhauf Southwest Uniform Company of Wichita produced the green gabardine winter uniform. A green-and-yellow triangular patch was used with this uniform. Enlisted brass



Riot control was an important phase of instruction at Hutchinson and Topeka summer encampments.





Members of the Wyandotte Company take time to relax during the Topeka summer encampment of 1942.

was taken from surplus stocks from the pre-1917 period. On the other hand, a Kansas City, Missouri, firm, the Green Jewelry Company, designed and manufactured the officers' brass.<sup>14</sup>

Kansas officials ultimately hoped to attract former veterans and National Guard personnel to the ranks of the Kansas State Guard, but the organization was not totally closed to other interested parties. Those wishing to join the State Guard were urged to attend organizational meetings held at their local armories. The typical company was composed of three officers—a captain, a first lieutenant, and a second lieutenant—and forty enlisted men. The object was to complete the recruitment as quickly as possible so that physicals, uniforms, and other necessary equipment could be ordered. Physicians who performed physicals received a dollar per applicant. Although state authorities originally notified recruits that they should not expect compensation unless the State Guard was

activated, the legislature did make some form of monetary contribution in recognition of guard service. To underscore this point, the *Topeka Daily Capital* earlier claimed, "No pay will be allowed unless the State Guard is called into active service, then the pay will be the same provided for officers and men of comparable rank in the United States Army." The Kansas legislature made a conscious effort to arrange financial remuneration for State Guard personnel. In March 1943, a pay increase that covered grades E-1 through O-3 was authorized to go into effect after July 1 of that year. This applied to those who participated in weekly drills for no less than one and a half hours for no more than five training periods per month. For such service, a private could expect \$.60, a corporal \$.80, a second lieutenant \$1.25, and a captain \$2.50.<sup>15</sup>

By the end of May 1941, twenty-one states, mainly in the West, had organized State Guard elements. An additional eight states were in the process of establishing units of their own. According to War Department sources, the "status of each member is that of a lawful belligerent as a soldier in the military service of his state."<sup>16</sup> As a consequence, military specialists designed instruction to meet the specific mission and tasks established for the State Guard. Unit commanders were responsible for directing the training sequence to meet that objective on the local level. As in all military units, the battalion and company commanders were accountable for maintaining the appropriate levels of discipline and morale among their troops.<sup>17</sup>

One of the oddest moments in the history of the State Guard occurred when the War Department recalled the Guard's weapons on April 11, 1942. The War Department's decision came because of the Allied rifle shortage. The action of the War Department affected not only the State Guard throughout the country but also the National Rifle Association, whose members purchased surplus 1903 Springfields and 1917 Enfields, and regular Military Police (MP) units.<sup>18</sup> Both MP and State Guard battalions obtained shotguns. According to the War Department, shot-

15. General Orders, No. 6, June 24, 1942, 1; "30 Men Wanted in State Guard for Hiawatha," *Hiawatha Daily World*, May 12, 1941; "Preference to Military Men in Topeka Unit," *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 8, 1941; Kansas Laws, 1943, ch. 203, p. 383.

16. "State Guard Units to Meet Minimum Army Training Requirements," War Department, Bureau of Public Relations, May 22, 1941, 1.

17. Ibid., 2; "Preference to Military Men in Topeka Unit of State Guard," *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 8, 1941.

18. General Orders, No. 4, June 11, 1943, 1.

14. General Orders, No. 2, April 28, 1941, 4; General Orders, No. 1, April 15, 1941, 2; "Recruiting for Home Guards," *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 3, 1941.



guns would "fully meet their requirements."<sup>19</sup> Colonel Browne addressed this problem in a memorandum sent to all State Guard units from his Horton headquarters. He indicated that the Military Police had already been issued riot guns and it was possible that the State Guard would shortly receive similar weapons. The Paola company turned in its forty rifles, and in the interim, the local American Legion Post agreed to allow the use of ten Krag rifles for training purposes. Finally, the Paola unit acquired an additional twenty-five rifles from a Spanish-American War veterans organization. Despite these efforts, the company remained equipped with shotguns. A typical Kansas State Guard company was furnished with thirty-eight shotguns and two Thompson submachine guns.<sup>20</sup>

Company-level training occurred during weekly drills. A typical Monday evening assembly in Sabetha, for example, included scouting and patrolling in a

combat environment as well as a lecture on chemical warfare by Corp. M. V. Chase, a chemistry teacher from the local high school. The following week the Sabetha company implemented its newfound skills in solving a tactical problem, which according to the *Sabetha Herald* was to be conducted "under simulated combat conditions . . . if weather permits." This included scouting and patrolling; "extended order deployment and advancing on an enemy will be put into practice by the men."<sup>21</sup> It appeared that regimental headquarters at Horton established the weekly training schedules. All the units in the Kansas State Guard, for instance, covered a similar instructional format at roughly the same time.<sup>22</sup>

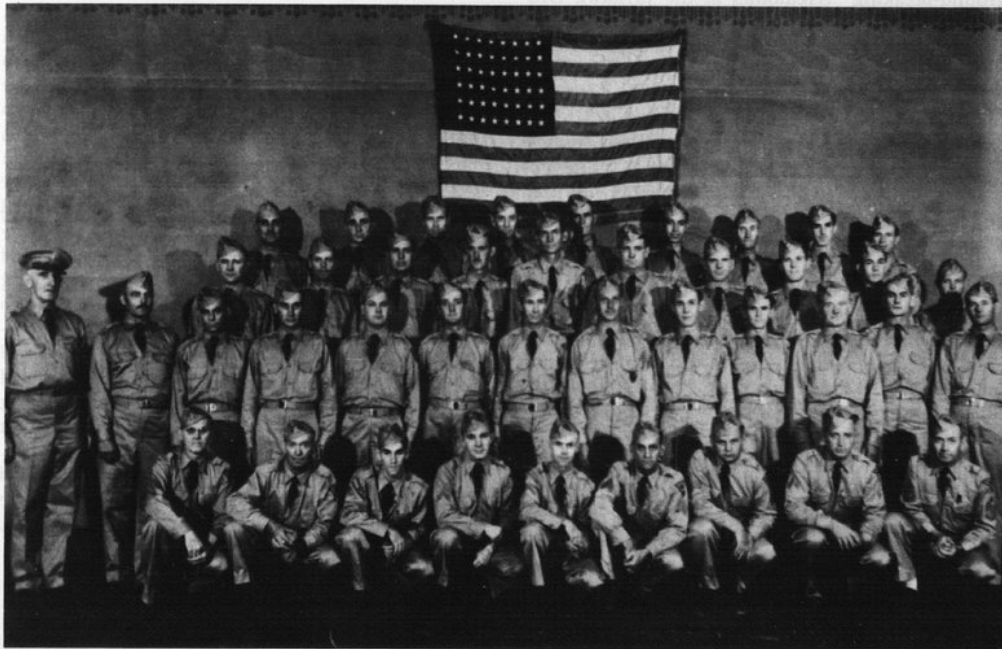
Special courses were provided for the professional enrichment of officers and enlisted personnel. These classes reviewed a wide range of subjects designed to improve training on the company and battalion levels. A one-day educational session convened in

19. "Rifles Called In," *Kansas City Star*, April 12, 1942.

20. "Recall State Guard Rifles," *Miami Republican*, Paola, April 17, 1942; "Shotguns Planned for State Guard: Planned Combat Problem," *Sabetha Herald*, April 22, 1942.

21. *Sabetha Herald*, April 22, 1942.

22. *Ibid.*; *Miami Republican*, April 17, 1942.



This Horton Company photograph, taken in May 1941, shows Col. Browne at the far left.





Topeka on May 3, 1942, at the capitol. All officers were expected to attend. The cost of the class was paid by the Kansas State Guard, with officers receiving five dollars per day and three cents a mile for transportation to and from Topeka. The adjutant general's office provided room and board.<sup>23</sup> The State Guard not only established professional training facilities but also held test mobilizations to maintain training at peak levels.

On December 9, 1941, following the declaration of war, Colonel Browne ordered the first statewide test mobilization. Telegrams were sent to all battalion commanders:

You are directed to order test mobilization without expense all units your battalion Tuesday, December 9, 1 to 5 p.m., with guard details established at utilities and other facilities essential to National Defense. No prior publicity desired. Company commanders will telegram regimental headquarters that evening number of officers and men mobilized, with written report in duplicate forward the following day.—Browne, Colonel.<sup>24</sup>

Almost everyone took part in the exercise. Gov. Payne Ratner cancelled his scheduled activities, including ground-breaking ceremonies at the Jayhawk Ordnance Plant at Pittsburg. Ratner called in leading state officials to ascertain what could be done to insure the security of the state. Brig. Gen. Robert C. Rodgers, commanding general of Fort Riley, suggested that the "most vulnerable points" in the state were bridges. Consequently, the Kansas State Guard was assigned the duty during the mobilization to secure highway bridges and protect vital defense industries, utilities, and railroads from a simulated enemy attack.<sup>25</sup>

A direct result of the mobilization was an expansion of the State Guard, with additional units established in Topeka and Wichita. Simultaneously, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson sent a telegram to Governor Ratner warning him of possible fifth column activities within the state during the Christmas holidays. Ratner informed the press that "the State Guard would be on duty but would not be mobilized in uniform."<sup>26</sup>

State Guard units conducted their own exercises on the battalion and company levels. These drills were used primarily to maintain morale and to drama-

tize the need for increased professionalism in the ranks. One exercise, no doubt common to other Kansas State Guard units, occurred at Lake Shawnee east of Topeka on April 12, 1942. The cooperation of the Civil Air Patrol highlighted the maneuvers when, during the early phase of the exercise, Capt. St. Elmo Else took it upon himself to attack the battalion command post with flour-sack "bombs." According to press reports, "some of Kansas' best military minds" were wiped out, including Colonel Browne and Gen. C. I. Martin, the assistant adjutant general. Local guardsmen failed to recognize the plane as hostile and notified the pilot by signal to "drop a message." The message received was not what the guardsmen expected—"surrender at once," followed by a series of four flour-sack bombs which were scored as direct hits on the command post. In critiquing the air raid, Colonel Browne noted that rifle fire would have been more effective as a deterrent than the concentrated fire of machine guns. Browne claimed, "They [the riflemen] would fire into the motor; they would shoot the pilot in the cockpit."<sup>27</sup>

Not all State Guard activities were devoted solely to military training, but in times of civil emergencies the Kansas State Guard was there to fill in while the Kansas National Guard was at war. For example, mobilization took place for the Dodge City, Garden City, and Great Bend companies on April 28 to respond to the flood along the Arkansas River. The cresting of the Arkansas presented a clear danger to those communities in the flood's path, for the waters were higher than they had been in 1921 and even reached the Dodge City Armory floor. Through the efforts of the Dodge City company, two hundred homes were evacuated. The Great Bend company helped rescue roughly one hundred families and aided local police and the Highway Patrol in policing the roads and checking the levees along the river. To alleviate the strain and tension among Guard personnel, units worked a schedule of four hours on and four hours off duty. The *Great Bend Tribune* noted the popularity of the Kansas State Guard. According to the *Tribune*, "only one man in the unit did not report."<sup>28</sup>

The first summer drills for the Kansas State Guard were held at Topeka's fairgrounds and at the State Fair facilities in Hutchinson. The first, second, third,

23. General Orders, No. 4, April 14, 1942.

24. Telegram, Charles H. Browne, Sr., to Frank W. Sterns, December 8, 1941.

25. "Kansas Is Alert," *Kansas City Times*, December 9, 1941; "A Kansas' Alarm," *Kansas City Star*, December 9, 1941.

26. "Kansas Guard Alert; Stimson Fears Sabotage," *Topeka State Journal*, December 24, 1941.

27. "Topeka Troops Hit by 'Raid,'" *Topeka State Journal*, April 13, 1942.

28. Charles B. Eggen to Charles H. Browne, Sr., April 28, 1942; Alfred L. Myers to M. R. McLean, April 30, 1942; "State Guard Unit Is Called Out Here," *Great Bend Tribune*, April 30, 1942.



and fourth battalions were assigned to Topeka for five days of training; the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth battalions were sent to Hutchinson. While attending annual training, guardsmen were put through four days of physical exercise, familiarization and firing of shotguns and Thompson submachine guns, chemical warfare training, use of hand grenades, and domestic disturbance classes. Regular army instructors conducted most of the training. The troops at the Topeka camp were fortunate in one respect: women from the Perry Methodist Church under contract to the State of Kansas provided KP.<sup>29</sup>

At Hutchinson, the training was identical to that at Topeka. The cadre who managed the Topeka camp traveled with "strong-jawed" Colonel Browne to Hutchinson where, from accounts in the *Hutchinson News*, "Blistered feet and painful sunburn proved they [the guardsmen] are not hardened soldiers yet." The atmosphere was strictly professional. An intensive period of training took place each day. Every officer and enlisted man stood guard duty as well as fired his weapon, "first at clay pigeons, then...at small parachutes flung from an airplane." According to the local newspapers, an important objective of training was "to teach the men to be tough."<sup>30</sup>

By 1943 the character of the annual encampments began to change. The training period was extended to a full week, and the division of the regiment into two separate training facilities came to an end. That summer, the full regiment trained at the State Fairgrounds in Hutchinson. The reforms that started in 1943 continued until the conclusion of the war. In

1944 and 1945, annual training was held at Camp Whiteside, Fort Riley, with rifles replacing shotguns in 1945. By 1946 the utility of the State Guard was nearing an end. The war was over, units returned from overseas, and troops were demobilized. The summer training that year was considered "field training," which may have been indicative of the future role of the Kansas State Guard.<sup>31</sup>

During the war years the strength of the Kansas State Guard remained relatively stable. By May 31, 1946, the force level of the State Guard stood at 130 officers and 1,156 enlisted men. On January 1, 1947, the First Regiment of the Kansas State Guard was redesignated as the First Infantry Group. Colonel Browne was duly promoted to the rank of brigadier general, fitting compensation for not being assigned to a combat unit. On June 30, 1948, the Kansas State Guard held its last formation.<sup>32</sup>

The State Guard played a vital role in the success of the war effort. As an organization it was responsible for continuing the duties that were long considered a part of the National Guard. The State Guard's presence reassured the civil population that they were protected and consequently helped eliminate the wave of local paranoia that occurred in World War I. The State Guard also furnished a useful outlet for those individuals who wished to serve their country but for some reason were unable otherwise to do so. More importantly, the State Guard's creation indicated that the frontier ethic of providing local security persisted in an age of total war. The legacy of General Browne still is being analyzed in Washington and Topeka for future applicability to insure citizen welfare in future crises. [KH]

29. Field Training Schedule of First Infantry, Kansas State Guard, August 23-September 3, 1942; "State Guard in Serious Training at Fair Grounds," *Topeka State Journal*, August 25, 1942.

30. "State Guardsmen Find Only Work On Program," *Hutchinson News*, August 31, 1942; "State Guards to Mobilize Here Sunday," *Hutchinson News*, August 29, 1942.

31. General Orders, No. 7, July 5, 1946.

32. State Guard Monthly Report, May 31, 1946; Charles H. Browne's 201 file, Kansas State Army National Guard.





## Book Reviews

### **American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century**

*edited by Vine Deloria, Jr.*

265 pages, notes, index.  
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985, \$16.95.

THE RECENT suicide contagion among Shoshone and Arapaho Indians of the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming points up, in grotesque terms, the cultural erosion and social disintegration that is a legacy of a confused and frustrating American Indian policy. This is an unfortunate reality, but this volume, proceeding from Vine Deloria's contention that "the process of formulating the federal government's posture toward Indians has changed substantially and definitely for the better in almost every instance," addresses some hopeful possibilities as well. Eleven essays offer both historical perspective and analyses of the present status of American Indian people. Moreover, the book addresses some of the perplexing complications—factionalism and political struggles within tribes, for example—which tribes face as they consider new policies and develop new strategies aimed at the protection of rights and resources.

The essays deal with water rights, Indian voting, international law, self-determination, economic development, and other historical problems and current issues. The long-lamented irony of Indian policy, due largely to the historic absence of norms, is reinforced throughout. Difficult problems continue to be solved by piecemeal litigation. The jumble of federal, state, and tribal rights poses a complex and contradictory dilemma for Indian people. Such fundamental ideals as democratic theory, the rights of indigenous peoples, international law, and the consent of the governed have seldom been brought to bear on Indian issues.

Tribes do have the potential to influence elections and policy, however, and this power is bolstered by massive landholdings and natural resources. Perhaps the answer lies, as Deloria suggests, in substituting "small models for . . . specific communities or functions," for broad national policies for programs and services. This sort of speculation is useful, of course, and the need for new legislation and new institutions is all too clear, but the present status of Indian people in the United States rests on a solidly rooted tradition. Thomas N. Tureen, in a recent analysis of Mashpee, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot land claims, sums it up: the United States "ultimately makes the rules and arbitrates the game."

The authors, all of whom demonstrate a firm command of their topics, suggest some new ways of thinking about Indian policy and Indian futures, and the book, organized topically against a background of historical policy development, is a useful reference for both scholarly and general audiences. And, despite the arrogance, expediency, and hell-bent good intentions that have characterized American Indian policy, Deloria, who knows the score, is encouraging. There are some significant building blocks here for what he calls "a new edifice of understanding."

*Reviewed by Michael B. Husband, executive director of Historic Wichita-Sedgwick County, Inc., whose experience includes serving as a research associate with the American Indian Historical Research Project during his doctoral studies at the University of New Mexico.*

### **Desert Passages: Encounters with American Deserts**

*by Patricia Nelson Limerick*

218 pages, notes, bibliography, index.  
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985, \$22.50.

AS THE TITLE IMPLIES, this book is about the passages both into and through American deserts and the writing about these journeys. Limerick has summarized, then analyzed, the writings of eight men. She is interested in why they came to the desert, in their preconceptions about it, in their responses to it, and finally in their literary understanding of it. This book traces American attitudes—of Manifest Destiny, of the conflict between the land as material resource and the land as spiritual sustainer. It asks how these attitudes survived the desert, a harsh landscape impervious to both human attitude and posture.

Limerick's first four travelers/writers lament the desert's unwillingness to be conquered, dominated, a part of Manifest Destiny. John C. Fremont found the desert "worthless," "inhospitable," "bleak," "sterile," and "savage." So did Mark Twain and William Lewis Manly, who found desert passage to be "a prolonged encounter with the prospect of death." For each of these men the only way to conquer the desert was to survive it and escape from it. Not so with William Ellsworth Smythe. His irrigation plans



would transform the desert from worthlessness to traditional American homesteads, creating dignified lives for the masses of people being made dependent upon industrial American society. Like those before him, he disliked the desert. Like those before him, he failed to change it.

For the final four writers, appreciation becomes the way to integrate the desert into the designs of God, or Nature, or Nation. John Van Dyke, art historian from New Jersey and pessimist about humanity, appreciated the purity of Nature made manifest in the desert. George Wharton James, defrocked pastor and prolific writer, found salvation in the desert. He led desert tours for people who, like himself, found that the desert in limited doses could be good for, could even transform, the soul. Philosopher Joseph Wood Krutch saw the desert as metaphor. In the crowded, congested materialistic 1940s and 1950s, he saw the desert as an alternative, pointing out the "desert's lesson: material scarcity is highly compatible with spiritual abundance." Edward Abbey, a more aggressive appreciator of the desert, shares much the same philosophy: "The desert was his mentor; desert plants, defying the pressures of the inanimate, provided a model for his own struggle against the supposed deadness of American society—empty materialism, routinized and unresponsive government, reductive science, and ill-considered technology."

The desert remains the same throughout the history of American contact with it. What changes is human attitude—from abhorrence to visions of transformation, to appreciation and understanding. Early contacts lament that it cannot be integrated into homesteading America; later contacts celebrate it for this very stubbornness. Limerick does an excellent, thought-provoking analysis of these attitudinal changes.

Unfortunately, Limerick does not look at the American Indian's sojourns upon or mythology about American deserts. Nor does she ever concentrate on the response of the American woman. Surely, these would add to the variety of attitudes humans brought to and formed from contact with the desert.

Also, Limerick sometimes petulantly points out the various contradictions in the writers' attitudes. She spends too much time outthinking them; her tone is often condescending. She decries, for example, the writers who champion human insignificance, yet don't feel themselves as individuals, to be insignificant at all. Desert writers all have this problem—they are humble in the face of the landscape, yet assertive in their responses, directives, and metaphors.

If anything, Limerick is not assertive enough in her own statements about American deserts. Her final chapter, "The Significance of Deserts in American History," is her weakest, as though, left alone to face the desert, she, too, is confused and awed. Perhaps she knows the desert well enough to be unwilling to make any final judgments about it. Had she included maps, along with a more formal definition of the American desert regions, and been more assertive about her own opinions rather than simply

describing the opinions of others, *Desert Passages* would be an even more interesting and thought-provoking book.

*Reviewed by Thomas Fox Averill, who teaches Kansas literature at Washburn University, Topeka.*

## Phil Sheridan and His Army

by Paul Andrew Hutton

xvi + 479 pages, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.  
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985, \$29.95.

PHIL SHERIDAN (1831-1888) was one of the outstanding military leaders of the nineteenth century, until now best known for his Civil War record. This thoroughly researched and carefully written combination of biography and history evaluates Sheridan's post-Civil War career as a department and division commander during the Indian wars, Reconstruction in Louisiana, and as commanding general of the army after 1883. Hutton demonstrates that Sheridan, described as "loyal to a fault," marked the post-Civil War army with his brand of military traditionalism and promoted the westward expansion of the nation. Sheridan's frustrations with some of his fellow officers, with the ongoing struggle between the War and the Interior departments for control of Indian affairs, and with Reconstruction politics and politics in general are woven into the fabric of this chronicle of campaigns and battles, official policies and public reactions, military bureaucracy and red tape, and numerous other incidents in which Sheridan was involved, such as the Chicago Fire, the Franco-Prussian War, and the disputed presidential election of 1876.

Sheridan's experiences in the Civil War, when he concluded that destroying people's supplies was more effective than destroying people, shaped his views on dealing with the Indians of the plains who were defending their homelands. His direction of the winter campaign (1868-1869), which involved a volunteer regiment raised in Kansas, the Red River war (1874-1875), and the Great Sioux war (1876-1877) are evaluated by Hutton. Sheridan's plan for converging columns of troops to defeat the Indians was successful in the first two campaigns and a failure in the third. Despite setbacks, the troops under Sheridan's command did force most of the Indians to accept assigned reservations.

Much of this story of the army during the era is not new, but Hutton's contribution to military history lies mainly in his ability to show how Sheridan was related to and involved in the events of his times, an involvement that produced both positive and negative results. Sheridan remained politically naive, bound to military tradition, and loyal to his nation and friends. Some readers will desire more details about Sheridan's personal life than are available because of a paucity of intimate personal papers. How-



ever, there is sufficient information from sources close to Sheridan to provide a glimpse of the man as well as of the general. Free from prejudices and errors, except for "Smokey" instead of "Smoky" Hill River in Kansas, this handsome volume, with good maps and illustrations, fills what has been a gap in military history and biography. For several reasons, including an absence of personal papers, Sheridan is the last of the officers of his era to receive the attention of a qualified biographer. The result was worth the wait, and Hutton's efforts will stand as the definitive work on Sheridan and his army.

*Reviewed by Leo E. Oliva, visiting professor of history at Fort Hays State University and author of books on Forts Hays, Scott, and Larned.*

## Tribal Dispossession and the Ottawa Indian University Fraud

by William E. Unrau and H. Craig Miner

xii + 212 pages, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index.  
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985, \$17.95.

THIS BOOK TELLS how in 1862 the Ottawas were tricked into giving twenty thousand acres of their land in eastern Kansas to establish and endow a university. The university, originally named for Roger Williams, was never used by the Ottawas, who moved to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in 1867. Instead it became the Baptist Ottawa University in Franklin County, still in existence today. The authors set out to explain and document the deception, reminding us that each case of fraud against the Indians is unique.

Unrau and Miner examine the deception that was accomplished in the name of education, a process closely identified with civilization and Christianity and one held dear in the republic. They document the paradox of education as the key to both progress and to self-aggrandizement, a paradox they see as the crux of the fraud. In their view, government officials and churchmen were not in all cases cynically manipulating values deeply held but rather exhibiting the mindset of "wilderness entrepreneurs," a term the authors use to describe such men as C. C. Hutchinson, John T. "Ottawa" Jones, and Isaac Kalloch. These men "mixed piety with ambition, seeing no essential conflict between material gain and God's calling them to instruct the less wise in the workings of civilization." Material gain was undoubtedly a goal since, as the authors point out, building a school was often an effective means of promoting a town. The authors unabashedly declare their intention to make moral judgments about the history they record. By explaining the particulars of the deception practiced by the promoters of the university scheme, they attempt to discourage the repetition of similar schemes.

The book introduces the reader to familiar characters and themes in U.S. history: factions and conflicts between traditionalists and nontraditionalists within the tribe; exploitation and manipulation of these differences by self-serving leaders, Indian and white; divisiveness and competition within the Baptist church and between it and other denominations; drunkenness as an irresistible temptation among the Indians ("We care not for the land, the money or the goods, it is the whiskey we want—give us the whiskey," they quote a Pottawatomie elder as saying). The virgin prairies of Kansas were a place to start afresh and make money for those from the East whose reputations had been tarnished. The beauty of this book is in its analysis of the specific historical situation of the Ottawa fraud, tying it to these larger themes.

The Ottawa University land fraud and its treatment by Unrau and Miner can stand as a brief historical synopsis of the way Indian tribes have been treated by Americans for more than two hundred years. The fraud is a sad but typical part of Indian/white relations in U.S. history. But its ending is not quite so sad. In 1967 Congress approved and appropriated more than \$400,000 to be awarded to the 630 members of the Ottawa of Oklahoma in recognition of the land the tribe had lost a century ago. At least in the past several years the U.S. government has, in a few cases, tried to rectify past injustices. In the case of the Ottawa University fraud, the government has made "legal atonement if not absolute restitution."

*Reviewed by Lois Nettleship, professor of history at Johnson County Community College and director of the Johnson County Center for Local History, which recently prepared an exhibit and a television series on the Shawnee Indian Mission in Fairway.*

## Indians, Cattle, Ships, and Oil: The Story of W. M. D. Lee

by Donald F. Schofield

x + 205 pages, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index.  
Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985, \$19.95.

DONALD SCHOFIELD, city judge of Amarillo, Texas, has written an account of the business life of William McDole Lee. Lee, born in the Susquehanna Valley of Pennsylvania in 1841, lived with his family in Portage, Wisconsin, from 1844 to 1850. Going on his own, Lee held several jobs in frontier Kansas before enlisting in the Union army. After the war he returned to Kansas and by 1869 resided in Leavenworth. For most of his business career he lived there, but he moved to Houston, Texas, before his death in 1925. As a businessman, he was involved in Indian trade, cattle ranching, ship channel construction, shipping, oil exploration, and finally real estate.

## Book Reviews

239

In 1869, with Albert E. Reynolds as a partner, Lee was trading with the Indians and supplying troops at Camp Supply, Indian Territory. As a competitor of the Dodge City buffalo hide hunters, Lee was suspected of telling the Indians the white hunters' location prior to the battle of Adobe Walls. Lee and Reynolds also paid bribes to government officials, although they were not directly involved in the William Belknap scandal of the U. S. Grant era.

The partners left the buffalo hide business when profits declined and turned to cattle ranching near Camp Supply. Later, Lee was one of the first cattlemen in the Texas Panhandle. He eventually ruled a ranching empire that stretched from his home in Leavenworth, Kansas, to the Texas and Montana ranges. His partnership with Lucien Scott on the vast LS ranch had the famed XIT ranch as a neighbor. Lee showed his business acumen by introducing Aberdeen-Angus to the western range. After unsuccessful efforts to bargain with his employees over salaries during the cowboy strike of 1883, the rancher "blackballed" the cowboys in the following seasons.

By 1888, Lee was interested in developing a deep-water port at Velasco, Texas. Schofield traces the financial difficulties in this project, which ultimately resulted in the growth of Houston. Lee was also involved in shipping

along much of the Texas and Louisiana coast at this time, thus his personal profits continued even when he lost control of the deep-water port project. After his past successes, one might have expected Lee to slow down, but instead he brought in one of the earliest oil wells south of Houston.

Schofield has written an interesting account of a Great Plains entrepreneur that shows the interrelated nature of businesses in five states. He has used numerous primary sources for this study including interviews, letters, and documents. However, he should have used some of the standard secondary works for perspective of the events he portrays. For instance on the Cheyenne and Arapaho, he did not use George Bird Grinnell or Donald Berthrong. And on the range cattle industry he failed to consult the works of Ernest Osgood, E. E. Dale, Louis Pelzer, Walter P. Webb, Robert Athearn, Robert Dysktra, and Jimmie Skaggs among others. All in all Schofield's work is a contribution to the understanding of the economic development of the Great Plains and to the activities of a regional entrepreneur in the age of business expansion.

*Reviewed by Thomas R. Walther, professor of history at Pittsburg State University.*

## Picture Credits

Cover: Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS); 207, 208, 209, 211, 214, University of Kansas Archives; 215, 218, 219, 220, 221, 223, 226, 227, 228, 229, KSHS; 230, 231, 232, 233, Kansas National Guard.



## Index, Volume 8

### A

Aaron, Madeleine 144  
Abilene, Dickinson Co. 154  
Adair, Samuel 150  
Adams, Henry 220  
Agriculture: in Kansas 157; road sign, reproduced 159;  
    *see also* Farming  
Agriculture Marketing Act 191  
Aguinaldo, Emilio 54, 57, 60; and followers, photo 57  
"Ahl Kansas" 161  
Alabama 219-20  
Alights on the Cloud 184; photo 185  
Allen, Henry J. 191, 229  
Allison, — 50  
American Colonization Society 218  
*American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century* 236  
American Legion Post 233  
Anderson, John, Jr.: boots, photo 147  
Anderson County 165, 170-71, 173  
Andreas, A. T. 74  
Angell, Wayne D. 188, 197  
Anthony, A. J. 99  
Argonia, Sumner Co.: Farmers and Merchants State Bank,  
    photo 195  
Arickaree, battle of. *See* Beecher Island, battle of  
Arkansas 217, 219-20  
Arkansas River 42, 99, 103, 234  
Arness, James: photo 154  
Army, W. F. M. 171; portrait 171  
Atchison, Atchison Co. 75  
Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad 103-4, 145, 158  
Averill, Thomas Fox: book review by 236-37  
Ayer, Edward E. 19

### B

Baker, Michael 31-33  
Baker, T. Lindsay: book by, reviewed 200-1  
Bala, Riley Co. 121  
Baldwin, Douglas Co. 213  
Baldwin Creek school 120  
Bankers Deposit Guaranty and Surety Company 187  
Banking: in Kansas, 1920s, article on 186-99; statistical  
    tables 191-93  
Banks: photos 186-90, 194-95, 197-98  
Barbour, James 27  
Barlow, James 78-80  
Barnes, Hiram 125, 130-33  
Bass, — 49-50  
"Bat Masterson" 154  
Baughman, Luadah Sallee 145  
Baum, L. Frank 152-53, 56  
Beal, Adeline 46, 52  
Beal, Anna 36-38, 40-53; photos 37, 44; portraits 47, 51  
Beal, Blanche. *See* Lowe, Blanche Beal  
Beal, Carl 36, 42-43, 48, 50-51, 53; photos 37, 44, 49

Beal, Elizabeth 46, 52  
Beal, Ethel 36, 38, 42-48, 50-53; photos 37, 44, 49  
Beal, Florence 52  
Beal, Harry 52  
Beal, Leona 36-37, 40, 42-43, 45, 48-50, 53; photos 37, 44, 49  
Beal, Oliver 46, 52  
Beal, Pryor 46, 52  
Beal, Ralph 36, 40, 42-43, 47-48, 50, 52-53  
Beal, Silas 46, 52  
Beal, Sloan 52  
Beal, Thomas 46, 51  
Beal, William 36-38, 40-53; photos 37, 44; portraits 47, 51  
Beal family: photo 44; portrait 37  
Beatty, T. A. 213  
Becker, Carl 151  
Bee, Barnard E. 14  
Beech, Olive 160  
Beech, Walter 160  
Beecher, Frederick H. 176-78, 181; death 178  
Beecher, Lyman 25  
Beecher Island, battle of 176-85; sketches of 176-79  
Belknap, Ann 28  
Benham, Alexander 17  
Benson, W. F. 192-93  
Bent, George 178-79, 181, 185; account of Roman Nose 180  
Benton, Thomas Hart 23  
Berthrong, Donald 178  
Bertsche, Merle 53  
Beverly, Henry M. 108-9  
Big Springs, Douglas Co. 7  
Biggs, Lewis C. 145  
Billings, Sophia 15  
Bivinny, Francis 15  
Black Kettle 185  
"Black Newspapers and the Exodusters of 1879": article  
    by Nudie E. Williams 217-25  
Black Wolf 174-75  
Blackmar, Frank W. 227  
Blacks: in Dodge City 105-7; in Kansas 150-51; newspapers of,  
    and exodusters, article on 217-25  
Blaine, James G. 62  
Blake, Amanda: photo 154  
"Bleeding Kansas": Marais des Cygnes Massacre, article on  
    74-94  
"Bloody Reds" 78-80  
Bloomington, Douglas Co. 172  
Bloss, Schuyler C. 197  
Blue Valley Railroad 113  
Boeing Airplane Company 160  
Bomer, Buck 12  
Bond, James: photo, 1906 116  
Bone, Roy L. 194-96, 199  
Book Reviews 67-70, 134-36, 200-3, 236-39  
"Border Ruffians" 75-76, 78-85, 90-92  
Border warfare: Marais des Cygnes Massacre, article on 74-94  
Botkin, Jeremiah 56, 58-59, 61, 65

## Index

241

Bourbon County 76, 78, 80, 91  
 Bridges, Jim 14  
 Broaddus, R. L. 130-31  
 Broaddus, W. 128, 130  
 Brockett, "Fort Scott" 78-80, 82-83, 90, 92  
 Broehl, Wayne G., Jr.: book by, reviewed 136  
 Brown, Dee 184  
 Brown, E. Reese 8  
 Brown, John 76, 87-89, 94, 138, 150-51, 161; cabin 150;  
 "Parallels" 89  
 Brown, Nathan 74  
 Brown, Sam 78-79  
 Browne, Charles H. 230, 233-35; portrait 229  
 Bryan, William Jennings 66  
 Bryant, Dora 210  
 Buchanan, James 77-78  
 Bull Bear 178  
 Burk, Joseph 130-31  
 Burton, Joseph 64-66  
 Butcher, George 11  
 Butcher, Mary 11  
 Butler, Anne M.: book by, reviewed 202

## C

"Call of Kansas, The" 146  
 Camp Robinson, Ark. 230  
 Camp Walbach, Wyo. 12  
 Camp Whiteside, Fort Riley 235  
 Campbell, John 80, 85-87  
 Campus Military Training Corps 231  
 Cantonment Leavenworth: article on 21-35; painting No. 1  
 cover; *see also* Fort Leavenworth  
 Capper, Arthur 142, 145, 148, 191-92, 228  
 Capper-Volstead Act 191  
 Carlson, Avis D. 206  
 Carlson, Frank 146  
 Carlton, Dickinson Co.: State Bank, photo 186  
 Carpenter, L. H. 181  
 Carter, Harvey L.: book by, reviewed 69-70  
 Cartwright, Joseph L. 16  
 Caruthers, Amy 183  
 Caruthers, Henry. *See* Roman Nose, Henry C.  
 Caruthers, Horace 183  
 Casement, Dan 206  
 Cass, Lewis 28  
 Cedar Creek 170  
 Census: Dodge City, 1880, article on 95-109  
 Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, 1876 158  
 Ceres (goddess of agriculture): statue, photo 159  
 Cessna, Clyde 160  
 Chase, M. V. 233  
 Cherokee County 126  
 Cherokee Nation 128  
 Cherokee Neutral Lands 126-27  
 Chetopa, Labette Co. 125, 127-31, 133; El Dorado Saloon  
 128-30; photo, 1875 132; sketch, 1871 124  
 Cheyenne Indians. *See* Northern Cheyenne Indians; Southern  
 Cheyenne Indians  
 Children's Aid Society, New York 110, 112  
 Chrisman, George 17

Civil Air Patrol 234  
 Civil War 17, 61, 76, 150, 217  
 Clarke, George W. 76, 91  
 Clarkson, J. J. 8  
 Clearwater, Sedgwick Co. 37  
 Clinton, Douglas Co. 172  
 Coburn, Foster 156  
 Cody, Charles Whitney 6  
 Cody, Elijah 4-5, 9, 11, 15  
 Cody, Eliza Alice 6  
 Cody, Isaac 4-9; death 9-10  
 Cody, Joseph A. 9, 15  
 Cody, Julia 3-12, 14-17, 19-20; portraits 3, 6  
 Cody, Laura Ella 6  
 Cody, Margaret 15  
 Cody, Martha 6-9, 11-12  
 Cody, Mary Ann Laycock 4, 7-11, 15-17, 19  
 Cody, Mary Hannah 6  
 Cody, William Frederick "Buffalo Bill": article on 2-20;  
 portraits 6, 11; sketch 13  
 Coffeyville, Montgomery Co.: People's State Bank, photo 187  
 Collar, Morris 99  
 "College Student Employment Project at the University of  
 Kansas 1934-1943": article by Richard B. Sheridan 206-16  
 College Student Employment Project Committee on Policies,  
 Projects and Selections 210-11  
 Collins, — 49  
 Collins, William Burrage 25, 31-32  
 Collins, William Hertzog 34  
 Colonization Council 220  
*Colored Citizen*: masthead, reproduced 218  
 Colpetzer, William 78, 81-82, 84, 87  
 Colpetzer, Mrs. William 82, 85-86  
 Columbus, Cherokee Co. 127  
 Colwell, Harry: death 123; marriage 121; "A New York  
 Orphan Comes to Kansas," article by 110-123; note on 110;  
 photos 111, 116, 121-122; portrait, 1903 120; reminiscences  
 110-23  
 Colwell, Harry E.: photo 122  
 Comstock, William 176-77  
 Conway Springs, Sumner Co. 36-37, 46, 48  
 Conyers, Lucinda 11  
 Cooke, Flora 33  
 Cooke, John Rogers 33  
 Cooke, Julia Turner 33  
 Cooke, Maria Pendleton 33  
 Cooke, Philip St. George 22-24, 29, 31-34; portrait 22  
 Cooke, Rachel Hertzog. *See* Hertzog, Rachel  
 Cooke family: lineage chart 34  
 Cordry, Mrs. T. A. 143  
 Craig, John 127  
 Crain, S. E. 11  
 Crawford County 126  
 Creager, Marvin 141  
 Criqui, Orvel A.: "A Northern Cheyenne Called Roman  
 Nose," article by 176-85; note on 176  
 Croghan, George 24, 29-30  
 Crooked Lance Society 178, 181  
 Cuba 59, 62, 65  
 Culp, Garnet 50  
 Cunningham, Glenn 148, 212  
 Curry, John Stuart 149-50  
 Custer, George Armstrong 133, 185



## D

Danker, Donald F.: book review by 68-69  
 Dann, Martin E. 217  
*Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitution in the American West, 1865-90*: reviewed 202  
 Daughters of the American Revolution 142-43  
 Davis, Jefferson 33  
 Davis, John 56-59, 66; portrait 56  
 Davis, Jonathan 191, 194  
 Davis, Kenneth 151  
*Day After, The* 154-55  
 de Havilland, Olivia 154  
 Delahay, Mark W. 7, 9, 15  
 Delahay, Mollie 7  
 Deloria, Vine, Jr.: book by, reviewed 236  
 DeMallie, Raymond J.: book edited by, reviewed 68-69  
 Democratic Central Committee 194  
 Democratic party 59, 65, 75, 225  
 Denison, John H. 183  
 Denman, Hampton B. 139  
 Dennis, B. C. 11  
 Denton, Isaac 79  
 Denver, James W. 14  
 Depositors' Guaranty Fund 187, 193-94  
 Depositors' Guaranty System 187, 192-99  
*Desert Passages: Encounters with American Deserts*: reviewed 236-37  
 Devlin, Valentine 16-17, 19  
 Devlin, Pat 77  
 Dewey, — 65  
 Dewey, George 54, 110  
 Dodge City, Ford Co. 154, 230, 234; 1880 census, article on 95-109, page reproduced 97; foreign born in, 1880 107-8; minorities in 105; occupations in 103-5; photo, 1879 96; population 99; population statistics 106-8; prostitution in 102-3; railroading in 104-5; scene, reproduced 104; sketch, 1882 100-1  
*Dodge City* 154; scene, photo 155  
 Dog Soldiers 177-78  
 Doniphan County 5  
 "Don't You Know That There's a War On? A History of the Kansas State Guard in World War II": article by Christopher C. Lovett 226-35  
 Dorrance, Russell Co.: Citizens State Bank, photo 188  
 Dougherty, Annie Elizabeth 28, 31, 33  
 Dougherty, John 24, 26-32, 34-35, sketch 26  
 Dougherty, John Kerr 29  
 Dougherty, Lewis Bissell 29, 31  
 Dougherty, O'Fallon 29  
 Dougherty family: lineage chart 28  
 Douglas County 207, 213  
 Douglass, Frederick 221  
 "Drouthy Kansas" 159  
 Drywood Creek 127  
 Dunn, Charles 5, 7-8  
 Dunn, H. C. 8-9  
 "Dutch Henry's Crossing" 76  
 Dykstra, Robert 99

## E

Eagleson, William L. 224  
 Earhart, Amelia 148, 212

Easton, Leavenworth Co. 8  
 Economics: college student employment project, 1934-1943, article on 206-16; in Kansas, 1920s 186-99  
 Edwards, Leora McKibben 36-37  
 Effingham, Atchison Co.: Farmers and Merchants State Bank, photo 189  
 Eisenhower, Dwight D. 148  
 Elliott, Joel H. 185  
 Elliott, W. H. 8  
 Ellsworth, Fred 210  
 Ellsworth, Ellsworth Co. 98  
 Else, St. Elmo 234  
 Emery, James 8  
 Emery, Mrs. O. C. 143  
 Emigrants: in Dodge City, 1880 107-8; sketch 166  
 Emporia, Lyon Co. 64, 206  
 Engle, Joe 160  
 Erie Neosho Co. 54  
 Erwin, Abraham 37  
 Erwin, Charlie 37-38, 40  
 Erwin, Elizabeth 37-40, 42, 45  
 Erwin, Frank 38, 46  
 Erwin, Lincaus 38-40, 45-47  
 Erwin, Orrie 38  
 Espey, Frank 176  
 Etnire, Helen 147  
 Eudora, Douglas Co. 213  
 Evans, Helen 53  
 Evans, Ron 160  
 Exodusters: and black newspapers, article on 217-25; newspaper sketches 219

## F

"Fact versus Fiction in the Kansas Boyhood of Buffalo Bill": article by John S. Gray 2-20  
 Fairview, Anderson Co. 170  
 Fancy Creek, Clay Co. 119  
 Farming: and banking in Kansas, 1920s, article on 186-99  
 Federal Emergency Relief Administration 209-10  
 Federal Farm Board 191  
 Federal Farm Loan Act 188  
 Federal Intermediate Credit Act 191  
 Federal Reserve System 188, 191-92  
*Field Guide to American Windmills, A*: reviewed 200-1  
 Flannigan, — 5  
 Flint Hills 156  
 Florida 219  
 Flowers, Lemuel 19  
 Flynn, Errol 154  
*Following the Santa Fe Trail: A Guide for Modern Travelers*: reviewed 135  
 Forsyth, George A. 176-79, 181, 185  
 Fort Armstrong, Ill. 23  
 Fort Atkinson, Ia. 23  
 Fort Bridger 13-14  
 Fort Crawford, Wis. 23  
 Fort Dearborn, Ill. 23  
 Fort Dodge 99  
 Fort Gibson, Okla. 33  
 Fort Harker 177  
 Fort Hays 177  
 Fort Howard, Wis. 23

## Index

243

Fort Kearny, Wyo. 4, 12-14, 17, 29, 35  
 Fort Laramie, Wyo. 11-12, 15, 17, 29, 35, 182  
 Fort Larned 181  
 Fort Leavenworth 3-5, 13-14, 23, 90; sketches 3, 23; *see also*  
     Cantonment Leavenworth  
 Fort Manuel Lisa, S. D. 26  
 Fort Marion, Fla. 184  
 Fort Riley 143, 234  
 Fort Scott (town), Bourbon Co. 54, 90, 126-27, 132-33  
 Fort Snelling, Minn. 23  
 Fort Sumter, S. C. 90  
 Fort Wallace 177, 181  
 Foster, F. H. 193-94  
 Franklin County 170, 172  
 Franks, Jacob 130-31  
 Frazier, Bernard "Poco" 147  
 Frazier, James 6  
 Frazier, Sally 105, 107  
 Free-State party 76  
 Freeman, G. D.: book by, reviewed 69  
 Freeman, Winfield 178  
 Fremont, John Charles 168  
 Friends University, Wichita 37  
 Frost, Daniel M. 98-99, 102; portrait 98  
 Fruhauf Southwest Uniform Company, Wichita 231  
 Frye, Virginia King 157  
 Funston, Frederick 54; photo 64

## G

Garden City, Finney Co. 46-47, 230, 234  
 Gardner, Johnson Co. 165, 168-69  
 Garland, Judy 153  
 Garnett, Anderson Co. 170-71  
 Garrison, William Lloyd 87  
 Garrison Crossing, Pottawatomie Co. 112-13  
 Geary, John W. 9  
 "Genuine Western Man Never Drinks Tea, A': Gustavus  
     French Merriam's Letters from Kansas in 1860": article  
     edited by Harriet Kimbro 162-75  
 George, Gerald: book review by 69  
 Georgia 217  
*Ghost and Mr. Chicken, The* 154  
 Gibson, Francis Marion 133; photo 129  
 Gilbert, Bil: book by, reviewed 202-3  
 Girard, Crawford Co. 127  
 Globe Theatre 213  
 Goble, Stephen 11-12  
 Goodman, Julia Cody. *See* Cody, Julia  
 Goodright, — 90-91  
 Graham, Frank M. 129-30, 132  
 Graham-Windham Home, New York 110  
 Graham School, New York 122  
 Graham School at Hastings-on-Hudson, New York 110  
 Grand Army of the Republic 141-43  
 Grant, Ulysses S. 126  
 Grasshopper Falls, Jefferson Co. 6-10, 15  
 Grasshoppers: in Kansas 158-59  
 Gray, John S.: "Fact versus Fiction in the Kansas Boyhood  
     of Buffalo Bill," article by 2-20; note on 2  
 Great Bend, Barton Co. 234  
*Great Father, The: The United States Government and the  
     American Indians*: reviewed 135-36

Green Jewelry Company, Mo. 232  
 Greenback party 56  
 Griffin, Clifford S. 208  
 Griffith, William: execution 75, 82, 90-94  
 Griffith, Mrs. William 91  
 Grinnell, George Bird 178, 181, 184  
 Grover, Charles H. 4  
 Grover, D. A. N. 4, 8  
 Grover, Joel 4  
 Grover, Sharp 176-77  
 "Growing Up in Kansas": article by Blanche Beal Lowe  
     36-53  
 Guerrier, Edmond 178  
 Guild, Thelma S.: book by, reviewed 69-70  
 Guilfoyle, Michael: note on 124; "A Speck of War: The  
     Seventh Cavalry and the Post of South Eastern Kansas,"  
     article co-authored by 124-33  
 Guion, David 146  
*Gunfight at the OK Corral* 154  
 "Gunsmoke" 154; cast, photo 154  
*Gypsy Moths, The* 154

## H

Hahn, — 110-11  
 Hairgrove, Asa 78, 82, 85-86, 93  
 Hairgrove, Mrs. Asa 86  
 Hairgrove, William 74, 78, 82-88, 90-91, 93  
 Hairgrove, Mrs. William 86  
 Half Orphan Asylum, New York 110  
 Hall, Amos 78, 81-82, 84-86, 90, 93  
 Hall, Austin 74, 78, 81-82, 84-86, 93  
 Hamelton, Charles. *See* Hamilton, Charles  
 Hamilton, Al. *See* Hamilton, Algernon S.  
 Hamilton, Algernon S. 78, 82-84, 90, 94  
 Hamilton, Alvin. *See* Hamilton Algernon S.  
 Hamilton, Charles A. 75, 77-83, 85, 87, 90-94; route to Marais  
     des Cygnes Massacre, map 81  
 Hamilton, George P. 78, 82-84, 90, 94  
 Hamilton, Thomas A. 77-78, 94  
 Hammers, James 213  
 Hancock, Winfield Scott 178  
 Hankins, Barry: "Manifest Destiny in the Midwest: Selected  
     Kansans and the Philippine Question," article by 54-66;  
     note on 54  
 Hanna, Mark 62  
 Harrington, Dave 15  
 Hathaway, — 9  
 Hathaway, Eugene 15  
 Hathaway, Richard 15  
 Haywood, C. Robert 151; "The Dodge City Census of 1880:  
     Historians' Tool or Stumbling Block?" article by 95-109;  
     note on 95  
 Hempstead, Charles 32  
 Hempstead, Rachel 32  
 Hendrickson, Gordon O.: book review by 68  
 Henry, Andrew 26  
 Hertzog, Anna 22-23, 29-34  
 Hertzog, Catharine Wilt 24-35; death 35  
 Hertzog, Elizabeth 25, 33, 35; portrait 25  
 Hertzog, Joseph 24-26  
 Hertzog, Mary 24-35; sketch 27



Hertzog, Rachel 22-23, 29, 31-34; portrait 31  
Hertzog family: lineage chart 24-25  
Hewitt, Harvey 8  
Hiawatha, Brown Co. 230  
Hickok, James Butler "Wild Bill" 14-15, 19  
Hiechel, Don 147  
Higley, Brewster 146-47  
Hill, Esther Clark 146  
"Ho! for Kansas!": poster, reproduced 223  
Hobbs, William 91  
Hoig, Stan 178, 184; book by, reviewed 67  
Holladay, Ben 19  
Hollenberg, Washington Co. 121  
Holt, Daniel D.: note on 21; "The Pleasures of Female Society" at Cantonment Leavenworth," article co-authored by 21-35  
Holt, Marilyn Irvin: note on 21; "The Pleasures of Female Society" at Cantonment Leavenworth," article co-authored by 21-35  
Home Guard Company 227-28  
"Home on the Range": state song 146-47  
Homestead Act 220  
Hook, H. M. 7  
Hoover, Herbert 189  
Hopkins, Harry L. 209, 212  
Horton, Loren H.: book review by 200-1  
Horton, Brown Co. 230, 233  
Hougen, Harvey R.: "The Marais des Cygnes Massacre and the Execution of William Griffith," article by 74-94; note on 74  
Hoy, James: book review by 67  
Hubbard, Mike 82, 84  
Hugo, Victor 150  
Hurt, R. Douglas: book review by 136  
Husband, Michael B.: book review by 236  
Hutchinson, Clinton C. 13-14, 159  
Hutchinson, John 13  
Hutchinson, Reno Co.: 234-35; Fourth State Bank 194  
Hutton, Paul Andrew: book by, reviewed 237-38  
Hyatt, Mary 11  
Hyatt, Thaddeus: portrait 169  
Hyatt, Anderson Co. 169-71  
Hyde, George E. 181, 184

## I

Immigrants. *See* Emigrants  
*In Cold Blood* 154  
Independence, Montgomery Co. 54  
*Indians, Cattle, Ships, and Oil: The Story of W. M. D. Lee:* reviewed 238-39  
Ingalls, John J. 139-40  
Inge, William 154  
Iola, Allen Co.: bank employee, photo 196  
Ise, John 206-7

## J

Jackson, Jerry 78, 84  
Jackson, Tom 82  
Jayhawk: state symbol 149; in cartoon, reproduced 150; photo 149  
Jayhawk Ordnance Plant, Pittsburg 234  
Jayhawker: state symbol 148-50

"Jayhawkers" 77, 79-82, 87  
Jefferson County 8  
Jennison, Charles 149  
Jochims, Larry O.: book review by 135  
*John Deere's Company: A History of Deere & Company and Its Times:* reviewed 136  
Johnson, Walter 148  
Johnson County 14, 162  
Jolly, H. B. 6  
Jones, John S. 16  
Jones, John Tecumseh 167; sketch 167  
Jones, Samuel 76  
Jones, W. A. 183  
Jones, William K.: book review by 201-2  
Joy, James Frederick 126-27, 133; portrait 126  
*Junction City Tribune* 56

## K

Kane, Randy: note on 124; "A Speck of War: The Seventh Cavalry and the Post of South Eastern Kansas," article co-authored by 124-33  
Kansas Indians 27  
*Kansan, The* 154  
Kansas (terr.): border warfare, Marais des Cygnes Massacre, article on 74-94; description, 1860 165-75; map, reproduced 75; politics 4-9  
Kansas: adjutant general 234; centennial, illustrations 157, 161; climate 155-56; geographical location 156-57; land 156; legislature 55, 59, 141-45, 147-48, 187, 194, 197, 229, 231; life in, articles on 36-53, 110-23; media presentations about 152-55; nicknames 156-57; songs 145-47; southeastern, map 124; state animal 147; state banner 143-44, photo 143; state bird 144-45, sketch 145; State Convention of Colored Men 218-19; State Council of Defense 227-28; state flag 142-44, 147; state flower 140-42, 144, 147; State Guard. *See* Kansas State Guard; State Guard Act 229; state insect 148; State Military Board 230-31; state motto 138-40; state seal 138-40, 142-43, 147, sketches 140; state song 143, 145-47; state tree 145; symbols and images of, article on 138-61; weather 155-56  
Kansas Agri-Woman 159  
Kansas and Neosho Valley Railroad 126  
Kansas Audubon Society 144  
Kansas Authors' Club 145, 147  
Kansas Bankers Association 194, 199  
Kansas City, Wyandotte Co. 227-28  
Kansas Commonwealth Club 144, 146  
Kansas Day 161  
Kansas Defense Council. *See* Kansas: State Council of Defense  
Kansas Department of Economic Development 153  
Kansas Department of the Woman's Relief Corps 150  
Kansas Depositors' Guaranty System 188  
Kansas Emergency Relief Committee 210  
"Kansas Farming and Banking in the 1920s": article by Mary Scott Rowland 186-99  
Kansas Federation of Music Clubs 145-46  
Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association 222  
Kansas Highway Patrol 226-27, 234  
Kansas Industrial Development Commission 146-47, 153, 160  
Kansas "Land of Ah's" 153; emblem, reproduced 153  
Kansas National Guard 230, 234; *see also* Kansas State Guard; National Guard



## Index

245

- Kansas-Nebraska Act 4, 75  
 Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan 120-21; *see also*  
     Kansas State University  
 Kansas State Board of Agriculture 158-59  
 Kansas State Board of Education Textbook Advisory  
     Committees 144  
 Kansas State Chamber of Commerce 157  
 Kansas State Guard: Horton Company, photo 233; in World  
     War II, article on 26-35; insignia, photo 228; Lyon  
     Company, photos 226, 230; members, photos 227, 231;  
     Wyandotte Company, photo 232  
 Kansas State Historical Society 142, 147, 149-50  
 Kansas State Militia 8  
 Kansas State Penitentiary, Lansing 58  
 Kansas State Supreme Court, 187, 195  
 Kansas State University, Manhattan 149, 159  
 Kansas University. *See* University of Kansas  
 Kansas Welcome Association 142  
 "Kansas, We're Proud of You" 146  
 Kanza Indians. *See* Kansas Indians  
*Karl Bodmer's America*: reviewed 201-2  
 Kearny, Stephen Watts 33  
 Kelly, Dan 146  
 Kelsey, S. T. 145  
 Kendall, Lyde 52  
 Kerr, John 32  
 Kickapoo Rangers 5, 8-9  
 Killed by a Bull 181  
 Kimbro, Harriet: "'A Genuine Western Man Never Drinks  
     Tea': Gustavus French Merriam's Letters from Kansas in  
     1860," article edited by 162-75; note on 162  
 Kiowa Indians 177  
*Kit Carson, a Pattern for Heroes*: reviewed 69-70  
 Klaine, Nicholas 96, 98, 102-4; portrait 102  
 Knotts, Don 154  
 Konza Prairie 156  
 Krooss, Herman E. 186  
 Ku Klux Klan 150  
 Kuralt, Charles 146
- L**
- Labor: college student employment project, 1934-1943,  
     article on 206-16; in Dodge City 103-5  
 Lame Man 184; photo 183  
 Landon, Alfred M. 142, 210  
 Lane, James H. 9, 14  
 Law and Order party 76  
 Lawrence, Douglas Co. 7-8, 13-14, 75-76, 150, 155, 166,  
     172-73, 207-8, 213, 215; Rotary Club 216; sketch 1857 173  
*Learning Tree, The* 154  
 Lease, Mary Elizabeth 151  
 Leavenworth, Henry 23  
 Leavenworth, Leavenworth Co. 7-8, 10, 13-16, 19, 54, 75, 90  
 Leavenworth, Kansas and Western Railroad 113-14  
 Leavenworth Militia 8  
 Lecompton, Douglas Co. 7, 87, 89, 213  
 Lecompton constitution 77-78  
 Leonardville, Riley Co. 112-13, 118, 120-23; photo 118;  
     railroad station, photo 113  
 Lever Food and Fuel Control Act 189  
 Liberian Exodus 218  
 Liberian Exodus Joint Steamship Company 218
- Liberty Bonds 229  
 "Life and Legend of Wyatt Earp, The" 154  
 Lillie, Benjamin F. 8  
 Limerick, Patricia Nelson: book by, reviewed 236-37  
 Limestone Creek 127  
 Lincoln, Abraham 9, 15  
 Lindenmeyer, Ruth Gates: Gustavus French Merriam's letters  
     transcribed by 165-75; note on 162  
 Lindley, Betty Grimes 212  
 Lindley, Ernest Hiram 208, 211-13, 216; portrait 215  
 Lindley, Ernest K. 212  
 Linn County 76-78, 88, 90-91  
 Lisa, Manuel 16, 32  
 Lisa, Rosalie 32  
 Little Big Horn, battle of 133  
 Little Chief 181-82, 184-85; photos 185  
 Little Osage River 76, 80  
 Locher, Dick 155  
 Lone Horn: photo 182  
 Long, Stephen 140  
 Long, William David 157  
 Long Expedition, 1819 26  
 Longren airplane: photo 160  
 Louisiana 217-20, 222  
 Lovett, Christopher C.: "Don't You Know That There's a  
     War On? A History of the Kansas State Guard in World  
     War II," article by 226-35; note on 226  
 Lowe, Blanche Beal: "Growing Up in Kansas," article by  
     36-53; note on 36; photos 37, 44  
 Lowe, Harvey James 53  
 Lyman, William 149  
 Lyon, Eliza A. "Jennie" 7
- M**
- McConnell, I. E. 210  
 McCoy, Donald R.: book by, reviewed 134  
 McDonald, B. P. 133  
 McDowell, John H. 139  
 McGee, E. M. "Milt" 77-78  
 McGee, George 17  
 McIlhenny, — 48  
 McKibben, Frank 36, 43  
 McKibben, Robert 36  
 McKinley, William 57-64, 66  
 McLean, Milton R. 143, 230  
 McLouth, Jefferson Co. 157  
 Majors, Alexander 10-11, 19  
 Majors and Russell 10  
 Maloy, Henry 149  
 Man on a Cloud 184  
 Manhattan, Riley Co. 75, 112-23, 118, 120, 206  
 "Manifest Destiny in the Midwest: Selected Kansans and the  
     Philippine Question": article by Barry Hankins 54-66  
 Marais des Cygnes Massacre: article on 74-94; map 81; poem  
     88; sketch 83, No. 2 cover  
 "Marais des Cygnes Massacre and the Execution of William  
     Griffith, The": article by Harvey R. Hougen 74-94  
 Marais des Cygnes River 76, 167-68, 172  
 "Marais du Cygen, Le": poem by John Greenleaf Whittier 88  
 Marks, M. F. 55-56  
 Martin, C. I. 234  
 Martin, Frank 143



Martin, John W. 8-9  
 Masterson, William Barclay "Bat" 104  
 Mather, Cotton 25  
 Matlock, Charles 90  
 Matson, Simon E. 181  
 Maud, Morton Co. 46  
 Maxwell, Alexander 115, 120  
 Maxwell, Cora 115; photo, 1906 116  
 Maxwell, Edna. *See* Smith, Edna Maxwell  
 Maxwell, Edward 115  
 Maxwell, Edward A. 111-12, 114-17, 119; death 121; home, photo 117; photo 115  
 Maxwell, Florence 115; photo, 1906 116  
 Maxwell, Florence Estella Richardson 115, 117; photo 115  
 Maxwell, Mary 115, 120-22; death 123; marriage 121; photos 116, 122  
 Maxwell, Ruth 115  
 Mechem, Kirke 149  
 Medicine Man: painting of 179  
 Medicine Woman 181  
 Menninger, Karl 151  
 Merriam, Anna Theresa 164  
 Merriam, Caroline 162; photo 163  
 Merriam, Charles 162  
 Merriam, Clinton 162; letters to 165-75; photos 163, 165  
 Merriam, Ela 162  
 Merriam, Florence: photo 163  
 Merriam, Gustavus French 162-65; advertisement 164; homestead, photo 165; letters from Kansas in 1860, article on 162-75; photos 164-65  
 Merriam, Lydia 162  
 Merriam, Mary Elizabeth Scott 164; death 165; photo 165  
 Merriam, Sally 163  
 Merriam, Virginia 164  
 Merrill, Lewis 127-33; portrait 128  
 Merritt, James S. 168-69  
 Mexican War 78  
 Middle Creek 172  
*Midnight and Noonday: or, the Incidental History of Southern Kansas and the Indian Territory, 1871-1890:* reviewed 69  
 Miller, A. B. 8  
 Miller, Charles H. 18  
 Miller, George 47  
 Miller, Josiah 140  
 Miner, H. Craig: book by, reviewed 238  
 Minneola, Franklin Co. 172  
 Mississippi 217, 219-20, 222  
 Mississippi River 156  
 Missouri Compromise 75  
 Missouri Fur Company 26  
 Missouri River 23  
 Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad 126  
 Mitchell, William A.: Marais des Cygnes Massacre account 74  
 Moanfeldt, Samuel 146  
 Moneka, Linn Co. 81, 88  
 Monroe Doctrine 60, 65  
 Montgomery, James 76-77, 79-80, 82, 87-88, 92, 149; portrait 77  
 Moody, Joel 74  
 Moore, John 181  
 Morehouse, George P. 141  
 Mormon Militia 13

Mormon War 12, 14, 17, 19  
 Morton County 46  
 Mound City, Linn Co. 75, 80, 90, 93  
 Mulkey, John 99

## N

Nadel, Thomas W. 213  
 Nation, Carry A. 151  
 National Agricultural Conference 191  
 National Broadcasting Company 146  
 National Conference of Colored Men 224  
 National Farm Loan Association 188  
 National Guard 226, 228-32, 235; *see also* Kansas National Guard; Kansas State Guard  
 National Joint Committee on Agricultural Inquiry 191  
 National Rifle Association 232  
 National Youth Administration 212-13, 215-16; National Advisory Committee 212-13, 215  
 Native Daughters of Kansas 142  
 Native Sons and Daughters 146  
 Negroes. *See* Blacks  
 Neosho River 125  
 Nettleship, Lois: book review by 238  
 Nevins, Allan 151  
 New Deal, 199, 207  
 New England Emigrant Aid Company 75  
 New York: orphanages 110  
 "New York Orphan Comes to Kansas, A": article by Harry Colwell 110-23  
 Newspapers: black, and the Exodusters, article on 217-25  
 Nichols, Raymond 209-11, 214, 216  
 Nichols, Sam 80, 86  
 Nichols, Mrs. Sam 80-81  
 Nickell, Irwin E. 147  
 Northern Arapaho Indians 177  
 "Northern Cheyenne Called Roman Nose, A": article by Orvel A. Crique 176-85  
 Northern Cheyenne Indians 176-78, 181, 185  
 Northrup, Esther Estelle 142  
 Northrup, Lorenzo 7-8  
 Nottage, James H.: book review by 202-3; note on 138; "There's No Place Like Home": Symbols and Images of Kansas," article co-authored by 138-61  
 Nye, Russel B. 153

## O

O'Fallon, Benjamin 26-27  
 Ohio City, Franklin Co. 169  
*Oklahoma Land Rush of 1889, The:* reviewed 67  
 Olathe, Johnson Co. 54  
 Old Man Afraid of His Horses 182; photo 182  
 Oliva, Leo E.: book review by 237-38  
 Olsen, Mary C. 210, 212, 216  
 "125 and Coming Alive" 160-61; illustration 161  
 Orphan Asylum Society, New York 110  
 Orphans: Harry Colwell in Kansas, article on 110-23; photo, 1890s 111  
 Osage Indians 27  
 Osage River 77  
 Osborne, Osborne Co. 156  
 Otoe Indians 27  
 Ottawa Creek 167



## Index

247

Ottawa Indians 167, 172  
Overland Stage Company 19  
Oz. See Kansas "Land of Ah's"; *Wizard of Oz*

## P

Paine, John Howard 53  
Paola, Miami Co. 233  
*Paper Moon* 154  
Paris, Linn Co. 78-79, 90  
Parr, Dick 176  
Patterson, Arthur H. "Pat" 15-16  
Patterson, John 15  
Paulen, Ben S. 194-97, 199  
Pawnee Indians 27  
Pearl Harbor, Hawaii 229  
Peck, Robert M. 14  
Peffer, William A. 59-61, 65-66, 151; portrait 60  
People's party 56, 62  
Peoria, Franklin Co. 168  
Perry, Jefferson Co.: Methodist church women 235; photo 230  
Peterson, Charles J. 194  
Pettitt, — "Grandma" 47-48, 53  
*Phil Sheridan and His Army*: reviewed 237-38  
Philippine insurrection 62-65  
Philippines: annexation question 54-66; Kansans role with, article on 54-66  
*Picnic* 154  
Pierce, Franklin 75, 77  
Pierson, Chester 38  
Pilcher, Joseph 35  
Pilcher, Joshua 28  
Pipe: photo 182  
Pittsburg, Crawford Co. 54  
*Plainsman, The* 154  
"Pleasures of Female Society" at Cantonment Leavenworth, The": article by Daniel D. and Marilyn Irvin Holt 21-35  
Plumb, Preston B. 96  
Poland, John S. 127-28, 130-31; portrait 126  
Pony Express 15, 17-19; sketch 18  
Population: of Dodge City, 1880 98-109  
Populists 56, 59-60, 62, 151  
Pottawatomie Creek 170  
Pottawatomie Indian Reservation 120  
Pottawatomie Massacre 76, 150  
Pratt, Jim 47  
Pratt, Richard Henry 183  
Prentiss, Noble 140-41  
*Presidency of Harry S. Truman, The*: reviewed 134  
Prohibitionist party 59  
Proslavery conflict 4-5, 150; Marais des Cygnes Massacre, article on 74-94  
Prostitution: in Dodge City 102-3  
Prucha, Francis Paul: book by, reviewed 135-36

## R

Rain-in-the-Face 15  
Ratner, Payne 234  
Read, B. L. 74, 77-78, 80-81, 83, 85-87, 93  
Read, Sarah 81-82, 84-87, 93  
Red Cross 229  
Reeder, Andrew 5, 138

Reeder, Rudolph Rex 122  
Reid, Albert T. 142  
Reid, William A. 19  
Reinbach, Edna 146  
Relihan, A. W. 145  
Reminiscences 36-53, 110-23  
Republican National Convention 9  
Republican party 62, 65, 225  
Republican River 15, 177, 181  
Reserve Officers' Training Corps 231  
Rice, Cindy 47-48  
Rice, Joe 47-48  
Richfield, Morton Co. 46  
Riley, Glenda: book by, reviewed 200  
Ritter, John 32  
Rively, M. Pierce 4-5, 8  
Riverside Drive Orphanage, New York 110; orphans, photo 111  
Robbins, Samuel Marshall 127, 130-31, 133; portrait 129; photo 129  
Robertson, Michael 78, 82, 86-87  
Robertson, Mrs. Michael 82  
Robinson, Ada 102  
Robinson, Charles 76, 138, 149  
Rodgers, Robert C. 234  
Roman Nose (Northern Cheyenne Indian) article on 176-85; death 176, 178-79; identification 179, 181-85; painting 179  
Roman Nose (Sioux Indian) 181-83; photo 182  
Roman Nose, Henry C. 181-85; death 183; photos 183-84  
Roman Nose State Park, Okla. 183  
Roman Nose Thunder 185  
Roosevelt, Franklin D. 209, 212, 215  
Ross, Patrick 80, 84, 86-87  
Rowland, Mary Scott: "Kansas Farming and Banking in the 1920s," article by 186-99; note on 186  
Ruff, Charles 28  
Russell, Don 2, 17  
Russell, Russell Co.: State Bank, photos 190, 194  
Russell, Majors and Waddell 7, 10-12, 19  
Ryun, Jim 148

## S

Sabetha, Nemaha Co. 233  
Sac and Fox Indians 30  
St. John, John P. 15  
Salina, Saline Co. 54; Farmers National Bank, photo 198; Kansas State Bank 193  
Salt Creek, Leavenworth Co. 4-5  
Salt Creek Squatters Association 4  
Sandoz, Mari 181  
Santa Fe Trail 19, 23, 29-30, 140, 166, 172  
Sayers, Gale 148; photo 148  
Scipio, Anderson Co. 169-70  
Schlesinger, Sigman 178, 181  
Schofield, Ann: book review by 200  
Schofield, Donald F.: book by, reviewed 238-39  
School Textbook Commission 144  
Selective Service Act 230  
Seventh Cavalry. See U. S. Seventh Cavalry  
Shannon, Wilson 8-9, 76  
Shawnee Indians 173-75  
Shepard, Mimmie 102





- Sheridan, Philip H. 176-77  
 Sheridan, Richard B.: "The College Student Employment Project at the University of Kansas, 1934-1943," article by 206-16; note on 206  
 Shindler, A. Zeno 185  
 Shinn, Lloyd 96, 102; portrait 98  
 Shinn, Walter 96, 98  
 Short, Luke 104  
 Shutt, Albert 146  
 Sigler, Mary Jane 215  
 Simmons, Marc: book by, reviewed 135  
 Simpson, Jeremiah 151  
 Simpson, Lewis 12-14  
 Singer, Frederick 99  
 Singleton, Benjamin "Pap" 219-20, 224; letter, reproduced 221; portrait 220  
 Sioux Indians 177  
*Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt*: reviewed 68-69  
 Skilton, C. S. 146  
 Slade, Joseph A. 17-19  
 Slate Creek, Sumner Co. 46, 52  
 Slow Bull: photo 182  
 Smith, Algernon E. 127, 133; portrait 127  
 Smith, Bert 115, 121  
 Smith, Edmund 74  
 Smith Edna Maxwell 115, 120; photo, 1906 116  
 Smith, Eugene 115, 120-21  
 Smith, Lot 13  
 Smith, W. R. 140  
 Smith, Wilda M.: book review by 202  
 Smith Center, Smith Co. 146  
 Snider, Charles 82, 85-86, 93  
 Snider, Mrs. Charles 82  
 Snowden, — — "Grandma" 48  
 Snyder, Eli 74, 78, 81-82, 85-88, 90, 92, 94  
 Snyder, Mrs. Eli 86  
 Socolofsky, Homer E.: book review by 69-70  
 Sojka, Gregory 153  
*Sources for New Mexican History, 1821-1848*: reviewed 67-68  
 Southern Cheyenne Indians 183-85  
 Southern Homestead Act 219  
 Southern Rangers 8  
 Spanish-American War 54, 65  
 Sparks, Ray G. 181  
 "Speck of War, A.: The Seventh Cavalry and the Post of South Eastern Kansas": article by Michael Guilfoyle and Randy Kane 124-33  
*Splendor in the Grass* 154  
 Spotted Tail 182; photo 182  
 Staab, Rodney: book review by 134-35  
 Stanley, Gene 145  
 Stanley, Harry W. 145  
 State Guard Act 229  
 State Reserve Bank 194  
 Stearman, Lloyd 160  
 Steffens, Lincoln 151  
 Stevens, Aaron 88-89  
 Stillwell, William 80, 83-84, 86-87, 93  
 Stillwell, Mrs. William 80, 93-94  
 Stone, Fred 153  
 Stone, Milburn: photo 154  
 Strate, David K.: book by, reviewed 134-35  
 Stuart, J. E. B. 33  
 Studenski, Paul 186  
 Stutz, John G. 210-11  
 Sumner, E. V. 9  
 Sumner County 48  
*Superman* 154  
 Sunflower: state symbol 140-44  
 "Sunflower Girl, The": reproduced, No. 3 cover  
 Sunflowers: sketch 141  
 Sutton, Everette S. 181  
 Swanson, Phyllis 110
- T**
- Tallman, Bertha 37  
 Tallman, Helen 36-37  
 Tallman, Sam 37  
 Tennessee 218  
 Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association 220  
 Terrill, Josiah 91  
*Territorial Register*, Leavenworth 7  
 Texas 217, 220, 225  
 Thacher, Solon O. 75, 90  
 "There's No Place Like Home": museum exhibit, photo 139  
 "There's No Place Like Home": Symbols and Images of Kansas": article by James H. Nottage and Floyd R. Thomas, Jr. 138-61  
 Third Missouri Infantry 29  
 Thomas, Floyd R., Jr.: note on 138; "There's No Place Like Home": Symbols and Images of Kansas," article co-authored by 138-61  
 Tillman, Martha 216  
 Topeka, Shawnee Co. 7, 9, 75-76, 156, 164, 213-14, 224, 227, 233-35; Central National Bank, photo 197  
 Tornadoes: in Kansas 156  
 Trading Post, Linn Co. 76, 78-82, 86-88, 92-93  
*Tribal Dispossession and the Ottawa Indian University Fraud*: reviewed 238  
 Trott, — — 112  
 Trotter, Bill 17  
 Twentieth Kansas Volunteers 54; photo 55  
 Tyler, Daniel: book by, reviewed 67-68
- U**
- Union Guards 8-9  
 Union School, Pottawatomie Co.: students, photo 121  
 United States Army 226, 230, 232  
 United States Bureau of the Census 95-96, 98  
 United States census: Dodge City, 1880, article on 95-109  
 United States Congress 220, 225, 228, 230  
 United States Navy 59  
 United States Senate 62, 225  
 United States Seventh Cavalry 185; incident in south eastern Kansas, article on 124-33  
 United States Sixth Infantry 126-27  
 United States Supreme Court 198  
 United States War Department 228, 230-32  
 University of Kansas, Lawrence 149, 157; employment project students, photos 207-09, 211, 214; Fraser Hall, photo No. 4 cover; Student Employment Project, 1934-1943, article on 206-16; students, photo No. 4 cover



## Index

249

Unrau, William E.: book by, reviewed 238; book review by 135-36  
Upham, J. J. 127  
Utah Expedition 14

## V

Valley Falls, Jefferson Co. 6  
Vassar, Francis 53  
Vaughn, Laura 102  
Vestal, Stanley 182, 185

## W

Wade, Harry: book review by 134  
Wagoner, Todd L. 54-55  
Wakarusa War 7  
Walter Reed Army Hospital 230  
Walther, Thomas R.: book review by 238-39  
Ward, Seth E. 12  
Washakie 14  
Washita, battle of 185  
Wattles, Augustus 88  
Weaver, Dennis: photo 154  
Webb, Harry 46-47  
Webster, A. B. 99  
Wells, Rufus 102  
*West by Southwest: Letters of Joseph Pratt Allyn, a Traveller along the Santa Fe Trail, 1863*: reviewed 134-35  
*Westering Man: The Life of Joseph Walker*: reviewed 202-3  
Wheaton, C. S. 91  
Wheeler, Homer 179  
Whistling Elk: photo 182  
White, R. A. 17  
White, William Allen 61-66, 148, 161, 206  
White Antelope 184; photo 185  
Whitney, A. J. 6  
Whittier, John Greenleaf 87; poem by 88  
"Why Kansas Is Loved" 156  
Wichita, Sedgwick Co. 46, 154, 160, 234; American State Bank 194; Beal family in 36-37, 40, 42, 49, 52  
*Wichita* 154  
Wichita Indians 45  
Wichita State University 159  
Wickliffe, Anna Hertzog. *See* Hertzog, Anna  
Wickliffe, Joseph Hertzog 34  
Wickliffe, William H. 22, 24, 29, 32, 34  
Willard, Jess 148

Williams, Nudie E.: "Black Newspapers and the Exodusters of 1879," article by 217-25; note on 217  
Williams, Thomas 12  
Willis, John R. 10-12, 14  
Willow Springs, Douglas Co. 172  
Wilson, Walter E. 193  
Wilson, Woodrow 189, 191  
Wilson County 93  
Wilt, Abraham 31, 33  
Wilt, Andrew 24  
Wilt, Christian 24, 26  
Windmills: photo, 1895 158  
Windom, William 224  
Wire stretcher: photo 41; sketch 41  
*Wizard of Oz* 152-56; book covers, reproduced 152  
Wolf Belly 181  
Woman's Kansas Day Club 145  
Women: at Cantonment Leavenworth, article on 21-35  
*Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915*: reviewed 200  
World War I 226-27, 230, 235  
World War II 215-16; Kansas State Guard in, article on 226-35  
World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 151  
Worrall, Henry 158-59  
Wright, Robert M. 98-99  
Wyandotte constitution 89, 138

## Y

Yealock, — — 82  
Yellow Bear 183-84; photo 183  
York, Tracy 50  
Yost, Nellie Snyder 2

## Z

Zimmerman, Frederick 99  
Zogbaum, Rufus F.: sketches by 176-78  
Zook, George F. 209, 212

## ERRATA, VOLUME V

Page 89, col. 1, line 4, Charlestown, Virginia (now Charleston, West Virginia) should be Charles Town, Virginia (now West Virginia). Page 91, col. 1, line 21, Big Sugar Creek should be Little Sugar Creek.



---

## Editorial Policies

*Kansas History* carries scholarly articles, edited documents, and other materials that contribute to an understanding of the history and prehistory of Kansas and the Central Plains. Manuscripts dealing with political, social, intellectual, cultural, economic, and institutional history are welcomed, along with biographical and historiographical interpretations and studies of archeology and the built environment. Articles emphasizing visual documentation such as photographs or paintings are also appropriate, as are material culture studies. Originality, quality of research, significance, and presentation are among the factors that determine the suitability for publishing in

the journal. Generally, genealogical studies are not accepted, although exceptionally well done reminiscences or other autobiographical writings will be considered.

The Edgar Langsdorf Award for Excellence in Writing, which includes a plaque and an honorarium of one hundred dollars, is given for the best article published each year.

*Kansas History* follows the *Chicago Manual of Style*, published by the University of Chicago Press (13th ed., rev., 1982), and a style sheet is available on request. Manuscripts and other editorial queries should be addressed to the editor, *Kansas History*, 120 West Tenth Street, Topeka, Kansas 66612.

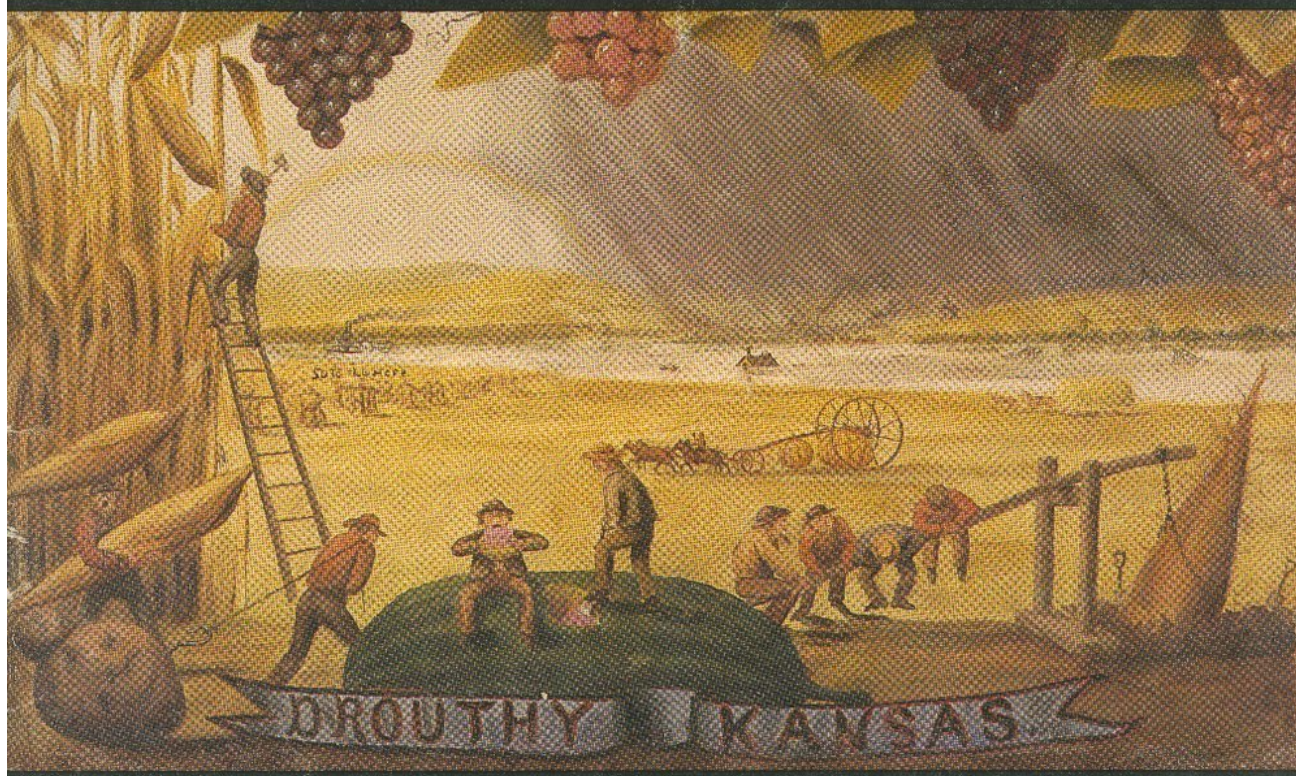
---



# KANSAS HISTORY

A Journal  
of the  
Central Plains

Volume 9, Number 1  
Spring 1986





---

## Kansas State Historical Society

---

Joseph W. Snell, *Executive Director*  
Robert W. Richmond, *Assistant Executive Director*

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Clifford R. Hope, Jr., Garden City, *Chairman*  
William H. Seiler, Emporia, *Vice-Chairman*  
Harry J. Briscoe, Topeka  
James L. Forsythe, Hays  
Roy Wilford Riegle, Emporia  
Homer E. Socolofsky, Manhattan  
Floyd R. Souders, Cheney  
Calvin Strowig, Abilene  
Paul E. Wilson, Lawrence

### OFFICERS

Donald F. Danker, Topeka, *President*  
Glee Smith, Jr., Larned, *First Vice-President*  
J. Eric Engstrom, Wichita, *Second Vice-President*  
Joseph W. Snell, Topeka, *Secretary*  
Robert W. Richmond, Topeka, *Treasurer*

### Ex officio members

Donald F. Danker, Topeka  
Glee Smith, Jr., Larned  
J. Eric Engstrom, Wichita  
Helen L. Smith, Colby

**T**HE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was organized in 1875 by the newspaper editors and publishers of the state, and four years later it became the official trustee for the state's historical collections. Since then, the Society has operated both as a non-profit membership organization and as a specially recognized society supported by appropriations from the state of Kansas.

The purposes of the Society are the advancement of knowledge about and the preservation of resources related to the history and prehistory of Kansas and the American West, accomplished through educational and cultural programs, the provision of research services, and the protection of historic properties. The Society is governed by a ninety-nine-member board of directors, elected by the membership, and is administered by an executive director and an assistant executive director.

The new Kansas Museum of History features exhibits and educational programs based on the Society's rich artifact collections. It is located near the historic Pottawatomie Baptist Mission west of Topeka, adjacent to Interstate 70. All other Society departments remain at the Center for Historical Research, Memorial Building, across the street from the State Capitol in Topeka.

All persons interested in Kansas history and prehistory are cordially invited to join the Society. Those who would like to provide additional support for the Society's work may want to consider contributions in the form of gifts or bequests. A representative of the Society will be glad to consult with anyone wishing to make such a gift or establish a bequest or an endowment. Address the Executive Director, 120 West Tenth Street, Topeka, Kansas 66612-1291.

---

**Cover:** *Drouthy Kansas*—the land of plentiful rainfall and mammoth harvests—was artist Henry Worrall's answer to his Eastern friends' derogatory view of the state. Originally painted in charcoal, *Drouthy Kansas* was recreated in oil in 1878, and became so popular that it appeared on brochures encouraging settlement in Kansas.

While Worrall gave a visual version of Kansas life, others were providing a written commentary for friends and family back East. In this issue of *Kansas History*, the perceptions recorded in letters written by newly arrived settlers are examined. "Kansas Frontierswomen

Viewed Through Their Writings" discusses the often overlooked sources for studying women's reactions to their environment and presents letters written by a mother and daughter during the territorial period. "Letters from Paradise" examines the descriptions and accounts written by newly settled Pennsylvanians to their home county newspapers. Although there are accounts of border ruffians and grasshopper ravages, the letters also praise the Kansas land, beauty and productivity, agreeing in spirit with Worrall's vision of his adopted state.



# KANSAS HISTORY

Volume 9 Spring 1986 Number 1

*Kansas History* (USPS 290 620) is published quarterly by the Kansas State Historical Society, 120 West Tenth Street, Topeka, Kansas 66612-1291. It is distributed without charge to members of the Kansas State Historical Society. Membership dues are as follows: student, \$7.50; individual, \$15.00; family, \$25.00; organization, \$25.00; corporate (annual), \$100.00; life, \$500.00. Membership dues should be sent to Robert W. Richmond, treasurer. Single issues, when available, are \$4.00.

The Society assumes no responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors.

Second-class postage paid at Topeka, Kansas. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Kansas History*, 120 West Tenth Street, Topeka, Kansas 66612-1291.

Copyright © 1986 Kansas State Historical Society. ISSN 0149-9114.

Articles appearing in *Kansas History* are abstracted and/or indexed in *Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life*.

Layout and production: H. M. Ives and Sons, Inc.

Typesetting: H. M. Ives and Sons, Inc.

Printed by H. M. Ives and Sons, Inc.  
Topeka, Kansas

Marilyn J. Holt, *Editor*  
Dot E. Taylor, *Associate Editor*  
Bobbie Pray, *Associate Editor*

<b>Kansas Frontierwomen Viewed Through Their Writings</b>	2
by Glenda Riley	
<b>Letters from Paradise</b>	10
by James C. and Eleanor A. Duram	
<b>Kansas Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, 1900-1930</b>	19
by Marilyn Dell Brady	
<b>The Federal Government v. The Appeal to Reason</b>	31
by David L. Sterling	
<b>Book Reviews</b>	43
<b>Picture Credits</b>	45





## Kansas Frontierwomen Viewed Through Their Writings

by Glenda Riley

UNTIL VERY RECENTLY, descriptions of frontierwomen have been couched in legend, stereotype, and hyperbole. Drawing upon fictional accounts, media images, and historical studies derived from limited source materials, scholars and others interested in western women have found more myth than reality in their search for enlightenment. Consequently, frontierwomen traditionally have been portrayed as Gentle Tamers, Pioneers in Petticoats, Saints in Sunbonnets, Madonnas of the Prairies, Pioneer Mothers, Light Ladies, Calamity Janes, and Fighting Feminists.

The document series, of which this is the first installment, will illustrate the importance of turning to the writings of western women for insight and understanding. Until the mid-1970s, it seldom occurred to researchers and writers to explore such women's documents as diaries, letters, and memoirs for first-hand information. Instead, they relied upon such dramatic statements as that made by historian Emerson Hough in 1921 describing the "gaunt and sad-faced woman sitting on the front seat of the wagon, following her lord where he might lead, her face hidden in the same ragged sunbonnet which had crossed the Appalachians and the Missouri long before" as the "great romance of all America."<sup>1</sup> They also turned to historian Everett Dick, who in 1966 added that, "how much of the retreat from the frontier from time to time was due to the figure in the sunbonnet and calico, is not known, but it is certain that many stayed until the prairie broke them in spirit and body."<sup>2</sup>

Most investigators accepted these descriptions of frontierwomen that presented them as downcast and pathetic beings. Helena Huntington Smith, writing

in 1958, was one of the few to argue that such a "long lamentation" about the drab and harsh quality of frontierwomen's lives was immensely exaggerated. "The emptiness of the Great Plains is thought to be peculiarly depressing to the fair sex," she noted, "but when we reach the Pacific Northwest it turns out that the trees were what got them down." Smith agreed that women's lives were "tough," but, she added of the women themselves, "so were they."<sup>3</sup>

The image of the Kansas frontierwoman has been a particularly difficult one to discern fairly and accurately. Living in a region beset by a bloody struggle over black slavery and the terror of "border ruffians"<sup>4</sup> during the 1850s, the problems of the Civil War, reoccurring episodes of drought and tornadoes and grasshopper invasions, Kansas pioneer women are often assumed to have lived troubled, unbearable lives. This view was often reinforced by Kansas women themselves. Anne E. Bingham, homesteading with her husband in the 1870s and 1880s, wrote: "It had been bleeding Kansas, droughty Kansas, the state of cyclones, the state of cranks, the state of mortgages—and now the grasshopper fame had come!" She added that these were times that she "wouldn't have given the snap of my fingers for the whole of Kansas."<sup>5</sup>

Over half a century later, writer Meridel LeSueur presented Kansas in a similarly unattractive way. In a 1931 essay, LeSueur insisted that she would "never recover" from her "sparse childhood in Kansas" of the early twentieth century. She recalled "fear everywhere on the streets in the gray winter of the land, and the curious death in the air, the bright surface activities of the pioneer town and the curious air dissipating powers of fear and hate." LeSueur's essay, which won first place in a *Scribner's Magazine* contest seeking

Glenda Riley is a professor of history and director of the women's studies program at the University of Northern Iowa. Dr. Riley is currently completing *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and Plains* which is scheduled for a fall 1987 release by the University of Kansas press.

1. Emerson Hough, *The Passing of the Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), 93.

2. Everett Dick, "Sunbonnet and Calico, the Homesteader's Consort," *Nebraska History* 47 (March 1966): 13. See also Everett N. Dick, *The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937).

3. Helena H. Smith, "Pioneers in Petticoats," *American Heritage* 10, (February 1959): 36, 103.

4. Border ruffians were lawless men who stole, pillaged, and terrorized free-state supporters. Horace Greeley coined the term "border ruffians" to apply to Missouri Senator David Atchison's three thousand volunteer Missourians who marched on "Bleeding Kansas" in 1856 in support of slavery.

5. Anne E. Bingham, "Sixteen Years on a Kansas Farm, 1870-1886," *Kansas Historical Collections* 15 (1923): 516.



## Kansas Frontierwomen

3

"what is true and valid in our own culture," concluded with another depressing thought:

I have seen your beauty and your terror and your evil.  
I have come from you mysteriously wounded. I have  
waked from my adolescence to find a wound inflicted  
on the deep heart. And I have seen it in others too, in  
disabled men and sour women made ugly by ambition,  
mortified in the flesh and wounded in love.<sup>6</sup>

Yet this is the same Kansas that Senator Charles Sumner characterized in the 1850s as a land of "unsurpassed richness, and a surface of fascinating, undulating beauty; with a health-giving climate, calculated to nurture a powerful and generous people, worthy to be a central pivot of American institutions."<sup>7</sup> Some women settlers gradually adopted this highly favorable view of the region. One, who came to Kansas during the early 1870s, remembered that her "wedding journey landed us in Kansas; the end of the world, it seemed to me then." Yet, only a few years later on a long-awaited visit to her family in Philadelphia, she found herself "lauding Kansas to the skies." She was overwhelmed by the overcrowding and polluted air in the city and welcomed her return to Kansas. She later commented that: "I had not met any people since I came east to compare with my friends in the West. We didn't speak the same language. Like a flash it came to me—in the West we were doing things, we were creating, building up a great commonwealth. Had I my choice, I wouldn't live any other place in the world."<sup>8</sup>

Other Kansas women also believed that the region offered many benefits. One who settled there in the early 1880s remarked that her poor health improved markedly as a result of her move to Kansas.<sup>9</sup> Others took up homesteads which they successfully "proved up."<sup>10</sup> Still others chose to stay in Kansas after the death of a spouse, preferring to work the farm and raise their children on their own rather than return to their former homes in the East.<sup>11</sup>

Clearly, there is great variation in the experiences, perspectives, and outlooks of Kansas frontierwomen.

6. Meridel LeSueur, "Corn Village," *Scribner's Magazine* 90 (August 1931): 133, 140.

7. Quoted in Robert P. Porter, *The West: From the Census of 1880* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1882), 333.

8. Florence Marshall Stote, trans., "Of Such is the Middle West: The Early Life and Prairie Years of Margaret Fulton Marshall, a Pioneer Wife and Mother," undated, Manuscripts Department, Kansas State Historical Society.

9. Ada Martin interview, March 15, 1980, transcription, Manuscripts Department, Kansas State Historical Society.

10. See for example Catharine Wiggins Porter, "Sunday School Houses and Normal Institutes: Pupil and Teacher in Northern Kansas, 1886-1895," reprint copy, Manuscripts Department, Kansas State Historical Society. See also, Kenneth Wiggins Porter, ed., "Catharine Emma Wiggins, Pupil and Teacher in Northwest Kansas, 1888-1895," *Kansas History* 1 (Spring 1978): 16-38.



Lucy A. Carruth, pictured here as a young woman in Lawrence, arrived in Kansas in 1856 at the age of eleven. Her written record of the state's territorial days expresses enthusiasm and, at times, a maturity which belied her age.

Like western women in general, they cannot easily be categorized as "reluctant settlers" or "plucky pioneers." Rather, their lives must be explored individually through the legacy of their own words. Only their letters, diaries, and reminiscences can reveal the details of their lives in early Kansas and their responses to the vicissitudes of the frontier. This series will present a number of Kansas frontierwomen's documents, each exposing one segment of the complex story of westering women in Kansas.

The first of these are letters from Jane and Lucy Carruth who came to a claim south of Osawatimie in June 1856.<sup>12</sup> They came to Kansas Territory with James

11. See for example Mary C. Hembree, "Pioneer Days in Kansas," 1950, reminiscence, Manuscripts Department, Kansas State Historical Society.

12. Jane G. and Lucy A. Carruth, *Carruth Letters, 1856*, Manuscripts Department, Kansas State Historical Society.



Harrison Carruth, Jane's husband and Lucy's father. Jane, who was formerly Jane Grant, was born in central New York in 1824 and married Carruth in 1841. Lucy, born in Cherry Valley, New York, in 1845, was the first of their children. Four brothers followed her, three born in New York and the last in Kansas in 1859.

James Carruth, a well-educated man who had studied at both Amherst College and Yale University, was drawn to Kansas because of his free-state sympathies. Here, he and his family worked a quarter-section claim in a neighborhood that included two widow homesteaders, a Quaker family,<sup>13</sup> and a pro-slavery family. The Carruths hung on despite buffeting from border ruffians, war, and forces of nature. Sometime during the mid-1860s, Carruth was "elected to a professorship" of natural sciences at Baker University, Baldwin City, Kansas. Shortly thereafter, he and his family moved to Lawrence where he "served as a minister to a church in nearby Clinton."

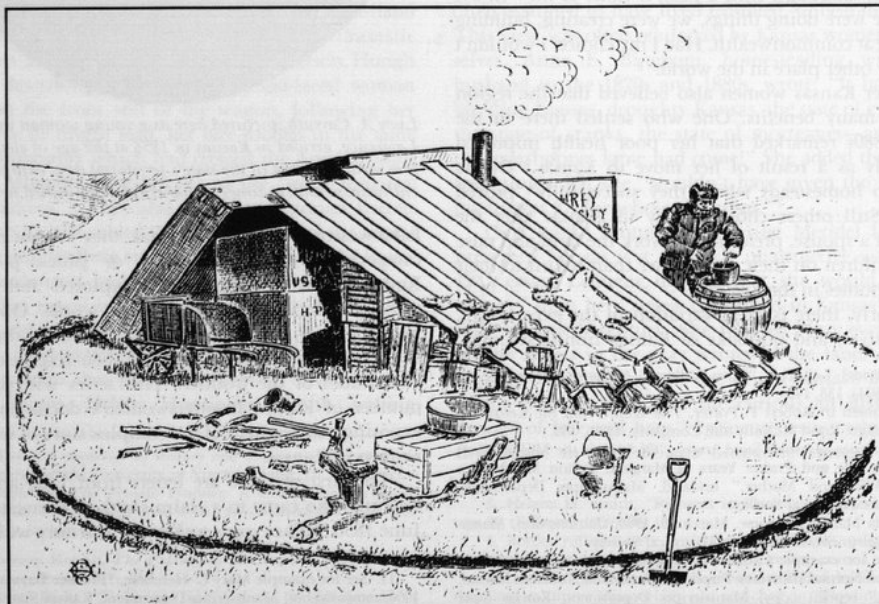
Lawrence was the family home for some twenty-five years. It was there that Jane died in 1875. Also in Lawrence, Lucy married E. W. Woods, raised her family,

and died in 1897. In 1883, James remarried. After his retirement in 1892, the couple lived in New Mexico, Texas, and Arkansas.<sup>14</sup>

The following letters were written by Lucy and Jane in 1856. They were published in that same year under the title "Life Pictures in Kansas, 1856" in the *New York Reformer*, a newspaper in the Carruths' hometown of Watertown, New York. The letters are held by the Manuscripts Department of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka and are presented here in their entirety without any editorial changes in spelling or punctuation. The letters give insight into the incendiary situation in Kansas in 1856, particularly from the free-state point of view. They are also filled with details of daily living, but perhaps more importantly, with a buoyancy and optimism that explains why many settlers sought a new life in the West.

14. Harry Jasper Harris, "My Story," *Kansas Historical Collections* 15 (1923): 557, n 6; Ronald L. McGregor and Ralph E. Brooks, *James H. Carruth and Disposition of His New Names Based on Kansas Plants*, Contributions from The University of Kansas Herbarium no. 1 (The University of Kansas, 1982), 1. Sources differ on the date of the Carruths' move to Lawrence: *Collections* gives the date as 1866 and Albert T. Carruth in his 1905 introduction to the Carruth family letters agrees; McGregor and Brooks, however, state that the move was made in 1868.

13. James H. Carruth to L. Ingalls, Sept. 1, 1856, Carruth Letters, 1856.



Although Jane Carruth had imagined that she, like many settlers, would at first live in a shanty, her family instead made a tent their home.



July 11.

I don't know when I began this, or when it will get to you. It has made some difference about my diligence in writing, feeling that you might not get it. It is said that the "border ruffians" have to all the inside of the free-state people's letters. Here we have no law except what people carry in their own hearts. When a pro-slavery man wants to take a claim from a free-state man, he gets some of the lawless ruffians to go and drive him off by threatening death in so many minutes. One not far from us was so treated in the night this week. I hope that their reign

A page from Jane Carruth's July 11 letter describes the troubles between proslavery and free-state factions. Portions of her letters left no doubt as to where her sympathies rested.





LUCY A. CARRUTH TO FANNIE SNYDER<sup>15</sup>

Out Tent, Osawatomie, June 1, 1856

Dear Fannie:

Here we are, safe and sound, in the little village of Osawatomie. One of the Mr. Grants, of Antwerp, who started with us, is going back in a day or two, and I thought it would be a good chance to send a letter.

We arrived at St. Louis, without any accidents, Friday afternoon, the 6th, and took the steamboat "J. M. Converse," but did not start till Saturday afternoon. We had a pleasant time on the boat, and arrived at Kansas City Wednesday morning. While there fifteen of our company, including father, bought two yoke of oxen and a great, large traveling wagon (it looks just like your meat wagons, cover and all), and we started off Thursday afternoon. We got about a mile from Kansas City, and some of the company wanted to pack up their things a little closer, and we stopped there; two or three went back for some provisions, and came back with the news that word had been sent to Westport [presumably to border ruffians] to stop us when we got there and examine us. It was near night when the men got back with the provisions, and they thought we had better stay over night at the house of a Mr. Smart, across the road—a pro-slavery man—who said he would keep us over night.

We started the next morning; went through Westport and no one touched us; we stopped at noon for a lunch near an old church on the Indian reservation; found it open, and went in. It was all dirt in the inside; there were some benches and a few old candlesticks there. Just as we left, one of the men rang the bell, but what effect it had on the country 'round we didn't wait to see. I forgot to say that there was a burying-ground and a number of graves there. Father and each of the rest bought a tent at St. Louis, and at night we camped out.

About noon of the next day we found that we were on the wrong road; we met a man and asked him, and he put us on the right road again. In consequence of having lost the way, we had to travel Sunday; for we were out of provisions.

We arrived at Osawatomie Monday noon; took dinner at the public house, and put up our tents on Mr. [O. C.] Brown's land. He is the agent of the New England Company, and is from New York City; has been here a year. We stayed there a week, during which time father picked out a "claim," and we are now on it. I think it is a beautiful one.

I should like to have you give me a balloon visit. What would you think of flowers up to your neck!

Here is spiderwort, phlox, prairie pea, wild verbera (a most beautiful flower), scarlet milkweed, roses (as many as you could wish), and a great many others that I do not know the names of. I shall save many kinds of seeds this fall. We have a great deal of fruit on our claim—gooseberries, grapes, plums, mulberries, raspberries, and others. We have gooseberries every meal. Father has been making garden today; he has peas and beans planted, and a few potatoes that we brought along with us for seed. Potatoes are three dollars a bushel, and beans four dollars. Some things are cheap—butter, fifteen cents a pound; shoulder, nine; milk, five cents a quart. Mother and I have just been to cut some dry prairie-grass to make some beds. Night before last we had a thundershower; now the wind is blowing dreadfully. It has sprinkled some.

July 9

Last Friday afternoon, about five o'clock, a party of 150 or 160 "border ruffians" came into Osawatomie, rode up to Mr. Geer's (who keeps a public house and store), opened all the trunks and boxes, took \$400 from a man—one of our company—and a check for \$100 from another; took all the jewelry out of Mr. G's store, and all the guns and rifles (ten or twelve) they could find about there; stole twenty horses and one yoke of oxen; went to the house of Mr. Dayton, a printer, from New York City; the family were not at home; knocked the windows all in, opened all the trunks and boxes, and asked the hired girl where the press was. She said she would not tell, do what they would with her. They tore down one other house, and left, but sent back word that they were coming to burn the place to-day, which they have not done. I forgot to say that they set fire to Mr. Geer's house two or three times, but it was put out by some one.

Our claim is between three and four miles from the village, so that we did not see anything of this; but it is reliable notwithstanding. We are about eighteen miles from the line of Missouri, exactly west from St. Louis.

Lucy Carruth

JANE G. CARRUTH TO MELINDA EVANS<sup>16</sup>

Osawatomie, K. T. [1856]

Dear Cousin Melinda:

I have kept my promise so well in writing to you that I need make no apology; it is enough to say that I have but *little* to occupy me in this land of promise. I wish that you and many more could see with you[r] own eyes; you would almost think that you were in the same garden that our Mother Eve was in. James

15. Presumably a member of the Reverend Peter Snyder's family. The reverend had been the Carruths' minister in Watertown.

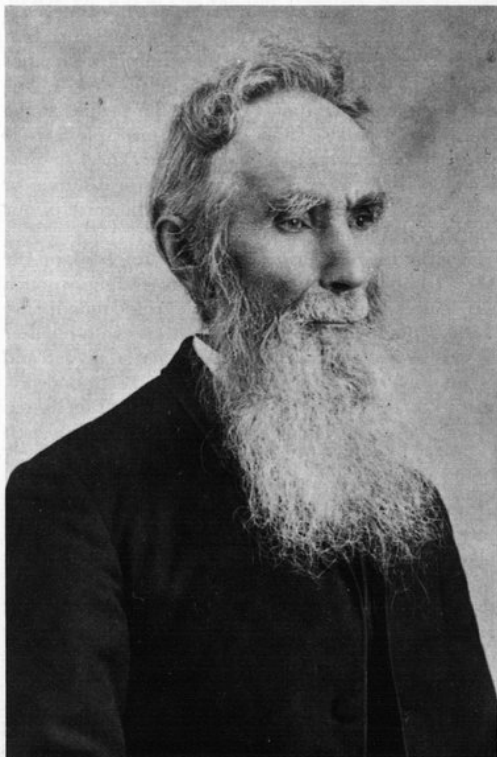
16. A distant cousin to James H. Carruth.



was afraid it would be too level for him, but in that he is disappointed—such beautiful swells of land; I cannot convey its beauty to your mind.

We arrived here safe and pretty sound, considering all things, and are quite happy in our tent on the ground. The land surveyors have been around to-day, and it don't give us quite the spot that we expected; but it is all good, only we love to get the best. The heavy timbered claims are all taken about the country, but good chances for buying out those occur often.

We have corn growing in the field, and peas and beans and potatoes in the garden. Things don't mope here; they jump. We have not heard from our things yet, but think they must be in Kansas City by this time; but we don't have a mail but once a week, so that we don't get the news in a minute. What things we have were lent to us.



James H. Carruth, his wife, and family came to Kansas in 1856. A minister and a teacher of natural sciences, he later served as Kansas' state botanist.

You may ask, "What have you to use?" In the first place, we have two sheets that I had in my trunk that Mrs. Dorn washed so late that they did not get packed with the rest; those we have basted together and filled with prairie-grass; that, crosswise, makes a bed for all our family; under it we have brush, to prevent dampness; everything being put out of doors every day, and our tent raised from the ground to air it perfectly. Some young men of our company who had trunks of bedding lent us some, so that we have a very good bed and sleep very sound.

Now, for eating, our old bread chest is our table. I had two bowls and some cups in one trunk, and our old knives and some spoons, and at Kansas City our company bought some tin plates, so that we have three of those; those, together with some pail covers, when we have company, make our dinner dishes; for stove I have all outdoors; for oven I have a spider [long-handled frying pan with legs] a little larger than ours, belonging to one of our company. In this I have had some good shortcakes and fried cakes and pancakes; once I went a mile and baked some raised bread at a neighbor's. I have one iron kettle that will hold a pail-ful, and a teakettle that was lent me by a Mrs. Brown, from New York City; the kettle had been used to white-wash in, and then left out of doors, and I can assure you that it has had many a cleaning to get it fit for use. This I use to heat water, wash dishes and boil clothes in, and then have to clean it to make hasty pudding in.

Most of my work has to be done outdoors and at a great disadvantage. My arms have been blistered from my elbows to my hands. James<sup>17</sup> has had his back blistered once. We all look as though we belonged to the South in earnest. Albert's [her second son] face peels off every few days, his skin is so tender. Walter [her third son]<sup>18</sup> runs into all the mischief he can find. Having no table to work on makes my work very handy for him to "help." He is almost the color of the Spanish Santa Fe traders that pass through Kansas City.

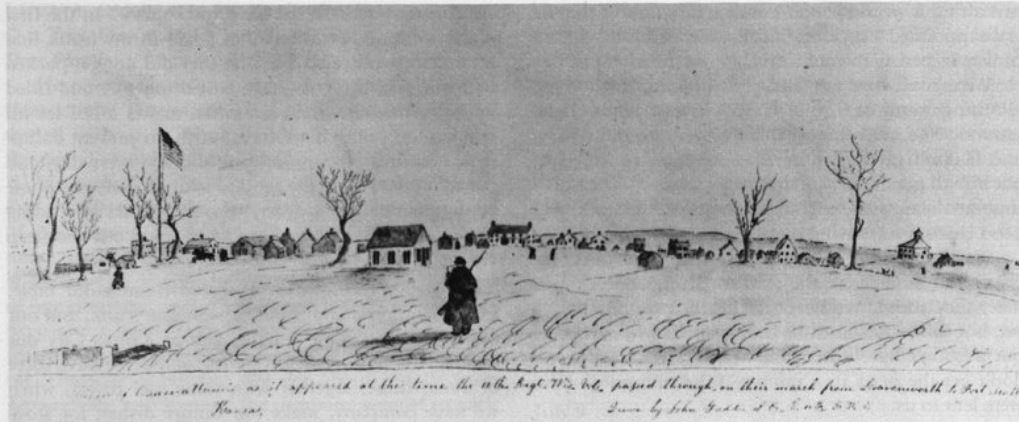
July 5th we received letters from Mr. and Mrs. Snyder, also papers the 1st day of July. They were very welcome.

Mrs. S. wants to hear all the little particulars; so that, if you will, you may let her read this. She wants to know what we have to eat. We have a cow that gives four or five quarts a day; will be a new-milk cow this fall. We have bread, hasty pudding (my favorite dish, also the children's), shoulder, butter, tea, coffee, gooseberries (the wild, very nice). I had some dried fruit with

17. Either husband or oldest son, who shared the same first name.

18. This third son was Charles Walter, born in 1855, and only about one year old at the time letter was written.





Recorded in this 1862 drawing is Osawatimie as it must have appeared to the Carruth family before their move.

me. I have had some fried cakes. This is about the substance of our fare. If we always have as good we shall not get very lean. Yesterday, July 4th, I had calls from five ladies at one time, some of them from town; some of them have hard times here. They have passed two winters here—the first delightful; the last, like ours at the North, severe. We have had very hot weather all the time since we arrived in the territory. The thermometer stands, at eleven, at 104 in the shade, but I like it. We don't have, or have not yet had, any of those sudden changes. The country and climate are very delightful.

On our claim you can see twenty miles or more. We have land that is 100 feet above the river; it is so charming that I wish, and often, too, that I could lend Mr. Snyder my eyes [Snyder was blind] and have him here a little while. When viewing it, my mind involuntarily reverts to Doctor Watts's,

'All on those wide, extended plains Shines one eternal day.'

How I wish that thousands of our poor but worthy people could be transferred here; what homes they could have, instead of spending a poor existence where they never can rise above poverty. It is dear living here at present, but as soon as people can raise things it will be cheap.

July 11

I don't know when I began this, or when it will get to you. It has made some difference about my diligence in writing, feeling that you might not get it. It is said that the "border ruffians" have to see the inside of the free-state people's letters. Here we have no law except what people carry in their own hearts. When a pro-

slavery man wants to take a claim from a free-state man, he gets some of the lawless ruffians to go and drive him off by threatening death in so many minutes. One not far from us was so treated in the night this week. I hope that their reign is almost over. If the people at the North could only see how little real principle there is in the slave power, they would never kneel or bow down to it any more, but, let civil war or disunion or what not come, stand for right until the curse of our nation is driven into the gulf below it.

I write this with baby in lap, holding book on my knee. I hope that you will enjoy the reading as much as I do the writing. I often wish that I could monopolize a telegraph. I would often hold converse with my dear friends in Watertown; but with children in my lap and at my elbows, I find little time for correspondence. Lucy has been sick for two weeks; is getting better. Most of our Jefferson county (N.Y.) boys have been sick; they have worked too hard.

I don't know what to say about your coming here. I think you would do well here. They have no milliner here; but how well you would get through I don't know. It is said that two companies from Indiana have been robbed and sent back to Alton [Illinois]. One of the Grants has gone back, and when the other is going we don't know, but not soon. If you could get in one of those companies that we came in, you would get along well enough.

I must stop, for James is going to town, and I want you should get a letter from Kansas. There are good chances to buy out good timber claims from those who want to leave. I think it will be hard to drive the free-state people from Kansas; they came to stay, and they calculated to do so.