

## Kansas historical quarterly

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same route with the artillery and baggage. Upon arrival at Elm Grove, the men of this company "were permitted to buy liquor from the sutler to celebrate as best they might the national anniversary." In order to set out betimes on July 5, the artificers and carpenters had on the anniversary evening to repair a caisson and wagon tongue and the cooks had to bake bread for an early breakfast. Reveille was to be at daylight at 3:30.<sup>87</sup>

George Rutledge Gibson, a Platte, Mo., volunteer, about a day's journey in advance, wrote of encamping the night of July 3 at Willow Springs, where the only wood for cooking was small willows, and where on the morning of the Fourth the company found itself devoid of spirits or aught else with which "to pay some respect to the day." Pulling up stakes, therefore, the soldiers advanced ten miles to Rock creek, where the water was plentiful but indifferent. From that point on the march became difficult and exhausting. The day was excessively hot. For twenty miles they could find no water. Lame, sick, worn out, the men dispersed over the prairie in search of relief, unable longer to control themselves and thereby increasing their fatigue. Then, finally, Capt. Wm. S. Murphy, in advance on horseback, discovered water at 110 Mile creek and returned with several canteens, resuscitating the faint and enabling many stragglers to reach camp at 110 Mile crossing.<sup>88</sup> Extra mules were sent back for the more feeble. At the end of this thirty-mile march, Gibson wrote "coffee and water made us feel better and the men were soon wrapped in their blankets," too weary to remember the significance of this day they had earlier desired to honor conventionally.<sup>89</sup>

The party to which Lieutenant Abert was attached encamped seven miles beyond Independence creek on the eve of July 4, and on the day itself moved on westward to reach some eminent place in honor of the national anniversary. At five o'clock they arrived at Big John spring where they "luxuriated on the delightful cool water" and reclined under the shade of a tall oak, *sub-tegmine querci*. The temperature of the water was 53° but of the air above 80°. Further notes tell of primroses, both yellow and white, seen

87. Johnston, Abraham Robinson, "Journal, 1846," ed. by Ralph P. Bieber, in *Southwest Historical Series* (Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale), v. IV, pp. 76-78, entry of July 4, 1846.

88. This camp was near the site of present Scranton.

89. Gibson, George Rutledge, "Journal of a Soldier Under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847," ed. by Ralph P. Bieber, in *Southwest Historical Series*, v. III, pp. 133-135, entry of July 4, 1846.



nearby, and list the birds about, as brown thrush, king bird, grouse, and quail.<sup>90</sup>

John T. Hughes, described the effect of Independence day upon the troops. In the boundless solitude of the prairie, with only the heaven above and the solid earth beneath, their bosoms swelled with noble impulses and a quenchless love of freedom; "ever and anon the enthusiastic shout, the loud huzza, and the animating Yankee Doodle were heard." After a twenty-seven mile toilsome march across the green plains, in the heat of an almost vertical sun, they pitched their tents at evening twelve miles east of Council Grove on the banks of Bluff creek where grass and fuel were as abundant as the cool spring water. Good humor prevailed throughout the camp.<sup>91</sup>

Between the Cottonwood fork and the Little Arkansas, M. B. Edwards, a private, attributed the "good *spirits*" with which his company made its twenty-five mile advance "through the hottest day that ever shone," to a keg of whisky procured the night before from Capt. William Waldo, the trader. "In commemoration of the glorious '76," each man had begun the day by drinking his fill. In spite of the holiday rejoicing, Edwards wrote that marching across the plains was not what it was "cracked up to be." Flies and mosquitoes were annoying. Supplies were low.<sup>92</sup> Jacob S. Robinson, who was with the same company, wrote that they had cut their rations one-third; "if we cannot overtake the commissary wagons, we shall have nothing to eat but our horses."<sup>93</sup> Camping on the open prairie at "Good Water"<sup>94</sup> on the night of July 4, the company "ate cold provisions." Here they had their first sight of buffalo grass, short, curly, and thin but nutritious. To Robinson the dry prairie had become monotonous; but Edwards wrote that the moon, shining with the brilliancy of day, made the night beautiful and a gentle breeze was a pleasant end to July 4, 1846.

Still farther west another group had additional trials, recorded in the words of a woman, the chief sufferer, as "a disastrous celebra-

90. Abert, J. W., *loc. cit.*, pp. 393, 394. W. H. Emory, the engineer, p. 10, explains that he did not publish his diary of this part of the journey because the way had been so commonly traversed.

91. Hughes, John T., "Doniphan's Expedition," reprinted in W. E. Connelley's *Doniphan's Expedition* (Topeka, 1907), pp. 155, 156.

92. Edwards, Marcellus Ball, "Journal, 1846-1847," ed. by Ralph P. Bieber, in *South-west Historical Series*, v. IV, pp. 125, 126, entry of July 4, 1846.

93. Robinson, Jacob S., *A Journal of the Santa Fé Expedition Under Colonel Doniphan*, a reprint ed. by Carl L. Cannon (Princeton, 1932), p. 9, entry of July 4, 1846.

94. *Ibid.*, footnote, p. 9, suggests that this camp was probably at Indian creek, a branch of Turkey creek.



tion." Encamped on the night of July 3 at Pawnee Rock with a contingent of soldiers was a merchandise train of seventy-five or eighty wagons. With one trader, Samuel Magoffin, was his bride, Susan Shelby Magoffin. On the morning of July 4 while her husband kept watch for Indians with his gun and pistols, she carved her name on Pawnee Rock among the hundreds already inscribed there. She did not do the work well, she wrote, because fear of Indians made her tremble all over. Since the rest of the caravan had gone on its way, the driver for the Magoffins had to hurry to overtake the party at Ash creek. Then at the bank when they failed to take the usual precaution of dismounting and walking down, their carriage was whirled over the verge of the cliff "in a perfect crash." The top and sides were broken to pieces but the passengers were almost entirely unhurt. Mrs. Magoffin, who was herself stunned so that she had to be carried to a shade tree and have her face and hands rubbed with whisky to come to herself, rather rejoiced in the opportunity the occasion afforded to test her husband's oversight and devotion. The scene, however, she described as "a perfect mess, that; of people, books, bottles, . . . guns, pistols, baskets, bags, boxes, and the dear knows what else."<sup>95</sup>

This same day, July 4, 1846, Francis Parkman, with three of his own men, four trappers, and an Indian family of Morin, traversed in sight of the Black Hills "a forlorn and dreary monotony of sun-scorched plains, where no living thing appeared, save here and there an antelope flying before us like the wind." Weakened by a recent recurrent illness Parkman seemed to take no thought of the national anniversary, but coming at noon upon a fine growth of spreading trees along Horseshoe creek he flung himself down on the rich, tall grass beneath, "exhausted . . . scarcely able to move."<sup>96</sup> West of Fort Laramie two emigrant parties, one of Edwin Bryant and the other of Lillburn Boggs, ex-governor of Missouri, held a conventional Independence day celebration in a grove. A salute, a procession, the reading of the Declaration, a collation "served up by the ladies," toasts with a discharge of musketry after each, and patriotic songs constituted the program. J. H. Reed, of the Bryant party, had preserved wines and liquors, especially for the occasion.<sup>97</sup>

On July 4, 1847, Philip Gooch Ferguson, who had just enlisted,

<sup>95</sup> Magoffin, Susan Shelby, *Down the Santa Fé Trail and Into Mexico*, diary, 1846-1847, ed. by Stella M. Drumm (Yale Press, 1926), pp. 40-42, entry of July 4, 1846.

<sup>96</sup> Parkman, Francis, *The Oregon Trail*, Sixth edition (Little, Brown, Boston, 1875), pp. 162, 163.

<sup>97</sup> Bryant, Edwin, *What I Saw in California* (Richard Bentley, London, 1849), pp. 100, 101.



was en route from Westport to Fort Leavenworth to report for duty. Camping at Gum spring, near Shawnee meeting house, July 3, he and several other volunteers had breakfast on the Fourth with "an old Frenchman who had an Indian wife and two pretty, half-breed daughters, all belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church." Crossing the Kansas in flat-bottomed boats belonging to the Delawares and Shawnees, the party marched through rough, hilly country to a point four or five miles from the fort. The Kaw had seemed "a clear beautiful stream" to them, refreshing for bathing. Frequently along the road had been squaws with whisky to sell. At night thousands of fireflies made the prairie beautiful.<sup>98</sup> At evening, July 3, another company of the Missouri Mounted Volunteers, going out to take the place of the regular troops still in Mexico, had reached the crossing of the old California trail with the Walnut, about a mile below what is now El Dorado. There, the next day, according to Capt. J. J. Clark, "the eagle screamed, and salutes were fired, and due honors paid to the warriors of an older day."<sup>99</sup> Three days' journey west of Council Grove this year was a party of traders, too engaged in evading the Indians, apparently, even to note the passing of the national anniversary. In the train were Solomon Houck, R. S. Elliott, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and James Josiah Webb, the latter three of whom have left some account of the trip.<sup>100</sup> Although they were fortunate enough to escape serious depredation themselves, they kept hearing of Indian encounters with the troops advancing westward. One was an attack upon Lt. John Love, and another upon Col. Alton R. Easton, both en route with detachments from Leavenworth to Santa Fé on July 4.<sup>101</sup>

At Wyandot in 1847 William Walker had such a rheumatic affliction in the head as to set him almost distracted.<sup>102</sup> At the Ottawa mission Jotham Meeker had been undergoing dark days, but following extended church meetings, for which the visitors camped around and nearly always supplied their own provisions, his heart was re-

98. Ferguson, Philip Gooch, "Diary, 1847-1848," ed. by Ralph P. Bieber, in *Southwest Historical Series*, v. IV, pp. 22, 23, 294. Ferguson was editor of *Miner's Prospect* at Potosi, Mo., when he enlisted.

99. Andreas, A. T., *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1431.

100. Elliott, R. S., *op. cit.*, pp. 216-220, 254, 255. Also, James Josiah Webb, "Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844-1847," ed. by Ralph P. Bieber, in *Southwest Historical Series*, v. I, pp. 31, 298. Even the original account of this trip by J. J. Webb does not allude to July 4. The present owner of the manuscript, Paul Webb, New Haven, Conn., a grandson, suggests that the men along the trail may not have been able to keep accurate track of the days; and that anyway they were probably too busy looking after their scalps to pay any attention to the date of the Declaration of Independence.—Letter, New Haven, Conn., March 24, 1939, to author of this article.

101. *Ibid.* Also, Thomas Fitzpatrick, letter from Bent's fort, Arkansas river, September 18, 1847, to Thomas H. Harvey, St. Louis.—*Senate Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 30 cong., 1 sess., appendix.

102. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 211, entry of July 4, 1847.

vived on July 4, the Lord's day, by two requests for reinstatement after confession, and one request for baptism. Two sermons indoors preceded the address to 100 persons at the water. After the baptism Meeker gave the right hand of fellowship to the three Indians just received and administered the "holy sacraments" to fifty native members.<sup>103</sup>

"'Independence Day!' Mexico free. 'Glory enough for one day!'" wrote William Walker on July 4, 1848.<sup>104</sup> Jotham Meeker working in his garden was still devoid of interest in national affairs; threats of some young Ottawas to break their tribal laws, especially those of gambling, did concern him, however, and he noted that the Ottawa nation was to consult together on the subject.<sup>105</sup> Along the Arkansas the volunteers under William Gilpin were still active in defense against continued Indian depredation.<sup>106</sup>

The national anniversary in 1849 was wet in Kansas. Although at the Ottawa mission it rained nearly all day long, Jotham Meeker finished mowing the grass in his dooryard and chicken yard and along the fences in his truck patch.<sup>107</sup> At Wyandot rain fell also at night. "What a day for a celebration!" wrote William Walker, but his is the only allusion to any festive keeping of the occasion in Kansas this year. More serious problems weighed on him, however, as he noted that cholera had broken out afresh this week in Kansas [City].<sup>108</sup> At Highland, S. M. Irvin, missionary to the Iowa and Sac Indians, recorded morning, noon, and night temperatures of 70°, 86°, and 77°, respectively, with a north wind and clear sky.<sup>109</sup> To the northwest, in the Platte river valley, R. C. Shaw wrote that a California emigrant party ushered in the Fourth by a discharge of firearms, which were ready for use again after a thorough cleaning.<sup>110</sup>

At the Iowa and Sac mission at Highland, in 1850, the Fourth of July temperature readings were 72°, 88°, and 78°, respectively, for morning, noon, and night; a south wind blew and the sky was clear.<sup>111</sup> Jotham Meeker spent the week of July 4 in preparation for the quarterly meeting at the Ottawa mission; on July 3 he had five bushels of corn ground and he made up a lot of cook pills and

103. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1847.

104. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 254, entry of July 4, 1848.

105. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1848.

106. Baneroft, H. H., *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*, v. I, pp. 544, 545.

107. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1849.

108. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 292, entry of July 4, 1849.

109. Irvin, S. M., "Meteorological Observations at Iowa and Sac Mission," Manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society, readings for July 4, 1849.

110. Shaw, R. C., *Across the Plains in Forty-Nine* (W. C. West, Farmland, Ind., 1896), p. 53.

111. Irvin, S. M., "Meteorological Observations," reading for July 4, 1850.

anti-cathartic pills, &c.; on July 4 he held religious talks with two persons, attended a prayer meeting, and made further preparations for quarterly assembly on July 6.<sup>112</sup> The cholera had become so prevalent in the Kansas [City] vicinity now that William Walker referred to it daily in the few journal entries he took time to make. On both June 28 and July 5 deaths from it occurred; on July 6 citizens were fleeing from Kansas but "this is folly."<sup>113</sup> The only allusions to patriotic significance of the day again were in the diaries of travelers already well to the northwest. Franklin Langworthy, between Green river and Fort Bridger, spent "this celebrated day" on dry and dusty roads across swells of bleak and barren land.<sup>114</sup> John Steele wrote of an all-day celebration by Western emigrants then approaching the Sweetwater and Independence Rock. Shortly after midnight, July 3, the boys of the writer's own division brought an immense pile of dry sage into the camp and fired it. Volleys with rifles and pistols elicited three hearty cheers, echoed by neighboring trains. With a national salute at dawn, the party started early across the ashy plain, strewn with carcasses of oxen and horses. Encamping at 3 p. m. on the Sweetwater, both men and beasts refreshed themselves at the clear, cool rivulet, and relaxed until 10 p. m., when the camp-fires were replenished and a shout arose rolling from camp to camp. Then a discharge of fire-arms closed the celebration. As the fires waned, only a wolf's plaintive whine broke the stillness.<sup>115</sup> Farther west, near Salt Lake, where wild sage and dust were "about the only thing in the eye," C. W. Smith, of a party rushing to the gold region from Weston, Mo., wrote on July 4, "to the travel-worn emigrant in the eternal wilds, this day's remembrances hardly stir the sluggish blood."<sup>116</sup>

The day when the first ground was broken in St. Louis for the Pacific railroad, "July 4th, Annus Domini, 1851," wrote R. S. Elliott, "was the beginning of a new era of industrial civilization between the Mississippi and the Pacific ocean."<sup>117</sup> People in Kansas, however, were totally unaware of future advantages therefrom awaiting them. Local affairs only concerned them on the holiday. For William Walker, now free of care, the day was a "glorious 4th

112. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entries July 3-6, 1850.

113. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, pp. 311, 312, entries for June 28, July 5 and 6, 1850.

114. Langworthy, Franklin, *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines*, a diary, 1850-1853, ed. by Paul C. Phillips (Princeton, 1932), p. 65, entry of July 4, 1850.

115. Steele, John, *Across the Plains in 1850*, ed. by Joseph Schafer (Caxton Club, Chicago, 1930), pp. 86, 87, entry of July 4, 1850.

116. Smith, C. W., *Journal of a Trip to California*, in summer, 1850, ed. by R. W. G. Vail (Cadmus Book Shop, New York, 1920), pp. 67, 68, entry of July 4.

117. Elliott, R. S., *op. cit.*, p. 269.



spent in Kansas [City] amongst very good company."<sup>118</sup> Jotham Meeker was preparing, as usual, for approaching meetings and visiting the sick. On July 4 the Catholic priest, Deuerinck, and one of his servants stopped for the night at the Ottawa mission.<sup>119</sup>

In 1852, William Walker had no thoughts for the Fourth of July, but the community had been saddened two days before by the arrival of "the corpse of Gov. Calhoun, who died on the road from Santa Fé to Kansas." Burial, Walker noted, was to be with Masonic honors.<sup>120</sup> The Fourth this year falling on "the Lord's day," the Ottawa mission held a long service of five sermons, by missionaries and by Indians. A congregation of about 100 gave good attention, but the mission had had to drop its midweek prayer meeting for want of interest.<sup>121</sup>

In July, 1853, but little was transpiring in Kansas, aside from the Pacific railroad survey, that could have foreboded the great activity which was to begin in 1854. William Walker had no journal entry at all for the Fourth.<sup>122</sup> Jotham Meeker put in the day setting "types on some school cards, &c." for the school.<sup>123</sup> Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent, who had been at Fort Atkinson since June 1, holding "a talk" with the five Indian tribes of that region and inviting them to be present at the treaty of Fort Laramie the following September, was now journeying back toward headquarters in the escort of Maj. R. H. Chilton, Co. B., of the First dragoons, but no one left any word of their keeping of July 4.<sup>124</sup> Two divisions of the party for exploration of a route for the Pacific railroad, also traversing Kansas now, did mark the day. Notified by a rifle report, at daylight, of the arrival of the national anniversary, the command of Capt. J. W. Gunnison responded with numerous discharges of fire-arms, and set out for the Kansas river for the purpose of crossing to Fort Riley. A pontoon from the fort, placed too low for the light vehicle of the troops, upset, midstream, "a small incident for the 4th of July." The horses swam across. Captain Gunnison was the guest of Capt. C. S. Lovell at the officers' mess at the post through a short nooning. A ferry then conveyed the explorers' wagon across the Republican, and the party proceeded 7.59 miles and encamped at a beautiful spring of delicious, cool water

118. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 327, entry of July 4, 1851.

119. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entries of July 3, 4, 1851.

120. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 353, entry of July 2, 1852.

121. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1852.

122. Walker, William, "Journals," *loc. cit.*, p. 382.

123. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," entry of July 4, 1853.

124. "Early Military Posts, Missions, and Camps," extract from the *New York Tribune*, June 22, 1854, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. I-II, pp. 263-270.

near the Smoky Hill. The division under Lieutenant Beckwith, pursuing the Santa Fé road, camped from July 3 to July 5 in a slightly timbered spot on the Cottonwood fork, seventeen miles from Lost spring. The days were oppressively hot with scarcely a breeze, the thermometer in the shade of a wagon reaching 100° Fahrenheit on July 3. Recent rains had made grazing abundant but had also left pools of water about for the breeding of mosquitoes. Innumerable flies were another annoyance. In spite of the discomforts of the place, the party remained there for the benefit of its animals on July 4; but one of them manifested his own independence by pulling up his picket-pin at the usual hour for marching, and taking the road to the next camping ground, where he joined another train.<sup>125</sup>

Before July 4, 1854, the Kansas area, like the Beckwith mount, was itself to take on individuality. On May 30, 1854, it became an organized territory with definite boundaries. Emerging from the era of un-organization already battle-scarred, as P. G. Lowe once wrote,<sup>126</sup> by trial and trouble, the territory might at once have been allowed the security and freedom of government; but before the next July 4, before May 30 even, actor-settlers were to move upon the scene for roles in a political drama the nation was setting there. Kansas, separated now by lines of latitude and longitude, was to find herself controlled again by the power of the area from which she had but just parted. For the next seven years most of her Independence day acts were result of sectional design or subject for national scrutiny.

125. Beckwith, Lt. E. G., "Report of Exploration of a Route for the Pacific Railroad," in *Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys* (Washington, 1855), 3 vols., v. II, pp. 10, 16, 21.

126. Lowe, Percival G., "Kansas, as Seen in the Indian Territory," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, pp. 360-366.



## Notes on Imprints From Highland

The Second Point of Printing in Kansas

LELA BARNES

TWO decades before the organization of Kansas territory the history of printing within the borders of what is now the state of Kansas had already begun. In February, 1834, the Baptist missionary-printer, Jotham Meeker, set up at the Shawnee Baptist mission a Smith press on which was printed on March 8 of the same year a Shawnee hymn, first item in Kansas imprints.<sup>1</sup>

Nine years later a second press was brought to the territory for the use of missionaries at the Iowa, Sac and Fox mission in present Doniphan county. This mission was established by the Presbyterian church in 1835.<sup>2</sup> Samuel M. Irvin and William Hamilton came to the station as missionaries in 1837, and in 1842<sup>3</sup> requested the missionary board to supply a press for printing school books and religious works in the Iowa language. The board acceded to the request and a press was received at the mission in April, 1843.

The first printing by Irvin and Hamilton was *An Elementary Book of the Ioway Language*.<sup>4</sup> This book, as well as *Original Hymns in the Ioway Language*,<sup>5</sup> bears the date 1843, and it has been quite reasonably assumed that both works appeared in that year.<sup>6</sup> But a recent examination of the diary of Samuel M. Irvin<sup>7</sup> establishes the fact that the *Elementary Book* was not completed until February, 1844; and that the *Original Hymns* was still in press at that time. That the latter work and a "Prayer book" appeared before September 30, 1844, may be concluded from the report of that

1. See Douglas C. McMurtrie, "Pioneer Printing of Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1, p. 4 et seq.; Kirke Mechem, "The Mystery of the Meeker Press," *ibid.*, v. IV, pp. 61-73.

2. *History of American Missions* (Worcester, 1840), p. 724.

3. *Reports of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.*, May, 1843, p. 6.

4. English title: *An / Elementary Book / of the / Ioway Language, / with an / English Translation. / By / Wm. Hamilton, / and / S. M. Irvin. / Under the direction of the B. F. Miss. of the Presbyterian Church. / J. B. Roy, Interpreter. / Ioway and Sac Mission Press, / Indian Territory, / 1843.*—James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Siouan Languages* (Washington, 1887), p. 32.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 33. English title: *Original / Hymns, / in the / Ioway Language. / By / the Missionaries, / to the Ioway & Sac Indians, / Under the direction of the / Board of Foreign Missions of the / Presbyterian Church. / [Two lines quotation.] / Iowa and Sac Mission Press, / Indian Territory, / 1843.*

6. See statement by McMurtrie and Allen in their *A Forgotten Pioneer Press of Kansas* (Chicago, 1930), p. 16.

7. The manuscript diary of Samuel M. Irvin for portions of the period 1841-1849 is in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.

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date by the missionaries to Maj. W. P. Richardson, Indian sub-agent, Great Nemaha, Mo., in which they state:

We have printed—

- 1 Elementary book, of 101 pages—225 copies.
- 1 Hymn book, 62 pages—125 copies.
- 1 Prayer book, 24 pages—100 copies.
- 1 Question book (in press), 30 pages—200 copies.<sup>8</sup>

The diary also established the fact that the "Question book" listed above was still in press in January, 1845;<sup>9</sup> and that the first printing on the "Testament in Iowa" was done on February 14, 1845.<sup>10</sup> The diary furnishes no clue as to when either of these works was completed.

Because of the importance of this early press in the history of printing in Kansas, and the rarity of the works printed on it,<sup>11</sup> extracts from Irvin's diary relating to printing are here reproduced in order that the information may be added to the meager knowledge about the press.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF SAMUEL M. IRVIN

[It is unfortunate that the extant diary contains few entries for 1843, the year in which the press was sent to the mission. First mention of printing in the available records occurs in 1844.]

1844

January

- 2 In the office setting type &c.
- 3 Spent the day in the office at type setting and study.
- 6 Finished setting up one form of pages for the primary Book. . . .
- 9 In the printing office all day. . . . Through the day and last evening I have been much affected with my comfortable situation and that of my family. We have everything that we could ask, plenty to eat, a good bead, our family in health—and we know not what it is to suffer for any thing. true our house is but a cabin and some would say in our situation that they were poor, but we are wonderful well off. I have my little room and my family have theirs and I can read and study and print and no one to disturbe me. O how unworthy these privileges.
- [12] Struck off 160 sheets of 16 pages making 2560 in all. . . .

8. *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1844*, Doc. No. 2, pp. 358, 359.

9. McMurtrie and Allen have given this work the date 1844 and have listed it as No. 4 in their bibliography. They append the statement that its inclusion in the *Report of 1844* indicates that it was printed in the fall of 1844.—*Op. cit.*, p. 27. Pilling has dated the work 1850, but gives no reason for doing so.—*Op. cit.*, p. 33.

10. McMurtrie and Allen list as No. 5 in their bibliography a work containing six chapters of the gospel of St. Matthew. They have dated it 1846 or 1847.—*Op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28. Pilling has dated the same work 1850.—*Op. cit.*, p. 33. In their report of September 30, 1847, to the Indian Sub-Agent W. E. Rucker, Irvin and Hamilton state: "Portions of the Scripture have been translated, and a part of Matthew's gospel printed."—*Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1847*, Doc. No. 1, pp. 935, 936.

11. There is but one item from this press in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society.—*An Iowa Grammar* . . . , printed by Hamilton and Irvin, Iowa and Sac Mission Press, 1848.



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- 13 Spent most of the day in the office distributing type. . . .
- 17 In the office all day and very tired standing up so much.
- 18 In the office until sent for by the agent. . . .
- 19 . . . In the evening and through the day I was much affected with my situation. I could not wish it more comfortable and easy. I have nothing to do. . . . I mean manual work, but much of study and printing. May I improve all to the honour of him who giveth. . . .
- 20 Most of the day in the office. . . .
- [23] Engaged in setting type most of the day except what time I was necessarily diverted from labour by the Indians. . . .
- [24] In the office. . . .
- [25] Finished setting up a form of 16 p. for the press. . . .
- [26] Busily engaged in the office and in the evening struck one side of a sheet. . . .
- 27 Very busy in the office all day and late in the evening finished striking off a sheet of the primary Book.
- 30 Continued to set type most of the day. . . .

### February

- 3 There has been such a constant monotony in this week of work at the press and study without any things worth[y] of note that I have not wrote down anything here. On Wednesday we recd some Goods and Books from New York which was a welcome receipt. . . .
- 10 . . . My time has been mostly engaged in the office and I have this evening got off another sheet of the Elementary Book.
- 17 With much pleasure was able to finish printing the last sheet of our primary Book today. It is swelled to 101 pages. We commenced last June. We hope that it will be very useful to the school and we hope with the blessing of God, an aid in communicating useful instruction to the poor Indians. . . .
- 21 Still engaged in printing. on Saturday I struck off the last sheet of our primary book and was not a little rejoiced at the end of the Book. . . . On Monday folded my sheets, and red up the office. On Monday evening got a letter from the Board but not much encouragement about the school. I am now engaged in a hymn Book & wish to get through as soon as possible. . . .

### March

- 7 . . . Still engaged in the office. . . . I am so busy that it seems I cannot get time to write here, and yet I seem to get but little done. . . .

1845

### January

- 10, 11 Busily engaged in the printing office printing a question Book and striking some forms for the agt. . . .
- 16 Did not do much except assist Mr. Hamilton some in the office in getting up some forms &c.

### February

- 14 Spent near all the day in the printing office printing off the first sheet of the Testament in Ioway. We struck off 240 sheets of half a ream and having taken some pains in putting type and balls in order we made quite a good impression. . . .

## Letters of John and Sarah Everett, 1854-1864

Miami County Pioneers  
(Continued)

Osawatomie July 10, 1856.

DEAR FATHER

We received yours of the 20th & 25th ult. this week. We continue well and safe. The Legislative Assembly who met at Topeka on the 4th, the true Representatives of four fifths of the actual settlers of Kansas, were dispersed at the point of the sabre by U. S. troops. This is "Squatter Sovereignty" in Kansas. The wild borders of Missouri, hangers on and lick spittles of Missouri slaveholders, vote for and elect those who rule us, while the People's Representatives are hunted down as traitors. We are all traitors to slavery, but if we were not loyal to the Union, most loyal, such an insult and indignity as above recorded, would never have been written. The patience of those parts of the territory who have suffered most is wearing very thin. Our returned representatives said it was hard to keep some of the free state men from firing into the U. S. troops. There were some six or seven hundred free state men there well armed. Is there a North? Why will she not unite for our deliverance? I am glad to see the firmness of tone manifested in Congress. The plain story about Kansas is this:— There is not a proslavery man of my acquaintance in Kansas who does not acknowledge that the Bogus Legislature was the result of a gigantic and well planned fraud, that the elections were carried by an invading mob from Missouri. The free state Legislature was the result of the unbiased and free vote of the people. The question is, shall we be ruled by a foreign mob or by the resident people expressing their will in a peaceable election.

We hear that the Southerners are in camp three or four miles East of Osawatomie on the Osage, and that they talk of making a town there, "*New Georgia*." If they do, we shall have to look to our locks and our hen roosts, for the proslavery men about Westport got disgusted with them—they were so thievish. You ask if Whitfield<sup>26</sup> led the mob who robbed Osawatomie. Some who had seen him

<sup>26</sup>. John W. Whitfield was commander in chief of the Missouri forces.

thought they recognized him, but they were led by a drunken Capt. Bell of S. Carolina.

We have just got some hens for the first time. A few weeks ago, we took a hen and chickens to raise on shares. Then we bought two hens and a hen and chickens. A hen will set and raise three broods of chickens here in a summer. We have a hen setting now for the 2nd or 3d time. She began laying, when her last brood were three weeks old. Our two cows and yearling heifer are doing well. We are raising the two calves. Love to all John.

Longwood July 22, 1856

Dear Cynthia

We received Father's of July 9 this morning. Our Quaker friend Richard brought it along just before Breakfast— The Tribunes did not come this week. Twenty seven come now in the mail. Tis the first week they have been detained. For some little time (since about the 4th) we have had quiet, but some goods that belonged to one of our merchants Mr. Saml. Geer was broken open between here and Westport within three or four days and all the boxes searched. This begins to look like another beginning of the "reign of terror." A Mr. [John E.] Stewart who lives on the Wakarusa and was passing down to the Neosho called here on his way to get dinner. He says that the people there have been prevented in a great measure from getting in crops and that many have lost a great deal of private property. The only way that they had been able to do anything in the way of ploughing and putting in was to go in large companies to their fields armed with the invincible Sharpe's rifle. Mr. Stewart I have since learned is a New England Minister—but I gathered from his conversation that he thinks that here in *the Territory* "moral suasion" will be a little better for having something like a Sharpe's rifle to stand on. He agrees with H. W. B.<sup>27</sup> on that point— It is very dry. We have had no rain to do much good for over 5 weeks. If we do not have some soon our crops will present a totally ruinous look—

Father inquired about the soldiers; they left the Sabbath before the 4th. We sold them a little more than \$10 worth of "*sundries*"—

We are going to have a great many wild plums in our grove this year— They are very nice too, not at all like the sour plums that grow in Steuben— I think I shall be able to dry some to sell besides what we shall want— We found plenty of gooseberries in their sea-

27. Henry Ward Beecher.



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son so you see this summer we are likely to fare rather better in some respects than we did last— We make butter enough to pay all our store bills at present— We have a few eggs now. We have two hens of our own that lay and two of friend Richard's here that have begun to lay today. We have 5 of his here which we took to see if we could get them to laying. They have sixty or more chickens and so little to feed them all that the hens stopped laying 2 months ago so a few days ago we borrowed five hens and two of them commenced laying today— We bought  $\frac{1}{2}$  bushel of corn to feed them and are going to pay for it in eggs— 15c a doz for eggs and 20c for the corn— So much of chicken news— I must send you a piece of Frank's new trousers and apron—the "yaller" piece is like the apron—How do you suppose his little white head looks growing up through such a suit as this makes— I have cut his hair today for the first time and must send you a bunch. It reached clear down to his shoulders— We have meetings now in our neighborhood—could have them here if we chose but think it a little nearer the centre of the district at friend Mendenhall's and so they are held in his doorway shaded by the forest trees.

There are six preachers located on claims within 2 miles of us or rather their claims are located within that distance. Two of them have not yet moved on to their claims—

Good bye for the present

Sat <sup>28</sup>

July 24.

It continues very dry. We long for rain. The Cenhadwr for July came to hand this week. Also Phrenological & Water Cure Journals. . . . The reconsideration and passage of the Kansas Free State Bill in the House revived our drooping hopes. The moral effect of such a vote is very great. If Douglas's bill <sup>29</sup> should become a law, another just such an invasion would take place as have taken place, although perhaps more cunningly contrived. We should have thousands of Missourians among us on sham claims, who would stay just long enough to call it a residence; put up a log or a rail pen for a shanty, split out a few oak boards to sleep under, and then pass the time in fishing hunting and lounging about. Many families here

28. Family name for Sarah M. C. Everett.

29. The Toombs bill, reported by Sen. Stephen A. Douglas from the committee on territories on July 2, provided for a census of all white males over 21 years of age, bona fide residents of the territory. Those counted were to be permitted to vote on November 1 for delegates to a constitutional convention. The bill offered precautions against election irregularities. It passed the senate but failed in the house.



live almost entirely out of doors from choice in the Summer particularly Missourians. Some houses have a projecting roof in front, with three or four shelves for dishes &c, and there the women spend most of the summer days. Others have rails laid up just like a rail fence roofed slightly, and live in that day times. We hardly ever get any rain oftener than once a week except for a few weeks in the rainy season. So it would not be much expense to set up a habitation for the summer.

Our health continues good.

Love to all

John

Longwood, Aug 1, 1856

Dear Cynthia

Father's last, announcing Jane's arrival was received this week. But the only thing that I could fix my mind on was the Fremont enthusiasm. In his election is our only rescue!

If that proves a failure we are in common with the free North "Subdued!" We can no longer speak of our glorious Republic! Liberty and Democracy will be utterly overthrown to be raised again only by strife and bloodshed! It is a shame that a government commenced as was ours, should now be overthrown by a spirit darker and more malignant than that which provoked its origin. We are looking forward to the Nov. election with trembling anxiety.

Can it be possible that any one born and reared in the free north blessed with all its privileges, can in their hearts desire that this country should be tilled by slaves? If they have not hearts to feel for the oppressed, can they yet really desire the introduction of an Institution here that shall hinder the development of the country's wealth, and render the soil in a few short years worthless and worn out? . . .

We do not hear of any more difficulty in the Territory as yet. Have learned from our Eastern papers that Col. P. Smith is now in command of the U. S. troops in the Ter.<sup>30</sup> It matters not who has that post so long as Frank Pierce is Commander in Chief. I should not lose 10 sec. of sleep if I should hear any night at bed time that *that* man or demon or whatever he be had been assassinated!

The weather here continues very dry and hot! Newcomers are mostly getting down sick. An old lady one of our neighbors who

30. Gen. Persifer F. Smith succeeded Col. E. V. Sumner as head of the territorial force. General Smith's sentiments were Proslavery, but he did not take an active part in territorial affairs.

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came in, in the winter where Mr. Rose lived, was buried last week, and another young woman in town.

The old lady was in at our house a few weeks previous talking about the troubles in the Territory. She set down the Free State party as a mean set and she and I approached somewhat towards a quarrel before the talk ended which was only avoided by her very adroitly turning the conversation. She had given me reason to infer from what things she had said when here once before that she was as radical on the slavery question as we, and 'twas this hypocrisy that called forth my indignation at this time.

When she left I remarked to John that I felt as if I never wanted to see her face again and I never did, for we did not hear of her death till two days after the funeral! There is no hardness between them and us. They are "pro-slavery to the core" and her son has threatened to shoot the first abolitionist that steps into the house—yet he knows we are abolitionists and he is as obliging and good a neighbor as we want.

We are quite well yet John has a sore foot that prevents him from working out much so he is digging a little cellar under the house—Frank looks as "tough as a knot." . . .

Let me see I must keep you posted up on the chicken news. I believe I told you we had borrowed some hens—they have all got to laying! and as our neighbor wanted some tin ware very badly I managed to get two of the hens for a tin pan. I did not like to spare the pan but thought I could get more by next summer with eggs! Butter is worth 30 cts a lb. in Kansas City and we have concluded to pack down what we make after this week and send it there—or keep it till winter when twill be worth more than tis now here. I have been writing to my brother to send us money to get cows with this fall and if we can bring things around right will make cheese next summer! and so get money to pay for our claim.

I shall have to stop any way for I have covered my sheet. . . .

Our love to all . . .

Sarah M. C. Everett

[This Fragment, in the Handwriting of John R. Everett, Bears No Date But Contents Place It at This Point in the Series. The Letter Describes the Battle of Osawatomie on August 30, 1856]

arms flashing in the sun. One house seemed to be burning. I staid some time there, but could not distinguish any thing more particularly. We could hear occasionally the roar of the cannon and



the shouting of the Missourians. I came down and as I came home could see smoke after smoke go up from the devoted town. They had finished plundering and had gone to burning in earnest. I found more fugitives from town at the house, a son of O. C. Brown<sup>31</sup> (*not Capt. John Brown*, but a very different man) and a son of Rev. Mr. Adair, the Congregational preacher.<sup>32</sup> The latter was a cousin of Frederick Brown, Capt. John Brown's son, who was shot before any alarm was given by a scout of the enemy, a proslavery Baptist preacher named Martin White. This was the first sad note of warning. Young Adair was sent immediately to alarm the free State men under Capt. J. Brown named above. His son shot dastardly, unsuspectingly was the word to rouse the brave Captain. Adair was cut off from returning by the advance of the enemy. He made his way below the town and over to us. He is a brave boy about 14. In the mean time friend Mendenhall had returned to his watch on the hill, and stayed there till he saw the Missouri *crowd* take up the line of march and leave. He immediately, with another neighbor Rev. James Caruth<sup>33</sup> started to town to render assistance to survivors &c. They came past our house and I went with them. We were almost the first in town after the burning. The first house we came to was a farm house, Mr. Chestnut's, a zealous free State man with a large family. This house was in the town limits, but not in the village strictly. They had moved their goods nearly all out. The mob came there but providentially did not burn up their shelter. The next house we came to was smoking but standing. We went in and found the floor had been fired from underneath, but was then only half burnt. We put out the fire with some wet wash clothes standing in a tub and saved that house. Others came in, and we went down to the timber to the field of conflict, to look for wounded or dead. We found one body on the bank of the river shot through the breast. He appeared to have died instantly. No one was killed on the battle field of our party. This man was sick, and could not escape. We got a couple of poles, laid shingle boards across them, and four of us mournfully carried him to an empty house, belonging to a proslavery man and so marked with a white flag and saved. The next

31. Two sons of Orville C. Brown were in Osawatomie at this time, Rockwell and Spencer Kellogg. The latter, then a boy of 14, describes his participation in the battle in his journal. (See George Gardner Smith, *Spencer Kellogg Brown*, D. Appleton & Co., 1903.) He was taken to Missouri as a prisoner for a short time following the battle. In 1861 he enlisted in the Union army under General Lyon and held the rank of fourth commander on the gunboat *Essex*. He was captured as a prisoner of war while destroying a rebel ferry boat near Port Hudson in August, 1862, and after a year's imprisonment at Richmond, was executed on the charge of being a spy.

32. The Rev. Samuel L. Adair, whose wife was a half sister of John Brown.

33. James Harrison Carruth, Presbyterian minister, later professor of natural sciences at Baker University, Baldwin, and state botanist, 1868-1892.



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day he was buried in a rough box in his clothes as he fell, with two others, martyrs to the liberty of Kansas. We looked around a long time but found no others. Again the next day we were down searching. George Cutter was wounded you know *before* the battle, over a mile from town.<sup>34</sup>

And now to answer some more questions. We feel in somewhat more danger on account of our nearness to Missouri. But there are 18 m. Indian territory to the line and twice that to any center of invasion.— My health is not very good for a few days. I feel better today. Sarah and Franky are pretty well. . . . As for the coming winter if they pay us for the care of Mr. Cutter we shall do well enough. We have not got any thing yet except part of a bag of flour. We hope to get something. I saved the \$20 I should have sent you for the Tribunes, till I had a chance to get 3 nice pigs for \$4½ dollars of it. This is a good investment of a small sum. They live on acorns they find in the woods, and the house refuse. With their natural increase I calculate they will be worth \$50 besides their keeping next fall. The other \$15 I have been obliged to break into on account of extra expenses for our wounded man. If it had not been for business having been broken up and the people driven off by our late calamities we should have done well enough. As it is, we shall have no trouble if we get our pay.

Osawatomie, Oct. 29, 1856.

Dear Father

We received yours of Oct 14, yesterday, by our weekly mail. This mail brought very discouraging news for us by the papers. We see that Pennsylvania and Indiana went for the border ruffians at the State elections. It will be a very dark day for Kansas if they vote the same way next Tuesday. But it is idle now to talk. Before this reaches you the great question will have been decided as far as this election can decide it. However it may go, those who have thrown all their influence for freedom may feel that *they* have *succeeded*, for blood guiltiness will not be upon their souls. Their record is clean. Their consciences are satisfied. And the great Ruler of the world can make even the wrath of man to praise Him. It is mysterious how He permits the wicked to flourish like a green bay tree, and their plans of gigantic wickedness to succeed. I am sure, I

34. George Cutter, with Frederick Brown and three others, had come to Osawatomie from Lawrence on August 29 with dispatches from General Lane. They spent the night about a mile and a half west of the town. Early the next morning the advance party of the border ruffian forces approached Osawatomie from the west. Frederick Brown, on his way to the home of Samuel Adair, was shot and killed. Cutter was also shot, but not fatally. He was removed to the home of John and Sarah Everett and cared for by them until his recovery.

would not be in Buchanan's place, or in that of his intelligent supporters for all "the wealth of Ormus or of Ind." They are trying to strangle freedom in an immense territory, and to plant human oppression, bloodshed, and the worst tyranny in its stead. To succeed in this is as if a man should *succeed* in murdering his own offspring.

Last night the prairie around us got afire, and we were out about 3 hours from 12 to 3 o'clock "fighting fire." It burnt up about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of what hay I had saved in spite of us.

I have been talking the past week quite seriously of going East this fall, working there at something through the winter and returning in the Spring; while Sarah would stay here to take care of our claim, stock &c. But now I do not think it advisable to do so. If Fremont is our President, I think we should have quiet here this winter, probably. But if Buchanan is elected I fear trouble. From what I am able to learn, the free State men do not mean to give it up in any event. There is still a chance for us to save this territory to freedom and virtue. There is still a majority of free State men among the actual settlers in the territory. Are the East prepared to sustain us here? I hope the host of liberty have girt on their armor for the war, and that one reverse will not dishearten them. If the government is against us, there is more need that we should be true to ourselves and to the great cause.

Rev. Mr. Finch, the Wesleyan Missionary and one of our neighbors, went to Lawrence this week. He was going to try to get some money to pay us for taking care of Mr. Cutter. He took out 20 or 25 pounds of butter to sell for us.

There are a good many families around here who will suffer this winter unless they have help. The war has paralyzed industry, and prevented employment. One cannot work even for himself in the midst of continual alarms. I am glad to see so much interest taken in collecting funds for the suffering in Kansas. It will be needed.

Our health as a family is good. Our wounded man is getting along slowly. He has three wounds still open. This is the ninth week he has been here. This is a cold windy day. The thermometer at sunrise was 26°.

With much love to all at home

Your son  
John

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Osawatomie Nov. 13, 1856.

Dear Father

We received yours of Oct 29, this week Tuesday, with the gold dollar for Frank. The little boy is very proud of his present, and thanks J. W. Roberts very much. Tell Mr. Roberts that Sarah does not despair of making a buffalo cheese yet. I have seen a number of cows that are part buffalo. The hunters take out a cow with a young calf, they find a calf whose mother has been killed. They kill the cow's calf, and the cow takes to the buffalo calf. So tell Mr. Roberts to look out for a buffalo cheese some time or other. These half or part buffalo cows are generally esteemed better for the cross. I saw a man who said he once had a three quarters buffalo cow, the best cow he ever had.

Those currant slips came by this mail—11 white and red. I have put them in the ground, and I hope they will live though they are somewhat dried. I am very much obliged to whoever took the trouble to do them up.

You ask about religious meetings. We have had none this side of the Pottawatomie since the burning and scattering here. At first people dare not leave their families and homes—all was apprehension. Every day or two brought some fresh rumor of impending invasion. Now there is a feeling of measured security again—for how long the future alone can reveal. This added to sickness in some families broke up our meetings. . . .

I am working for a neighbor this week, helping him gather his corn. I am tired this evening, and will close with much love.

Your son

John

P. S. Osawatomie was not burnt a second time as reported. The steam saw mill was not burnt at all. It is sawing boards again now. And alas for the steam grist mill I see reported burnt. There is none here. (Vide O. C. Brown's letter in the Utica Morn. Herald of Oct. 30. That man *cant* tell a straight story.)

Osawatomie, Nov. 20, 1856.

Dear Father.

Yours of Nov 6 was rec'd this week. The election of Buchanan was what I had been expecting for the last three weeks, and especially for the last week. It has not depressed the feelings of free State men here as I thought it would. We are still determined to struggle for a free State. If Fremont had been elected that would



have been assured, but even now we do not despair of the Territory. We have still Justice on our side. Eternal principles are with us. The God of the oppressed is for us. The sympathies and prayers of hundreds of thousands in the free North are ours still. A great majority of the intelligent, upright, thinking Northern public is strongly and actively with us. A bare plurality of votes of the ignorant and prejudiced, obtained by the grossest misrepresentation and fraud is all that our enemies can boast of against us. I confess I think more now of the "troops and crowds and clouds of friends" who have stood so faithfully by struggling Kansas, and who came so near carrying this battle for freedom. And although the battle is lost, the *cause* is not lost. The great principle we may nay *must* fight for still. I am proud to think that your town and county and State did so nobly.

You ask what our Quaker neighbors intend doing? I answer, they feel more firm to stay now than before election. One timid woman told Sarah yesterday, she was so *mad* to think her State (Indiana) had gone for B-n, that she would not leave now for anything. Most think still that this will some way be a free State yet, although the danger of its being given up to slavery has been greatly increased. But "the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." We hope God will bring good out of evil.

My health has not been quite as good this week—slight chills and fever. Sarah has not been very well either for a few days. Frank is well, *as usual*. George is having chills again. A piece of bone came out of one of his wounds the other day. He sat up a little to-day for the first time in nearly 12 weeks. The weather is mild and pleasant—the ground not frozen.— Sarah wants to know the price of sugar, rice, molasses &c with you.

Your son

John

Osawatomie, Nov. 28, 1856.

Dear Father,

It was with feelings of inexpressible sadness that we heard of the death of Robert. He was to me more than a brother—so kind, so warm in sympathy, so generous in feeling, so unselfish and self sacrificing. And I never shall see him again on earth! I feel that he is not lost. I know that he is in heaven. The first consoling thought was that he is now walking the hills of paradise, free from the fleshly trials, with Henry. I little thought when we parted in Utica, it was to meet no more on earth. I have no recollections of Robert, but of kindness of generosity and love.

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I cannot write much. It is too late in the season for us to think of going back now. We could not sell our claim and improvements. When I talked of going I expected money from Lawrence on George's account to travel with. We have not received any, and may not at all although we expect to sometime. Navigation on the Missouri will soon cease probably. It sometimes stops by the middle of November. We feel now a good deal more like striking our roots downward and outward in this soil where we are planted now, than of uprooting and starting again elsewhere. Our free State men here feel much more encouraged now than two months ago. The splendid and unexampled vote of Fremont and free thought in N. York, Mass., Mich., Northern and Western Pennsylvania, Northern Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and indeed through the North, wherever there was intelligence enough to reach the conscience. There is no doubt that here on the ground for all the harassings and harrings, for all the butcheries, burnings and legal persecutions, we stand better numerically now than in July. I must stop here. Perhaps Sarah will add some

John.

We are not all feeling quite well— John has been helping friend Mose gather corn a part of the time this week and gets very tired & I have been about sick with a cold for three weeks—the first I have had in the Territory— Frank is well and is growing out of his clothes— George is gaining some faster now. I think its likely he will be able to go home in a few weeks now— Two days this week I have spent in getting things from the charity fund for him and ourselves and neighbors. One of our neighbors went to Alton to meet his wife who had been visiting East, and by stating the wants of the people of this part was successful in raising 5 large boxes of clothing & bedding (second hand) beside two or three barrels. These things he has been distributing to such as need especially to those who have braved the war and not run from the field.

I got for George socks shirts bedclothes and overcoat—for John overalls, vest, boots & socks, for myself dress & stockings, for Frank stockings aprons a nice little embroidered wadded merino sack also a nice red french merino long cloak—and worsted trousers, and a bundle of soft flannels— I got one heavy white woolen bed blanket. We have had 50 lbs. of flour this week from the regular relief fund (National) and clothing for George, and the promise of whatever we need

Sarah



Osawatomie Dec 4 1856.

Dear Father.

Gov. Geary is getting more in favor with free State men. He is a vast improvement on Shannon. His removal of Donaldson<sup>35</sup> and rebuke of the infamous Judge Lecompte<sup>36</sup> is well received as an omen of better times. The troops have been withdrawn from the Southern part of the Territory. They made seven arrests while here of men who had been in the free State army last summer. They had warrants out for a good many more, but the persecuted generally got warning and kept out of the way. Now the troops are gone there is no more danger for them. I was last summer among those who thought "prudence the better part of valor," and not having a gun, neither knowing how to use one was not in the fighting army of freedom. (I must say I am rather ashamed to confess it for there never was a more righteous cause than ours, but so it was. I will say in palliation that our place is out of the way, not exposed to all the evidences of strife, and I was not disposed to go counter to your opinions on war, if I could avoid it.) There is no danger of our being exposed to legal prosecutions that I am aware of, and for Missouri armies such as we saw last summer, as long as Geary is Governor they will be kept out. The merchants of Kansas City are very tired of the past state of things; and will do what they can undoubtedly for quiet. They were getting a great trade from the Territory but war of course cut it off. A great many of the turbulent Southerners have gone home. As to the reports you speak of respecting disturbances near Osawatomie we have not heard of any thing particular. A messenger or other officer of the Congressional Committee of inquiry, Mr. Arthur, had his house burned and stock driven off some four or five weeks ago. Mr. Arthur's claim is on Sugar Creek, 25 miles south from here. The letter writers sometimes make "Osawatomie" include a district 30 miles West and from ten to twenty five miles South. I feel almost as much encouraged to look for the ultimate success of freedom in this territory when I consider the splendid success of the Fremont ticket wherever there was a thorough and straightforward canvass and an intelli-

35. It was erroneously reported in the summer of 1856 that Governor Geary had asked for the removal of U. S. Marshal Israel B. Donaldson. Reference is possibly to this, or possibly to the arrest of Capt. John Donaldson of the territorial militia on order of Governor Geary issued November 7, 1856. Captain Donaldson had removed a prisoner from and dismissed the court of R. R. Nelson, a justice of the peace at Leecompton. Donaldson was later reinstated.

36. On September 23, 1856, Governor Geary addressed circulars to Chief Justice Samuel Lecompte and to Assoc. Justices Sterling G. Cato and Jeremiah M. Burrell, asking for complete reports on their activities in office.

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gent vote, as if Fremont had been elected by a meager vote. The heart of the North is aroused. The thinking farmers and intelligent mechanics are with us. The vast majority of the conservators of religion are with us. I hope we shall see a large emigration here in the spring—men moving West who will come here as peaceful settlers, ready to stand in the gap for freedom. It is said that the larger part of the emigration, what there is, even now is from free States. The Yankee race are said proverbially to be remarkably tenacious of their purposes; *they are not going to give up the territory.*

Our health is pretty good now. George is improving some, but is having a chill to day. There is some prospect that we shall have a speedy remittance from Lawrence on his account. . . . The free state people are very much *enheartened* and helped by the liberal donations of their friends in the East. It will save a great deal of suffering, besides coming in a time when we specially felt the need of evidences of sympathy and help from our brothers at home.

We were unavoidably hindered from getting our last letter in the mail in season, so you will perhaps get two together.

With much love                      John.

[December 4, 1856]

I am glad that you can so readily supply us with rennet.<sup>37</sup> I have bothered myself beyond all telling trying to make it hold out, now I shall give myself the satisfaction of using just enough after this and hold you responsible for the consequences.

. . . [John] and Mr. Snow finished . . . a very large stack of hay to day. 12 tons they calculate!

You asked in your letter if we did not sometimes long to see such things as hills stones and so forth. At the south ( $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile from us) we are blessed with the view of a magnificent bluff, "Crescent Hill," that circles around to the eastward forming a fine curve the slope of which is mostly wooded, on the west and east the bluffs step down into rich wavy rolls and to the North we descend very gently to the creek. Stones! I will show you some when you "settle in Kansas" that ten yoke of oxen can hardly stir!

John says send on that money and he will promise to take good

37. Rennet is the prepared inner surface of the stomach of a young calf, used for curdling milk. The outer skin and superfluous fat are removed from the stomach while fresh and it is then placed in salt for a few hours and dried. Small pieces are soaked in water and the water added to milk, producing curds which form the basis of cheese. Sarah Everett explains in a later letter that it was difficult to secure rennet in the territory because few calves were killed.

care of the cow. \$14 will get only a heifer. I am not in much of a writing mood as you must have already discovered, so perhaps I had better stop. . . . Are white linen cuffs and collars fashionable? . . .

[Sarah M. C. Everett]

Osawatomie Dec. 11, 1856.

Dear Father

Yours of Nov. 27 we received this week. We thank you and our kind friends in Steuben and Pennymynydd very much for your offer of help in case we wished to return. We *may* be glad before very long, to avail ourselves of any help we can get. But no present danger threatens us. I was talking with the mail contractor the other day. He had just returned from Westport. I asked him how they seemed to feel there? He said they were very clever now. Those who were encouraging the border ruffians last summer now spoke of their doings as something awful. "Well," I said, "I suppose they feel very confident this will be a slave state now Buchanan is elected?" "No," he said, "they talk as if they thought it would be a free state." Capt. [Henry T.] Titus, a notorious and very prominent leader of the Southern bandits, was at Kansas City, with 50 other Southerners, bound for Gen. Walker's army in Nicaragua. This Titus is reported to have said in passing through Lawrence, that he had spent his money and time to make Kansas a slave state, but he could not do it, nor any other man under God's heavens. There is more confidence here now than at any time since the burning of Osawatomie although we do not any of us know what a day or a week may bring forth. Another store is starting here this week—i. e. one that was burnt out starting anew. They have put a small pair of stones into their steam mill here so that they grind corn now. Some of Mr. Cutter's friends from near Palmyra were here a short time ago and said they were very busy making improvements there in their neighborhood. If we could have sufficient emigration from the North next spring, this will be a free state yet. The next claim West of us was taken this week by a Wesleyan minister. He sold his previous claim, a very good one before the election for the value of the improvements, to take effect in case Buchanan was elected, thinking there would then be no use for us to try to do anything. But his confidence has returned, he has hired a man to work on his new claim all winter I believe, and he is going on to make large improvements.



LETTERS OF JOHN AND SARAH EVERETT

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There seems still to be a great deal of injustice practiced in the territory, but not so openly and with such a high hand as when Shannon was Governor.

We have had some pretty cold weather the last week—one morning the mercury stood at 2° above zero. There is no snow and the ground does not seem to be frozen permanently yet.

Our health is pretty good. Geo. Cutter is improving quite slowly, he is kept back by frequent chills. We are looking for a remittance from Lawrence on his account this week.

If you feel that we are not acting wisely or doing quite right in staying here, when the prospect of our making a permanent home is so uncertain, remember that the free state folks feel not only that there is an opportunity for bettering their condition if things turn favorably, but they feel that they are standing in the breach for freedom, and to leave while there is hope is to desert their colors and give strength to the enemy.

Your affectionate son                      John Everett

Osawatomie, Dec. 19, '56.

Dear Father,

Wednesday was a "white day" for us in Kansas Territory. In the first place Rev. Geo. Lewis and J. H. Thomas of Lawrence called to see us. Mr Thomas was formerly of Brooklyn; you know him as Mr. Thomas the tobacco man. They came this way to look at the country. We had an exceedingly pleasant and encouraging interview with them. Mr Thomas has been in the state (Missouri) lately. He says they seem discouraged about making this a slave state. He said it was perfectly safe to travel there, and to express your sentiments. On the other hand the free state men about Lawrence and indeed through the territory are full of hope, and sanguine of final success. Mr. Roberts, an intelligent neighbor (a Welshman) has been in the state and he got the same impression. He says it has cost the people of Western Missouri one million dollars for their villainous raids on Kansas. They now feel that they have been foiled. They calculated to drive us all out as they did the Leavenworth people, but found us too hard to drive.

But the event of the day was the call of Mr. Thaddeus Hyatt of New York, President of the National Kansas Committee. He is now in the territory for the purpose of visiting every neighborhood to see that justice is done to the sufferers— His visits are of a "flying" character but he transacts business with dispatch— We had

never received any thing yet from the Lawrence committee on George's account but before he had been in the house 10 minutes he had settled the matter by having us make out our bill for the whole time (16 weeks) and himself writing on it an order for its immediate payment— He then made a little inquiry about the treatment George was having and recommended us to use water, and handed out \$20 to get better tubs and other appliances for that purpose— He gave George \$10 for an old wallet that contained 75 cts that was in his pocket when he was shot and which caught one of the bullets that was aimed at him and which saved his hip joint from being fractured and undoubtedly saved his life— He was very indignant that the Lawrence Committee had not paid Mr. Cutter's bill before this time.— John is going to town this morning to get a bath tub made and engage lumber to ceil the house so that it will be warm enough for a bath room &c &c.

. . . Since we wrote before we have received from the fund 50 lbs flour 7 lbs sugar 6 lbs rice 2 lbs coffee ½ lb tea and an old pelisse which I find very comfortable to slip on in this old room or to wear when I go out on horseback to do errands— We do not expect to get any thing more from the fund if they pay us.— John commenced but the morning was wearing away and he had wood to chop and thought he would hardly have time and so I was obliged though reluctantly to spoil his letter. Therefore with many regrets I am,

Sarah

O-e, Dec. 26, 1856.

Dear Father

Two gentlemen who were in Osawatomie this week, came in through Missouri. They reported the border ruffians they met or heard of as universally discouraged. One man who was in the army that burned Osawatomie said they were promised before they started \$1.50 a day, and 160 acres of land. "Well, did you get your \$1.50 a day?" "No, by — we did not." "Did you get your 160 acres of land?" "No, by — we didn't." "Are you going there again?" "No! Kansas may go to hell!" (That is true border ruffian dialect.)

We are very thankful to you and the generous donor for the \$5 enclosed in your last. We hope now that another year we may be left in peace so may earn our own living, and soon return to other needy the help we need and are kindly furnished. This help the North is now sending, in my judgment, assures the freedom of Kansas.



LETTERS OF JOHN AND SARAH EVERETT

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We received \$60 this week from Lawrence, (from Mr Army<sup>38</sup>) on George Cutter's account. Our health is usually good as a family. . . . Yesterday we had company to a Christmas dinner—a Methodist (Wes.) preacher, wife and child. A pleasant visit. I wish Mother could make a visit to Kansas for a resting spell. We have had a cold December. The two last days were very mild. Today foggy. This week got Dec. Cen. They get them in Lawrence about the 10th or 12th. With much love John.

Osawatomie Jan 1, 1857.

Dear Father.

Do any of the Welsh people talk of coming to Kansas in the spring? Any one who could come out with means enough to go right to making cheese with 20 to 40 cows could almost make their fortune in one season. Cheese retails here at 25 cents a pound. Last winter the same. I wish I had means to go into it. The pasture is unlimited and most excellent. Milch cows and all stock get as fat as butter in the summer. Good cows were worth here last spring from \$25 to \$35.

Corn is worth here 40 to 50 cts, Flour brings \$4.50, Butter, 25 cts; turnips 25 cts; potatoes, none to sell; pork 5 cts a pound.

Our health is good. We expect to take Mr. Cutter to Lawrence as soon as we get a few days of mild weather. He gets along slowly since cold weather. John

P. S.

Look out for mail failures now! The season of snow drifts, and swollen creeks approaches. There is three or four inches of snow on the ground to day which fell yesterday morning. Every week in December brought first rain, then wind, south, west, and north, cold, cutting, frosty, then a clear sky, one or two beautiful spring like days, the last day wind East, then clouds, then rain would complete the circle and begin a new round.

Osawatomie, Jan 15, '57.

Dear Father,

Evening

We received yours of Jan 1st this week. (Excuse my pencil marks. My ink is frozen & pale.) The \$7 came safely. Franky and Sarah are very much obliged to the children and mother for the donation. Will you please get Sarah a paper of good needles

38. William F. M. Army was a representative of the National Kansas Committee organized July 9, 1856, to send aid to the settlers of the territory.



and send in your next letter, sharps 5°-10°. All her needles bought here cut in the eye. You remember those we brought with us were lost in the bandbox. . . .

We are much more comfortable this winter than last. Our house is cold, but not nearly so cold as that we were in last winter. We are having a cold winter again. I'll give you a statement of how the thermometer has stood at sunrise since Jan 2.

Jan 2	+2°	Jan 6	-6°	Jan 10	+14°	Jan 14	+14°
3	-7°	7	+7°	11	0°	15	-9°
4	+3°	8	+9°	12	-6°	16	+12°
5	-3°	9	+14°	13	0°		

The prevailing winds have been westerly.— The free State Legislature met last week according to adjournment. They adjourned to June. Some of the members were arrested. I am not surprised with this. The *Symbols* of power are with our adversaries. The marshal or deputy told one of our members from this section that he had a writ for him, but it was a farce, and he would not execute it. (The member had called on business.) But one feels indignant that the representatives of nine tenths of the people should be arrested as if for crime, and that in the abused name of democracy.

Franky is very healthy, and lively as ever. Sarah and myself are in usual health. We get about four quarts of milk a day. I bought a good second-hand saddle the other day for \$3.50. Before we have had to borrow or do without. Mr Cutter is with us yet. We are on the whole pretty comfortable, when the thermometer does not stand at zero, with a stiff breeze. Our coldest weather is pretty still.

[John R. Everett]

Os-e, Jan 21, 1857.

Dear Father

Our usual letter failed this week.

We are in usual health. Nothing particular to write. Therefore please excuse brevity. Last Sunday morning the mercury fell to 26° below zero. Saturday was very cold. The only day yet this winter when the mercury remained below zero all day. Wind N. N. W. A hurricane of snow blowing all day. The night before the snow sifted through our roof like meal from mother's sieve. I had to get up and suspend a sheet to keep the snow from our heads and pillows. You must be having a severe winter there. It is not as cold nearly here as in the N. W. part of the Territory as I see by an account of a surveying party's expedition Dec 10 ult. published in The N. Y. Tribune

Your aff son John

LETTERS OF JOHN AND SARAH EVERETT

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Osawatomie, Jan. 28, 1857.

Dear Father

We rec'd yours of Jan. 9th yesterday, with \$6.00 enclosed. Thank Wm Roberts and J. W. Roberts and yourself very kindly for us. We hope we will be able some time to return it to some one who needs it as much. The prospect before us this summer is brighter than it has been yet in Kansas. Our health is better. The look for peace and confidence is yet good. The prospects of an overwhelming preponderance of free state settlers here are not at all desperate but highly encouraging. I hear on all sides noise of anticipated improvements the coming season. There is to be a saw mill and store put up 3 or 4 miles west of Osawatomie, the nucleus of a prospective town there—about the same distance from us as the present village. Our claim is in the centre of the township. Who knows but we may have a four corners, a store, blacksmith shop, &c here some time? There is considerable talk of building in Osawatomie. They have recently been getting subscriptions to erect a small building for school and meeting purposes—nearly enough already subscribed. My neighbor Mr Finch and I intend to fence together 20 acres each, making a field of 40 acres for corn. There is little fencing timber on my claim. Most of the rails I will have to buy. We intend to purchase a prairie plow between us and do the plowing mostly ourselves. Now do you think you could lend or borrow for me \$50 or \$30 to get fencing with? I can fence the half of a square piece  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile on a side with the same rails it would take to fence 10 acres separately. The surveyed lines come so that it will be much more convenient to make a field so, than to enlarge my old field. Mr Finch, you have heard me mention before, is a Wesleyan missionary of the Am. Miss. Association. If I can do this fencing and make my mare and my labor pay for my part of the plowing of the field, it will be a great lift for us and with a fair season bring us in enough so that next fall we will be quite independent. Next spring I intend to put out a few fruit trees to begin to make an orchard. I will have to buy some potatoes for seed. Those currant slips Lewis sent me I hope will grow next summer. They have been in the ground all winter. I wish some one was coming out here from your part in the spring, so that I could get a variety of small fruits &c. . . . How many of my apple trees lived through the summer? If you have not earthed them up, the first thaw let any one who has time tramp the snow around them. This will shut out the mice from

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