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with pumps, met the water problem.¹⁰⁹ Windmills as power for such wells were represented as providing the means of occupying the upland ridges for both livestock and farming purposes. The success of the railroad windmill at Junction City was cited, estimates of the cost of a mill and well was set at \$565, and concerning the Kansas wind the people were told that "if Kansas . . . does not utilize this wealth, it is entirely the fault of its own stupidity."¹¹⁰

Farmers planted their own fences with Osage Orange seed, bought plants already started by nurserymen, or engaged an Osage Orange hedge contractor who took the full responsibility.¹¹¹ Wood continued to serve as fuel although increasing scarcity led some to advocate conservation, among other things, by using stone for buildings and fences,¹¹² coal for fuel as well as systematic planting and protection of new timber for future needs. The extensive army wood contracts for Fort Riley aroused the *Union* to protest that "if government would spend one-half the money expended on these wood contracts in sinking a shaft for coal, it would prove profitable." Three years later, however, the editor switched to the other side of the fuel-timber question.¹¹³ A few used coal after the railroad provided transportation, but coal burning did not become general until the late seventies.¹¹⁴ At Abilene, T. C. Henry, advocated the use of coal even if a farmer had timber for fuel, because the time necessary to cut wood could be more profitably employed in more efficient and extensive farming operations.¹¹⁵ This position is significant also as a recognition that subsistence farming was not adaptable to a high degree of efficiency in agriculture, especially in a subhumid region, and that a more specialized commercial agriculture was necessary.

The process of adaptation to environment through experimentation was necessarily slow, several factors outside the farm tended to confuse the problem, and many of the tools essential to possible adjustments yet awaited development: cheap windmills, barbed wire, tillage and harvesting implements, mechanical power, new crops from

109. For early tube or drive well advertisements and rivalries, see *ibid.*, March 30, *et seq.*; *ibid.*, July 20, 1867, "Caution," also a rival advertisement.

110. Junction City *Union*, February 27, 1869.

111. Abilene *Chronicle*, March 3, April 21, May 19, 1870.

112. Junction City *Union*, May 20, 1865, December 12, 1868, January 2, February 6, 1869.

113. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1865, December 12, 1868.

114. Abilene *Chronicle*, December 7, 1877. The Solomon news column reported "Coal is coming into very general use this winter." The editor of the *Chronicle* had been asking, during this winter, "Wood wanted on subscription." On December 7, he added, "We don't want 'kraut' on subscription."

115. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1870.

Asia and Africa and new varieties of the accepted staples. The close of the Civil War marked a turning point. In the absence of natural water transportation and of railroads, the requirements of Great Plains commerce and of army supply prior to that date had created a seller's market. Corn, hay and livestock dominated the scene at artificial prices. These were produced by a depleted manpower under the handicaps of a frontier stage of development, war-time scarcities and high prices. Stolen horses and Cherokee cattle were sold cheap and contributed to the stocking of many a Kansas farm. Corn was raised regardless of its adaptability to climate.

During the Civil War the Pacific railroad had been authorized, and the line, which Kansas hoped would become the main line, was opened to Lawrence late in 1864. The end of the war and the prospect of the coming of the railroad to the upper Kansas valley were momentous factors in the economic outlook of 1865. G. W. Martin, editor of the *Junction City Union*, reviewed the situation in editorials and related matter in his issue of August 26, 1865. The news item that seems to have inspired him to the first of these, "The Beginning of the End," was a post-office order that Santa Fe mail start from Lawrence, the head of the railroad, instead of Kansas City:

The moment the railroad passes Topeka westward, that moment will the great Santa Fe road play out. . . . The opening of the Smoky Hill Route, together with the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad westward, will bring this way a monopoly of all the freight and travel now going over the Platte and Santa Fe. . . .

On the line of this new route of travel is the richest agricultural and pastoral region of the continent. The beneficence of the Homestead Act, inducing settlers, will add to its natural advantages.

The second editorial was "Fall Wheat," favorable planting conditions and the prospects of the coming two years. "The recent high price of corn has given to the raising of that staple an impetus to the neglect of wheat," but the price of corn "most likely, will be low after the exhaustion of the present crop." He was predicting twenty-five cent corn. On the other hand, "wheat will command \$2 at least," on account of the great emigration and the necessity of bringing flour from the Missouri river. Calculating the wheat yield at twenty-five bushels and corn at forty bushels per acre, he predicted that one acre of wheat would be worth five of corn.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ The Fort Riley price of corn in 1864 cannot be determined from materials available. The Leavenworth market price was quoted at the end of August at \$1.30 while winter wheat was \$2.00 to \$2.25 and spring wheat \$1.50. To the price of corn at the Missouri river must be added freight and handling charges by wagon train to Fort Riley or other interior army posts. The Emporia price of corn was \$1.25.—Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, August 31, September 27, 1864. The Fort Zarah (near Great Bend) contracts for 15,000 bushels of corn

The third article was a success story reprinted from the *Topeka Record*. A woman with five children had settled thirty-five miles west of Junction City, near the mouth of the Solomon river in 1860. Her capital was \$400, two yoke of oxen and a wagon, and in 1865 they owned 1,200 acres of land, 200 head of cattle, and had sold during the year 1,200 bushels of corn at \$2.50 per bushel, twenty-two head of steers at \$75 each, and 900 pounds of butter at seventy-five cents per pound. The article concluded "We think the story that western Kansas is a desert must be about 'played out.'"

The following year the ambitions of Junction City as a trading point were reviewed. Because of the controversy over the location of the railroad route to the westward, the coming of the railroad was expected to make the city a terminus for a longer period than towns usually enjoyed that distinction. As a permanent advantage, the railroad would make tributary all the country to the south in the direction of Council Grove and to the northwest, up the Republican valley and two wagon roads were laid out to exploit those advantages. On July 2 the Santa Fe mail did start from Junction City.¹¹⁷

During these years large numbers of native cattle and sheep were driven in from the east and Cherokee cattle from the south.¹¹⁸ The volume of these livestock movements prior to 1867 has been obscured by the exaggerated emphasis that has been given to the Texas cattle trade through Abilene and other Western points beginning in 1867. For years the farmers had been obliged to herd their growing crops against depredations of livestock. James Bell related in the spring of 1870 how he had herded his crops for the first four years near Abilene, 1864-1868, but by 1870 he had completed the enclosure of his whole farm of 240 acres with a post and board fence at a cost of \$1,200.¹¹⁹ That was farming under adversity, but the Texas herds from 1867 to 1872 made the life of the unfenced farmer a burden. The business men of the towns who benefited from the Texas trade allied themselves with the cattle interests to the serious detriment of

were let at prices ranging from \$4.00 to \$4.93 delivered at the fort.—*Junction City Union*, September 10, 1864. Bids for 35,000 bushels more were rejected at the same time because the prices were too high. Wheat raised in the upper valley would have had to stand freight to mill and back, plus handling costs.

In 1865, corn from the new crop was bought at \$1.19 delivered at Fort Riley.—*Ibid.*, November 4, 11, 1865. By the following summer the price had declined on the crop of 1865 so that July contracts were let in 1866 at 67 to 93 cents delivered at Fort Riley.—*Ibid.*, July 7, 1866. November contracts were let at 86 and 88 cents.—*Ibid.*, November 24, 1866.

117. *Ibid.*, April 28, June 30, 1866.

118. Spanish fever outbreak brought in by southern cattle.—*Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 24, 1864; Breaking up of Cherokee cattle theft activities.—*Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, August 3, 17, 1865; Native cattle and sheep driven west and other data.—*Junction City Union*, April 22, June 3, November 18, December 16, 1865. An estimate was made that in 1863 some half million Eastern native cattle, mostly from Missouri, were driven over the overland route through northern Kansas for the Western territories.

119. *Abilene Chronicle*, May 12, 1870.



the small farmer, and the trade thrived in defiance of the legislative enactments of 1867 and later.

Even before the completion of the Kansas Pacific railroad to Denver in September, 1870, the pendulum started to swing back to the small farmer. The railroad undertook an aggressive immigration campaign as a means of disposing of its land grant. The tide of settlers began to flow in increasing numbers in 1868 and by 1869 assumed the proportions of a boom. The Junction City *Union* launched a town building campaign in the approved sensational boom style with its issue of February 13, 1869, and continued the booster activities through the year on the subjects of immigration, cleaning up the hotel and vice rackets, promoting buildings, home industries, exploiting crop reports and freight volume, following the building of the Southern Branch through Council Grove to Emporia and the south line and promoting a railroad project up the Solomon. The first reduction in freight and passenger rates as a result of the completion of the Southern Branch came in June, 1870.¹²⁰

Two highly significant editorials appeared in the Junction City *Union*, September 11, 1869. The first analyzed the relation of land prices to cattle and cereal production, tracing the center of cattle production across the continent from the vicinity of the Philadelphia market to Kansas—cereals continuously displacing cattle, as soon as the price of land rose beyond the profit margin for cattle. He gave the cattle industry of the upper Kansas valley less than ten years of predominance on \$25 per acre land before grain would take the ascendancy.

The second editorial was directed "To Immigrants" and was designed to dispel doubts concerning water supply and markets for grain, two things which Martin admitted both amused and provoked him. With respect to water he pointed to inexhaustible supplies in wells thirty-five to fifty feet deep, costing \$30 to \$150 according to construction, and windmills costing \$500 that pump water and cut feed for 500 cattle. The markets were for the most part at the farmer's door, surplus corn and hay could be shipped west, flour would be made at home as soon as mills were improved and three of every four pounds of butter consumed was shipped in. He used Clay Center, off the railroad, to illustrate what he meant by a market at home. In spite of a big crop, wheat was selling on the farms there at a higher price than at the Junction City market:

For five years to come, every man who cultivates a farm can safely calculate

¹²⁰. Junction City *Union*, July 2, 1870.

on the fact that the new and neighboring settlers will gladly purchase his crop, and not even trouble him to hitch up his team.

The rising influence of the small farmer and stockman made itself evident as the years passed. In Pottawatomie county a meeting was held in September, 1868, to prevent the driving of Texas cattle through that region.¹²¹ Resolutions were adopted June 5, 1869, by the citizens of the Republican valley above Junction City citing the act of the legislature of 1867 against Texas cattle and warning that it would be enforced by the citizens of the valley.¹²² Some stockmen were on the other side of the question, however, one letter of protest being printed at the same time as the resolutions, the editor endorsing the letter. The argument was that farmers should buy up young Texas cattle and calves, winter them, which freed them from the Texas fever, and use them as foundation herds for crossing with Durham bulls. He minimized the Texas fever, insisting he had arrived at this conclusion from experience after first opposing admission of Texas stock. The interest in cattle was emphasized soon after by the comment that investment within the year had tripled in Geary county.¹²³ Other ground for opposition to Texas cattle was their poor quality, slow response to feed which made them expensive and price discrimination against them when fat.¹²⁴ In Dickinson county, after a long campaign a compromise agreement was negotiated May 15, 1871, between the Farmers' Protective Association and citizens of Abilene by which a definite herding ground and a prescribed cattle trail was specified, and a fund was collected to pay damages that might occur. The association reserved the right to prohibit the trade altogether the following year.¹²⁵ This alternative was exercised, the circular to the Texas cattle trade being published in the *Chronicle* February 22, 1872.

Paralleling closely the campaign against Texas cattle was the campaign for the herd law; that instead of farmers fencing livestock out of their fields under the fence law of 1868, the stockmen must fence the animals in or herd them, becoming liable for all damage done to fields irrespective of fences. The herd law of 1871 was applicable only to enumerated counties, of which Dickinson was one, but only upon a vote of the citizens. The herd law of 1872 vested

121. *Manhattan Independent*, September 12, 1868.

122. *Junction City Union*, June 12, 1869.

123. *Ibid.*, July 24, 1869.

124. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, June 9, 1871.

125. *Abilene Chronicle*, January 12, 19, 26, February 2, 1871, covers the preliminary campaign. A summary of the agreement was published in *ibid.*, May 18, and the text, June 8, 1871.

the power in the board of county commissioners. Saline and Dickinson counties acted immediately, the provisions of the law becoming effective April 8 and 12 respectively.¹²⁶ In Geary county the law was not called into operation until February 19, 1876.¹²⁷

A new standard of stabilization of the cattle industry resulted from the elimination of the Texas cattle and fencing of pastures. A few blooded cattle had been brought in prior to 1870, but under the new regime frequent notices appeared in the newspapers of such importations, mostly Shorthorns.¹²⁸ Sheep had many followers also. A bumper corn crop in 1872, with ruinously low prices, not only stirred the farmers of Kansas to organized agitation and eventual revolt under the banner of the Grange, but gave emphasis to livestock production on a larger scale, and to diversification in which winter wheat became the leading beneficiary. The Dickinson county fair of 1870, the first, offered among its various premiums, one for wheat, making no distinction between the spring and the winter varieties. The second and third fairs, however, gave separate recognition.¹²⁹ Diversification became a panacea among the more extreme promoters and the growing of wool, flax, sorghum, hogs, beef and dairy cattle were coupled with woolen mills, flax machinery and oil mills, molasses and sugar factories, packing plants, and butter and cheese factories. It was said that "Our people must come down to first principles"; manufacture their own produce.¹³⁰

These years of rapid change in the upper Kansas valley aroused anew an interpretative analysis of crops and prairie-plains environment. In this connection the views of T. C. Henry, of Abilene, are of more than ordinary importance. Born in New York state, he had gone south after the war but gave up cotton planting and came to Kansas in 1867, going into the real estate business and local politics in Abilene and soon gained control of both. In 1870 at twenty-nine years of age he was a leading citizen and delivered the principal address at the first Dickinson county fair. In the course of his remarks he described his ideal of a model farm, eighty to 160 acres selected "with the view to rearing stock"; starting with young Texas cattle and improving them by breeding. They must be provided with shelter and feed, and if necessary dam a draw to provide water, growing "only so much grain as I needed for consumption upon my

126. *Ibid.*, March 14, April 11, 1872.

127. *The Salina Herald*, February 26, 1876.

128. *Junction City Union*, October 7, 1871; *Abilene Chronicle*, July 11, 1872, January 2, 1873.

129. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1870, September 28, 1871, August 1, 1872.

130. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1873.

own farm" and if "I found myself with a surplus, I should retain it for provision against a possible scarcity in the future. I should sow winter wheat, but do so early and in season. . . ." He would sow rye and oats for stock feed to provide against a more or less complete corn failure once in every three or four years. He emphasized especially the importance of deep plowing to conserve moisture and the hazard of planting corn after a dry winter and spring.

The most significant portion of the address was his views on adaptation to environment, a candid admission of the deficiencies of climate and a challenge to capitalize on the fact that Kansas is different. He disavowed any attempt to present anything new, only to call—

a greater attention to the advantages that peculiarly belong to our section and locality, so that a system of agriculture—distinct and apart—as our necessities are distinct and apart, may be created, and which shall secure to our farmers a success commensurate with their unrivalled . . . opportunities.

There were on the globe three great rainless areas, the deserts of Sahara and Central Asia, a small region in South America, and the American Southwest, but Kansas lay in the transition belt between humid Leavenworth and arid Denver. He emphasized that—

This important fact necessarily creates a continuity of atmospherical conditions that compel our agricultural operations to conform to them if we would attain the highest success. I repeat, that we discover an arrangement of the laws of nature here, unlike those to a considerable extent that we have been accustomed to in the Eastern States—and I am persuaded that the methods and practices in farming that are suitable to those states, are in very many respects out of place and not adapted to the peculiarities of this locality and this climate. The sooner we recognize and acquaint ourselves with these differences and place ourselves in harmony with them, the sooner may we avail ourselves of the unequalled and exclusive opportunities our country affords. . . .

We must take it for granted that the average yearly rainfall here, is less than in the States we are most familiar with, and we must farm accordingly. It does not follow because we have this peculiarity that our advantages are inferior. What should we think of one accustomed to the swamps of Carolina, and coming here commence a clamor against the country because it is not adapted to raising rice. So of the man that is accustomed to the corn growing advantages of Illinois—what right has he to set up a standard of superiority, when as a wheat growing state it is scarcely to be considered in comparison with our own.

No, we have advantages as well as disadvantages, but I insist that while we avail ourselves of the one, we must remedy the other, and in so doing create our own Kansas farming. . . .

It behooves him [the farmer] then to study the nature, condition and quality of his lands; observe closely the great laws about him that have shaped the



local and climatic peculiarities of his geographical position, and by his knowledge, experience and judgment, be enabled to adapt the crop to the soil, or to prepare the soil for the crop. He must read and reflect, experiment and discover new methods of overcoming the obstacles and hindrances that arise about him. In this great work we want for leaders men whose examples and precepts will excite the enthusiasm, and secure the confidence of their fellow laborers in this field of agriculture. . . .

As Henry was placing his greatest reliance at this time on livestock and diversified agriculture, his views on livestock and environment require emphasis. The disadvantages of the humid and forested East had imposed upon the pioneer the burden of clearing off the trees that light might penetrate to the earth and of digging ditches to drain off the water "in order that the earth may bring forth grass. . . . The best and greater part of many a bravehearted man's life has been consumed before he could possess himself of a meadow" comparable to the natural prairie pastures of Kansas. And the Eastern farmer found it necessary to incur the expense and labor of a continual "renewal of his grass field." Kansas did not have forests nor heavy rainfall, but in that Kansas was fortunate in his estimate, "let us admit these facts and turn our attention to our own exclusive advantages." These were "our dry, healthy winters, so admirably adapted to the comfort of our stock"; also "these prairies, abounding in an unnumbered variety of rich and nutritious grasses" and "if we can't raise corn as well, we can wheat, rye and oats better."

The culture and growth of grass insures a diversity of agricultural employment and occupation that otherwise cannot exist. . . . Then the greatest means of fertilizing and recuperating the soil is withheld and instead of the beautiful system of rotating crops . . . the entire attention is directed to the simple cultivation of some one or two staples.¹³¹

The general interpretation of agriculture and environment which Henry presented became a permanent part of his thinking, but his livestock theme is in sharp contrast with his reputation only five years later as the wheat King of the Golden Belt. His views on livestock were more or less typical, however, of the time and circumstances.

Another interpretation of "Kansas the stock state" set forth other aspects of disadvantages and advantages, pointing out that rapid railroad construction had made money easy but that was past and now, 1872, Kansas was getting down to bedrock.

Money is scarce, farm produce is low, taxes are high, debts are numerous,

¹³¹. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1870.



mortgages are becoming due, and the wolf is unpleasantly near too many doors. What shape, then, shall our industries and economies take in order to make the most of our State and its resources? These resources are unbounded. There are no richer soils or sweeter skies than ours. But we are destitute of the adventitious advantages out of which many peoples suddenly and easily acquire wealth. We have no exhaustless mines of gold and silver, no lordly rivers upon whose broad, elastic backs the broods of commerce ride, no inland lakes and seas, no forests resounding to the strokes of the woodman's axe, and not even any present prospect of a great city, a commercial emporium, within our borders, where the more adventurous and speculative might gather for quick returns and hazardous ventures. We have our unsurpassed soil and climate, and that is all.

Now what shall we make of it? . . . We think we have answered our question in the heading of this article. We must raise stock. . . .¹³²

The extent of the author's ambition was to excel Kentucky, and like that state make such a reputation for excellence that people would come from all parts of the United States to buy, and like the Kentuckian, the Kansan would not need to hunt for customers; they would hunt for him; "now then, all we want is the same STOCK SPIRIT, the same ambition to have the best . . . in order to equal and finally excel them. . . ."

Reporting for the Saline County Agricultural and Mechanical Society in 1872, the secretary, A. Sheldon, presented effectively the problem of settlers derived from different environments reëducating themselves in terms of Plains agriculture:

Our community is composed of farmers from all sections of the United States, and although educated to some theory in agriculture, and combined with large experience in practical farming in the sections from whence they come, owing to the difference in the chemical properties of soil, water and atmosphere, it has been and probably will be for some years to come, necessary to resort to experimental farming before perfect success is fully attained. We are improving steadily in acquiring knowledge of the best kinds of seed and the best mode of tillage in this section of the State. Much attention has been given to the planting of fruit and forest trees as well as the growing of the Osage orange. All of which, when properly cared for, thrive remarkably well.¹³³

The year 1872 seems to close a period in the development of the upper Kansas valley, with soft winter wheat a proven crop, but only one of three leaders, the others being corn and cattle. The winter wheat boom and the fame of the "Golden Belt" lay in the future.

132. *The Kansas Spirit*, Lawrence, April 6, 1872.

133. *Transactions of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1872, p. 239.

POSTSCRIPT

An attractive human-interest story, once in circulation, has a way of becoming an accepted tradition. That the story is contrary to all canons of reasonableness as well as to historical facts seems to make little difference once repetition has accomplished its acceptance. Already Kansas has acquired a number of winter-wheat legends, one of which has its focus in Dickinson county and is associated with the name of T. C. Henry of Abilene. Stuart Henry told the story, in praise of his elder brother, that he was inspired by the market leadership of the comparatively new Minnesota winter [*sic*] wheat and determined to save his Dickinson county from "impending bankruptcy" by experimenting with winter wheat in Kansas. To avoid the ridicule of the "town cynics," he pledged his family to keep the secret of a five-acre field of winter wheat sown in the fall of 1870 on river bottom land. The wheat was a success and "it proved to be the epochal event for the Plains." Henry planted several hundred acres of valley land in the fall of 1871, according to the story, began to advertise "the news of his discovery," and was invited to speak before a convention where he was "nearly booed . . . off his feet," because he had aroused the opposition of the stockmen and even the farming element feared his activities would react unfavorably against "sensible endeavor."¹³⁴

In the light of the historical narrative of the development of winter wheat growing in the upper Kansas valley, the Stuart Henry story breaks down of its own weight. Winter wheat had been raised on both bottom lands and uplands for years prior to T. C. Henry's activities which, according to his own story prepared for the Kansas State Historical Society in 1904,¹³⁵ began in 1873, and he secured his seed from James Bell who had grown it on his farm adjoining Abilene on the south. The ridicule by Plains people of experimentation, stressed by Stuart Henry, was conspicuously out of character and the numerous examples of recognition of fundamental differences in environment and the necessity of making adaptations upon the basis of experiment amply demonstrate that author's fallacy.

¹³⁴. Stuart Henry, *Conquering Our Great American Plains* (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. [c1930]), pp. 197, 198, 218, 303-313.

¹³⁵. T. C. Henry, "The Story of a Fenceless Winter-Wheat Field," *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, pp. 502-506.

The Diary of George H. Hildt

June to December, 1857

Pioneer of Johnson County

Edited by MARTHA B. CALDWELL

I. INTRODUCTION

GEORGE H. HILDT, John Diehl and Charles Wood arrived in Kansas territory from their home in Canal Dover, Ohio, about the first of June, 1857. After spending several days looking over the land and visiting friends who had preceded them, they selected adjoining claims in southern Johnson county, naming their settlement Tuscarora.¹ Other Ohio friends² took claims near them, and in the fall William C. Quantrill,³ who later became the notorious guerrilla leader, came up from Franklin county to join his schoolmates. Quantrill filed on a claim near Hildt's. The claims were a part of the Shawnee Indian lands opened for purchase and preemption on November 19, 1857.⁴ Two weeks later Hildt filed declarations of intention at the Lecompton land office for himself and several of his neighbors. About the first of January, 1858, he left for St. Louis, where he worked for a short time before returning to his home in Ohio. At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in an Ohio regiment, and presumably did not again live in Kansas.⁵

Hildt's "chief object in Kansas," as he wrote in the journal, was "to keep a record of what I do & hear of others doing." This record,

1. The claims were located in T. 14, R. 23, in the northwest corner of Spring Hill township.—E. F. Heisler and D. M. Smith, *Atlas Map of Johnson County, Kansas* (Wvandotte, 1874), p. 46. Hildt failed to record the legal description of his land in the diary. Probably it was the NW¼ sec. 34.

2. John Bair, Alexander McCartney and his brother.

3. William Clarke Quantrill came to Kansas from Canal Dover, Ohio, in March, 1857, with H. V. Beeson and Col. Henry (or Harry) Torrey. Beeson and Torrey purchased relinquishments on claims in the eastern part of Franklin county near the present village of Rantoul. Torrey also bought a relinquishment in Quantrill's name (See Footnote 18). It was illegal of course for Quantrill, who was not quite twenty, to take a claim. Such irregularities, however, were common on the frontier. For further information on Quantrill's early life in Kansas see William E. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1910), pp. 55-74, and a compilation of articles in *The Kansas Historical Collections* (1902), v. VII, pp. 212-229.

4. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 198.

5. Letters of Mrs. J. E. Hildt to Historical Society, June 14, 1938, and July 18, 1941. George H. Hildt was born in Baltimore, Md., in 1835. On April 20, 1861, he volunteered in Co. F, Sixteenth Ohio infantry, and four months later joined the Thirtieth Ohio Volunteer infantry. By November, 1862, he was lieutenant colonel. He served until September, 1864, and participated in several engagements, including the battle of Antietam, and the sieges of Vicksburg and Atlanta. After the war he returned to Dover, Ohio, and married Angeline Switzer in the early 1870's. Two sons were born the couple: John E., deceased, and Fred T., now of Tulsa, Okla. George H. died at his home in Dover in 1913.—*Ibid.*, and *Official Roster of the soldiers of the State of Ohio* . . . , v. I (Akron, 1893), p. 334; v. III (Cincinnati, 1886), pp. 394, 395.

in diary form, covers the period from June to December, 1857. It was written in pencil in a small leather-bound volume, and was intended for his family and friends in Ohio. The diary provides an interesting day-by-day account of life on the Kansas frontier, and gives important sidelights on the politics of the time. It came into the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society through Mrs. J. E. Hildt, a daughter-in-law of the author. It is reproduced here without change except for an occasional word necessary to clarify the text.

II. THE DIARY

Shaw says Qwindare [Quindaro]⁶ never will be much of a town the Delaware reservation running back about forty miles and no squatters allowed to settle yet on the land.⁷ Levenworth City 35 miles from Lawrence splendid road and Coach fare 3.00.

Camden a little town on the Missouri above Lexington with no Steamboat Landing. the channels of the river having changed since the town was located a usual occurrence on this river where the channel is constantly changing at every rise of water. Gambling on board last night for money. One man lost 260 all the money he possessed and won by a professional black leg. He then offered to stake his note with the captain or check for security on a game of poker for 200 dollars, which was accepted. The game was played and won by the unfortunate loser and he rose from the table minus only 60 dollars instead of 460 had he lost.

One of these lottery jewelers on board yesterday picking up stray dimes. He had his prizes arranged on numbers on the table and by throwing dice the number which turned up took the prize answering to the number. He had the valueable prizes arranged on low and high numbers or all 3s or all sixes of something of that sort the numbers which turned up most frequent were from 20 to 30 and upon these numbers small prizes were arranged. 1.00 a throw at first and next 50 cts One luck[y] man thru forty four, and won a gold watch which the lottery man offered him \$35 for. All other who engaged in the game appeared to lose some ten fifteen and 20 dollars and many from 2 to 5 dolls I invested 50 cts and drew a comb & brush worth about that amt John did the same and drew a blank. . . .

6. Quindaro was founded in 1856 as a Free-State gateway into Kansas territory. It is now extinct and its townsite is a part of present Kansas City, Kan.

7. The Delaware diminished reserve established by the treaty of 1854 was ten miles in width and extended forty miles west from the western boundary of the Wyandot lands.—*A Compilation of All the Treaties Between the United States and the Indian Tribes* (Washington, 1873), pp. 340-345.

Harris House ⁸
Westport [Mo.]

Judge McCowen.

Leavenworth City situated on the Missouri a very nice site for a town not any grading of any acct required to make it just as it should be John & I strolled out this morning saw 2 Surveyors Offices and one drug store just the place for a new business of almost any kind. The Hotel very much crowded so much so that five of [us] roomed together last night in three beds I had John of course for my bedfellow A meeting of the untterrified this afternoon [3 o'clock, June 6] and one of the free state men to night. Will be on hand and try and report proceedings Hotel fare two dollars a day or five dollars a week without Lodging Not quite as bad as I expected fare from Leavenworth to Kansas City by Boat 2.00 The Hotel keeper seemed to have a preference for Ohio men or we should not have had a room. Mechanics of all descriptions appear to be on demand. The Ladies are here as well as in the states. At Kansas City [Mo.] went to the post Office first thing and meet two young girls of that place with hoops black silk Joseph and Nun bonnets Here have saw about a dozen ladies but some of them common dressed of course but the generality of them very fine looking women.

Democratic Meeting at Leavenworth City. Easton ⁹ about fifty present though seemed to be coming during the speech He was aware that another ticket was gotten up & he could call them nothing else but disorganizers as they did [not] act in accordance with the convention held at Lecompt[on] of which they were members ¹⁰ Had the D met openly and nominated their ticket [but?] they met in secret conclave and have had some half dozen tickets the ticket today may not be the one elected A mongrel ticket got [up] composed of free state men & other Democ &c related the anecdote of the boy &c eating the said party will eat until dead A voice in the crowd [said] dont say anything against free state men Maj Moore then made a speech in which he said not that the disorganizers intended to be such but that they had been misled and that he hoped

8. Mrs. Nellie McCoy Harris wrote of the Harris Hotel: "The fame of that incomparable inn, conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Jack Harris, . . . reached far and wide. To think of a village tavern with a large patronage, serving hot waffles, buck-wheat cakes, chicken pie, fried chicken, turkeys, broiled venison, prairie-chicken, buffalo steak, and such other toothsome viands! These were supplied at all times at the Harris Inn, good and plenty."—"Memories of Old Westport," by Mrs. Nellie McCoy Harris, in *The Annals of Kansas City* (Missouri Valley Historical Society, Kansas City, Mo., October, 1924), pp. 470, 471.

9. This may refer to Gen. Lucian J. Easton as being the speaker.

10. On January 12, 1857, a Proslavery convention was held at Lecompton "when the Law and Order party rechristened itself," and was "henceforth to be known as the National Democracy of Kansas."—A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 156.

that they would suffer themselves to be deceived no longer. He was followed by Anderson [John Henderson] of the [Leavenworth] *Journal* who denounced the whole mongrel ticket and every man on it. Looked upon them all as abolitionists and would as soon shoot an abolitioner down on the plain as a dog. Was very vindictive the meeting then adjourned.¹¹ Sheriff Jones [of Douglas Co.] was there and the hard[est] countenance of any man I believe I ever saw he carried. He was neatly dressed however and the phiz presented a strange contrast to his clothing. From Leavenworth we came down to Wyandott Ci[ty] where Bill McMass¹² is at work and making as he says lots of money. Wyandot quite an embryo town.¹³ Houses cost a great deal of money and rents are very high. Several he pointed out to us which cost in the states about 100 rent here for from 30 to 50 dolls per month according to location.

Boarding 6.00 per week. He owned a share in the town and had sold a few lot[s] from it Leaving the rest at a very low figure.

Leaving Wyandot we started to Quindaro and were overtaken by a storm which for violence exceeded anything I ever witnessed. Trees fell in every direction. Dust blinded us and we were brought up standing by seeing a tree fall directly over our path. Rails rattled around us and we concluded to stop at the next house which proved to be an Indian one. Old Mises Hicks¹⁴ claimed to be proprietor. A Wyandot Indian. She conversed before us to an old Indian sqaw in her native tongue though she spoke English as well as any of us. In the front room or the room in which we were was a pianer. A calash top. Baby wagon with springs and silver plated hubs. Pictures, lounges and all of the best material. She had horses, cattle, wagons, a very nice garden and orchard. I think Marion Bear would not have ever thought of Indians if she had been there and I don't think that she would have thought her an Indian if she had not conversed in that tongue. That was the first apprehension I had of her Indian Blood.

After the storm we trudged on towards Quindaro carrying our

11. Political meetings were held throughout Leavenworth county prior to the election of delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention. On June 6 a meeting was held at Leavenworth City. Two tickets were in the field, the Regular ticket whose candidates were chosen through a county convention, and the Independent ticket, formed by those who were dissatisfied with the work of the convention. This ticket included the names of a few Free-State men, hence it was called the mongrel ticket. Lucian J. Eastin and John Henderson were candidates on the Regular ticket.—*The Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, June 6, 13, 20, 1857.

12. Possibly William McMath, a justice of the peace in Wyandotte.—Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1231.

13. Wyandotte was founded early in 1857 on the site of a Wyandot Indian village.—*Ibid.*

14. Possibly the widow of Francis A. Hicks, a Wyandot chief, who died in 1855.—*Ibid.*, p. 1229.



carpet sacks and enjoying the cooling breeze after the refreshing shower. Quindaro laid out quite extensively and a great deal of money expended in grading the streets. Quite a bluff bank in ascending from the river though it contains rock which reduces the price of grading to the Co: a very rough site for a village though the Steamboat Landing is said to be the best on the river. We got a team here and started for Ola-the, the Shawnee Indian word for Beautiful John [Diehl] Charlie [Wood] & Myself and two gentlemen from Quindaro accompa[ny]ing us. We traveled some distance until we reached the prairie and just at the edge a fine cultivated Indian farm was before us Choteau's it is called and looked like an old Tuscarawas farm or one farmed by a neat farmer¹⁵ My Ideas was set up at once. The prairie looked beautiful covered with flowers of all shades and colors and kept growing more and more beautiful until we reached Olathe. I think the town very appropriately named.

The laid out plat contains 320 acres of land and the houses I should think number about 20 altogether. John D is putting up one for \$200 Houses of all kinds are contracting to be put up and I think that Olathe next spring will not be the little town which it is now. Saw the New Ham[p]shire girl next morning think her tolerable handsome and judging by the appearance of the table I should think her a tolerable cook also two very essential points you know.

Bright and early on the 9th of June we started for Stanton¹⁶ Charlie having bought a mule team and wagon here he took us down We called to see a few claims which were offered for sale on our way down Halted at noon at a shanty and bought ½ gall of milk and carried it over to the boys in a large tin pan. As the sun was hot we got under the wagon and all headed round to the milk pan and had a fine laugh over the thought of our Dover friends taking a peep at us in that situation Our ½ gall of milk disappeared as well as some of our biscuits and snaps they did not taste a bit stale. We traveled on until within about six miles of Stanton one mule gave signs of giving out and we took it more moderate and at last concluded to camp on the prairie about 4 miles from Stanton We unharnessed the mules and turned them out to graze while we took supper Our supper was the same as our dinner with the exception of the milk water supplied its place After supper we made our sleeping arrangements which consisted of removeing everything out

15. Probably Frederick Chouteau's farm in the northern part of Johnson county.—Heisler & Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

16. A town in the western part of Miami county.

of the wagon and laying down two comforts on the bottom of the box which Charlie had brought from Quindaro Upon these we laid covering up with John[s] Blanket John D[s] shawl and another comfort We laid two and two with our feet together in the middle and 2 of us heading to the tail board and the other two the front We took nothing off but our hats & boots, but felt very comfortable with the exception of one thing and that was that whenever we looked up we saw stars, and at every side prairie and sky met our view We would have been much pleased to have had some of the Dover boys see us in that situation we must of looked quite cosy though we were packed very tight. We were afraid it would rain as it lightened in the south but did not come up our way. A heavy dew fell however which saturated our blanket completely, though underneath we were as dry as a chip. I was awake at 12. 3. & heard John Bear calling to the mules at 5. when we all got up, harnessed up the mules and started for Stanton feeling quite refreshed after our first camp on the prairie. We reached there sometime after breakfast though we had none we made out of our carpet sacks. Saw Torrey first going in and out of his cabin as if he was washing dishes and cleaning up He appeared quite glad to see us and had a great many questions to ask about the Furnace &c Beeson & Bill Q[uantrill] were out after the cattle. they are breaking prairie with three yoke. they all appeared glad to [see] us and were much pleased that we intended to stay with them until tomorrow. They live in a cabin about 14 ft square filled up with trunks meal bags bedding pots pans buckets guns tin ware side meat &c. For dinner we had pan cakes molasses, wild goose berries & side meat and it tasted right good I tell you Wild strawberries grow here in abundance we had quite a feast today minus the cream Beeson has a prairie claim I think about as good as any that I have seen Torrey owns one of timber as a small portion of prairie¹⁷ Bill Q[uantrill] own[s] one entirely of timber.¹⁸ We remained all night here and slept all over the cabin the floor was covered with beds and sleepers. Left in the morning

17. Claims of Beeson and Torrey comprised the north $\frac{1}{2}$ sec. 34, T. 17 S., R. 21 E.

18. Torrey also owned this claim bought in the name of Quantrill. It was the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 21, T. 17 S., R. 21 E. "Kansas Volume 24," p. 157, filed in the General Land Office in Washington, showed sale of the quarter to William C. Quantrill on June 29, 1857. William Brindle, receiver, made out Receipt No. 325 to Quantrill on that date for \$360 in full payment for this quarter section of Kaskaskia, Peoria, Piankeshaw and Wea trust lands. On the same day Quantrill assigned the quarter to Harry Torrey. These transactions were recorded April 19, 1859, in Franklin county's "Deed Record A," p. 380. Less than a year after the purchase Torrey transferred 90 acres of the quarter in two parcels by warranty deeds to Joab Torrey and E. Hicks. Patent on the land was issued to Harry Torrey, October 1, 1858, on assignment (Franklin county, "Deed Record 55," p. 393). It was recorded July 7, 1887.—Information furnished by James C. Malin from records in Washington and in the Franklin county courthouse at Ottawa.



for Lawrence and passed through Palmyra and prairie City¹⁹ at the latter we found a nice young man who offered to show us claims and John B[air] thought it just the thing. But on examination of our maps we found it about 45 miles from the Missouri and about 15 from Lawrence, and [we] would rather have claims down about Olathe where it is only from 16 to 20 miles from there to K[ansas] City. Came into Lawrence about 4 O'clock looked around at the city until about 6 and drove out a mile to camp.

Slept in our wagon had not yet procured a tent and during the night we were aroused by quite a smart shower beating in upon us. As John & I slept in the wagon we were the greatest sufferers. Charlie & John slept under on the ground. We were soon under upon the boys w[h]ere a council was hastily held and we concluded to decamp, and procure the nearest shelter. I was safely lodged in a privy near at hand & the rest took themselves to a carr[i]age which stood near. Again the old expression was what would our Dover friends say to see us in that situation. Or what would Marion say to see John with his blue blanket pacing rather hurriedly to an old carriage for shelter. It did not rain as much as we expected however and we were soon again at the wagon making vain attempts to sleep. One of our mules which had been lame all through the trip from Olathe was so badly crippled that we could not go out of a walk. We concluded to wait until after dinner on him and look round at Lawrence.

Lawrence is not near as large a place as Leavenworth but has a much more pleasing site. Business of all kinds very brisk and a great many strangers in town inquiring and prying into everything. One Jewelry & Drug store looked as well as anything of the kind I have saw in the States. Ladies appear on the streets in full dress. Hoops flounces and nun bonnets appear to be the rage. Every thing you ask the price of is ten cts—i e of small—those which you buy in the states for 5 and you cannot get a copper off your hands without giving it away. 3 cts is the lowest coin they know in business.

Charlie procured a tent here a thing which we very much needed as we had found sleeping in an open wagon in a thunderstorm was not very agreeable. We made as far as Wakarusa Creek and camped as our mule was getting worse. Here we put up our tent and felt again as if we had a home or at least a kind of a protection against the weather. We all slept soundly and we intended to make an early start and reach Olathe before night but we found our mule

¹⁹ Free-State towns in the southern part of Douglas county. Palmyra is now the northeast part of Baldwin.



so lame that we could not use him. We concluded however to hitch the other alone to the wagon and two of us walk at a time and in that way we possibly might reach Olathe. We got within 12 miles of it and camped at a little town called McCamish²⁰ This morning Sunday we made Olathe about 11 O'Clock pitched our tent and made ourselves comfortable— Quite a dull day nothing doing The shops all kept open however for loungers. We had supper to night cooked by our Quindaro cook Charlie and his slapjacks were very good under the circumstances as they were cooked in the smoke of a fire built on the ground as the wind was very high and would have been poor cooking in a stove in a house, let alone cooking out in the open air. The wind kept up high all night and this morning no better. Our tent went down—one of them—and we concluded not to put it up for we had two Charlie got one at Fish's Hotel This prairie country is noted for its high winds even the hottest day does not appear more than pleasant as gentle breezes blow continually.

Monday June 15. Election day in Kansas.²¹ Great excitement One Tennessean floored five men in about two minutes bowie knives & revolvers were drawn but were not used fighting swearing and rowing kept up until sundown or until the citizen of Missouri returned to Westport when no further disturbance was made I did not expect to see such a crowd in Kansas Scarcely a man could be seen who had no arms and they appeared to want to show them. One man I noticed looked as if he had no shirt on at least he had none as far as I could see yet he carried a large size Colts revolver strapped to his waist For supper we had excellent slapjacks very good fried shoulder tea sugar & thats all Perhaps you would all like to know what I call a slapjack. I can tell you very easily how they are made and if you want to try and see how they taste you here have the receipt. We make a batter of flour and water and at the first baking put in some soda cream tartar & salt. After the first baking we try and have from a pint to a quart of batter left which gets sour from one meal to another to this we add a little soda & flour & water and bake them in a pan similar to your small thin frying pan which does not belong to your stove. They are as light as a feather and with the addition of a little shoulder gravy for butter is thirty cts per pound, and sugar they suit my taste exactly. John Bear agreed to cook for us and he does it first rate takes as much pains to make it good as you could. Went this morning to see a claim belonging to Doct

20. In southwest Johnson county on the Santa Fe road, now extinct.

21. Election of delegates to the Leecompton constitutional convention.

Barton²² which he offered me for 250, 100 down and the residue in 2 months that kind of pay does not suit me exactly and further admonition is continually ringing in my ears "dont go in debt" There is a good cabin 10 x 12 a running stream of water a thing very desirable in this country, and the land lays very nicely from one point about the center you can view the entire farm

Charlie bought a yoke of oxen here of a man from Iowa and we moved out on to a claim which he had picked out I have taken one adjoining which has a beautiful lake upon [it] in which fish abound to some extent. The first night we had some bacon in our wagon and I suppose the wolves must have got the scent for soon after dark they howled around the tent at a great rate The[y] are the small prairie wolf and are perfectly harmless

To day June 19 Bill Welty made his appearance he came from Stanton the day before and remained all night at Olathe and come out to see us this morning He had the same opinion of Prairie City that we had that it was the nicest part of the Territory, the distance from market he appeared not to care a great deal about Our claims are about five miles from Olathe the intended county seat though a little Free State Town called Princeton²³ also is contending about three miles from here We are only about 1½ miles from timber and on the adjoining ¼ section coal is found which resembles cannel i[n] its appearance We are having an acre broke apiece Charlie and myself and intend putting it out in corn and perhaps we may put out some turnips and buckwheat This afternoon Bill Welty John B[air] Charlie & J D[iehl] all went to Olathe leaving me in charge of the tent. Bill Welty went on to Leavenworth. John Bear remained in Olathe and Charlie and John D went to a saw mill about 12 miles with the ox team for lumber for our cabins We intend building 10 x 12 and board them straight up and down and put a shed roof upon them. We can buy timber from the Indians at 25 dolls per acre which will fence in perhaps the whole ¼ section in the manner in which fences are put up here You would call it in Ohio a good for nothing post and rail but here it is quite a substantial fence. Posts are set in the ground about ten feet apart and two rails are nailed on to these at such a distance apart so that a mule

22. Dr. John T. Barton was formerly surgeon for the Shawnee Indians. He selected the Olathe town site and organized the "Olathe Town Company." In 1857 he and Edwin S. Nash were partners in showing claims subject to preemption. Having purchased the field notes from the government surveyor of the Shawnee lands, they secured the description of the land selected by the Shawnees from their chiefs, and had the advantage of knowing the land subject to preemption long before it was made known to the public. Dr. Barton was the first postmaster and the first mayor of Olathe.—Ed Blair, *History of Johnson County, Kansas* (Lawrence, 1915), pp. 86-89.

23. In Johnson county two miles southwest of Olathe, now extinct.

cannot walk under or jump through Hogs are a nuisance and are shot whenever found running at large. On the adjoining claim to me a man from Washington Twp lives by name of [Anson] Berkshire he has a large family of children. Almost too large for this country now when everything is so high. We get our washing done there at least took a shirt down yesterday and have not yet had it returned and cannot say what kind of washers they are. It was very cold here last Wednesday and I was very uneasy about the wheat crop. I walked all day with my overcoat on and did not feel uncomfortable and that kind of weather for Kansas in this month has never been known before I hope you fared better in the states. Charlie & John came back from the mill late last evening and only brought about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a load all scantling enough however of them to build both cabins.

Sunday a very dull hot day a good deal of traveling on the road a great many going to Paoli when the land sale goes off this week ²⁴ Sunday evening we all felt in the humor for singing and Old hundred Boylstin O for a thousand tongues to sing Alass and did my savior Bleed, &c went forth on the prairie w[h]ere no such sounds were ever before uttered. The ox goad and Haw Buck the braying of mules cattle bells &c are much more common We sang just as we felt and I need not tell that we all thought of home we all conjecture where we would pass the time were we in Dover & how much rather we would be here with our present prospects than there lounging round with nothing to make us exert ourselves

Monday I planted my acre of corn in the sod sod corn it is called. We plant quite different than you did in the states. I planted mine with an ax in every third furrow by chopping in the sod at a suitable distance apart and putting in three or four grains of corn and stamping it under with your foot or axe. It requires no further attention the first year as weeds do not bother you The Indians raise fifty or sixty Bu to the acre the way they farm and I have no doubt that 100 Bus can be very easily raised with proper care and attention We will plant about 2 or 3 acres in beans if we can get the seed, and I think they may do well John B[air] will plant 2 acres too in beans.

Tuesday helped Charlie W. plant his corn while he and a hired man went about four miles to Bull Creek for timber to build our cabins they found a very nice tree and paid ten dollars for it. It is a red oak about 4 feet across the stump and forty feet without a

24. Land sale at Paola took place June 24, 1857.—Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, p. 170.

limb knot or woodpecker hole as sound as a dollar we can get enough stuff to build our two cabins and have enough to sell to pay for both cabins and hired help, so our cabins I think will not cost us a great deal.

Wednesday went over and helped cut down the tree and saw off the but[t] cut enough in that one cut to build $\frac{1}{2}$ a cabin To day Charlie went to Quindaro & Kansas city to bye a stove and some provisions cabin utensils and [etc.?] Charlie & I and I think John Diehl will live together and see to our claims

Thursday afternoon was splitting some shakes for my cabin when who should make their appearance but John Bear & McCartney He was the last man I expected to see out here They had walked on in advance of their wagon & when it came up I was introduce[d] to his brother who was traveling with him hunting claims. They had been from home about 10 weeks and had been all through Indiana Illinois Iowa Nebraska & are now here and McCartney says that Nebraska is not near as well timbered as this Territory or he says there is not $\frac{1}{4}$ as much timber in it as there is here and the land and appearance of the country bears about the same proportion. His brother [Alexander] took a claim adjoining Charlie and myself and they commenced unpacking their goods and such a lot of stuff I have not seen for a long time Every old fashioned thing which you were forced to use at crooked run they had and all very serviceable here I assure you He had 2 yoke of cattle, wagon and one horse and Charlie's yoke of cattle and his span of mules are now in sight and make us feel as if we did live here sure. We [are] intending buying a cow yet and perhaps I may buy a yoke of cattle and then our live stock list will be complete. We took supper tonight together as we have done since and had coffee, brown bread bakers bread slapjacks molassess and meat Our slapjacks appeared to be as much of a rarity to them as their coffee did to us as we had none since we have been camping

Friday. Went to the timber today for more shakes for my cabin Took all the cattle and brought a big load Charlie had got back from Quindaro when [we] got back with the quite a lot of serviceables among which are a stove coffee sugar molass check shirts overhauls, nails glass sash plates cups & saucers &c &c Our stove is a very nice No 3 with a very large baking oven for that size and cost us \$8 with all the rigging belonging to it I think I[t] could not have been bought much cheaper of John Rex.

John Bear and McCartney are our cooks and McCartney baked

CALDWELL: THE DIARY OF GEORGE H. HILDT 271

2 very nice loaves of bread in our new stove. We have named the lake on my claim Tuscarora lake and the town which our shanties will make when completed the same name "Tuscarora" We did think of naming it Dover for some time but finally agreed that Tuscarora would sound more romantic for the lake and the town of course should bear the same name. All together tonight until quite late giving accounts of our trips to each other and Charlie brought John B some letters and papers from Dover and one paper for me sent to Wyandot, came from Danny I suppose.

Saturday plowed some prairie to day for the McCartneys and run round our claims with the compass to find corners. Think seriously of laying out a town and making a blow but I think the time is not yet. To night we had one of the thunderstorms at least so much of one that it rained right through our tent and we were forced to get in to McCartneys wagon w[h]ere they slept to keep dry. It did not do a great deal of injury however as we kept our bedding dry my cabin will be finished in a day or two now and we will not be in such a fix again.

Sunday morning went down to "Tuscarora lake" to bathe and aroused a very large turtle who made into the lake with all possible speed. It is an excellent place to bathe being about five ft deep with a very smooth rock bottom and the water as clear as crystal. fish dart about in every direction We have not tried to catch any and I think they would not be good at any rate as it is too hot Sunfish appear to be much abundant. Charlie tried to lasso an Indian pony with one of his mules this morning as a drove of about twenty were teasing McCartneys horse but as everything was wet and the rope full of kinks he failed but gave them a fine race which we viewed from our tent with great satisfaction. Put on a check shirt to day and a pair of overhauls and tried to look as much like a Kansas man as possible. This afternoon wrote home along with Charlie John D McCartney & myself & John Bear all around one table I hope you will get the letter in due time for it is a long one. Sunday evening, sang hymns and Charlie gave us some Music on his guitar which he bought at Chicago

Monday rode about 25 miles after cattle they had strayed off in the night and were nowhere in the morning. Found them about four O'clock only about 2½ miles from the camp or I must say "Tuscarora" Ploughed a few hours this evening and picketed the cattle so as to have an early start in the morning This morning started early and ploughed about an acre was quite tired

Wednesday ploughed until noon after dinner helped Charlie with his cabin and at dinner there was nothing done except a few shakes split and to night the cabin is up and three sides closed and ready for roofing Kansas a fast state I can tell to morrow noon it will be finished and tomorrow night we will sleep in it. My cabin was finished last night with the exception of the floor & door they are lacking. There is one window [in] it and one door and we intend to make it the cook room in Charlie['s] we intend to have our beds and McCartneys I suppose we will find some use for yet. To day I got a job of surveying I think a ten dollar job will go and do it on Friday morning only about $1\frac{1}{3}$ [miles?] from here. McCartney will go along with me he bought a cow and calf to night for 25 dollars a very nice young cow & the prettiest heifer calf you ever saw we will live now with butter & good milk slapjacks & molasses will go down slick Talking about eating I must tell you a good joke. One of our neighbors bought a sheep last Sunday of a drover and came to us and we told him [we would] take a quarter Next morning one of [them] came to tell us that the sheep had been stolen that the rope was there that it had been tied with but no sheep was to be found they hunted all that day and the next and found nothing A few days afterwards they found some bones and some wool and [the] result was that the wolves had taken it off. We had set our mouths mutton fashion and were very much disappointed and bacon was still our old stand bye

Thursday Rode all day after the cattle they had wandered off in the night inquired of every one I met but found none answering to that description

Friday morn started with McCartney to do my first job as surveyor in Kansas or I might say or anywhere else. We got along fine started about 7 O clock and got through about 5 charged him 6.00 3.00 went into my pocket and the same amt to McCartney we heard of more jobs on our return and I think it likely I may make the old compass pay.

Saturday 4 of July fixed up and went to Olathe and in the afternoon went again after cattle as they had not yet been found

Sunday Rode after the cattle again and so did Charlie and McCartney's brother came home to night but had heard nothing of them I fear they are gone for good The McCartneys had two yoke and Charlie one.

Opened my trunk today and took notice to some little pieces of news papers stuck in the top of my trunk lid found some very good



advice and instructions I need not ask who put them in. Charlie Wood is playing on his guitar and though the music is not very fine as he is only a beginner yet it has the same affect that music has anywhere and everywhere.

Monday put some of the roof on Charlie's cabin and went to the timber and procured some poles for A McCartneys cabin. John D here when we returned had been at the celebration on the 4th at Wyandot and heard Gov Walker²⁵ & some others speak. The citizens got up a free dinner and all were invited, and John says it went off first rate ice cream oysters beef ham nuts raisins &c. Commenced a letter to Mary to night will try & send it by John B hear that he is going home next week.

Tuesday finished Charlies cabin and put up our home spun bedsteads and arrived at A McCartneys. Thomas Mc[Cartney] put his up on the 4th of July. it is smaller than the rest only 8 x 12. Tried to plow with the horse and the mules but found it no go. the ground too dry and they did not work together well. Heard nothing of the oxen yet I think they have gone for good loss about \$300. Charlie's about 75 the rest to McCartneys. Our stove bakes very nicely. Charlie made some soda biscuit to night which are excellent. We decided to night to kill our calf and not raise it as we intended as it makes rather a large draw on our allowance of milk. *Could support two cows reasonably well*

Today 8th of July finished another cabin for A McCartney have now three in Tuscarora. An Indian called to day and wanted to know what we called this town. Charlie took a man to Paola this morning who had two sons there wondered when I saw [him] whether father would come out here this fall or uncle Kuhn or Joe or any of the Dover people to see me.

Thursday helped McCartney to make a tongue for a plough, and in the after noon found some of our corners with the compass and laid out a patch to break about 5 acres. Found some very nice building stone on about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre of my claim. They are not exactly flag stone but a kind of flat limestone not shaley however but very suitable for building they are used extensively at Lawrence and at Leavenworth they have our regular flinty limestone. Went surveying, for an Indiana man [H. H.] Wilcox set his open corner and run off some Indian land and found out that there was about 70 acres of very fine timber not taken up yet in the hands of Uncle Sam.

²⁵ Robert J. Walker was territorial governor of Kansas from May 9 to November 16, 1857.

Saturday layed out a land of prairie to break in partnership with McCartney across our claims near $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long made eight rounds and went 2 miles for oxen and took them home.

Sunday wrote to father, took a bath in Tuscarora lake and put on a clean check shirt wore the last one one week For supper had stewed cherries dried apples slapjacks corn bread soda biscuits molasses McCartney is going home tomorrow to bring out Phebe Beeson²⁶ will be back in a few weeks at least 6.

Monday July 13 Went to Quindaro with Charlie J B & Mac for a mower. got in about 5 Oclock No mowers on hand sent with [McCartney] to St Louis Mac & John Left for Dover about an hour after we got in Bought part of a bill of Goods and went to bed about 11 O clock but not to sleep our old cabin is altogether preferable to the hot suffocating air of a hotel room.

Tuesday July 14 Finished buying and started for home about 11 O clock got as far as within 2 miles of the Sante fee Road We had some mackerel in our wagon and the cattle belonging to the Indians smelling the salt troubled us exceedingly so much so that we were forced to harness up and move off until within a half mile of the Sante fee We camped a second time

Wednesday July 15 Started at 3 O clock for home very cool & pleasant driving & reached Olathe just as people were getting up. Got out to our claims at breakfast time. Helped A Mac to put a door on my cabin & wrote to Mary Slingluff.

Thursday July 16. Commenced mowing prairie hay before breakfast. A new thing for me but I learned to do it up as I thought brown before I quit. Put up all I cut about four Oclock. Could have mowed until noon and put it all up before night

There is such a hot dry wind sweeping over these prairies now that grass turns while you are cutting it Charlie went into Missouri with some posters we had struck at Quindaro for our cattle did [not] think he would be home until Saturday night A Mac & John D went to the timber for a tree for John[s] house leaving me alone. After I got through mowing I dug out the spring and fixed our three legged stools by driving in the feet more tightly We had made them out of green wood and the dry we[a]ther affected them so that when wanted for use they were frequently minus a leg. Had supper ready when the tired boys came home about 8 O clock and soon went to bed.

26. Phoebe Beeson was the daughter of Harmon V. Beeson. The families of Beeson and Torrey did not come to Kansas until August, 1857. For some reason Phoebe did not return with McCartney. Instead she came with her family and later married G. A. Colton.—Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Friday July 17. Boys went to the timber again to day taking the team with them and a strange looking team it was. Charlie had rode one of the mules and they put Elicks [Alexander McCartney's] large horse in his place which made a very odd looking rig I mowed some and when it got too hot put up a cupboard in my cabin to hold dishes and eatables. It is made out of shoe box has three apartments and a[n]swers the purpose admirably. I had quite an accident happen to day or some thing might have been one A snipe came up to the cabin and was feeding round for some time and at last I resolved to shoot it and see how they tasted as I had heard of their eating very well. I loaded up one of Elick['s] pistols and fired at it. It was sitting near a wagon wheel and the ball instead of hitting the snipe as I intended hit the wagon tire and glanced and came back almost in a straight line hitting me in the stomach but with little or no force and fell at my feet very much flattened

Saturday July 18 Had some fried mutton for breakfast this morning quite a treat made a good deal of gravy and the consequence was that the molasses was not touched. Went to work to day to make a patent horse rake running on wheels the rest of the boys were making hay ladders. We intend taking a load down to Quindaro when we go for the Mower. Hay there is \$1.50 a hundred, here and scarcely any grass to make it out of what it will be next spring is hard to tell.

Sunday July 19 Had a very good breakfast this morning warm soda biscuit & fried mutton & gravy. We only cook twice a day this hot weather breakfast & supper for dinner we take a piece For supper we will have mutton soup & dumplings.

Monday July 20 Started out this morning before breakfast to mow hay along with John D Charlie went over to an Indian to get him to hunt his cattle Elick made shakes for Johns cabin Mowed about a half acre to day and put up the hay in cocks. It made a great change in the looks of the prairie to see a dozen hay cocks scatatre over an acre and the grass very neatly cut & well dried.

Tuesday loaded up a load of hay and started with Charlie about 4 Oclock for Quindaro We had taken a great deal of pains to load it carefully and to keep it very nice and square and to boom it just right. Elick pronounced it when he finished to be a No 1 load of prairie hay. We got along with it very well until we got to Indian creek the worst crossing on the Santa fee road.²⁷ It was then about

27. Indian creek crossing on the Santa Fe road was northeast of Olathe.

nine O'clock and very dark. It was almost impossible to see the road. The lead horse struck out of the main track in the direction of a light and we soon ascertained by the motion of the wagon that we were not in the track. Charlie got off to reconnoitre and found the track without much difficulty. But in the attempt to get back into it the wheel on the lower side run into a rut and my humble self landed out on the dusty Sante fee very unceremoniously. I expected the hay to be on top of me but for a moment but I had landed so far out that four loads of hay could have scattered between myself and it. We had prepared ourselves for camping out and had our mess box well stored with provisions and one of the proprietors of the Olathe Hotel had brough[t] along some eggs to boil which we intended to cook that night. You can imagine the scene which presented itself when a light was struck and we viewed our situation by candle-light. There were the eggs all broken, soda biscuit scattered in the dust, tin plates, spoons, molasses bottle broken and a jug which the Hotel man had brought for Molas or rather the pieces of a jug. Our tent cloth, coats, blankets and boom pole were all underneath. The load had not scattered at all, there it all lay just as it was loaded, except what was top then was now bottom. We gathered up the rem[n]ants of our supper and our eggs had stepped out and soda biscuits were very well peppe[re]d with dust. The molasses bottle had cov[er]ed our plates and spoons had appropriated a part of Kansas soil for their own benefit and to sum it all up we had no appetite as the excitement of the upset had completely done away with everything of that kind. But if the view of the scattered lunch was pleasing the idea of having the wagon to right & the hay to reload was infinitely more so. But what could we do in the night. It was as much as we could do to load hay to haul 20 miles over bad roads in the light of day, and as the case now stood we had no light, not even a single star deigned to look out upon our forlorn and almost helpless condition. Our wagon was all right, not a thing even twisted out of its place. We concluded to load up that night as much as possible in order not to obstruct the road any more than necessary and set to work in right good earnest to carry out our purposes. We had not worked long before we found that we could not accomplish much and as we were very well fatigued we lay down in the hay & slept until daylight.

Wednesday July 22 Commenced loading about at daylight and at sun up started off with the rem[n]ant of our provisions and I might say with a determination very well fixed in our minds never

to attempt to haul hay on a dark night after nine O'clock. We made Kansas river about noon and stuck in the sand on the bank Charlie went across after oxen to pull us and while he was gone a team came along which with some persuasion were prevailed upon to hitch to us they drew the load out and I halloed to Charlie to come back. He came just in time to witness upset No 2. It appeared to be a very easy matter to upset in a sand pile at least the teamster thought so when the wheels on the lower side sank in above the hub and the whole wagon turned up above the hay shortly afterward as quiet and as easy as a feather bed could have done After a survey of conditions for a second time we found we were worse off than at upset No 1 for this reason we were without a fork Our fork in reloading had worked loose in the handle and as we had stuck it in the hay near the boom in the centre of the load we could not get at it without moving the whole load. Our boom we could draw out with the horse by loosening both ends but the fork was not [to] come at all. We sent word with the teamster across for a fork and the oxen and went to work to load with our hands until they came The oxen came but no fork as the farmer had never owned one. We procured one at an Indian house a mile off and soon loaded up and crossed the river. Camped within a mile of Quindaro in the woods. Charlie went into town and heard Gov Robinson making a speech he was giving Gov Walker fits about the troops at Lawrence²⁸ &c he got the letters and papers which were there and I received the letters & papers dated July 12 which appeared to be the only one written since I left. I was very much surprised at this circumstance though after considering the matter thought it all right

Thursday July 23. Drove into town but could not sell our hay for what we considered it worth as it had settled almost one half in hauling 25 miles Drove over to Wyandot and sold it for thirteen dollars. MacCartney had not purchased a Reaper at St Louis and we could procure none here I walked over to Kansas City and found they had a few for sale but no seperate mowers all combined machines The rope at the Ferry was cut and we could not cross with the team so we were forced to go home without accomplishing the object of our trip And another great reason was th[at] McCartney had the money or one hundred of our scant means though we need a

28. The charter of Lawrence was amended in the winter of 1856-1857, but the city was never organized under this charter and was therefore without municipal regulations. Not recognizing the authority of the territorial government, the city applied to the Topeka legislature but failed to get a charter. In July, 1857, the Lawrence citizens organized and formed a charter for themselves independent of legislative action. Governor Walker considering this a "treasonable act" of the "rebellious" citizens of Lawrence, declared the town under martial law and sent troops there.—Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, p. 326.



letter from him at Quindaro in which he stated that he would either bring it or send it in a few weeks. Your letter was eagerly read and your kind offer I am happy to say was anticipated. My letter contained an order for an article which is most needed in Kansas and as McCartney had 40 of my money I could do nothing towards buying a horse, with the residue. I suppose as he started on a marriage trip he will need it all. We will make out a bill of eatables which you may make out among hands as it may suit you best and send it along with Beesons good John B may help you some as he may know what we may need, to some extent.

Friday July 24 Got home safe about 5 O'clock found the boys anxiously waiting our arrival were much surprised that we did not sell our hay at Quindaro we were just one day behind in making the trip. We had intended to be on hand at the Free state meeting which went off July 23. Marcus J Parrotte²⁹ our candidate for Congress made a fine speech I was very sorry I missed it.

Saturday July 25 Mowed until noon enough for a load of hay to take to Kansas City Monday in the afternoon fixed up the wagons.

Sunday July 26 took a bath in Tuscarora and put on some beans to cook by the breakfast fire so that we could have pork & beans for supper and a piece of ham to take along to Kansas City.

Monday July 27 took the hay up which we made Saturday in the afternoon it rained so in the night that it did not dry until 2 O'clock. Started a little before Sundown for Kansas City traveled as far as Olathe and camped.

Tuesday July 28 Started early next morning and reached Kansas City about one O'clock. Had our hay weighed at Westport. Hay ladders wagon & all weighed 3180. A very fair load to haul 25 miles with our rats of mules and our poor rundown horse. Sold the hay that evening for \$10 not a very fair profit to haul hay 25 [miles] & sell for 10. but to look at the subject in another way it is as much as ten made clear as we had to go to Kansas City for a mower and for some Goods for our neighbor Wilcox and the 10 for the hay added to the charges for back freight will make the trip pay and we have the mower beside.

Wednesday July 29 Bought a reaper and mower this morning of Walker & Chick Browns Patent Buckmaster & Wise Maker, Alton Illinois. Could get no single mowers. Price 150 gave a hundred & ten dollars down and for the remaining 40 gave our note or Charles Wood & myself gave our notes and John D[']s watch for security.

29. Parrott, the Free-State candidate, was elected delegate to congress in October, 1857.

They did not suppose our notes worth any thing but with the watch in their hands worth 115 to secure 40 & our notes they let us have it. We started about 3 O'clock & came out 3 miles or within about a mile of Westport when we missed Zack our dog & McCartney['s] dog I took the horse and rode back while Charlie went on to Westport with the mules & load Found Zack takeing quite a comfortable snooze in the shade of a store box at the establishment where we bought our mower Went about 15 miles and camped.

Thursday July 30th Started early and got home the rest of the 10 miles before breakfast or before the boys cook breakfast about nine O'clock unloaded the reaper and commenced putting it up mowed a few rounds to see how it would work or to grease & oil up Think it may cut well We will give it a fair trial as it is a warranted machine Whittier³⁰ one of the proprietors of the Olathe Hotel came down to our claim to night to tell us that our Cattle had been taken up at Little Santa fee.³¹ Charlie will start in the morning to see if the report be true I hope it may we can use them now to haul hay &c or even work them on the reaper I do not think the knife would choke.

Friday July 31 worked at our horse rake have invented a new patent which I think will work well can either use a tongue or shafts Should we be so fortunate as to see our Oxen at home to night we will use a tongue and work them Had a very refreshing shower to day revived the parched grass and helped the weak springs After supper Elick & I took one of Charlies mules and his horse and rode out to meet Charlie thinking as it was dark he might have some trouble with the oxen i e if he had them Had not ridden over a mile when we met him coming with but five of them. The man who had taken up these told him that a few days before he saw the reward notice he noticed that steer around with his cattle and that he had no doubt that he was still in the neighborhood and should they find him would bring him here. As they had offered 30 dollars reward for [them], Charlie paid him 25 for the five and brought them along. They looked very well have done nothing since they left but consult their own comfort would all make very good beef To insure their staying with us for some time at least we tied heavy blocks to their heads and [illegible] them well They lie down soon after and appeared to feel at home, but to our minds their travel to day added a great deal to their willingness [to] feel at home so quickly

30. J. B. Whittier, a relative of the poet, settled in Olathe in the summer of 1857. He and Jerry D. Conner opened the first hotel in the town. They became managers of the Avenue House when it was built in the fall of 1857.—Ed Blair, *op. cit.*, pp. 87, 88.

31. A town on the Kansas-Missouri border, now extinct.