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law was thus vested in the industrial court. For a short time this work was carried on under the supervision of the woman factory inspector, but in October, 1921, the industrial welfare and the child-labor work were united to form a woman's division under the supervision of the court.[55] Better results were anticipated from the consolidation. "With closer correlation between the child-labor, industrial welfare, and industrial court laws, some developments may be possible in child-labor work which could not be brought about under the former organization."[56] But no great improvement in enforcement resulted. When in 1925 the industrial court was abolished and its duties transferred to the Public Service Commission, the woman's division was retained as an integral unit in the commission. The child-labor law was administered by this body until 1929, when an industrial commission was created and charged with this duty.

In general, the child-labor law has not been well enforced by any of these different agencies. Lack of funds for inspection and prosecution, and a lack of public interest in enforcement, have combined to bring about this result. When, in 1918, the first federal child-labor law was declared unconstitutional, Kansas "felt keenly the loss of the moral support" which this law gave to local enforcement.[57]

Official figures on the number of work permits issued are not satisfactory. Such figures as are available, however, are given in Table IV. Some of these should be commented upon. The great decrease in regular permits issued in 1921, from 374 to 193, and in school vacation permits from 617 to 116, does reflect some decrease in the employment of children. This decrease is attributable to lessened business activity due to depression, to the more rigid enforcement of the federal child-labor law, and to better enforcement of the state law, for which purpose there was available a larger body of state factory inspectors. It is not at all improbable, however, that the depression in business was the most important factor. The decrease in school vacation permits was due, however, almost wholly to a change in the interpretation of the law, which allowed children to work without permits in occupations not listed in the law. In these occupations there was an increase in the number of children employed.[58] The further

55. Court of Industrial Relations, *Second Annual Report,* 1921, p. 88.

56. *Ibid.,* p. 96.

57. Kansas Department of Labor, *Combined Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Annual Reports,* pp. 12-13.

58. Court of Industrial Relations, *Second Annual Report,* 1921, pp. 97, 99. "Little girls twelve and thirteen years of age are found employed in restaurants, and boys ten and twelve years of age are found in the messenger service when the protection of the work-certificate system is removed," p. 99.

drop in 1924 was due almost wholly to a change in base to the calendar year. Improvements in the school laws are given some credit by the industrial court for this decrease, but it seems reasonable to suppose that these exerted but little influence.[59] A thorough checkup of the industries in Kansas City, Kan., in which a large number of children were employed, is given as the reason for the increase in the number of regular work permits issued in 1926.[60] This last statement brings out clearly the general unreliability of the figures. They do not give an accurate picture of child labor in Kansas.

TABLE IV.—*Regular and school vacation permits issued to children between 14 and 16 in Kansas from 1918 to 1930, by years.*

YEAR.*	Regular permits.							School vacation permits.
	Manufacturing.	Mercantile.	Messenger.	All others.	Totals.			
					Males.	Females.	Grand total.	
1918	158	160	69	114	262	140	502	790
1919	85	132	67	94	265	113	378	577
1920	178	110	31	55	191	183	374	617
1921	76	60	49	28	117	76	193	116
1922	75	60	22	34	110	81	191	162
1923	81	21	28	39	106	63	169	158
1924	20	11	26	37	64	30	94	67
1925	28	6	14	22	57	13	70	57
1926	54	15	42	10	83	38	121	43
1927	30	16	76	2	107	17	124	57
1928	47	19	60	12	101	27	128	82
1929	78	27	63	.....	145	25	170	37
1930	29	17	47	.....	79	14	93	30

* September 1 to September 1 for 1918 to 1923 inclusive, and calendar year from 1924 to 1929, inclusive.

Prosecutions for violations have never been numerous. This in itself is not a criticism, for this method of enforcement is not necessarily, or even generally, the best possible. Enforcement comes best through coöperation and education, and these means were largely used in Kansas. However, there are times when prosecution is necessary, and at those times it should be applied vigorously. But in Kansas prosecutions appear to have been inadequate in number and, what is worse yet, appear to have been misdirected. Rarely ever

59. Ibid., *Fifth Annual Report*, p. 100.
60. Public Service Commission, *Eighth Biennial Report*, p. 595.

were prominent individuals or firms prosecuted; and in not a few instances it appears that those in charge hunted out small employers against whom there was perhaps already some local public prejudice and prosecuted them; or some traveling theatrical company would be pounced upon with much show and apparently with great glee. Figures showing the number of prosecutions and convictions obtained are given in Table V. Apparently there have been no prosecutions since 1920, at which time the administration of the law passed first to the industrial court, then to the Public Service Commission and finally to the Commission of Labor and Industry.

TABLE V.—*Prosecutions and convictions for violation of child-labor laws in Kansas, 1906 to 1920, by years.*

YEAR.	Prosecutions.	Convictions.
1906	21	15
1907	0	0
1908	1	1
1909	0	15
1910	21	15
1911	0	0
1912	0	0
1913	7	6
1914	3	3
1915-'16	*14	*12
1917-'18	0	6
1920	6	6

* Prosecutions and convictions for violations of all labor laws.

If factory inspection figures were comprehensive enough, and comparable, they would afford some indication of the effectiveness of the administration of the child-labor law. Kansas figures are comprehensive enough in so far as the total number of workers covered is concerned, but the data gathered by factory inspectors concerning the employment of children are not satisfactory. The establishments inspected at different periods have varied considerably. Inspections were conducted at different seasons of the year, and what is more important still, inspectors displayed varying degrees of zeal in discovering child labor. All this leads to the conclusion that the data available are unsatisfactory. They are given, nevertheless, in Table VI.

TABLE VI.—*Number and percentage of children between 14 and 16 employed in Kansas industrial and mercantile establishments inspected, 1901 to 1920.**

YEAR.	Wage earners covered by inspection.	Children between 14 and 16.	
		Number.	Percentage.
1901-'02	18,873	775	4.61
1903-'04†	23,410	205	0.87
1905	35,410	729	2.06
1906	27,143	909	3.35
1907	37,719	625	1.66
1908	40,303	595	1.48
1909	47,256	491	1.04
1910	55,224	139	0.25
1911	43,074	48	0.11
1912	21,322	67	0.31
1913	42,104	135	0.32
1914	40,658	114	0.28
1915-'16†	37,405	71	0.19
1917-'18†	57,484	211	0.37
1920	59,986	45	0.07

* Official reports of the Kansas Bureau of Labor. † Averages.

Despite the fact that the data are not satisfactory, it would seem to be reasonable to infer from the figures given that the number of children between fourteen and sixteen years of age employed in industry has declined appreciably since 1905. It has been estimated that the law of 1905 took approximately 5,000 children under sixteen out of industry and put them back in school.[61] This statement may well be doubted. Nevertheless, child-labor and school-attendance laws have had some effect in reducing the number of children in industry. A general increase in the real wages of Kansas workers has no doubt led to some diminution in the number of children working for wages.

DEFECTS OF THE PRESENT LAW.

As compared with the labor provisions of the minimum standards for child welfare, set up by the federal Children's Bureau,[62] the Kansas law shows some defects. The standards suggest a sixteen-year minimum for any occupation, while the Kansas law has a

61. Kansas Department of Labor, *Thirteenth Annual Report*, p. 28.
62. Publication number 62, pp. 3-5.

fourteen-year minimum for factories, workshops, packing houses, elevators, mills, canneries, and theaters, and, with certain exceptions, for all occupations during school hours. During school vacations the standards recommend a sixteen-year minimum for all occupations except agriculture and domestic service, where a fourteen-year minimum is suggested until schools are continuous throughout the year, while the Kansas law sets a fourteen-year minimum for specified occupations, but has come to be interpreted as requiring no age minimum whatever for occupations not specified in the act.[63] For hazardous employments the standards set a lower limit of eighteen years for mines and quarries, and twenty-one years for special-delivery service in the post office and for girl telegraph messengers, and would prohibit altogether the employment of minors in "dangerous, unhealthy, or hazardous occupations or at any work which will retard their proper physical or moral development,"[64] while the Kansas act sets a sixteen-year minimum only for mines and quarries and for occupations and places dangerous or injurious to life, limb, health, or morals;[65] but there are no restrictions on the employment of girls as telegraph messengers in Kansas except during school hours or after 6 p. m., according to the present interpretation of the law.

The educational minimum set by the standards is that children should be required to attend school at least nine months annually from their seventh to their sixteenth years. Kansas requires attendance only during the period when school is in session, which is now a minimum of eight months, and only from the eighth to the sixteenth year.[66] No exceptions are allowed for in the standards, but the Kansas law excepts mentally and physically defective children, without providing special training for them, and excepts also children between fourteen and sixteen who have completed the eighth grade. Furthermore, part-time and continuation schools suggested in the standards are not found in the Kansas law.[67] Physical examinations upon entering employment and annually

63. Court of Industrial Relations, *Second Annual Report*, p. 99.

64. Publication number 62, p. 3.

65. Laundries and telephone exchanges were declared to come under this provision. Court of Industrial Relations, *Second Annual Report*, 1921, p. 99.

66. *Revised Statutes*, 1923, 72-5002.

67. It is suggested in the standards that children between sixteen and eighteen who have completed the eighth grade but not the high-school grade, and who are legally and regularly employed, shall attend continuation schools at least eight hours a week; and children between sixteen and eighteen who have not completed the eighth grade or those who have and who are not regularly employed, must attend full-time schools. Occupational training for the mentally subnormal is suggested. For all children, vacation schools, "placing special emphasis on healthful play and leisure-time activities," are recommended.

thereafter, included in the standards, are not to be found in the Kansas law.

In the matter of hours of employment the Kansas law is also deficient. For those under twenty-one the standards set a day of eight hours, and forty-four hours per week, without the special provisions that the maximum working day for children between sixteen and eighteen be shorter than the legal working day for adults, and that the time spent by children under eighteen in continuation schools count as part of the working day; night work between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m. to be prohibited. The Kansas law limits the hours of those under sixteen to eight daily and forty-eight weekly. Provision for night work is the same as in the standards, but applies only to those under sixteen.

Perhaps the Kansas provisions as to minimum wages are, on paper, fairly satisfactory. A wage based on the "necessary" cost of proper living as determined by a minimum wage commission or other similar official board; apprenticeship and learning wages to be based on "educational principles only," are recommended in the standards. Power to regulate the wages of minors is now vested by the Kansas law in the Commission of Labor and Industry. But this law has been a dead letter ever since the regulation of the wages of adult women was declared unconstitutional. A central agency to deal with all juvenile placement and employment problems, recommended in the standards, is not provided for in Kansas.

The administrative features of the Kansas child labor law are also inferior to those set up as model. Instead of issuing employment certificates to all children between sixteen and eighteen, and to those between fourteen and eighteen for agricultural employments during vacation, the Kansas act requires them for children between fourteen and sixteen only in specified occupations. No certificate of physical fitness is required in Kansas. In other details of the certificate system, such as promise of employment, evidence of age and completion of eighth grade, standardized report forms, etc., the Kansas law is up to standard. Compulsory school attendance provisions are weak in Kansas. Instead of full-time attendance officers and state supervision of enforcement, there is local supervision and there are very few full-time attendance officers. So it is, also, with factory inspection. There is an inadequate number of factory inspectors, and no provision for a staff of inspectors to examine working children annually.

The bills prepared by the Kansas Children's Code Commission

embodied numerous improvements over the law as it then existed, and as it exists now. Fourteen years was the age limit proposed for all employments, including commercialized agricultural work, and sixteen years for all hazardous work. The list of what constitutes hazardous work was greatly extended, and power to declare any specific occupation hazardous was vested in the industrial court. A work week of six days was the only improvement proposed in the matter of hours; the day of eight and week of forty-eight hours, with no night work between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m., were retained. Work certificates were to be required for all employments, other features of the certificate system being retained and some brought up to standard. For children between fourteen and eighteen there was to be part-time school attendance until the completion of the tenth grade. Physical examinations were to be required of all children upon entering employment. But the proposals of the Children's Code Commission dealing directly with child labor have not been accepted by the legislature. No change has been made in the prohibitive or regulatory provisions of the child-labor law since 1917. Even the proposed child-labor amendment to the federal constitution was rejected, in 1925.[68] The attitude of those in power appears to be one of indifference. A deaf ear has been turned to all attempts at improvement.

68. *Laws*, 1925, ch. 191.

Kansas History as Published in the State Press

A series of historical articles on Americus and vicinity has been conducted in the Americus *Greeting*, starting with the issue of November 4, 1931. The items have been taken from the diary of D. C. Grinell.

The snowstorm of April 13, 1873, was recalled by old-timers in the Clyde *Republican*, January 21 and 28, 1932. Fred French was one of the pioneers interviewed.

"The Black Pioneer," a history of the founding of Nicodemus by the Negroes in 1877-'78, by W. L. Sayers, was published in the Bogue *Messenger*, February 18, 25, and March 3, 1932.

The seventy-fifth anniversary edition of the Leavenworth *Times*, issued March 6, 1932, contained much early-day information. The *Times* was first published March 7, 1857. On May 5, 1871, the newspaper was purchased by Col. D. R. Anthony and has remained in the control of the Anthony family since that date.

"In Osborne Forty-eight Years Ago" the *Osborne County Farmer*, March 10, 1932, recalled the last effort to operate a saloon in that city. Since Kansas was already under a liquor prohibitory law the adventure was able to survive only three days.

Historical sketches of Bucklin's clubs and churches were featured in the *Banner* March 10, 1932. The edition was sponsored by the city's Business and Professional Women's Club.

A historical and pictorial edition of the Garden City *News*, published March 10, 1932, contained biographies and pictures of prominent Garden City women.

Early days in Kansas were recalled by W. S. Rees in the March 10, 1932, issue of the Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican*. Mr. Rees arrived in Lincoln in November, 1872.

The Leon *News*, in its issue of March 11, 1932, published a short letter from the late Thomas Dixon, pioneer of Butler county, which had been sent to his parents, then residents of England. Mr. Dixon homesteaded in Little Walnut township, Butler county, in 1874.

The Beloit *Gazette* on March 16, 1932, issued its sixty-first anniversary edition. A short biographical sketch of the city's first mayor,

Timothy F. Hersey, was published. Other features included the history of the *Gazette* and excerpts from several issues of the *Mitchell County Mirror,* founded on April 5, 1871, as the county's first newspaper. Pioneer names prominent in the edition were: J. E. Laff, J. B. Hyde, C. R. Herrick, Chas. W. Cooke, Herman Kendall, John Mahaffa and G. W. Port.

An article entitled "The Story of Abilene High School," by Phyllis Dentzer, was published in the Abilene *Weekly Reflector* in the issues of March 17, 31 and April 21, 1932. The complete history was illustrated and republished in the Abilene *High School Booster,* May 13.

Summerfield history was briefly reviewed by Helen Smith in the *Sun* of March 18, 1932.

A brief historical and industrial sketch of Topeka was published in *The Merchants Journal,* Topeka, March 19, 1932.

Reminiscences of early Rooks county, by Edward T. Taylor, United States representative from Colorado, were featured in *The Rooks County Record,* Stockton, March 24 and 31, 1932. Mr. Taylor settled on Elm creek in Rooks county, March 17, 1872.

Edmund B. Tarvin, a Civil War veteran, was interviewed by Byron E. Guise for the *Marshall County News,* Marysville, March 25, 1932. Mr. Tarvin recalled his war experiences, the grasshopper invasion of 1874 and many other incidents of pioneer life.

The killing of Jack Ledford, early Wichita hotel proprietor, was described by Manly Wade Wellman in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle,* March 27, 1932. A column historical sketch of Conway Springs, by Helen Akin, appeared in the same issue.

Dave D. Leahy, in his regular Wichita *Sunday Eagle* feature entitled "Random Recollections of Other Days" recalls many stories of interest in the Southwest's history. Subjects treated during the past three months were: Early Caldwell lynchings, March 27, 1932; Batt Carr and other Caldwell figures, April 3; Judge William P. Campbell, southern Kansas jurist, May 1; a Lisbon, Okla., election in the town's infancy, May 22; incidents of forty years ago in Wellington during one of southern Kansas' worst storms, May 29; scattering events during the opening of Oklahoma territory, June 5; and the growth of Enid, Okla., to a population of 5,000 within ten minutes, shortly after the opening of the Cherokee strip, June 12.

Biographical sketches of Dickinson county pioneers featured recently in the Chapman *Advertiser* include: Mr. and Mrs. George Russell Barnes, March 31, 1932; Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Scherer, April 7; Martin J. Schuler, April 14; George Tyler Winters, April 21; Michael Nicholson, April 28; James Nash, May 5; the family of Simeon Levi Graham, May 12; Robert Kenney, May 19, and addenda to biographies published previously, June 2.

Special Coffeyville and Pittsburg historical sections were featured by *The Kansas Knight,* St. Paul, in its issue for April, 1932.

A biographical sketch of David L. Payne was contributed by John C. Nicholson to the Hutchinson *Herald,* April 3, 1932.

Hard times in the middle seventies were recalled by J. M. Satterthwaite in the Douglass *Tribune,* April 8, 1932.

A brief history of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Paola was published in *The Western Spirit,* Paola, April 8, 1932. The church was organized in 1858.

Pony express days of the West were described by Milton Tabor in the Topeka *Daily Capital,* April 10, 1932. The express was started April 3, 1860.

The sixtieth anniversary edition of the Baxter Springs *Citizen,* issued April 14, 1932, republished many articles of historical interest from old newspaper files.

John W. Suggett, early-day mail carrier, was interviewed by Byron E. Guise for the *Marshall County News,* Marysville, April 15, 1932. Mr. Suggett came to Marysville in 1859, and carried mail for two years from Guittard station over the Oketo cut-off to Big Sandy, Neb.

A brief historical and industrial sketch of Hillsboro, by Helen Akin, was published in the Wichita *Eagle,* April 16, 1932.

Incidents in the life of William Mathewson, compiled by J. G. Masters, was published in a Sunday edition of the Omaha *World-Herald* and republished in the Lyons *Daily News,* April 19, 1932.

Names of leading Butler county citizens were featured by Helen Akin in a historical sketch of the county published in the Wichita *Eagle,* April 19, 1932.

The sixty-seventh anniversary of the granting of a charter to Ottawa University was celebrated April 20, 1932. The original charter was granted in 1860 to an association known as Roger

Williams University. A new state charter was issued in 1865, to Ottawa University. Historical articles were published in the Ottawa *Campus* and the Ottawa *Herald*.

"Reminiscences of a Home Missionary's Daughter," by Mrs. R. R. Hays, was published by the *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, April 21, 1932. Mrs. Hays was a speaker at the Woman's Home Missionary Society's thirtieth anniversary celebration, April 7.

The razing of Salina's "Upper Mill," built some time before 1870, inspired the Salina *Journal* to a review of the city's early milling activities in its issue of April 21, 1932.

Reminiscences of John Fisher, a Neosho county resident in 1869, were published in the St. Paul *Journal*, April 21, 1932.

Wellington history was featured in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, April 24, 1932. Paul V. Jefferies and Helen Akin contributed the article.

A column-length historical article on Mound Valley township, as written by B. P. Oakleaf for the Mound Valley *Herald*, April 27, 1882, was republished in the Mound Valley *Times-Journal*, April 21, 1932.

Life in Sumner county in the seventies was described by J. A. Seitz for the Wellington *Daily News*, April 27, 1932. The Seitz family settled two miles southeast of present-day Anson on the old cattle trail from Texas.

On the occasion of the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the Order of the Eastern Star, of Kansas, the Pittsburg *Sun* and *Headlight* of April 27, 1932, published brief histories of the organization.

Stafford county's first destructive tornado in the memory of the white settlers occurred fifty years ago last April, and was the subject of an article by Al McMillan in the Macksville *Enterprise*, April 28, 1932. The story was republished in the Stafford *Courier*, May 5.

"The Oakley House," Oakley's first hotel, was the subject of an illustrated historical sketch by Laura Dell Zeigler in the Oakley *Graphic*, April 29, 1932.

A biographical sketch of O. M. Dannevik, president of the Port Landis Town Company, was published in the Norton *Daily Telegram*, April 29, 1932. Port Landis, an extinct town, once was located

about one-half mile west of what is now Edmond, to which place the post office was moved about 1880.

The building of the Soule irrigation canal and a railroad from Dodge City to Montezuma were described by Dorothy Dallin for the Topeka *Daily Capital,* May 1, 1932.

Some of the troubles of an early-day liquor prohibition crusader were recalled by Frank M. Stahl, of Burlingame, in an interview with Margaret Whittemore for the Topeka *Daily Capital,* May 1, 1932.

Wichita's first schools were discussed by Victor Murdock in an interview with J. L. Mead for the *Evening Eagle,* May 3, 1932.

Doniphan county history from 1837 to 1932 was published in the eighteen-page illustrated seventy-fifth anniversary edition of *The Kansas Chief,* Troy, May 5, 1932. The *Chief* was first issued by Sol Miller at White Cloud under date of June 4, 1857, and was moved to Troy July 4, 1872.

"Interesting Spots Around Shawnee" was the title of a newspaper article appearing in the *Northeast Johnson County Herald,* Overland Park, May 5, 1932. A brief description of the Dutch cemetery located at First street and Fisher road was a feature.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Tonganoxie *Mirror* was observed, May 5, 1932. Special illustrated historical articles were printed.

Humorous incidents in fifty years of Ottawa history were recounted by Phil Gover in the Ottawa *Herald,* May 6, 1932.

Life in Mankato during the late eighties was reviewed by Jay Gould Keyes, of West Gowanda, N. Y., for *The Jewell County Monitor,* Mankato, May 6, 1932.

A brief history of the Mariadahl community as read by F. S. Gustafson before the Kiwanis club community meeting at Mariadahl, May 3, was published in the Manhattan *Morning Chronicle,* May 8, 1932.

In the opinion of Billy Peacock, frontiersman, Gen. George Armstrong Custer was only a "grandstander." To substantiate his belief Mr. Peacock reviewed the events leading up to the tragedy of the Little Big Horn for Paul I. Wellman, who recorded the interview in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle,* May 8, 1932, as a highlight in his series of weekly stories on Indian battles of the West. Mr. Peacock was

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made a member of the Cheyenne tribe years ago and had personal contact with many of the foremost scouts on the western plains.

District school number 20, located two miles east of Falun, celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its organization, May 7, 1932. A brief history was published in the May 10 issue of the Salina *Journal*.

"Thayer in 1876" was the title of an article written for the Neosho County Historical Society in November, 1931, by Mrs. Abby Howe Forest, and was published in the St. Paul *Journal*, May 12, 1932.

A series of new tales of pioneer life, relating the experiences of Rea Woodman in five early schools of Wichita, were commenced in the Wichita *Democrat*, May 14, 1932.

Incidents in early-day Kansas were recalled by C. W. Horr for the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, May 19, 1932. Mr. Horr came to Kansas in 1854 and has been a resident of the state since that time.

"Memories of Days Gone By," from the souvenir edition of 1898, is a historical feature in the Overbrook *Citizen*. The series commenced with the issue of May 19, 1932.

The oldest house still standing in Gove county is located ten miles east and one mile south of Gove City, according to John Norton, in a statement to the Gove City *Republican-Gazette*, May 19, 1932. The house was cut and framed in Chicago by the Kansas Pacific Railway Company and was shipped to Collyer in 1869. It was moved into Gove county in 1898. Another house, the property of Mrs. Anna Van Marter, situated about eleven miles northwest of Gove City, was mentioned. Part of the original building, constructed in 1879, still remains.

Reminiscences of the days when the Indians roamed over Washington county were briefly related by W. C. Hallowell, of Fort Morgan, Colo., in the *Washington County Register*, Washington, May 20, 1932.

David L. Payne, pioneer of Harvey county, was the subject of a biographical sketch in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, May 23, 1932, by John C. Nicholson.

The Sterling *Kansas Bulletin* of May 26, 1932, issued an illustrated historical edition commemorating the forty-fifth anniversary of Sterling College. The college was opened November 1, 1887, un-

der the acting presidency of A. N. Porter. Thirteen students were enrolled for the first term.

Fury of the cyclone which demolished Wellington, May 27, 1892, was described and illustrated in the *Monitor-Press,* May 26, 1932.

In observance of the fiftieth anniversary program of the Morrill Free Public Library of Hiawatha the *Daily World* for May 27, 1932, published a historical sketch of the institution. Rebecca D. Kiner, a former librarian, contributed the article.

The sixtieth anniversary edition of the Wichita *Eagle* was observed May 29, 1932, with a special historical section. The issue featured a story of the city by Manly Wade Wellman, and a résumé of the *Eagle's* activity since April 12, 1872, when the first issue appeared.

Topeka Typographical Union No. 121 observed its golden jubilee in May, 1932, with the issuance of an eighty-eight page illustrated booklet entitled *Fifty Years of History.* The union was first organized in Topeka in 1869, but in 1874 the charter was permitted to lapse. The present organization was effected on May 19, 1882. A year-by-year history of the local union, biographical sketches of well-known state and local printers, histories of the city's leading newspapers and the state printing plant were features of the edition. Dwight Thacher Harris and Clifford V. Souders were the compilers.

Letters from C. Q. Chandler, of Wichita, and Tom McNeal, of Topeka, recalling early Barber county history were features of the sixth annual home-coming edition of the Hazelton *Herald,* June 3, 1932.

Early historical notes of McPherson county, when "buffalos drank the Smoky Hill river dry," were published by the McPherson *Republican,* June 3, 1932. The information was obtained from an 1883 atlas of the county, compiled and written by H. B. Kelly.

A selection of the late Tom Tilma's editorials and articles was republished in the thirteenth anniversary edition of the Wichita *Plaindealer,* June 3, 1932, the labor newspaper formerly edited by Mr. Tilma.

The descendants of the pioneers composing the Beecher Bible and Rifle Company, who founded Wabaunsee in 1856 and settled the surrounding farm land, organized May 30, 1932. A brief history of the

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original colony was printed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times,* June 4, and was republished in the Wamego *Reporter,* June 9.

Sixty years of McPherson history were reviewed briefly in the McPherson *Republican,* June 6, 1932. The city was organized in 1872 and was named in honor of Gen. James B. McPherson.

A revised publication of J. C. Ruppenthal's translation from the German, of *Russian-German Settlements in the United States,* by Dr. Richard Sallett, was begun in *The Ellis County News,* Hays, June 9, 1932. Mr. Ruppenthal's translation was published in part in *The Russell County News,* Russell, in February and March.

The proposed reunion of former students of Central Normal College at Great Bend prompted Kent Eubank, Wichita *Eagle* reporter, to publish a history of the now defunct institution in the *Sunday Eagle,* June 12, 1932. The college was first opened in 1888 and passed out of existence in 1902.

A brief history of Burchfiel community church, Harper county, was published in the Anthony *Republican,* June 16, 1932.

A short history of Mountain Slope Masonic Lodge, No. 186, and A. C. Furman's reminiscences of the McKague family, were features of the fifty-third anniversary edition of the Oberlin *Herald,* June 16, 1932, announcing the dedication of the new McKague Memorial Masonic Temple.

The golden jubilee of Immanuel Lutheran Church, situated west of Linn, was observed June 12, 1932. A special illustrated history of the organization was published in the Linn-Palmer *Record,* June 17, 1932.

Kansas Historical Notes

The rock garden and lily pool which were presented to Shawnee Mission by the Shawnee Mission Floral Club were dedicated April 3, 1932. Gov. Harry H. Woodring accepted a Washington elm in behalf of the state and Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, accepted the rock garden for the mission.

A monument to Dodge City's "cow town" history was unveiled on Boot Hill June 6, 1932. It is estimated that seven million Texas longhorns came over the trails from Texas to Dodge City during the seventies and eighties.

The Scott County Historical Society met in the Scott County State Park June 13, 1932. The following officers were elected to head the association for the ensuing year: J. K. Freed, president; W. S. Manker, vice president; Mrs. Clarence Dickhut, secretary; Elmer Epperson, reporter; Mrs. Daisy Elrod, librarian.

Stories of early-day life in Manhattan and community were told June 18, 1932, at a meeting of the Pioneers' association of Riley county.

Relics of interest to Harvey county and Kansas are being collected by the Bethel College museum at Newton.

Bing; the Story of a Tramp Dog (New York: Wm. Morrow & Co., 1932), by Dr. Thomas C. Hinkle, of Carbondale, is a recent book of interest to young Kansans. The locale of the story is laid near Junction City during the cattle- and sheep-herding days of the early eighties.

ORDER OF THE PURPLE HEART AWARDED TO GENERAL METCALF.

Gen. Wilder S. Metcalf, of Lawrence, president of the Kansas State Historical Society in 1919, recently was awarded the Order of the Purple Heart by the War Department, in recognition of his services on February 23 and March 29, 1899, while serving as a major in the Twentieth Kansas volunteer infantry in the Philippines.

The Order of the Purple Heart was established by Gen. George Washington as a permanent decoration at Newburgh, August 7, 1782, for the performance "of any singularly meritorious action, instances

of unusual gallantry and extraordinary fidelity and essential service in any way." It is believed that only three awards of the decoration were made at this time. Subsequent to the Revolution the award of the decoration was forgotten, and was not revived until February 22, 1932, the 200th anniversary of the birth of Washington.

General Metcalf has been a resident of Kansas for many years. During the Spanish-American War he succeeded Gen. Frederick Funston in command of the famous Twentieth Kansas regiment of volunteers, and during the World War he served as a brigadier-general in command of Camp Beauregard, La. He has been active in the American Legion, and was the state commander in 1921-'22. He has served on the national executive committee, and has been chairman of the national finance committee of the Legion for almost ten years. At two different times he has served as the commissioner of pensions in Washington. He has also been a member of the national militia board, and recently retired from active service in a Topeka life insurance company of which he had served as president.

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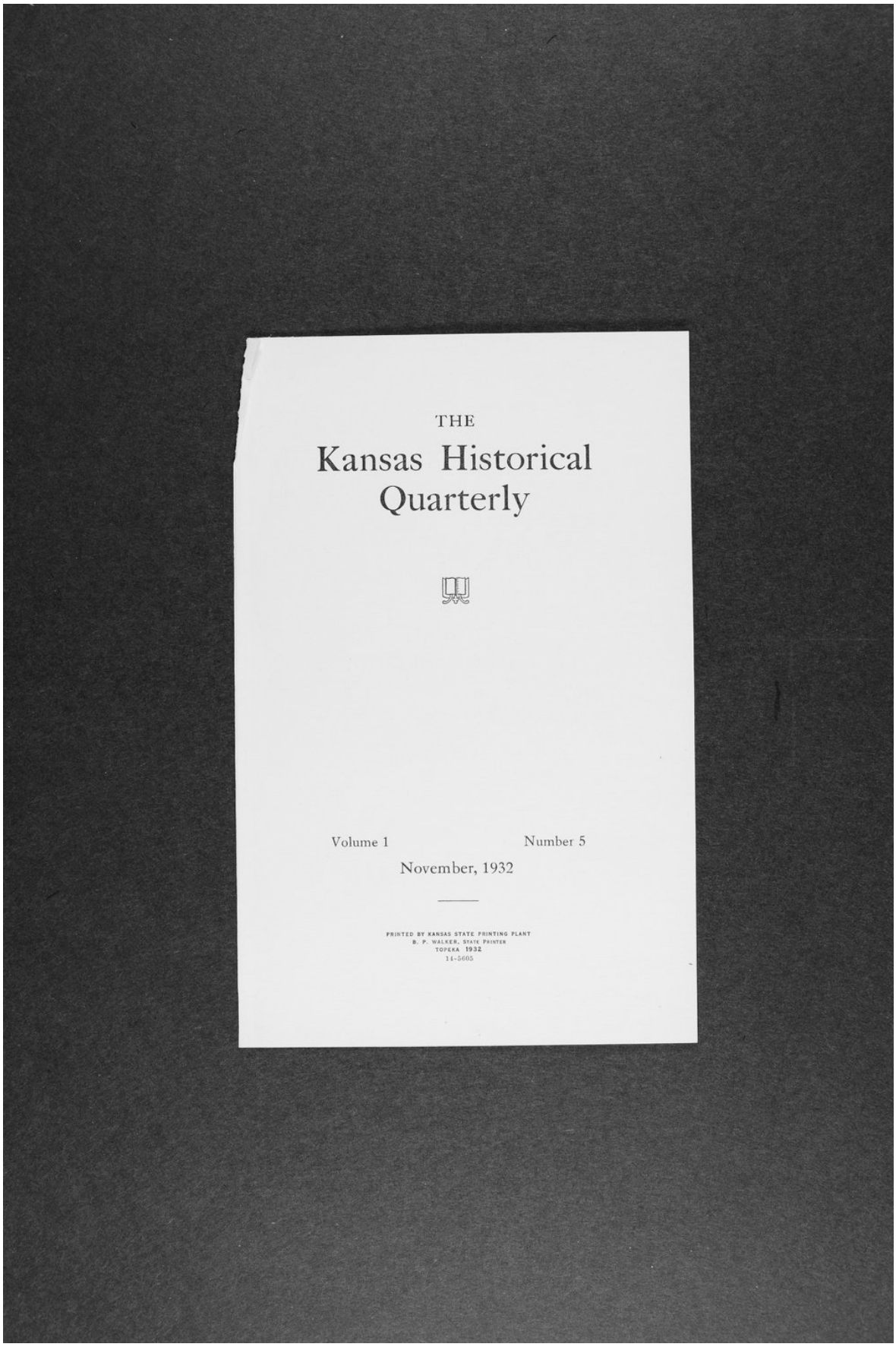
Kansas historical quarterly



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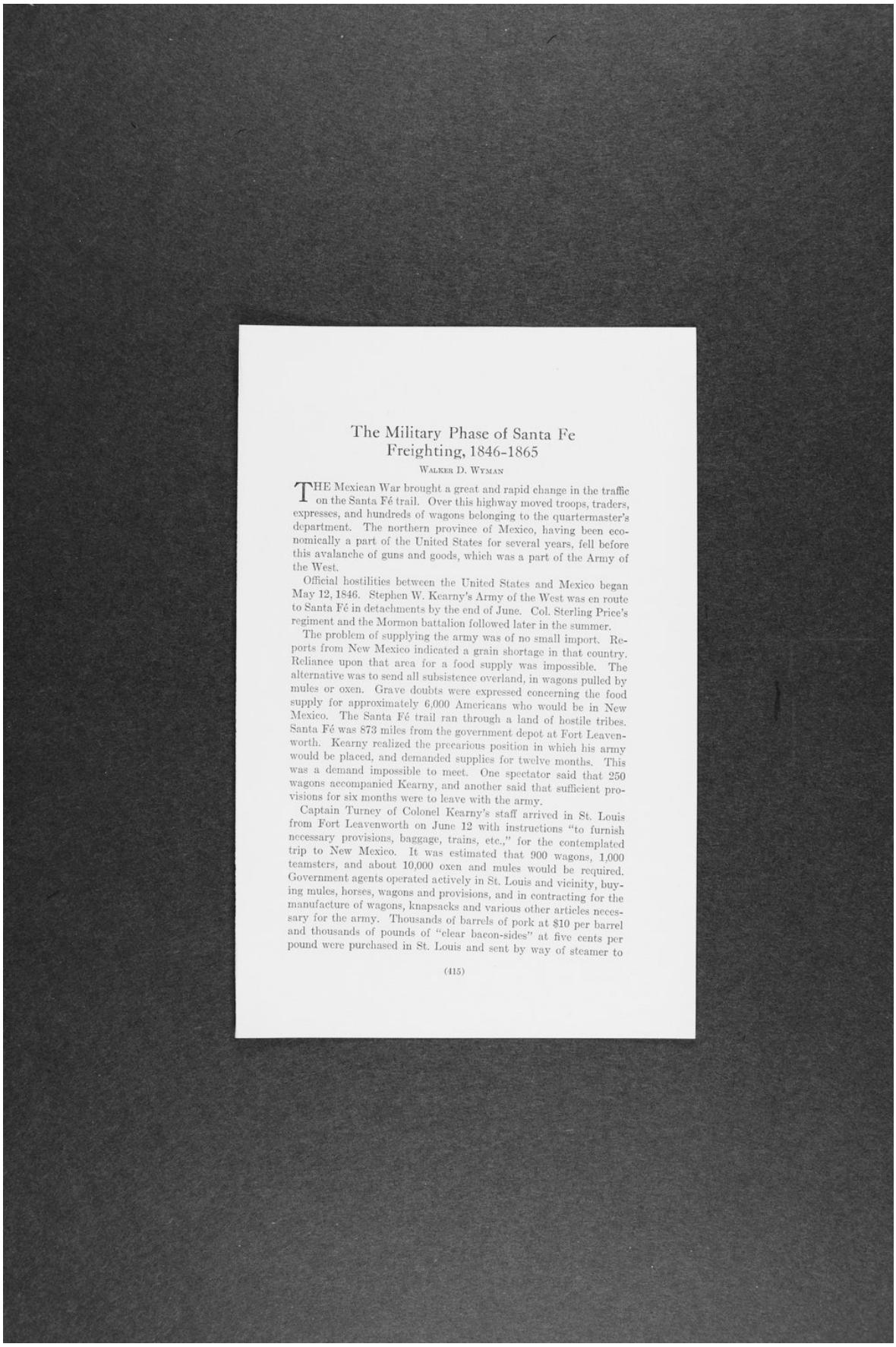
Contributors

WALKER D. WYMAN is instructor in the department of social sciences at State Teachers College, River Falls, Wis.

SAMUEL A. JOHNSON is associate professor of history at the Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia.

MARVIN H. GARFIELD is instructor of history in Roosevelt Intermediate School, Wichita.

NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.



The Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting, 1846-1865

WALKER D. WYMAN

THE Mexican War brought a great and rapid change in the traffic on the Santa Fé trail. Over this highway moved troops, traders, expresses, and hundreds of wagons belonging to the quartermaster's department. The northern province of Mexico, having been economically a part of the United States for several years, fell before this avalanche of guns and goods, which was a part of the Army of the West.

Official hostilities between the United States and Mexico began May 12, 1846. Stephen W. Kearny's Army of the West was en route to Santa Fé in detachments by the end of June. Col. Sterling Price's regiment and the Mormon battalion followed later in the summer.

The problem of supplying the army was of no small import. Reports from New Mexico indicated a grain shortage in that country. Reliance upon that area for a food supply was impossible. The alternative was to send all subsistence overland, in wagons pulled by mules or oxen. Grave doubts were expressed concerning the food supply for approximately 6,000 Americans who would be in New Mexico. The Santa Fé trail ran through a land of hostile tribes. Santa Fé was 873 miles from the government depot at Fort Leavenworth. Kearny realized the precarious position in which his army would be placed, and demanded supplies for twelve months. This was a demand impossible to meet. One spectator said that 250 wagons accompanied Kearny, and another said that sufficient provisions for six months were to leave with the army.

Captain Turney of Colonel Kearny's staff arrived in St. Louis from Fort Leavenworth on June 12 with instructions "to furnish necessary provisions, baggage, trains, etc.," for the contemplated trip to New Mexico. It was estimated that 900 wagons, 1,000 teamsters, and about 10,000 oxen and mules would be required. Government agents operated actively in St. Louis and vicinity, buying mules, horses, wagons and provisions, and in contracting for the manufacture of wagons, knapsacks and various other articles necessary for the army. Thousands of barrels of pork at $10 per barrel and thousands of pounds of "clear bacon-sides" at five cents per pound were purchased in St. Louis and sent by way of steamer to

Fort Leavenworth. Agents of the commissary department penetrated Missouri and near-by states for mules, paying $100 apiece for all they could get. An incomplete report of the quartermaster general shows that 459 horses, 3,658 mules, 14,904 oxen, 1,556 wagons, and 516 pack saddles were used by the government in the fiscal year of 1846-1847.[1]

All the supplies were shipped to Fort Leavenworth. Provisions came faster than wagons, accumulating on the banks of the river. By June 20, just six days before the last of Kearny's army left the fort, a provision train was on the trail and "others are being loaded and started every day." Provisions for 1,300 men to last three months were in the wagons going across the plains. Soldiers not yet dispatched performed what they called "fatigue duty" in loading wagons, and they did it with "utmost cheerfulness," some one observed. When a steamer brought a deck load of wagons, they were immediately loaded and sent off in groups of seven or eight, and instructed to wait for Kearny at the crossing of the Arkansas river. Even far-away Pittsburgh supplied wagons. Steamers seemed to be afflicted with a wagon epidemic or eczema, being literally covered with them. The St. Louis *New Era* skeptically advised the government to send a few wheelwrights and blacksmiths ahead of these wagons "to secure their arrival at the place of destination."

The wagons accompanying the army were poorly distributed. Tents and utensils were not always with the proper company. The instances of intense hunger on the part of some companies were not rare. Undisciplined volunteers assaulted one train and used the contents regardless of the objections of the drivers who said it was a "through" train, not to be opened until its arrival. Even Kearny had to call a wagon train back upon one occasion.

All provision trains which did not accompany the army to New Mexico were sent by mistake to Bent's Fort.[2] The effects of this surprising blunder were both immediate and far-reaching. Even Kearny's army suffered en route. At Bent's Fort the army was placed on half rations. Before their arrival in Santa Fé part of them were existing on one-third rations. From August 1 until the last of September they had no sugar or coffee and but one-half ration of flour. The march of the day before they reached Santa Fé was made "without a morsel of food." Even the cooking uten-

1. This report was given November 24, 1847, in *Senate Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., v. 1, s. n. 503, Doc. No. 1, p. 545.

2. The teamsters refused to drive their oxen beyond Bent's Fort, maintaining that their articles of agreement did not require them to go farther. See *Senate Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., v. IV, s. n. 506, Doc. No. 23, p. 4.

sils had not yet arrived. Dough was wound around a stick and baked over an open fire. The first night that American sentries paraded the public plaza in Santa Fé, hungry soldiers went from door to door trying to buy food. These conditions were not remedied for some time—as late as November 14 a soldier wrote that he had beef and bread for breakfast, bread, beef and coffee for dinner, and for dessert twice each week rice soup was served. This beef, he said, was boiled six hours from "a not-being-able-to-walk-any-longer disease" (sic) cattle. At least one New Mexican was under contract to deliver beef in Santa Fé. This beef, if one is to believe the above testimony, was of questionable value as an article of nourishment. Native flour was purchased, being "a miserable stuff—exceedingly coarse, and operates on the bowels of many persons." However, in spite of the murmurings on the part of soldiers, the commissary general reported on November 17, 1846, that there had been "no official complaint of either quality or quantity of subsistence furnished to the armies. . . ."

To remedy the precarious condition of the troops in Santa Fé and vicinity, soldiers were sent to Bent's Fort to aid in forwarding supplies. In early November one soldier wrote that the ten wagons of provisions which he had the pleasure of bringing from Bent's Fort were pretty well exhausted; there had been no other arrivals "nor do we know when we shall have. . . ." By the latter part of October wagons were being forwarded from Bent's Fort at the rate of thirty per week. Some commissary trains were going straight through, but even these went the long route by way of the fort. There were about one hundred forty tons of provisions stored at Bent's Fort on October 30, and only about a dozen wagons were en route there from Fort Leavenworth. The quartermaster reported that no wagons were to leave the states after September 8, but there is reason to believe that some were dispatched at a later date. Many wagons, mules and oxen were kept in Santa Fé to accompany troops to the south and to the Indian country. Upon the arrival of wagons in Santa Fé the quartermaster had the tires reset, and immediately sent them on their return trip.

The Mexican War may have been planned some time before the shedding of blood on American soil, but the method of supplying its army shows lack of deliberation. Wagon trains were dispatched without guard in a country through which few could hope to pass without attack by roving bands of mounted Indians. Inexperienced drivers were employed. As high as fifteen cents per mile per pound

was paid by sutlers. Goods were sent to a fort on the Arkansas river while an army was in need of food. The cost of all this was excessive. Pork was purchased in St. Louis for $10 per barrel. The cost of it transported from Fort Leavenworth to Bent's Fort was more than $32 per barrel. From there to Santa Fé the cost was $18 per barrel. By adding the original price to the cost of transportation, a barrel of pork cost $50 in Santa Fé.[3] As the St. Louis *New Era* commented, "the dear people pay."

The new and quite abnormal traffic in the bustlings days of 1846 demanded scores of teamsters and wagons. Wagons came from Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and were also purchased from anybody who had one to sell. Many young men who had rushed to the frontier for the purpose of enlisting in the Army of the West found that source of enlistment closed, hence they joined the ranks of the army teamsters.[4] This type of service paid from $25 to $30 per month, including subsistence, while ordinary soldiers received but $7 for the same period of service on regular duty. Oftentimes soldiers were given "extra duty" at the salary of $14.90 per month. These teamsters became foot soldiers of a wagon train subject to dangers far more perilous than those faced by many of the regular soldiers. These men were not accustomed to handling several yoke of oxen or teams of mules over a desolate plain, contesting the right of way with Comanche or Pawnee. Neither did they know how to care for the animals. Lieut. J. W. Abert complained that teamsters mistreated cattle and wagons. The road from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fé was strewn, it was said, with "about $5,000,000 worth of U. S. government supplies; the bones of cattle, and in many places the drivers, lie side by side—a melancholy result, brought about alone by inexperience." Innumerable wagons lay amidst a "grievous waste of provisions." Near Santa Fé in December, 1846, Lieut. Abert saw many carcasses of oxen. "Some were half-devoured by the wolves and ravens, others had not been dead long, for the birds of prey had only torn out their eyes."

The supply trains, as a rule, were dispatched without military guard but were given ammunition with which to protect themselves from the Indians. A writer from Bent's Fort complained that only two rounds of ammunition were given to some of the trains. The *Missouri Republican* remarked that unless Colonel Price, who left Fort Leavenworth in latter July, did not "give the Indians a drubbing, all provision wagons are in danger of being cut off, and the

3. *Niles' Register*, August 8, 1846, quoting the *Missouri Republican*.
4. *Senate Reports of Committees*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., s. n. 535, No. 291.

army left to starve. There is gross neglect in failing to send military guard."

Further distress was expected because of lack of grass for animals. The season had been dry and there was great scarcity of water. Fires had destroyed much of the grass. The troops had driven the buffalo far from the trail. Private traders, anticipating a lack of provisions, took an additional supply with them. A returned soldier reported on October 30, 1846, that the grass was "very indifferent and very scarce . . . and extremely dry weather [had caused] . . . much suffering from want of water for the teams."

In the winter of 1846-'47 the trail was covered with snow. Overland freighting was hazardous. Two hundred miles of the trail were covered with two feet of snow. The ravines were impassable. A few government trains tried to go through. One Mr. Coons, a private trader who made the trip from Santa Fé in December and January, saw a government train which had left Santa Fé on December 8. The teamsters were in "a very destitute condition, twenty of them having subsisted for ten days on the meat of a government mule."[5] Eight teamsters were seen one hundred miles from Bent's Fort in January, 1847. They were all afoot and nearly out of provisions. Some of them had frozen hands and feet. Captain Clary found two dead men at the foot of a tree, the bark of which had been eaten all around. By the middle of March it was supposed that approximately fifty government employees had perished on the trail. Lieutenant Abert, while returning to the states in the first part of the year, had his mules stolen by the Indians. His men pulled one of the wagons for a while. A thirty-six-hour storm covered them with five feet of snow at Turkey Creek, Kansas, and in that snow they left their bedding, provisions, guns, and utensils. A twenty-seven-mile walk brought them to Cottonwood Fork, where they met a wagon master with plenty of provisions.[6]

During 1847 commissary trains and troops continued to ply back and forth between New Mexico and Fort Leavenworth. The volunteers had enlisted for a year. The romance of the war being over, most of them refused to serve again. In small groups, usually with wagon trains, many of them returned to Missouri. More troops rode across the plains to fill the fast-depleting ranks. Some one in Santa Fé who remembered the drunken brawls and the flagrant

5. The experiences of Mr. Coons are given in the St. Louis *Reveille*, February 26, 1846, and quoted in the New York *Tribune*, March 10, 1847.

6. Abert's account is a classic. It is given in the St. Louis *Union*, March 9, quoted in the New York *Tribune*, March 19, 1847; also given in *Senate Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., v. IV, s. n. 506, Doc. No. 23, p. 4.

violation of civil rights which existed when General Price was in command, wrote that "we almost dreaded the arrival of new troops, fearful lest the scenes of last year were about to be enacted again."

Commissary wagons made their way across the plains, but none arrived in Santa Fé before July 5. The commissary department had experienced some anxious weeks, for private trains had been arriving since June. John Dougherty contracted to take 550 head of cattle across to Santa Fé at the rate of $2.50 per hundred pounds. The cattle and a large train of government wagons and private traders were protected, in a sense, by a company of dragoons. In the meantime prices were high in Santa Fé. Crushed wheat could be purchased only in limited quantities. Sheep weighing thirty pounds sold from $1.50 to $2. Mules reputed to be worth $35 sold for $60 each; oxen "worth $30 in Missouri" brought $70; and corn to feed them was offered at $3.50 per bushel. Some one on the commissary staff remarked that "we have freely paid them, rather than levy forced contributions." Only specie would talk to the native of New Mexico.

According to the *Reveille* (June 3, 1848) the Indians attacked almost every train that crossed the plains in 1846 and 1847. A man from Bent's Fort wrote that the "Pawnees are playing the deuce with the provision wagons . . . [they have] killed men, burned several wagons . . . and I am glad of this because now, perhaps, Uncle Sam, the old fool, will punish these Indians who have so long committed outrages upon the traders with impunity." The commissioner of Indian Affairs in his annual report of 1847 exonerated the Indians north of the Arkansas by saying that, with the exception of the Pawnee, no plains Indians had attacked any wagon trains. However, property, "which was no doubt plundered from trains, has been found in the possession of two or three tribes [of the plains] . . . but they alleged having received it in trade. . . . They all cheerfully gave it up . . . except the Pawnees, who were compelled to do so."[7]

The chief depredations were committed between the Cimarron river and Pawnee Fork at the bend of the Arkansas. The Comanches told that they were advanced large droves of horses and mules as well as considerable money by the Mexicans. In return they were to kill Americans and destroy all their property.[8] The penetration of the Indian territory by the various trails and the

7. *Senate Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., v. I, s. n. 503, Doc. No. 1, pp. 742, 743.
8. This explanation was given in the St. Louis *Reveille*, August 30, 1847.

rapidly diminishing buffalo upon which the Indian relied to supply physical wants, may explain the attitude of the Indian more sympathetically, perhaps more scientifically. Facing their approaching doom, and having once tasted the plunder of the caravans, the plains Indians gathered at the Arkansas crossing each year to harass the passing wagon trains. Mounted on horses, armed with bows and arrows, spears, and guns, few travelers were free from their attack or their night prowlings. Cattle were speared and the tails cut off close for trophies. Scalps were lifted from many heads. As Col. Alton Easton's regiment filed across the prairies in June and July, 1847, great herds of buffalo were driven in close to the trail by the Indians, for the purpose of decoying troops away from the main body. Great piles of fuel at various points on the south side of the Arkansas succeeded in luring men away upon one occasion. Eight men paid for this venture with their lives.[9]

One government train was surrounded by a horde of Indians. Three hundred sacks of flour were cut open, so the story goes, and scattered "to the four winds of Heaven. The prairie for miles around . . . is said to have been as white . . . as snow. The villainous rascals, immediately upon getting possession of the wagons, set to work powdering themselves and the color of their yellow skins was soon changed to one of snow whiteness. The sport of snowballing each other with hands full of flour they enjoyed to a great degree; . . . they bedecked themselves out in the sacks, and in this garb several were seen by the men who returned to Fort Leavenworth . . . two or three days after the robbery. One fellow had modeled his sack into a turban, and the brand U. S. was immediately in front. The letters were quite unintelligible to them, but they seemed to prize them quite highly, as in all the breech clothes made of them the U. S. was . . . in front." These Indians, according to the story, besides having their fun, did the conventional thing of carrying away the arms, clothing, and fifty head of mules.[10]

A Delaware Indian came in from the plains in June, 1847, and told of the assault of 1,000 Indians upon thirty government wagons. The teamsters were driven from the saddle and massacred. The wagons, stores, and mules were taken.

These incidents are not rare. Col. William Gilpin estimated the total losses from Indians in 1847 to have been 47 Americans killed,

9. *Ibid.*, August 7, 1847.
10. This tale is given in the St. Louis *Era*, quoted in the New York *Tribune*, December 4, 1847. The incident is typical in general nature, if not in detail.

330 wagons destroyed, and 6,500 head of stock plundered.[11] The greater amount of these losses was sustained by government trains, Gilpin believed, since "no resting places, depots, or points of security exist between Council Grove and Vegas, a bleak stretch of 600 miles." These losses evidently caused the government to heed the demand for military protection. On November 30, 1846, an Indian agent had been appointed for the Indians between the Platte and the Arkansas.[12] Small forts on the Arkansas had been temporarily used by soldiers. Wagon trains had banded together as many as 180 at a time. The troops which went across in 1847 carefully sheltered accompanying wagon trains. In September, 1847, Gilpin was placed in command of a battalion to be used in guarding the Santa Fé trail. These troops were organized at Independence and St. Louis and outfitted at Fort Leavenworth. Including the teamsters there were 519 in this battalion; 70 wagons carried provisions for 100 days; 856 horses, mules, and cattle completed the force. The last of this detachment left on October 6, the whole force concentrating at Fort Mann, on the Arkansas. Gilpin left three companies to rebuild the fort, and he proceeded up the river to winter among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe. Supplies were drawn from Santa Fé and Taos. Horses lived on dead grass. After an expedition to the south the Indians retreated from the Arkansas for the first time in several years. He then concentrated his troops on the eastern part of the trail. In early 1848 troops were divided, Captain Pelzer was in command at Fort Mann, and Gilpin at Bent's Fort. It was reported that the troops were in a "disgraceful state of insubordination, officers doing as they pleased."

In 1848 wagons loaded with pork and flour continued to creak along on the Santa Fé trail. The plains Indians did not wreak their vengeance on the oxen and their drivers in that season. Some trains and a herd of beef cattle were escorted by troops en route to New Mexico. Gilpin and his little band of soldiers stayed at their posts on the Arkansas. Thomas Fitzpatrick, a confirmed cynic in the matter of a peaceable relationship existing between white man and the Indian, tersely stated that Gilpin had acted only in the defensive. He did not succeed in that, he said, "as the Indians took by force many of their horses." However, he did admit that Indian attacks were less frequent, but this may be attributed to the fact that the marauders had "secured so much

11. *House Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., v. 1, s. n. 537, Doc. No. 1, p. 137.
12. Leroy R. Hafen, "Thomas Fitzpatrick and the First Indian Agency of the Upper Platte and the Arkansas," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. XV., pp. 374-384.

booty . . . and have been luxuriating in and enjoying the spoils."

The peace treaty with Mexico was confirmed by the senate in May. Eight hundred seventy-five troops were retained in the seven posts of New Mexico. Santa Fé continued to be the army depot to which government wagons came with supplies. According to a gentleman who arrived in the latter part of August, 400 public wagons were on the trail in August. Gilpin estimated that 3,000 wagons, 12,000 people, and 50,000 head of live stock passed over the trail in the last year of this period of conquest. The first army contractor, James Browne, of Independence, made several agreements in May and June to deliver government stores to Fort Union, New Mexico. In one of his contracts he agreed to buy a number of wagons, ox yokes, and chains from the quartermaster's department. This indicated that the government was slowly withdrawing from the freighting business.[13]

The conquest of northern Mexico had been made, the political transfer merely consummating what had been done economically several years before. It was the uncompromising nature of our new wards, the Apache Indians, that made necessary the establishment of a permanent military frontier. The barren nature of the country made reliance upon local food supplies somewhat precarious at all times, and undesirable most of the time. Hence Missouri river towns settled down to the booming business of freight depots, connecting the steamer (and the railroad) with the prairie schooner, the old world with the new. The "contract system," or the employment of private freighting firms by the government to transport supplies for a fixed sum per mile per pound, became the accepted means of furnishing "Navaho Land" with food. To these lonely posts, located in the fastnesses of the marauding red man, wagon trains pulled by oxen and manned by bullwhackers, made their toilsome way.

These "forts," which were to make up the Ninth Military Department's defense system, were scattered throughout the territory. In 1849 there were 987 soldiers occupying seven posts. Ten years later sixteen posts accommodated over 2,000 troops.[14] However,

13. These contracts are given in *Senate Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., v. VI, s. n. 554, Doc. No. 26, p. 12; *House Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., v. VII, s. n. 576, Doc. No. 38.

14. A complete survey of all the forts and posts occupied, the time of the construction and excavation, is given in *House Executive Documents*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., v. IX, s. n. 1008, Doc. No. 93, pp. 21, 22. The distribution of the troops for various years is given in *Senate Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., v. I, s. n. 587, Doc. No. 1, p. 110; *Ibid.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., v. II, s. n. 659, Doc. No. 1, p. 56; *Ibid.*, 33 Cong., 2 sess., v. II, s. n., 747, Doc. No. 2, p. 6; *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., v. III, s. n. 876, pp. 244, 245; *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., v. II, Part 2, s. n. 1024, Doc. No. 2, pp. 606, 607; *House Executive Documents*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., v. II, Part 1, s. n. 1324, Doc. No. 1, p. 40.

the presence of uniformed men did not subjugate the Indian. In the years 1846-1850 the people suffered the loss, according to contemporary reports, of 150,231 sheep, 893 horses, 758 mules and asses, and 1,254 cows.[15] Treaties were made only to be broken. Implements, rugs, and calicoes were brought from California and Missouri to bribe them.[16] Troops marched and countermarched. The Indian agent of the territory complained that such conditions were a result of a combination of circumstances—the wild, desert, and mountainous country and the "savage and untamed habits of most of the Indians who roam over it." More troops were demanded by citizens in Santa Fé. Thomas Fitzpatrick, in reply, accused the traders who "live and thrive on the expenditures of the troops" of being the loudest in asking for protection. They care less about protection than they do about augmenting and increasing the expenses of the general government . . ."[17] Even Mexico advised the United States to remember her treaty obligations and stop depredations on the boundary. The government slowly acquiesced and troops marched down the Old Trail to protect a bulging frontier.

Thus the Indian gave rise to the necessity of feeding troops located several hundred miles from the military frontier of the Mississippi valley. The *Missouri Republican* pointed out that one-seventh of the army was in New Mexico trying to protect one-twentieth of our frontier.[18] Santa Fé was the headquarters of the army and the depot for supplies until 1851. In that year Fort Union, located some 100 miles northeast of Santa Fé, became the military depot. Freighters transported goods to this place for distribution, or freighted the goods directly to the scattered posts in that district. Forage and fuel were purchased in the territory, as a rule. In the latter part of the decade the expenses of overland freighting were decreased by purchasing beans and vinegar from merchants of Santa Fé or near-by towns.

During the Mexican War the quartermaster's department transported most of the supplies for the troops in New Mexico. Perhaps it was the waste and inefficiency of this war-time experience which caused the government to make greater use of the contract system for overland transportation. In 1848 James Browne, of Independence, Missouri, agreed to transport 200,000 pounds of goods

15. *Senate Executive Documents*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., v. III, s. n. 613, Doc. No. 1, p. 271.
16. *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., v. I, s. n. 1023, Doc. No. 2, p. 173.
17. *House Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., v. I, s. n. 595, Doc. No. 1, p. 53.
18. *Missouri Republican*, September 6, 1850.

and other "such government stores as may be delivered to him" at $11.75 per hundred. To aid the government in converting its freighting equipment into capital he offered to buy the surplus wagons, ox yokes, etc."[19]

In 1849 the era of government contract freighting properly began. The freighters, James Browne and William H. Russell, contracted to transport such stores as could be delivered to them at $9.88 per hundred.[20]

Between July 8 and October 2, 1850, 278 wagons left Fort Leavenworth for Santa Fé and El Paso. The contractors were Joseph Clymer, David Waldo, James Browne, "Brown, Russell & Company," and Jones & Russell. Brown, Russell & Company were the principal freighters, with 135 wagons. Rates ranged from $7.87½ to $14.33⅓, depending on the destination and the time of the year. The average rates were $8.87½ to Santa Fé and $13.47½ to El Paso. There were no contracts to the other posts.[21] In the spring of 1850 Fort Leavenworth was literally flooded with barrels which had been shipped up the river from St. Louis. Since there was no warehouse, the nine-pin alley, company quarters, and two "leaky blockhouses" served as temporary places of deposit until the freighters loaded them for the plains. Later in the year a public warehouse was built out of the proceeds from the sale of unserviceable horses and wagons, the "whole of which might have been given away with advantage."

George McCall, inspector general of the War Department, gave a few helpful suggestions for freighting bacon and hard bread. Since the bacon sides were cut in squares, when packed in the round whisky barrels they left large "interstices." In addition to that, the round barrel left much unused space in the wagons. He recommended square boxes for both bacon and bread. Freighting a barrel which weighed one-half as much as the contents seemed a costly procedure, so he asked why a baker could not be sent. However, his suggestions were not followed—soldiers of the adobe forts continued to eat hard bread while contractors prospered.[22]

19. This contract is given in *Senate Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., v. VI, s. n. 554, Doc. No. 26, p. 12.

20. *House Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., v. VII, s. n. 576, Doc. No. 38.

21. An elaborate report of freighting for the years 1850 and 1851, including the dates of departure of the wagons, the number of wagons, the number of pounds, the exact destination, and the rate for each contract, is given in a report by Asst. Quar. E. A. Ogden, of Fort Leavenworth (October 4, 1851). See *Senate Executive Documents*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., v. I, s. n. 611, Doc. No. 1.

22. This full report is given in *Senate Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., v. I, s. n. 587, Doc. No. 1, Part 2.