

## Kansas historical quarterly

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the farm vote.<sup>87</sup> The Farmers-for-Dewey-and-Warren groups were designed for this purpose but were ineffective. The Democrats on the other hand did utilize such county groups in their successful bid and effectively used the state PMA officials to spread the Democratic story to the farmer. This was one of Hurley's most bitter criticisms against the Democratic candidates,<sup>88</sup> but Hope believed that the use of USDA officials was legitimate.<sup>89</sup>

So Clifford Hope's postmortem holds up extremely well under analysis, and his correspondence during the 1948 campaign points out the ineptness of the Republican leadership. Though these postmortems were written during the anguishing days after the Republican defeat in 1948, they still are valid some 24 years later. But what about Hope's personal contribution to the defeat of Dewey in 1948? Abels noted that "Republican farm politicians are blamed for not giving their wholehearted thought and energy to the Republican cause because they cooperated on a non-partisan basis with the Department of Agriculture. . . . When Brannan talked of a 'sinister conspiracy' against the farmer, they were so farmer-minded rather than Republican-minded that they joined in the chorus."<sup>90</sup> Clifford Hope appears to have been one of those farmer-minded Republicans in 1948. In June, 1948, Hope told Farm Bureau President Kline that Dewey as President would be "familiar with and sympathetic to the agricultural problems of the country."<sup>91</sup> He began soon after Dewey's nomination to work for his election and to prepare a workbook on farm problems for use in the campaign.<sup>92</sup> But Hope soon developed a slightly different view of Dewey after the abortive statements by former Minnesota Governor Stassen that price supports increased food costs and Brannan's politically oriented rebuttal. Although Dewey's hesitance to get involved may have been out of lack of sufficient knowledge over the complex farm support program, Hope, at that point, sided with Brannan and the high price support program.<sup>93</sup>

Speaking from the same platform with Brannan at the all-Iowa

87. Hope to Reed, November 7, 1948, "Hope Papers," KSHS.

88. For instance, see press release, "Excerpts From Address by Patrick J. Hurley to the 20-30 Club, at El Fidel Hotel, Albuquerque, New Mexico, September 2, 1948," New Mexico Speeches—1948 file, "Hurley Papers," UOL; Chicago *Tribune*, October 20, 1948.

89. Hope to Foster, October 15, 1948, "Hope Papers," KSHS.

90. Abels, *Out of the Jaws of Victory*, p. 291.

91. Hope to Kline, June 29, 1948, "Hope Papers," KSHS.

92. Hope helped prepare a workbook on agriculture for the Republican party and a booklet for the Farmers-for-Dewey-and-Warren group.—Hope to Henry, September 27, 1948, Finder file, "Hope Papers," KSHS.

93. For Stassen's statement, see New York *Times*, September 3, 1948; for Brannan's remarks, see USDA press release, Statement by Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan, September 3, 1948, Parity (Legis.) file, "Hope Papers," KSHS; for Dewey's much delayed statement on price supports, see New York *Times*, September 18, 1948.





soil conservation field day program at Osceola, on September 9, Hope denounced those who said farm price supports increased food costs. While Hope sat by quietly, Brannan denounced Stassen and Dewey for not explaining the Republican position on farm price supports.<sup>94</sup> The program was, as Hope wistfully reflected in his postmortems, that there was no Republican leader to explain the farm program to farmers. Hope did, however, work hard for Dewey during the campaign, constantly tried to get more attention paid to the farm vote, met with Dewey to improve the candidate's understanding of the farm problems, and tried to explain the basic farm legislation in the Hope-Aiken bill which Dewey said he supported.<sup>95</sup> So while Abels and others might classify Hope as a farmer-minded Republican, the fact remains that Hope never gave up in his faith that Dewey would be elected, although he saw the farm-belt vote shifting and tried desperately to alert the Republican campaign strategists to this fact.

Clifford Hope had an axe to grind, of course, when he wrote the Reed letter and the other postmortems—Dewey and the Eastern Republicans had cost the party a sure election—but his astuteness and political acumen were maintained during those dreary days for the Republicans in November, 1948. Having learned one political lesson, he began immediately to think of the 1952 Presidential election by constantly challenging Secretary of Agriculture Brannan, whom he personally liked but whom he felt was politically motivated.<sup>96</sup> Hope wanted to insure a Republican victory in 1952 and began to look for a candidate who he believed could win. And he was in the vanguard, albeit sometimes operating behind the scene, in pushing Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower for the next Republican nomination for President.<sup>97</sup> He also saw to it that the agricultural plank of the Republican platform was such that Eisenhower could work within it during that campaign.<sup>98</sup> And he saw to it that there was a farm division set up within the Republican party to reclaim strayed farm votes; it had worked in 1940 against Democratic Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, but it was forbidden dur-

94. *New York Times*, September 10, 1948.

95. *Ibid.*, September 18, 1948.

96. Press release, Statement by Representative Clifford R. Hope, of Kansas, Brannan Plan Speech, 1952 Campaign file, "Hope Papers," KSHS.

97. For instance, see Hope to H. A. Terrell, January 26, 1952, Presidential Nomination Gen. Corres. file, Campaign, 1952, *ibid.*; Clifford R. Hope, *et al.*, to General Dwight D. Eisenhower, February 22, 1952, General Dwight D. Eisenhower file, Campaign, 1952, *ibid.*; *Weekly Star Farmer*, Kansas City, Mo., April 9, 1952; *Garden City Daily Telegram*, April 14, 1952.

98. Hope to Frank A. Barrett, July 29, 1952, Platform 1952 Campaign file, "Hope Papers," KSHS.



POSTMORTEM ON THE ELECTION OF 1948

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ing the 1948 Dewey campaign.<sup>99</sup> In 1952 if the farmers voted for the Democrats in the Midwest, it would not be because they did not know the Republican position; Clifford Hope was part of the Republican leadership which saw to it that 1948 was not repeated again. In 1952 agrarian Republicans, not sophisticated or Wall street types, made the decisions on agricultural policy; that is the way Clifford Hope thought it should have been in 1948.

99. Henry T. McKnight to Hope, September 18, 1952, M 1952 Campaign file, *ibid*.



## Bypaths of Kansas History

### FUN AT A LEAVENWORTH WATERING PLACE

From the Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, July 16, 1875.

So much has been said in Eastern papers about the fun and flirtations that one can enjoy by visiting watering places that the fever struck our city on the first of the week, and about a dozen young men concluded to take their sure enough girls and hie away to the above-named [Bean] lake, there to while away the hours in fishing, walking, riding, and bathing in the surf, as it dashes angrily against the pebbly beach. (How romantic!)

Calico was bought for both sexes in large quantities, for bathing suits. They were puffed, fluted, and gotten up regardless of cost; and on Tuesday morning the bevy of fair ones, accompanied by their male escorts, started for the rendezvous on the lake-side. Suitable quarters having been prepared by Mr. Phelps, one of our enterprising citizens, and our party after arriving there would not have exchanged their quarters for the best ones of Newport or Long Branch.

Shortly after their arrival all were in ecstasies to try on those new suits of calico that looked so nice "done in starch." The suits were soon taken possession of, and ah! how nice the inmates looked in those gaudy suits. The males, horrid things, and looked just the opposite. The idea of six feet of masculine gender, clothed in a suit of calico, just after the first plunge into the waters of the lake, but the girls—sweet creatures—what a glorious sight it was to behold, my countrymen! Just think of it! Twelve young ladies, the pride of our city, in low neck and short sleeve dresses, with—what shall we call them? a la Dr. Mary Walker?—plunging into the cool waters of the lake, and throwing the spray in every direction. Just think of it, you dish washers and pot-wrestlers, who have to toil by day and night to gain an honest living; think of it you who have to walk our hot, dusty street; think of twelve young men and their girls in the water together, all dressed in striped calico, and then cry out, "why was I not born rich instead of handsome?"

Then the rambles by moonlight on the beach, enjoying the cool breezes as they flit across the bosom of the lake with "your own" upon your arm and whispering soft words of love in her ear, and telling her if she will only marry, the lake shall be purchased, and you will reside there forever, and you know that the last person that called upon you before you left the city was your washwoman, and that you didn't pay her. So much more for man's inhumanity to woman.

We will mention that those parties who are suspected of having uncorked a number of bottles of champagne while by themselves, that they are as innocent as new born babes. It was the same sound that naturally arises when two pair of lips meet.

But to say the most, the trip was highly enjoyed, and it will not be forgotten by those who participated.

## Kansas History as Published in the Press

"Heroic Stand of Lt. Lyman S. Kidder" is the title of an article featured in the Fort Wallace *Bugle*, beginning in the issue of April 1, 1972. Kidder and his small party were massacred by Indians in northwestern Kansas as they carried dispatches from Fort Sedgwick to Lt. George A. Custer who was camped with part of his Seventh cavalry on the Republican fork in Nebraska.

"German POW's Once Worked in Area," an article by Elfrieda Fischer Rowe, appeared in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, May 15, 1972. A prisoner-of-war camp was located at Lawrence during World War II.

A biographical sketch of McPherson's first mayor, Solomon Stephens, was printed in the McPherson *Daily Sentinel*, May 29, 1972. Stephens served as mayor from 1874 to 1876. The *Sentinel*, July 4, published the story of the 1917 Fourth-of-July celebration in McPherson. On that occasion a statue of Maj. Gen. James B. McPherson, for whom the town is named, was unveiled.

The June, 1972, issue of *Kansas Country Living*, Topeka, included a history of the Stockgrowers State Bank, Ashland. The bank was opened June 23, 1885, as the Clark County Bank. An article by Charles L. Hall entitled "Kansas Opera Houses," appeared in the July issue of the magazine.

Histories of Kansas churches published in the newspapers in recent months included the following: old church building used until recently by Alexanderfeld Church of God in Christ, Mennonite, near Hillsboro, *Marion County Record*, Marion, June 1, 1972; New Gottland Lutheran, near McPherson, *McPherson Daily Sentinel*, June 2; Mt. Zion church, near Hiawatha, *Hiawatha Daily World*, June 3; Zion Lutheran, Independence, *Independence Daily Reporter*, June 4; First Congregational, Russell, *Russell Record*, June 5 and 8; United Methodist, Lenora, Good Hope Community church, Dellvale, and United Church of Christ, Lenora, *Norton Daily Telegram*, June 5; First Christian, Louisburg, *Louisburg Herald*, June 8 and 15; Osage City Evangelical Mission Covenant, *Journal-Free Press*, Osage City, June 21; Lucas churches, *Lucas-Sylvan News*, June 22; Church of the Brethren, Morrill, *Hiawatha Daily World*, June 23;



First United Presbyterian, Newton, Newton *Kansan*, July 7; St. Joseph Catholic, Flush, Manhattan *Mercury*, July 7; Mission Creek United Presbyterian, near Summerfield, Marysville *Advocate*, July 20; Immaculate Conception Catholic, St. Marys, St. Marys *Star*, August 3; and Our Savior's Lutheran, Norway, Republic county, *The Kansan*, Concordia, August 3.

The old school house used in District 50, Barton county, now the property of the Barton County Historical Society, was the subject of a historical article by Bunny Miller, in the Great Bend *Tribune*, June 4, 1972. Other Kansas school histories appearing in recent issues of the newspapers included: Prairie Ridge, Marshall county, Blue Rapids *Times*, June 29 and July 6; an early Hillsboro school, Hillsboro *Star-Journal*, August 3; and Limestone, near Hanover, Hanover *News*, August 4.

The Rev. Blaine Burkey's "Old Hays City" series in the Hays *Daily News* recently included the following articles: "Custer's Priest-Hero [Fr. Valentin Sommereisen] Encourages County Farmers," June 4, 1972; "Sheriff Bardsley Brings 'Em Back 'Dead or Alive'," June 11; and "'Fort Vickers' Site of Last Indian Attack," June 18. On July 9 the *News* printed a history of capital punishment in Kansas by Elon Torrence, entitled "24 Executions in Kansas Since 1861."

Winfield's Chautauqua Assembly was the subject of Roland M. Mueller's column "Museum Footnotes" in the Winfield *Courier*, June 5, 1972. Organization of the assembly got under way with the first meeting of the board of directors in July, 1886.

Historical articles printed in the Marysville *Advocate* in recent months included: "Pusch Cigar Factory [in Marysville]," by Byron E. Guise, June 8, 1972; "Oldest Depot [at Vermillion] in Use in Marshall County," by Mrs. George Ruetti, June 15; "Free Stater [Joseph H. Cottrell] Built Pony Express Home Station," by Byron E. Guise, June 29; and "Guittard Family Influential in Marshall County," a summary of a talk on the Guittard family given by Sister Mary Mark Orr, Leavenworth, at the July 10 Marshall County Historical Society meeting, July 13.

Vermillion's railroad depot was built 103 years ago and is the oldest in Marshall county still in use, according to a history of the building in the Frankfort *Index*, June 15, 1972.





The Kansas City *Kansan*, June 18, 1972, printed a history of the pony express entitled "Prowess of Pony Express Riders a Legend." A map accompanied the article showing the route and locations of 190 stations and 40 division points. The names of 99 riders are listed on the map.

Part One of the Robeson Lappin family history was published in the Logan *Republican*, June 22, 1972. Members of the family settled in the Logan area in the 1870's.

In observance of the 85th anniversary of the founding of Lucas, the Lucas-Sylvan *News*, June 22, 1972, published an article entitled "Early History of Lucas," and an article on the early history of Lucas churches.

Articles of historical interest published in recent issues of the Fort Scott *Tribune* included: "Linn Courthouse Changes Little Over the Years," by Marion Johnson, June 27, 1972; and "Memories of a Small Kansas Town [Hiattville]," by Bernice Coleman Tye, June 29.

Drury, founded in 1882, was featured in the South Haven *New Era*, June 28, 1972. The Sumner county town came into existence after the establishment of a mill on the Chikaskia river by William and Scott Rayphotz.

In June, 1854, Thomas Reynolds built the first house in Ogden township, according to a history of Ogden published in the Ogden *Sun*, June 29, 1972. In 1857 the Ogden Town Company was chartered and the townsite surveyed.

Sterling's centennial was the occasion for an eight-page historical supplement published by the Sterling *Bulletin*, June 29, 1972. The town, started in 1872, was first called Peace, becoming Sterling in 1875.

Pittsburg's Mt. Carmel School of Nursing is the subject of a historical article by John K. Hay, in the Pittsburg *Headlight-Sun*, July 2, 1972. Founded in 1904, the school's graduation this year marked its closing.

Great Bend's centennial was the occasion for the publication of a 170-page edition of the Great Bend *Daily Tribune*, July 2, 1972. The edition included numerous historical articles relating to the Great Bend area.



"Opera House To Be Grand Again," is the title of a historical article by Dale Brown on the Brown Grand Opera House of Concordia, published in the *Salina Journal*, July 2, 1972. The July 9 issue of the *Journal* included an article by Bill Burke entitled "Osborne County Buffalo Hunter [Jeff Durfey] Told of Herds 40 Miles Wide."

Hutchinson's history is featured in the 120-page tabloid section of the centennial edition of the *Hutchinson News*, published July 4, 1972, exactly 100 years after the first edition.

A history of the Munsie Indians who were settled in present eastern Kansas in 1829 and 1837, was published in the *Bonner Springs Chieftain*, July 13, 1972. This small tribe was noted for its adoption of the Christian religion.

M. L. Baughn, curator of the Butterfield Trail Historical Museum, Russell Springs, is the author of a series of articles on the Butterfield Overland Despatch, beginning in the *Colby Prairie Drummer*, July 15, 1972.

Norton county's centennial was the occasion for the publication of a special 64-page edition of the *Norton Daily Telegram*, July 17, 1972.

An eight-page supplement to the *Belleville Telescope*, July 20, 1972, commemorated the 85th anniversary of the founding of the First National Bank of Belleville. The bank started as D. D. Bramwell & Company, a private bank, at Randall, and the First National Bank of Scandia. The two were joined and moved to Belleville in 1893.

Price Villa, now St. Cecilia's Hall on the Benedictine College campus, Atchison, was built in 1872 by John M. Price, a prominent lawyer, politician, and promoter. A history of the building by Richard Pankratz appeared in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, July 23, 1972.

Black history in Miami county as presented by Dee Anna Cavinee at a meeting of the Osawatomie Historical Society, July 20, 1972, was published in the *Osawatomie Graphic-News*, July 27. Slaves were brought into the county in the 1850's as their owners sought to make Kansas a slave state.



Mrs. Willard (Peggy) Greene's article in the Topeka *Sunday Capital-Journal*, July 30, 1972, reviewed the history of Charles F. Parham's Bethel School of Divine Healing. This "School of Tongues," occupied a large house at 18th and Stone streets in Topeka called "Stone's Folly," for a time in 1900.

A brief history of a portion of northwest Norton county known as the Colony, was printed in the August 1, 1972, issue of the Norton *Daily Telegram*. On August 3 the *Telegram* published a history of the James J. Jurey family. James came to Kansas in 1870 with his parents.

A history of Hollenberg, Washington county, by Mary O. Coleman, was printed in the *Hanover News*, August 4, 1972. The town was founded by Gerat H. Hollenberg in 1872.

The Dodge City *Daily Globe*, August 14, 1972, published a 140-page historical edition in observance of Dodge City's centennial.

"Axtell—Past and Present," a series by Carol Jean Bishop, began appearing in the Axtell *Standard*, August 17, 1972. The site for Axtell was laid out in 1871 and the first building erected the following year.



## Kansas Historical Notes

Dean C. Banker was reelected president of the Russell County Historical Society at the society's annual meeting May 16, 1972, in Russell. Ralph Coffeen was reelected vice-president; Clifford Holland, secretary-treasurer; and William Ochs, Sam Kessler, Mrs. Alice Landon Jones, Mark Arthur, Jr., Everett Waudby, Ferril Rusch, and Orville Perkins, directors. Mrs. Ralph N. Ewing is a new director. Plans were unveiled at the meeting for an oil-field museum, eventually to consist of several building and various oil-field equipment.

In 1876 Fred Harvey opened a hotel and restaurant near the Santa Fe railroad tracks in Florence. A portion of this building was recently acquired by the Florence Historical Society for a museum. The museum was opened to the public during the town's centennial celebration, May 27-June 3, 1972. The historical society, meeting July 17 at the museum, reelected all officers for another year. They are: Bessie Suffield, president; Dorothy Dannenfelser, vice-president; Leah Sellers, secretary; and Frank Graham, treasurer.

All officers of the Ellis County Historical Society were reelected at a meeting of the society June 7, 1972. Standlee V. Dalton is president of the society; A. A. Reisig, first vice-president; Don Bickel, second vice-president; Mrs. Lloyd Lundy, recording secretary; Mrs. Marion Coulson, corresponding secretary; Scotty Philip, treasurer; Fr. Blaine Burkey, historian; and the Rev. Harold Wisner, chaplain. A new officer is Loretta Nicholas, assistant recording secretary.

Howard E. Mohler, Harveyville, was reelected president of the Wabaunsee County Historical Society at a meeting June 7, 1972, in Palenske Memorial Hall, Alma. Steve Hund was named vice-president; Genevieve Graves, secretary; and Gerald Haller, treasurer. Mrs. Ada Sage Laverty and George Spencer are new directors.

Over 300 persons visited the Kearny County Historical Society's museum during its formal opening June 9 and 10, 1972, in a room of the Lakin Library. Alma McConaughy is curator of the museum and Cleo Fouser assistant curator.

Maurice Johnson was elected president of the Gray County Historical Society at the group's annual picnic June 11, 1972, at the fairgrounds west of Cimarron. Victor Hull was named vice-presi-



dent; Leta Davis, secretary; and Eva Jacques, treasurer. A. V. Hanna was the retiring president.

Officers named by the Cheyenne County Historical Society at a meeting in St. Francis, June 23, 1972, included: Dorothy Mast, president; Barbara Ewing, vice-president; Paul Reeb, secretary; Melvin Mast, treasurer; and Ernest Bressler, director. Budd Ewing was the retiring president.

Charles Frickey was named president of the Decatur County Historical Society at a meeting June 27, 1972. Other officers elected were: Kermit Nelson, vice-president; Mrs. Clayton Diehl, secretary; and Mrs. R. Ross Riley, treasurer. Directors of the society are: Varlan Neal, Francis St. Clair, Mrs. Riley, and Bob Paddock. Dr. Donald Harrier was the retiring president.

A history of Colwich was recently published in a 96-page pamphlet entitled *Colwich Community Pictorial History*. The Sedgwick county town was founded in 1885 and incorporated in 1887.

Seventy historical items, one or two paragraphs in length, by Ray S. Schulz, have been published in a pamphlet entitled *Moments in History* by the Barton County Historical Society and the Golden Belt Printing Co., Great Bend. The items have been used on KVGB Radio and have appeared in the *Great Bend Tribune*, beginning April 1, 1972.

*Great Bend, Kansas, a Historical Portrait of the City* is a 60-page, well-illustrated booklet published as a part of Great Bend's centennial celebration, July 1-8, 1972.

Mankato's centennial observance in May, 1972, included the publication of a 63-page historical booklet. The town was established in 1872 as Jewell Center. The name was changed to Alta in 1880 and a few months later to Mankato.

From a population that once numbered approximately 60 million, the American buffalo diminished to less than 300 animals about 1900, then increased to over 20,000 today. A study of these changes by J. Albert Rorabacher, entitled *The American Buffalo in Transition: A Historical and Economic Survey of the Bison in America*, was published in 1970 by the North Star Press, Saint Cloud, Minn.

Two new works on Amelia Earhart, the Kansas-born flier, have recently appeared. Burke Davis is the author of an 189-page biography entitled *Amelia Earhart*, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons,



New York. In *Amelia Earhart, the Myth and the Reality* . . . , Dick Strippel gives the results of his study of the mystery of Miss Earhart's disappearance. This 181-page book was published by Exposition Press, New York.

Da Capo Press, New York, has recently reprinted two books relating to the history of the West: *The Emigrants' Guide to California*, by Joseph E. Ware, originally published in 1849; and *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines*, by Franklin Langworthy, originally published in 1855. Both volumes were reprinted in 1932 by the Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J.

Mrs. Frank W. Boyd's autobiography, *Rode a Heifer Calf Through College*, was published in a 253-page volume by Pageant-Poseidon LTD., Brooklyn, N. Y. Now 95 years of age, Mrs. Boyd is a nationally known Kansas newspaperwoman.

Frank Richard Prassel is the author of *The Western Peace Officer, a Legacy of Law and Order*, a 330-page volume published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, in 1972. The book attempts to dispel the myths and legends that surround the lawmen of the American West.

A portrait of 19th-century life in America is painted by Charlotte Erickson in *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America*, a 531-page volume published in 1972 by the University of Miami Press, Coral Gables, Fla. Letters written by some of the immigrants, including several from Bunker Hill, Kan., were one of the author's prime sources.

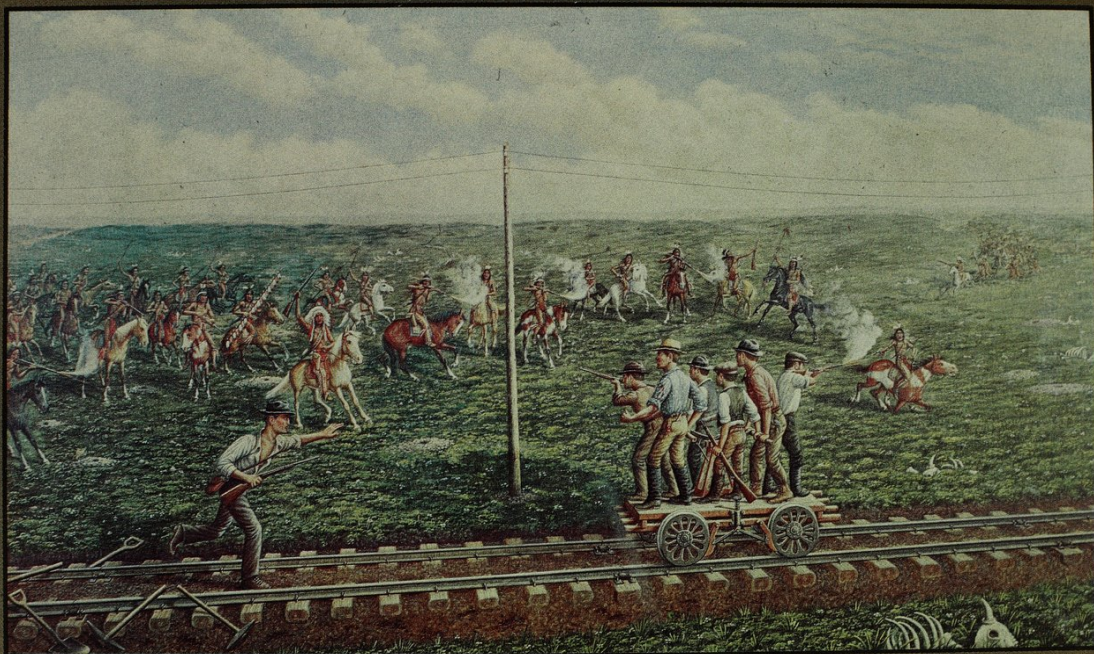
Gregory M. Franzwa is the author of *The Oregon Trail Revisited*, published in 1972 by Patrice Press, St. Louis. The 417-page, paper-bound volume includes the history of the old Oregon trail and instructions for finding points along the trail today.

*John Levi of Haskell* by Frank W. McDonald, is a 92-page biography of the all-American fullback from Haskell Indian School in Lawrence, published by the World Company, Lawrence, in 1972. Levi, an Arapaho Indian, attended Haskell in the early 1920's.

*Reform at Osawatimie State Hospital: Treatment of the Mentally Ill, 1866-1970* is the title of a 289-page work by Lowell Gish, published in 1972 by the University Press of Kansas, Lawrence.







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WINTER 1972



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## THE COVER

A band of Cheyenne Indians attacking Kansas Pacific track workers west of present Russell on May 28, 1869. (See p. 377.) At the request of Adolph Roenigk, a Kansas pioneer and one of the workers, the scene was depicted in oil in 1931 by Jacob Gogolin (1864-1940), a Colorado artist.



## THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXXVIII

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Number 4

### Indian Raids on the Kansas Frontier, 1869

LONNIE J. WHITE

NOTWITHSTANDING their number and severity, the Indian raids on the Kansas frontier in 1869 have received little more than passing attention by historians, who have been more interested in general military events. An examination of these raids shows that although they were committed by only a relatively small number of tribesmen on the warpath, they were nearly as damaging as those committed during the critical year of 1868.

The year 1869 opened with Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's celebrated Winter campaign under way far to the south of the Kansas border. In 1868, following a series of destructive depredations in the Saline and Solomon valleys and on the Arkansas (Santa Fe) and Smoky Hill stage and freight routes and the line of the Kansas Pacific railroad,<sup>1</sup> which was pushing westward along the Smoky Hill river towards Denver, Sheridan had undertaken to punish the Southern Plains tribes and to force them to go on reservations set aside for them in Indian territory under the Medicine Lodge treaties of 1867.

After a number of generally unsuccessful preliminary expeditions from bases in Kansas, Sheridan sent three columns of troops into Indian territory which kept the hostiles on the move and ultimately caused the large majority of them to settle peacefully on their reservations. The most important column was that commanded by Lt. (Bvt. Maj. Gen.) George A. Custer. Operating out of Camp Supply, Indian territory, Custer delivered a punishing blow to the Cheyennes in the Battle of the Washita late in November, 1868. Later, Custer led the Seventh United States cavalry, together with the 19th Kansas

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1. The Union Pacific railroad, Eastern division, became the Kansas Pacific in 1869.





volunteer cavalry under Col. Samuel J. Crawford, to Forts Cobb and Sill in Indian territory and to Sweetwater creek in the Texas Panhandle, seeking out recalcitrant Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches for the purpose of persuading them to go in to Forts Cobb and Sill. On Sweetwater creek Custer obtained the release of two Kansas women captives and a promise from the Cheyennes to surrender at Fort Sill.

From Sweetwater creek, Custer marched via Camp Supply and Fort Dodge, to Fort Hays on Big creek tributary of the Smoky Hill, arriving there early in April, 1869. The Winter campaign terminated, the 19th Kansas volunteer cavalry was mustered out while the Seventh cavalry remained bivouacked in a bend of Big creek two miles below the post.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the efforts of the military during the winter and spring of 1868-1869, isolated parties of roving Indians depredated sporadically on the frontier. In January, 1869, a party of Cheyennes probably led by Spotted Horse "drove in the mail couriers" to Fort Dodge and were seen in the vicinity of Fort Hays. It was presumed that Spotted Horse had come north from Indian territory to raid because the army was holding the chief's sister and 52 other Cheyenne captives at Fort Hays.<sup>3</sup> Any threat of serious trouble from Spotted Horse was undoubtedly removed, however, by the subsequent release of the Indian prisoners.

Other Indians, in January, attacked a stage coach near Big Timbers station, Kansas, and killed two stage company employees near Lake station, Colo., on the Smoky Hill road to Denver. Although the red men were not identified, the commandant of nearby Fort Wallace suggested that the hostiles may have been Utes from southern Colorado on a hunting expedition. Nevertheless, a command from Fort Wallace scouted on the Arickaree fork, Beaver creek, and Republican river in a futile search apparently for Plains Indians.<sup>4</sup>

A party of Pawnees from their reservation in Nebraska also gave trouble during January. After the Pawnees robbed some houses on

2. Lonnie J. White, "Winter Campaigning With Sheridan and Custer: The Expedition of the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry," *Journal of the West*, Los Angeles, Calif., v. 6 (January, 1967), pp. 68-98; Lonnie J. White, "White Women Captives of Southern Plains Indians, 1866-1875," *ibid.*, v. 8 (July, 1969), pp. 335-343; Marvin H. Garfield, "Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1868-1869," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1 (November, 1932), pp. 451-469.

3. Sully to Governor Harvey, telegram, January 13, 1869, "Adjutant General's Correspondence," archives, Kansas State Historical Society; communication of correspondent, Hays City, January, 1868[9], *Leavenworth Times and Conservative*, January 19, 1869.

4. C. O., Fort Wallace, to McKeever, January 12, February 12, 1869, and to Sully, January 14, 19, 1869, Fort Wallace, "Telegrams Sent," Bankhead to McKeever, February 28, 1869, Fort Wallace, "Letters Sent," Records of the War Department, National Archives; correspondence dated Hays City, January 13, 1868[9], *Times and Conservative*, January 15, 1869.





the Saline river, a group of Kansans, according to Sheriff D. G. Wagstaff of Saline county, caught the Pawnees on Mulberry creek 14 miles from Salina while they were "trying to run off stock." "The Indians fired first," averred Wagstaff to Gov. James M. Harvey, and in the ensuing battle seven Indians were killed. Ltc. Alfred Sully, commander of the District of the Upper Arkansas, at Fort Harker, told the governor, however, that 25 soldiers engaged the Pawnees, that only two citizens were present and they as guides, and that six Pawnees were killed and one badly wounded. The troopers were part of 130 infantry and cavalry stationed on the Saline, Solomon, and Republican rivers guarding the Kansas frontier settlements.<sup>5</sup>

Three sporadic depredations by small parties of Indians were reported during February, March, and April. On February 25, 17 Cheyennes attacked three trappers between the Solomon and Saline rivers north of Hays City. One of the trio, Jack Bridges, upon seeing the Indians, sought to join his nearby companions. Thrown from his horse, he was speared in the shoulder by a single Indian. Bridges nevertheless shot his assailant and joined his friends. The loss of a second warrior killed in an ensuing "animated fight" between the trappers and the Indians apparently discouraged the warriors and they abandoned the field.

Early in March unidentified Indians fired on a stage coach near Deering Wells, Colo., west of Fort Wallace, evidently without effect. In April seven Indians fired on some frontiersmen between Sheridan and Fort Wallace, again apparently without doing injury.<sup>6</sup>

Fearing an outbreak similar to that of 1868, Governor Harvey in January, 1869, asked the Kansas legislature for authority to raise two regiments of militia. The legislature responded by authorizing the governor to call out 200 militiamen in the event they were needed and providing for the issuance and sale of state bonds in the amount of \$100,000 to pay for their recruitment and maintenance.<sup>7</sup> The few isolated raids of the next three months, however, posed no serious threat, and the order to organize the militia was not immediately given.

Early in May Col. William S. Moorhouse, the state adjutant general, made an inspection of the frontier presumably to determine

5. Wagstaff to Governor Harvey, Salina, January 30, 1869, *Times and Conservative*, January 31, 1869; Sully to Governor Harvey, Fort Harker, February 12, 18, 1869, "Governors Correspondence," archives, Kansas State Historical Society.

6. Lawrence *Kansas Daily Tribune*, March 9, 1869; C. O., Fort Wallace, to AAAG, District of the Upper Arkansas, March 8 and 9, 1869, and to McKeever, April 16, 1869, Fort Wallace, "Telegrams Sent," C. O., Fort Wallace, to AAAG, District of the Upper Arkansas, March 9, 1869, Fort Wallace, "Letters Sent," Records of the War Department, National Archives.

7. *Times and Conservative*, January 14, 1869; Junction City *Union*, Extra, January 13, 1869; *Laws of the State of Kansas*, 1869 (Topeka, 1869), p. 169.





the need for ordering the militia's organization. Moorhouse found fewer soldiers in Kansas than in 1868. There were only 50 men at Fort Hays; one company, however, was away at Ogallah about 20 miles to the west where there had recently been an Indian "disturbance." Units of the 10th (Negro) cavalry previously stationed in Kansas had been sent to Texas. And Colonel Custer expected the Seventh cavalry camped near Fort Hays to be ordered away soon. There were still "enough Indians on the war-path to make serious trouble" and settlers were "acting imprudently in pushing too far west."<sup>8</sup> Presumably on the basis of Moorhouse's report, Governor Harvey in about mid-May issued the order to begin the enrollment of militia.

Moorhouse also might have doubted whether federal troops would in the future be used as vigorously against hostile Indians as in the past. Ulysses S. Grant had recently taken office as President and inaugurated a policy of appointing churchmen, especially Quakers, to positions in the Indian service on the theory that more kindness and less force would cause the Western Indians to become more amiable. The *Topeka Kansas Daily Commonwealth* probably reflected the sentiments of its readers toward the new policy—known as the Quaker peace policy—in an editorial of early May:

We long for the day when the sentimentalists and humanitarians of the East will arrive at a proper conception of the character of the savages of the plains; . . . because a correct knowledge of the situation will tend to a speedy settlement of the troublesome Indian question. Now that the prominent Indian superintendencies and agencies have been assigned to the broad-brims and shad-bellies, we hope that a fair trial will be given to the "brotherly love" system. That the practice of these benignant gentlemen may comport with their precepts, it is to be hoped that they will forego the protection of military escorts, and trust entirely to the humanizing and Christianizing influences of greenbacks, brown sugar, burnt coffee, wooden beads, striped calico and blue blankets.

The editor doubted that the new policy would be successful because the Indian was "a treacherous, irresponsible, relentless, cruel, cowardly, untamable savage." The "only method of establishing permanent peace on the Plains is by the practical extinction of the tribes that roam over them; and therefore we regard the carbine and the revolver as the most effective civilizers."<sup>9</sup>

At nearly the same time as the appearance of this editorial, the first of a chain of events occurred which would, from the point of view of Kansas frontiersmen, give some credence to the editor's

8. *Times and Conservative*, May 9, 1869.

9. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, May 6, 1869. See, also, *ibid.*, May 13, 1869.



views. A quarrel among the Cheyenne chiefs encamped on the Washita northwest of Fort Cobb developed over the matter of remaining peacefully on their reservation. Two Cheyenne dog soldier chiefs, Tall Bull and White Horse, decided to go north and "join the Sioux" because they "never would make any peace that compelled them to settle down, they had always been a free nation, and they would remain so or die." Thenceforth about 165 lodges of dog soldiers—some 200 warriors and their families—started north intending, according to an army officer camped nearby, to "make a big strike" on the march.<sup>10</sup>

The dog soldiers had not yet made their "big strike" when they and a band of Sioux were engaged by units of Maj. Eugene A. Carr's Fifth cavalry en route from Fort Lyon, Colo., to Fort McPherson, Nebr. Near Beaver creek north of Fort Wallace on May 15, Carr's command discovered fresh signs of Indians. Encamping, Carr sent a small detachment under Lt. E. W. Ward to make a reconnaissance. Five miles downstream Ward saw the smoke of a large village and turned back. While retreating toward Carr's camp, he was surrounded by a large hunting party of Cheyenne and Sioux. Scout William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody dashed through the encirclement and informed Carr of what was happening. As Ward was fighting his way clear, Carr's command attacked the main body of warriors who sought to hold the soldiers off while their families escaped with as many belongings as possible. The warriors, numbering about 500, fought desperately during the day, then retreated under cover of night. Carr reported his losses as four dead and three wounded and the Indians' as 25 dead and 50 wounded. The next morning Carr burned the abandoned village and followed the Indians to Spring creek, Nebr., where the warriors turned and attacked the advance guard. The Indians retreated, however, upon the arrival of the main command and scattered over the prairie, thus forcing Carr to abandon pursuit.<sup>11</sup>

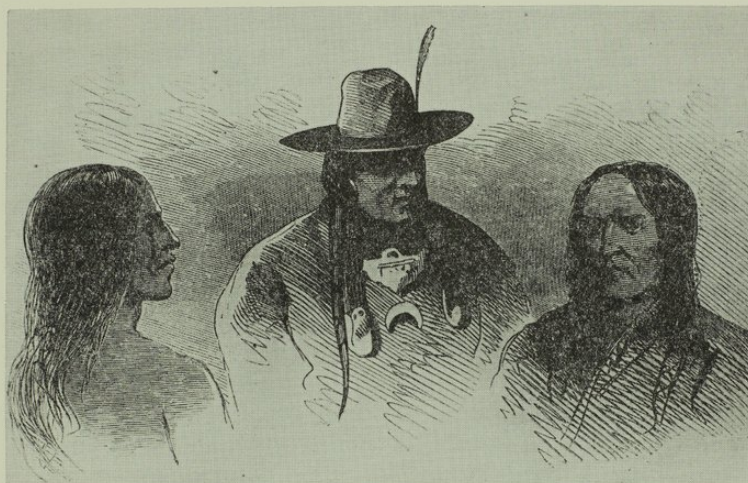
Such a costly defeat called, according to the Indian code of revenge, for retaliation, although it may be that Tall Bull's warriors had, as noticed above, been planning to attack the settlements anyway. The prospect of increasing their wealth by capturing stock

10. Lt. Henry Jackson to McKee, Fort Harker, June 6, 1869, "Philip H. Sheridan Papers," Library of Congress.

11. George F. Price, *Across the Continent With the Fifth Cavalry* (New York, 1883), pp. 134-135; George E. Hyde, *Life of George Bent, Written From His Letters* (Norman, 1965), pp. 328-329; Donald J. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman, 1963), pp. 339-340. George Bent, a half-Cheyenne who did not participate in the fight, stated that Carr's command fought only a rear guard on May 15 and not the main body of Indians as Carr claimed. Bent also denied that Carr killed any Indians. Although Carr, like most commanders who engaged Indians, probably exaggerated his opponent's losses, it is also possible that Bent's information was inaccurate.



and goods, of taking women captives to hold for ransom or to serve as warriors' wives, and of counting coup for purposes of prestige were reasons enough for any band of Plains warriors to raid. If an excuse was needed, some past offense could always be dredged up. But in this instance, Carr's attack was probably the pretext for retaliation. If this was not excuse enough, "a squaw and an Indian child, while quietly passing through the country," had in April been killed by Kansas settlers who at a distance mistook them for warriors.<sup>12</sup>



The Sioux chief "Pawnee Killer and His Braves," as sketched by T. R. Davis in *Harper's Weekly*, New York, August 17, 1867.

The ensuing series of raids, committed by the Cheyenne dog soldiers under Tall Bull and White Horse, and Sioux under Pawnee Killer, Whistler, and Little Wound,<sup>13</sup> caught the Kansas frontiersmen by surprise despite Colonel Moorhouse's publicly reported fear of possible Indian trouble. The settlers' lack of concern may be attributed to the military's having described Sheridan's winter campaign as highly successful in forcing the Indians into submission. Proof that the army expected little or no further difficulty was its own withdrawal of troops from the Saline, Solomon, and Republican rivers. It was because Kansas frontiersmen had been led to believe

12. *Junction City Weekly Union*, May 29, 1869.

13. James T. King, "The Republican River Expedition, June-July, 1868," *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, v. 41 (September, 1960), p. 167.





that "Indian troubles were a thing of the past" that Governor Harvey's order to organize the militia was met by citizen apathy.<sup>14</sup>

Making the matter worse, a burst of immigration, described by one Kansas newspaper correspondent as "a regular stampede," had pushed forward rapidly the line of settlements on the northwestern Kansas frontier. Many newcomers, it was reported, had only "the slightest possible conception of frontier life." Among the new pioneers were a Swedish and Norwegian colony and a settlement of New Yorkers referred to locally as the Excelsior colony on the White Rock creek tributary of the Republican river in Jewell and Republic counties.<sup>15</sup> The White Rock settlers, especially the Scandinavians, were the first to suffer the wrath of the hostile Cheyenne dog soldiers and Sioux in the summer of 1869.

The raids began on May 21 when about 30 or 40 warriors, armed with revolvers, spears, and bows and arrows and morally supported by "a great many others back in sight," struck a camp of Scandinavian farmers who were hunting buffalo on White Rock creek. Four men were surprised while they were skinning buffalo; they tried to retreat but were killed when their ammunition gave out. Several comrades who witnessed the assault from a distance fled to the nearby settlements. Four hunters and land lookers from Rose creek, Nebr., were massacred a few days later at the head of White Rock creek near the Kansas-Nebraska line. And six hunters of a party of seven men from Waterville in Marshall county were killed on White Rock creek after a desperate, two-day running fight.

Striking the settlements in force, the hostiles killed, destroyed, ran off stock, carried away provisions, and took about one thousand dollars in greenbacks from cabins. In one instance several Swedes, observing their approach, fled in shirt sleeves to the cover of a ravine and remained there through the night in a cold rain before finally venturing out. Estimates by contemporaries of the total number killed on White Rock creek varied from 10 to 20. It would appear from the data above that the latter figure was the more accurate one.

Learning of the outbreak of hostilities, Cpt. B. C. Sanders, who had served in the state militia in 1868, gathered 30 men from nearby Lake Sibley in Cloud county and proceeded to the scene of trouble. Two men, a Norwegian and an Englishman, left by Sanders' party to guard provisions at a house on White Rock creek were killed and

14. *Manhattan Standard*, June 12, 1869; *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, July 20, 1869.

15. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, April 18, 1869; *Junction City Weekly Union*, May 29, 1869; communication of "X," Lake Sibley, May 29, 1869, *Manhattan Standard*, June 5, 1869.





the stores taken by Indians. Sanders' men evidently failed to engage the enemy and, making camp, they assisted in burying the dead. Many settlers fled to the older settlements while other collected "in squads" for mutual protection. The raids also caused consternation in the Lake Sibley area.

State Sen. A. A. Carnahan of Clyde, located some distance south-east of White Rock creek, reported the hostilities in two letters to Governor Harvey. Unless the authorities did something soon "to make these settlers feel a little secure," he declared, "the material interests" of the state would be "seriously damaged." Some 60 White Rock creek pioneers from Jewell county petitioned the governor for immediate protection and "good arms."<sup>16</sup>

Before any action could be taken, the Indians struck again, this time near the forks of the Solomon in Osborne county. Five Waterville citizens belonging to a 10-man hunting and land-looking expedition were surprised late in May by an estimated 100 warriors. Scattering in the brush one man was caught and killed while the others escaped under cover of night. One of the four, while wandering along the Solomon, discovered the mutilated body of a Dr. Rose who belonged to another hunting party. Another group of hunters from Ottawa county was attacked on Covert creek but managed to escape in the tall grass and heavy brush with only one person injured. A member of the Waterville expedition, State Rep. W. H. Smith of Marshall county, was subsequently quoted as saying, no doubt in cynical reference to the Quaker peace policy, that the hostiles "wore broad-brimmed hats" and carried "*New Colt's Revolvers*."<sup>17</sup>

It is impossible, on the basis of contemporary sources, most of which are somewhat scanty and conflicting in details, to trace precisely the movements of the raiders. It is clear enough, however, that they were at this point moving generally southward and that there existed a large party which can be described as the main body of warriors. Also, it would appear that smaller parties, some unconnected with the principal group, operated over a wide area.

16. The above account of the White Rock creek raid has been pieced together from the following contemporary sources, which, taken as a whole, are somewhat sketchy, confusing and conflicting: Two letters of Carnahan to Governor Harvey, May 24, 1869, "Adjutant Generals' Correspondence," May 26, 1869, "Governors' Correspondence," archives, Kansas State Historical Society; petition of White Rock creek citizens to Governor Harvey, May 25, 1869, "Governors' Correspondence," archives, Kansas State Historical Society; Sanders to Moorhouse, May 26, 1869, *Report of the [Kansas] Adjutant General: 1869*, p. 7; *Manhattan Standard*, June 5, 12, 1869; *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, May 30, June 6, July 20, 1869; *Times and Conservative*, June 1, 8, 1869; *Junction City Weekly Union*, May 29, 1869; *Emporia News*, June 4, 1869.

17. Letter of Geo. W. Crowther to Governor Harvey, Waterville, June 2, 1869, *Marshall County Recorder*, Irving, June 4, 1869, reprinted in *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, June 6, 1869; Adolph Roenigk et al., *Pioneer History of Kansas* (n. p., 1933), pp. 221-227.





One of the smaller parties, which apparently preceded the main group southward, wrought havoc on the Kansas Pacific railroad between Forts Hays and Harker. On May 28 about 30 Cheyennes armed with revolvers and bows and arrows charged out of a ravine and attacked seven railroad workers who were cutting weeds two miles west of Fossil Creek station. Jumping on a handcar, the laborers proceeded full speed toward the station. Armed with four rifles the men returned the fire, but succeeded in killing only one pony. Shot and unable to hang on the handcar, Alexander McKeever and John Lynch fell to the ground. Their bodies were subsequently found "filled" with telegraph wire and minus scalps, tongues, hearts, and ears. Although four of the remaining five men were wounded, they managed to reach the safety of the station. After breaking off the attack, the Indian damaged the track near the station, which caused one of two trains coming from opposite directions to be ditched.

An unidentified passenger on one of the trains subsequently implied that the railroad workers on the handcar were saved largely through the efforts of the Fossil Creek station agent, a German named John Cook, who "sallied out" to the men's assistance with a Spencer carbine as they approached the station on the handcar. It was also his opinion that had the men not panicked and fled they could have fought the raiders off at the point of attack. The four wounded men—Louis Taylor, Adolph Roenigk, Charles Sylvester, and George Sealey—seemed to deny, however, in a newspaper letter, either that they had panicked, though they admitted they had been temporarily "bewildered," or that they were saved by Cook, though they believed he deserved "great praise."<sup>18</sup>

The same warriors also made a dash upon Bunker Hill station but were repulsed presumably by railroad employees. Another party attacked three railroad men looking for stolen mules about seven miles from Fort Hays and drove them into the fort. Learning of the attacks somewhat belatedly on the morning of May 30, Colonel Custer at Fort Hays sent a detachment of Seventh cavalry to Fossil Creek station while he himself led a force after the warriors who chased the men into Fort Hays. Neither command succeeded in

18. Communications of W. W. Creighton, "Off the Track Near Fossil Creek, May 28 [29?]," near Fossil Creek, May 29, 1869, Hays City, May 31, 1869, *Times and Conservative*, May 30, June 2, 1869; communication of "X," Hays City, June 3, 1869, *ibid.*, June 5, 1869; communication of "Traveller," Hays City, May 31, 1869, *ibid.*, June 2, 1869; communication of Taylor, Roenigk, Sylvester, and Sealey, Fort Harker, June 3, 1869, *ibid.*, June 6, 1869; communication of D. R. G., Fort Harker, May 28 [29?], 1869, *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 1, 1869; A. Roenigk, "Railroad Grading Among Indians," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8 (1903-1904), pp. 384-389.



running the Indians down. Far to the west, near the western Kansas line, 15 Cheyennes drove off 200 mules belonging to a Fort Union, N. M., trader.<sup>19</sup>

On Sunday, May 30, the main body of hostiles, divided into small parties for the occasion, struck the settlements in the upper Saline river valley. Severely hit was a largely Swedish settlement near present Denmark, Lincoln county, on Spillman creek. Eskild Lauritzen and his wife and Otto Petersen were killed and their bodies mutilated while en route to visit neighbors. Among the personal items taken was 450 dollars belonging to Lauritzen. The noise probably of this attack alerted George and Maria Weichell, recent immigrants from Hanover, Germany, and Fred Meigherhoff who were living in the Lauritzen home. Fleeing from the house, the trio fled downstream only to be run down and the men killed and Maria captured when their ammunition gave out. Another home was defended by two women who fired at their assailants through portholes and drove them away. On the Saline the Indians interrupted a Sunday afternoon visitation at the home of the Nicholas Whalens. As the Indians approached, the Whalens and the Thomas Noons took to their horses and fled in panic, leaving Mrs. Thomas Alderdice and Mrs. Timothy Kine and their children unarmed and unmounted to fend for themselves. Both women ran for the river. Mrs. Kine and baby made it and took refuge in the brush. Mrs. Alderdice, who was pregnant and slowed down by her young children, was caught and she and her baby made captive. Two others of the Alderdice children were killed and one severely wounded.

Altogether some 13 persons were killed during the sweep of the hostiles through the valley of the Saline. If the assertions of some contemporaries that the Indians were generally reluctant to attack armed settlers are true, then the casualties might have been even higher. It might also be concluded that had the settlers not been so poorly armed, as the sources indicate, the destruction would not have been so great. And it seems unlikely that the raids would have been so severe had the settlers known the Indians had been raiding elsewhere. The evidence indicates that the exposed Lincoln

19. Captain Ovenshine to McKeever, May 30, June 1, 1869, Fort Hays, "Letters Sent," Records of the War Department, National Archives; Junction City *Weekly Union*, May 29, 1869; communications of Creighton, near Fossil Creek, May 29, 30, 1869, Hays City, May 21, June 1, 1869, and of "X," Hays City, June 3, 1869, *Times and Conservative*, May 30, June 2, 4, 5, 1869.



county frontiersmen were completely unaware of any danger of an Indian attack.<sup>20</sup>

The organization of the state militia, which had previously moved slowly, now proceeded rapidly. Immediately after the Saline raid Governor Harvey ordered Companies A and B under Cpts. Allison J. Pliley and W. A. Winsell organized as mounted scouts to patrol the frontier and to give warning to the settlers of approaching Indians. Captain Pliley had served as a scout for the 18th Kansas cavalry in 1867 and had participated in the Battle of Beecher Island in 1868. His executive officer, 1Lt. Chauncey B. Whitney, was also a veteran of the Beecher Island fight. Although the outfitting of these two companies received priority, they were nevertheless handicapped in their operation by lack of horses and equipment. The commanders of C and D companies were Cpts. I. N. Dalrymple and Richard Stanfield. These four companies together with a small separate detachment under 2Lt. C. Stinson comprised the Second Kansas Frontier militia battalion. The main camps of the battalion, when finally organized and located, were: Company A on Spillman creek in the Saline valley; Company B on Plum creek in the Solomon valley; Company C on Fisher creek in the Solomon Valley; and Company D at the forks of Beaver creek and the Republican river. Detachments from Companies C and D and the separate detachment were stationed at other points.

Adjutant General Moorhouse himself traveled from the capital to the troubled area early in June and took personal command of the militia, selecting sites for camps and sending detachments to follow Indian trails. Apparently supplementing the militia were civilians who formed themselves into independent companies of "home guards."

At about the same time as Moorhouse appeared on the frontier, Governor Harvey arrived at Fort Leavenworth to enlist the assistance of Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield, Sheridan's successor as commander of the Department of the Missouri, in meeting the emergency. Although short on troops, Schofield promised military assistance and ordered arms and ammunition made available for distribution in the Solomon, Republican, and Saline valleys. These

20. Communications of Creighton, May 31, June 1, 2, 1869, *Times and Conservative*, June 1, 2, 3, 1869; interview with Thomas Alderdice, June 19, 1869, *ibid.*, June 20, 1869; *Junction City Weekly Union*, June 5, 1869; *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, June 2, 1869; *Emporia News*, June 25, 1869; Eli Zeigler to J. J. Peate, February 4, 1909, Salem, Ore., *Lincoln Sentinel*, October 18, 1909, in "Indian Depredations and Battles," clippings, v. 1, library, Kansas State Historical Society; account of Adolph Roenigk, *Hoisington Dispatch*, April 5, 1934, in "Indian Depredations and Battles," clippings, v. 2, library, Kansas State Historical Society; Ray G. Sparks, "Tall Bull's Captives," *Trail Guide*, Kansas City, Mo., v. 7 (March, 1962), pp. 6-10.





federal arms would supplement a limited supply of Civil War relics owned by the state. Harvey then journeyed to the scene of recent troubles for an on-the-spot inspection, after which he returned to the capital.

Back in Topeka, Harvey reported that the farmers on the upper Saline, after removing their families to Salina, had returned to their farms. The men of the White Rock creek settlement, however, were still with their families in the vicinities of Lake Sibley and Clyde.<sup>21</sup>

The attacks were as unexpected by the army as they were by the settlers. Although the troops stationed on the Saline, Solomon, and Republican during the spring had been withdrawn, it happened that Troop G of the Seventh cavalry was camped on the Saline near the mouth of Bull Foot creek at the time of the May 30 depredations. The troopers pursued a party of the raiders but were given the slip during the night. By June 3 Custer had several companies of cavalry in the field; nevertheless, the Indians escaped from the area.<sup>22</sup>

Despite the efforts of federal troops and state militiamen, the Indians continued on the warpath, striking where the frontier defenders were not. During the first two weeks of June numerous depredations attributable to scattered parties of hostiles were committed at widespread points. In one instance about 30 warriors tore up the track of the Kansas Pacific railroad about four miles west of Grinnell, causing the east-bound train from Sheridan, the end of track, to be derailed. Yelling wildly the Indians swooped down upon the train only to be turned aside by a volley of shots from 23 armed passengers. The warriors then attacked a section gang en route from the Grinnell water tank to the train on a handcar. The men stopped, took cover in grass alongside the tracks, and braced themselves for a fight, but the Indians retreated. The warriors subsequently made several more dashes in a futile effort to keep the men from reaching the train and departed. Not a single person was injured during the fray.

Informed of the attack, General Schofield ordered Cpt. Samuel Ovenshine at Fort Hays to assign guards to Monument, Grinnell, Buffalo, and Coyote stations on the railroad. The commandant also

21. *Times and Conservative*, June 2-5, 12, 1869; *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, June 4, 5, 11, 15, 18, 22, 1869; *Emporia News*, June 4, 18, 1869; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 16, 1869; *Manhattan Standard*, June 26, 1869; *Junction City Weekly Union*, July 3, 1869; Col. Nelson A. Miles to AAG, Department of the Missouri, December 28, 1869, "Governors Correspondence—Harvey," archives, Kansas State Historical Society; Alan W. Farley, ed., "Reminiscences of Allison J. Fliley, Indian Fighter," *Trail Guide*, v. 2 (June, 1957), p. 11; *Report of the [Kansas] Adjutant General*: 1869, pp. 8-9.

22. Communications of Creighton, Ellsworth, May 31, June 4, 1869, and of "X," Hays City, June 3, 1869, *Times and Conservative*, June 1, 5, 1869; *Emporia News*, June 4, 1869.



sent a guard detail to the bridge on the North fork of Big creek. Section hands while repairing the bridge had seen Indians and would not work without protection. Troop protection was provided because it was considered "important" by the commandant to keep the bridge in operation.<sup>23</sup>

In other attacks, a Swedish settler and a boy were killed west of Scandia, a young man named Homer Adkins was shot and killed by Indians while driving cattle near the Republican, and a party of surveyors were driven in from the Solomon. Colonel Custer on June 7 sent 100 men to scout along the Solomon, but they encountered no hostiles.<sup>24</sup>

On June 12 the main body of warriors, which apparently moved northeastward after the raids in the Saline valley, delivered one final blow before returning to their village, by striking the lower Solomon settlements in Ottawa county. At daylight about 30 hostiles attracted the attention of a detachment of troops stationed in the vicinity by attacking the Asher creek settlement while other warriors struck the Fisher and Pipe creek settlements some distance away, killing farmers John Dyer and John Wier, stealing stock, and plundering and burning homes. The raiders were so eager for horses that they chased one almost to the center of the little town of Minneapolis. Daniel Brewster, whose sister, Anna Belle Morgan, had been captured in 1868 and subsequently released to Custer in Brewster's presence in the Texas Panhandle, was surprised while plowing corn. Drawing his revolver, Brewster faced his assailants as he moved backward toward his home. The Indians, however, chose not to press the attack and rode away.

A body of armed men collected and followed the trail of some of the raiders, but finding them together with "a large force in reserve" they decided discretion was indeed the better part of valor and did not attack. Learning of the big raid, two groups of men—presumably militia—from Salina hurried to the scene of trouble too late to do any more than offer assistance in case the Indians returned. Apparently the militia camp on Fisher creek, noticed above, had not yet been established. A detachment of troops summoned from Fort Harker arrived after the warriors had departed.

Informed of the attack by State Rep. and Militia Cpt. I. N. Dal-

23. Communications of Creighton, Ellsworth, June 4, 1869, of unsigned correspondent, Hays City, June 4, 1869, of "I. P.," Ellsworth, June 5, 1869, and of "X," Hays City, June 5, 1869, *Times and Conservative*, June 5, 6, 1869; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 6, 1869; Ovenshine to McKeever, June 5, 6, 1869, Fort Hays, "Letters Sent," Records of the War Department, National Archives.

24. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, June 12, 1869; *Times and Conservative*, June 6, 12, 1869.



rymple and Dr. James McHenry, Governor Harvey, who had just returned to Topeka from the frontier, left on the first train west. It was his purpose, he declared, to "do all in my power to make things secure" on the frontier. Arriving in Salina on the 13th, Harvey learned that some 50 families had fled to Minneapolis while others who had remained behind were living in fear of another assault. Harvey ordered arms and ammunition distributed and sent word to Colonel Moorhouse at Clyde to move in additional militia but to leave a force at Lake Sibley in case the Indians should strike again as they moved northward.<sup>25</sup>

An unidentified Presbyterian minister at Solomon City writing to his cousin at Lawrence on June 14 complained that Harvey had been able to "only furnish Springfield or Enfield rifles." If his cousin would send by express "A Henry rifle (improved), or Spencer carbine, and a good navy revolver," with ammunition, he would "return them at call, or pay for them if they get lost or injured." He had an appointment to preach up the Solomon on June 20 and he wished to go "with revolver at my side and rifle on my back." Some 150 to 300 Indians were raiding upstream and refugees were "pouring down upon us."<sup>26</sup> The June 12 raid, however, turned out to be a typical Plains Indian hit and run operation, and no more attacks were made by the main body of warriors as they returned to their village in the Republican river country.

Two raids reported later the same month were undoubtedly committed by a small party operating in the vicinity of Fort Wallace. On June 19 Indians armed with pistols and bows and arrows attacked seven government wagons returning from Sheridan, capturing three mule teams and wounding one teamster. The wagon-master with three mounted men, however, pursued the warriors and managed to recover most of the mules. The same day, the Indians attacked Greenwood's railroad surveying party 15 miles west of Sheridan. The surveyors were well armed and drove the warriors away, killing four and wounding several others. One surveyor, Howard Schuyler, was caught some 20 miles in advance but fought his way back to Greenwood's camp, killing four Indians. One Indian rode so close to him during the chase that Schuyler touched him with the muzzle of his gun as he fired. Shot four times,

25. Communications of Creighton, June 14, 16, 1869, and "Traveller," Salina, June 16, 1869, *Times and Conservative*, June 15, 16, 18, 1869; *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, June 13, 15, 16, 1869; *Emporia News*, June 18, 1869; Governor Harvey to Moorhouse, Junction City, June 13, 1869, "Adjutant Generals' Correspondence," archives, Kansas State Historical Society.

26. Letter to Judge Hendry, Solomon City, June 14, 1869, *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 16, 1869.



Schuyler's horse collapsed as he dashed into camp. Two surveyors were wounded in the fight, Schuyler and, ironically enough perhaps, his brother who was at the camp.<sup>27</sup>

The Indian raids of May and June, which took the lives of over 30 Kansans and caused much damage and hardship, produced a loud outcry from the Kansas press for strong action against the hostiles. The *Emporia News* believed the "only plan to stop" the war "now raging on our northwestern border" was "war to the knife." The *Junction City Weekly Union* called for "militia to the frontier—Quakers to the rear." The *Topeka Kansas Daily Commonwealth* denounced false "safety that is purchased" by treaties and demanded peace "based upon thorough subjugation." The *Commonwealth* also accused Friend Enoch Hoag, superintendent of Indian affairs at Atchison, of "lying" in declaring reports of Indian raids "exaggerated and conflicting" and in claiming that only eight or 10 people had been slain. The *Leavenworth Times and Conservative* blamed congressional "false . . . economy" in recently reducing the size of the army for General Schofield's inability to provide adequate protection in the emergency. And the *Manhattan Standard* was disturbed because the army was unprepared for the outbreak. Colonel Custer was a "dashing officer" and "a brave and earnest fighter," but his Seventh cavalry was "so illy mounted and so illy conditioned" as the result of Sheridan's Winter campaign that it was "almost powerless" to act decisively.<sup>28</sup>

Undoubtedly urged on by their constituents, Governor Harvey, U. S. Sen. E. G. Ross, and U. S. Rep. Sidney Clarke called upon federal authorities for assistance. Clarke wrote President Grant after the White Rock creek hostilities that the newly arrived Scandinavians "must be protected to [the] fullest, or a great injury will result." Schofield should be supplied with "all the troops possible" and authorized to establish "a chain of posts along the whole line of the exposed regions." Harvey while at Fort Leavenworth early in June asked for authority to raise a regiment of volunteers for federal service. Despite press reports about a week later that Gen. William T. Sherman, general of the army, did not think it necessary to call out volunteers and that Lieutenant General Sheridan, the new commander of the Division of the Missouri, had instructed Schofield to provide troops for the protection of the railroad and the settle-

27. Lieutenant Colonel Woods to McKeever, June 20, 1869, Fort Wallace, "Letters Sent," Records of the War Department, National Archives; *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, June 24, 1869; *Emporia News*, June 25, 1869.

28. *Emporia News*, June 11, 1869; *Junction City Weekly Union*, June 5, 1869; *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, June 3, 11, 1869; *Times and Conservative*, May 30, June 2, 1869; *Manhattan Standard*, June 12, 1869.





ments, Harvey, after the Solomon raids, telegraphed the President himself reiterating the request he had made through military channels at Fort Leavenworth. Grant was out of town and the message was referred to the War Department which replied that Sherman had ordered Sheridan to employ his entire division against all Indians off the reservations. In a personal interview with Sherman, Senator Ross secured the general's promise that he would call out volunteers as the governor requested if Sheridan was unable to handle the situation with his present forces. Sheridan had been instructed, the general told him, "to treat all the Indians off the reservation as hostile."<sup>29</sup>

Even while Kansans were demanding action and the frontier was still under attack, the army was moving to suppress the defiance of Tall Bull's Cheyennes and their Sioux allies. Although the exact identity of the raiders was not immediately known in Kansas, not even by Custer who believed they were Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Sioux from the Department of the Platte who had not been involved in the Winter campaign, it was soon determined by General Sheridan who they were and that their village was undoubtedly somewhere in the Republican river country. On June 7 Maj. Eugene A. Carr, who had commanded the troops in the May 15 engagement, was assigned the task of clearing the Republican river country of the hostile Indians.<sup>30</sup>

Leaving Fort McPherson, Nebr., on June 9, with flags flying and band playing, Carr's command of eight troops of Fifth cavalry and a contingent of Pawnee scouts combed the Republican valley for nearly 300 miles until, on July 11, it came upon the hostile Cheyennes and Sioux encamped at Summit Springs, Colo. Carr wasted no time in ordering the charge, and with "ringing cheers" the soldiers swept into the village.

Pandemonium reigned as screaming women and crying children ran to mount ponies or to save their possessions and as the warriors, who minutes before had been lounging peacefully in their lodges,

29. Sidney Clarke to President Grant, Washington, May 26, 1869, *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 11, 1869; Junction City *Weekly Union*, June 19, 1869; *Times and Conservative*, June 10, 1869; *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, June 5, 12, 15, 1869; Emporia *News*, June 18, 1869.

30. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, June 3, 1869; *Times and Conservative*, June 3, 1869; Ruggles to Carr, Omaha, June 7, 1869, "Sheridan Papers," Library of Congress. Even Sheridan at first attributed the raids to Cheyennes who spent the winter in the Powder river country and "secretly moved down into Kansas."—*Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 10, 1869; *Times and Conservative*, June 10, 1869. Sheridan probably learned the true identity of the raiders, at least of the Cheyennes, from Lt. Henry Jackson who reported to the assistant adjutant general of the Department of the Missouri on June 6 that he learned while in Indian territory of Tall Bull and White Horse's leaving to join the Sioux in the north. Jackson to McKee, Fort Harker, June 6, 1869, "Sheridan Papers," Library of Congress. It also seems logical to assume that Major Carr's engagement of May 15 provided clues as to the hostiles' identity.