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nevertheless, in taking on cargo and exporting it with the permission, for that one time only, of the Venezuelan commandant.

5) Against New Granada for the riot of April 15, 1856, against United States citizens [in Panama] for other causes since the war of independence, and for the rights of tonnage in the Isthmus of Panama's ports and of transit across the Isthmus.

6) Against Costa Rica and Nicaragua, whose troubles have been disgracefully prolonged and agitated; for supposed excesses against various of the filibusters, invaders of their territory; for pretended rights acquired by North American companies; and in order to possess the Isthmus, after first enjoying the transit free of charge and burdening Nicaragua with the responsibility and care of the interests of United States citizens until that government condescends to take possession of the Isthmus.

7) Against Mexico for a thousand causes and varied pretexts, which evidently have as their goal not to pay Mexico for more just and larger claims, and to maintain the sword of Damocles suspended over Mexico in order to take advantage of the anarchy which has been prolonged without end in the whole country, of the tendencies toward separation which have been fomented and manifested in some provinces, or, of Mexico's unfortunate quarrels with Spain.

And 8) Against Spain for having one of its ships of war fire on the *El Dorado*, for other real or supposed grievances, but, in truth, principally for not wishing to sell the island of Cuba.

There is a system of aggressive pressure on the whole continent, and the points immediately threatened are Central America, including the Isthmus of Panama, Mexico, and Cuba. The means, as well as the end, could be no less than, and are worthy of, the cause of slavery: filibustering, piratical expeditions, or diplomatic filibustering, which is nationalistic and conducted under the guise of international law.

Pending as models of the last mentioned systems are the treaties with New Granada and Nicaragua, the compromises proposed to Mexico regarding the Tehuantepec Isthmus, and the project to send soon to Spain an extraordinary mission with the object of intimidating and humiliating Spain in claims' matters, thereby imposing upon Spain the necessity of either selling the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico or declaring war, with the result that said islands would be seized. Will the United States' mission achieve the second solution? Will they proceed with the firmness and promptness which some of the organs of the Democratic party suppose?



Will they initiate the question directly, offering, as is said, \$200,000,000 for said islands?³ These are questions in which all Europe is exceedingly interested, and which, counting only with the forces of Spain, offer enough difficulties to suggest that the United States would not venture to raise them contemptuously nor in a trifling manner.

The very natural alliance of slavery and piracy manifested itself patently in the latest [William] Walker expedition [November-December, 1857, near Greytown in Nicaragua]. He, [Charles F.] Henningsen, [S. A.] Lockridge and their followers, always ready in the South, are agitating to ally themselves as auxiliaries to some of the factions which are destroying Mexico.⁴ To further their own interests, they seek to involve themselves with some of the Mexican military of diverse colors found in the United States. Some claim that [Santiago] Vidaurri⁵ has called them as auxiliaries to help erect in the northern states of Mexico a new Republic which will be named "Sierra Madre." They advertise in the press for men determined to enlist in the affair as colonists, protesting that they will not violate the laws of neutrality in any way, and announcing that Lockridge will march from Texas on the first day of the current month at the head of a vanguard.

In a newspaper announcement the Mexican consul in New York denied that the recruits were authorized and declared that expeditions which enter Mexican territory will be treated as pirate raids and will be subjected as such to the legal penalty. Moreover, all Mexicans refuse to believe that Governor Vidaurri has reached an agreement with the filibusters, whose plan is to offer him their services as auxiliaries as soon as they enter Mexican territory. If he admits them, they will fight with him against the other factions with the reservation of separating from him later, and if he does not admit them, they will commence from where they would have concluded. But sad as it is to say, various

3. President Buchanan's platform called for the annexation of Cuba, but none of the various administration bills to authorize the purchase of Cuba passed congress, hence this "mission" never went to Spain.—See Julius W. Pratt, *A History of United States Foreign Policy* (3d ed., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1972), p. 153, or Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (7th ed., New York, Appleton Century Crofts, 1964), p. 297. Very likely, Molina and Escalante meant the secret, private approach to Spain that Buchanan made through the Spanish Queen's agent in the United States, Christopher Fallon. After conferring with Buchanan, Fallon made a tour of Europe in 1857-1858 meeting with influential people in Madrid, Rome, and Paris, reporting finally that for the right price Cuba could be purchased. The senate would not authorize the money, however.—See Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, Collier Books, 1962), pp. 231-233.

4. Walker was a renowned Southerner who led filibustering groups in Mexico and Central America in the 1850's. Henningsen, Lockridge, and "their followers" refers to other leaders, supporters, and followers of Walker's filibustering invasion of Nicaragua in 1855-1857 and several later attempts to reenter Central America.

5. Vidaurri was governor of the state of Nuevo Leon in northern Mexico.



Mexican officials, among them General [Jose] Uraga [Lopez], have prostituted themselves to the point of meeting with Walker and his supporters at a dinner given by [Pierre] Soule, the object of which was to place the Mexicans and Walker in communication.⁶ Treason is historically the most odious and grave symptom of the corruption and disintegration of a people. The Hispanic-Americans have witnessed a fatal tendency toward this crime develop in their midst, reproducing itself at various points, which threatens to produce their death and dishonor. . . .

6. Uraga was one of numerous less significant, opportunistic Mexican generals who joined a movement if it paid well, or looked like it would be successful. Soule, a Douglas Democrat in Louisiana, was a lawyer and plantation owner who served in both the state and national legislatures (one senate term).

The Atchison Associates of the Santa Fe Railroad

GEORGE A. HAMM

IN THE histories of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railway, whether brief monographic works or full-length books, slight mention has been made of the "Atchison Associates."¹ This group, organized in 1868, brought together the resources to construct the first 28 miles of track for the Santa Fe.

Much earlier, in a time of overconfidence and wild enterprises, Cyrus K. Holliday drew up a charter for a railroad from Atchison to Topeka. Like many other railroad schemes of the late 1850's, a board of directors and some nearly worthless stock comprised the road. While the enterprise languished, the more extended name, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, was adopted to attract state and federal land grant support. The surveys of "Definite Location" for the railroad were first made in 1865 and 1866 by O. B. Gunn from Atchison to Emporia. In October, 1867, the company contracted with George Washington Beach to construct the road; however, no work was done and by agreement with the Santa Fe railroad, a few months later he assigned his contract to Thomas J. Peter, one of the Associates.² Basically, Peter was to complete 25 miles of track by October 1, 1869, later amended to January 1, 1870.

In a time when many a grandiose scheme fell through, the backers of this project determined not to fail.³ The Atchison

GEORGE A. HAMM, native of Hill City, received his bachelor's degree from Manhattan (Kan.) Christian College. He also studied at the Emmanuel School of Religion, Milligan College, Tenn., and Kansas State University. He is currently employed in Kansas City by the Union Pacific railroad.

1. The first mention of the group appears in A. T. Andreas-W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, Andreas, 1883). Glenn D. Bradley, *The Story of the Santa Fe* (Boston, Gorham Press, 1920), does not mention the Atchison Associates. James L. Marshall, *Santa Fe, the Railroad That Built an Empire* (New York, Random House, 1945), covers the group with a few sentences and no explanations. Lawrence L. Waters, *Steel Rails to Santa Fe* (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1950), gives them a few lines in passing and goes on to other material. A. Bower Sageser, "The Rails Go Westward," in *Kansas: The First Century*, ed. John D. Bright (New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1956), gives the best brief account of them and what they accomplished. The *Kansas Historical Quarterly* in 1968 published a two-part article, "The Birth of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad," by Joseph W. Snell and Don W. Wilson on the construction of the Santa Fe railroad in Kansas, which is the latest scholarly work to mention briefly this group. And still the reader was likely to puzzle over the "Atchison Associates."

2. "Agreement . . . by and Between the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company . . . and George Washington Beach," signed and dated October 12, 1867, later certified by Beach April 20, 1868; Joseph Weidel, "Splinters of the Santa Fe," 34 vols. (1940), v. 17, pp. 178-183, 186. All documents or agreements, unless otherwise stated, are from this work, an unpublished, loose history and document collection.

3. Bradley, who saw the growth of the Santa Fe through the rose-colored glasses of optimism and altruism, labeled the early construction a story of "definite ambitions, of indomitable purpose, of able financing, efficient organization, and relentless energy."—Bradley, *Story of the Santa Fe*, p. 67.



Associates opened up a new era in the somewhat dismal early history of the road.⁴ The organization of this group of tough-minded but optimistic speculators, politicians, and businessmen early in 1868 put forward plans for actual construction from Topeka to Burlingame. The idea for the Atchison Associates was germinated in 1865, according to the Andreas-Cutler *History of the State of Kansas*, which states that

S. C. Pomeroy . . . repaired to New York, and, early in 1865, effected a negotiation with Willis Gaylord, whereby sufficient stock was disposed of and means otherwise secured to warrant the construction of the road. The first contract was made with George W. Beach and his associates—A. P. Balch, of Hanover, N. H.; and Messrs Dodge, Lord & Co., Cincinnati. Beach came to Topeka in the summer of 1865, with a view to beginning the work. He seems to have been a man of good intentions, great pretensions, and of more than ordinary executive ability. He lacked, however, the money required to start the undertaking, and could not inspire his associates with sufficient confidence to induce them to invest under his management. It is unnecessary to recount the various ever-futile attempts made by him to begin the work. Months . . . went by during which, in the words of a chronicler of the times, Beach endured an "Iliad of woes"—no less, perhaps, than the impatient directors, who were powerless, till the expiration of his contract, to help themselves. . . .⁵

The above information lacks verification elsewhere, but enough financial backing was found for Beach to agree to complete a contract with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company on October 12, 1867.⁶ Beach agreed to acquire the necessary right-of-way on private lands, locate, build, and equip the road with depots, machine shops, rolling stock, telegraph lines, sidings, and water tanks, and start construction within 90 days of the signing of the contract. The route was from Parnell Junction in Atchison county to the western boundary of the state by way of Topeka, and would supposedly go through those counties voting

4. The railroad charter was approved by the territory of Kansas in 1859. Then in 1860 a board of directors was named. In 1863, after the approval of a land grant by the state and federal governments, interest ran high for work to commence, and some money was raised. According to Andreas-Cutler and Marshall, in 1865 and 1866 an attempt was made to "get the ball rolling" as several miles of "Definite Location" maps of the road were drawn and rail ordered from England. However, the plan fizzled, and the orders for iron were canceled and the maps were laid aside. During 1867 Beach, a contractor from Cincinnati, undertook construction but nothing tangible happened.

5. Andreas-Cutler, *History of Kansas*, p. 243. It is interesting to note that although the "impatient directors" were unable to act, they granted Beach an extension of his contract from January to March. Speculation today defines failure to act as lack of funds. It is also interesting to note who Samuel Clarke Pomeroy and Willis Gaylord were. Senator Pomeroy of Kansas was involved in several plans for furthering the growth of Kansas in business and politics. Gaylord was Pomeroy's brother-in-law from New York who tried to find backing for the railroad among Wall street investors.

6. Weidel, "Splinters of the Santa Fe," v. 17, pp. 178-183.—Agreement "By and Between the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Rail Road Company . . . and George Washington Beach." This was a six-page, single-spaced contract.



bonds and giving aid. Beach was to be compensated from the federal land grant, all county bonds, and all subsidies and mortgage bonds of the railroad. The railroad company agreed to place all its capital stock in escrow, except for 65 shares held by the directors and those held by the counties. (The legality of the compensation and agreements must be questioned.)

Andreas-Cutler also stated that "in the spring of 1868, C. K. Holliday, D. L. Lakin and Jacob Safford, being in New York, met Thomas J. Peter, then a civil engineer [from Cincinnati], . . . who had been for years successfully engaged in railroad building in the Western States. They prevailed on him to visit Kansas and look into the merits of their project. . . ." ⁷ On the other hand, Bradley believed that Peter "went out to Topeka from Cincinnati, having, it seems, been sent through the influence of a Mr. Lord, a promoter, who was helping to finance Colonel Holliday's projected road." ⁸ In any case, shortly after the expiration of the Beach contract, in March, 1868, the Atchison Associates was a formal organization. Holliday wrote his wife on March 15, 1868, from New York that "On the day before yesterday, we had our first formal Rail Road meeting at which about 15 of the 20 'associates' were present. I am very much pleased with the appearance of the men." ⁹ The *Emporia News* of April 3, 1868, reported similar information in a Holliday letter to Preston B. Plumb dated March 20, 1868. This news story stated that after "several meetings of the 'associates' . . . we hope to finally consummate our arrangement for the immediate building of our road. . . . I am greatly pleased [with] . . . the appearance of our men, . . . [not] a lot of New York Wall Street sharpness—they are old, reliable and substantial men." The Associates were aware of the difference between those backers investing in a business and those backers who had only a quick profit in mind. Holliday wanted both profit and a worthwhile business opportunity from this venture. After these preliminaries the minutes of the Associates show that the first meeting was not held in New York until September 23, 1868. Holliday wrote his wife Mary that the papers passing "the company from the old parties to the new" had been signed and sealed. ¹⁰ Holliday told

7. Andreas-Cutler, *History of Kansas*, p. 244. According to the *Emporia News* of May 1, 1868, Peter had visited "last Monday morning" and had been favorably impressed.

8. Glenn Bradley, "Builders of the Santa Fe: T. J. Peter—The First Builder," *The Santa Fe Magazine*, v. 8, no. 6 (1914), p. 19.

9. "Cyrus K. Holliday Collection," manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

10. *Ibid.*



his wife, in a prophetic vein, that the railroad "is, at last, an assured success."

The Associates, as the contractor for the construction of the road, got the railroad moving, but who got the Associates moving? Certainly Holliday must be included in the background in all events. Bradley gives all credit to him for pushing through the idea, the financial arrangements, and the construction. Marshall alleged that H. C. Lord of the Cincinnati firm of Dodge, Lord & Company, was the prime mover. He stated: "While he [Peter] was getting under way Lord, along with General A. E. Burnside of Rhode Island, Henry Keyes of Boston, and a handful of Kansas folk, formed a construction concern known as the Atchison Associates."¹¹ Other writers do not speculate. The Andreas-Cutler history related that Peter's visit to Kansas in order to look over the proposed roadway resulted in the organization of a construction company. But a short time earlier the Topeka *Commonwealth*, on September 22, 1881, correctly placed Peter as the motivating force for the Atchison Associates. The "Plan of Association" long-buried in the Santa Fe archives shows that T. J. Peter wished "to associate with himself others who shall, together with himself construct the said work and receive said compensation therefor."¹²

To effect this association of individuals as the contractor for the road construction involved several processes. Beach had the 1867 contract to build the entire road to Santa Fe. He eventually gave up that portion of the contract between Topeka and Atchison to Willis Gaylord.¹³ Peter, who was a member of the firm of Dodge, Lord and Company, made an agreement with that firm concerning his take-over of the contract from Gaylord.¹⁴ Peter's contract with Gaylord on June 20, 1868, was augmented by a further assignment from Beach five days later.¹⁵ The same day Peter signed

11. Bradley, *Story of the Santa Fe*, pp. 50-80; Marshall, *Santa Fe*, p. 35.

12. Weidel, "Splinters of the Santa Fe," v. 17, pp. 194-195. No date was given here except that it was after June 20, 1868, a date mentioned in the "Plan."

13. Topeka *Commonwealth*, September 22, 1881. This assignment, yet unfound, carried with it the railroad's right to the lands of the Pottawatomie Indians should a treaty be accepted.

14. Weidel, "Splinters of the Santa Fe," v. 17, pp. 184, 186. All that has been located is the "Contract of Gaylord With Peter," June 20, 1868, and nothing between Peter and the firm concerning Gaylord's assignment.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 186.—"Assignment of Contract Between Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Rail Road Company and George Washington Beach to T. J. Peter," dated June 25, 1868. Both Waters, *Steel Rails*, p. 34, and Snell and Wilson, "Birth of the . . . Santa Fe," p. 119, state that Peter paid \$19,330 to Beach for the contract, which apparently was the other considerations shown in the document. In a "Supplementary Agreement Between T. J. Peter and Geo. W. Beach," see Weidel, "Splinters of the Santa Fe," v. 17, p. 189, there were seven points, the second of which is "To pay the bills as rendered to date not exceeding Twenty Thousand Dollars." A careful perusal of the "Plan of Association" which does say "pay to said T. J. Peter the amount which he has paid for the Beach contract . . . (\$19,330)," see Weidel, "Splinters of the Santa Fe," v. 17, p. 194, helps to reconcile the apparent differences.



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another agreement with Holliday, Jacob Safford, and D. L. Lakin, as directors and associates, to provide certain monies and stock.¹⁶

The final process involved in Peter's move to construct the road was in the knotty area of finance. One agreement said: "T. J. Peter proposes to associate with himself a number of persons who together with himself will furnish a sufficient amount of money to carry out the purpose for which they obtained and entered into said contracts, to wit: the building of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Rail Road."¹⁷ No financial records kept by the Atchison Associates are available today. In May, 1871, the railroad company did record the following, which are apparently balances transferred from the Associates to the railroad:

CHART 1

BALANCE SHEET, ATCHISON, TOPEKA AND SANTA FE WITH ATCHISON ASSOCIATES

Credits to stock and funded-debt accounts, as indicated below, stated to represent securities of the railroad company which had been issued to the ASSOCIATES to finance the construction work:

Capital stock, par value	\$1,088,700.00
First-mortgage 7 per cent bonds, par value	192,000.00
Pottawatomie reserve land-mortgage bonds, par value ..	768,500.00
Total	<u>2,049,200.00</u>

Debits to—

Investment in road and equipment, stated to represent the ASSOCIATES' expenditures for construction and equipment	\$749,309.06
"Distribution account," later transferred to investment in road and equipment, stated to represent bonuses given by the ASSOCIATES in connection with selling securities of the railroad company	1,093,500.00
Profit and loss account, stated to represent ASSOCIATES' operating loss	83,640.00
Miscellaneous current-liability accounts, current-asset accounts, and expense and revenue accounts, net debits ..	122,750.94
Total	<u>2,049,200.00</u> ¹⁸

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188, "Agreement Between T. J. Peter and C. K. Holliday, Jacob Safford and D. L. Lakin." A later contract, not made by Peter, did affect him since it concerned the Pottawatomie lands and the railroad.—*See ibid.*, pp. 191-193, "Contract Between Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Rail Road Company and Willis Gaylord," dated September 24, 1868.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 187, "Agreement Between T. J. Peter and C. K. Holliday. . . ."

18. *Ibid.*, p. 203.



It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of these figures. They clearly do not indicate in-depth accounting nor are the "credits" and "debits" self-explanatory. Indeed, these figures, by the standards of today, are very misleading. Supposedly the facts and figures on construction and costs were kept in Peter's head. Certainly few records are available today. Peter was general manager, but would he choose to keep no records? In any case, few concrete facts are available for the cost of locating, constructing, and equipping the road with depots, stations, side tracks, turnouts, shops, tools, engines and other rolling stock, and a telegraph line.¹⁹ The reported cost for construction from North Topeka to Burlingame was \$749,309.06.²⁰ Since nearly 30 miles of road was laid, this figure averages about \$25,000 per mile, which is a usual figure for that time.²¹ This sum included the equipment for the road purchased during the period September, 1868, to December, 1869: two locomotives, three passenger coaches, one express and baggage car, 24 flat cars, and 20 coal cars.²² The supposed \$50,000 cost of the bridge over the Kaw was prorated over the whole route from Topeka to Burlingame. Thus a somewhat lower cost per mile of actual roadbed must be assumed. O. B. Gunn, in 1866, had estimated costs for the road between Atchison and Topeka, including a bridge across the Kansas river, as \$13,690 per mile.²³

The actual construction completed by Peter during the period of the Atchison Associates was 28 miles to Burlingame. Grading was begun beyond Burlingame soon after regular services from Topeka were announced. By the end of 1869 track had been laid to Dragoon creek and several miles of grading to Salt creek had been completed. During the same period the survey of the route from Topeka to Atchison had been rechecked and plans were made for the construction of that section.²⁴

Only Peter and the Associates from Kansas, Holliday, Lakin, and Safford, were involved in the construction end of the opera-

19. *Ibid.*, p. 180, agreement "By and Between The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Rail Road Company . . . and George Washington Beach."

20. *Ibid.*, p. 203. This figure apparently comes at the time of the sale of the Atchison Associates' property rights to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, about December, 1869.

21. By comparison, the Kansas Pacific was very expensive to build through eastern Kansas, partly because of the property possessed by that road and the transfer of all of its assets to the construction company. Somewhere above \$30,000 per mile became the usual basic figure.

22. Topeka *Commonwealth*, August 21, 1869. A report on the rolling stock, employees, finances, and other small details for future reference.

23. "Cyrus K. Holliday Collection," manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society, Gunn to Holliday, March 1, 1866.

24. The Atchison *Daily Champion & Press* for October 29, 1869, reported a letter from Pomeroy informing the paper that the directors had given the go-ahead. The Topeka *Commonwealth* for November 17, 1869, stated that the surveying was nearly completed.

tion. The other Associates took care of the financial and administrative responsibilities. The membership of the Atchison Associates is both interesting and of some importance. An interesting point is the dramatic officer changes made in the nine years following incorporation.²⁵

Membership of the Atchison Associates was composed of men from Kansas, local political interests, from the firm of Dodge, Lord & Co., and from investors living in the Boston vicinity. The "Plan of Association" in the Santa Fe archives listed 20 members.²⁶ The Topeka *Commonwealth* in its 1881 article listed 18 hardy souls as the Atchison Associates.²⁷ Andreas-Cutler, on the other hand, listed 26 men.²⁸ None of the lists agree, although the "Plan" seems to be the official list. The following chart shows these lists and their discrepancies:

CHART 2

MEMBERSHIP IN THE ATCHISON ASSOCIATES

<i>Plan</i> (1868)	<i>Newspaper</i> (1881)	<i>Andreas</i> (1883)
C. K. Holliday	C. K. Holliday	C. K. Holliday
H. C. Lord	H. C. Lord	H. C. Lord
N. Lord, Jr.	N. Lord	N. Lord, Jr.
T. J. Peter	T. J. Peter	T. J. Peter
Charles W. Pierce	C. W. Pierce	Charles W. Pierce
	Carlos Pierce	Carlos Pierce
F. Dodge	F. Dodge	F. Dodge
H. S. Stearns	H. Stearns	H. Stearns
A. E. Burnside	A. E. Burnside	A. E. Burnside
Henry Keyes	Henry Keyes	Henry Keyes
M. L. Sargent	M. L. Sargent	M. L. Sargent
A. P. Balch	A. P. Balch	A. P. Balch
D. L. Lakin	D. L. Lakin	D. L. Lakin
Jacob Safford	Jacob Safford	Jacob Safford
S. C. Pomeroy		

25. The incorporators of the Atchison and Topeka Rail Road Company in 1859 were Peter T. Abell, Asaph Allen, Lorenzo D. Bird, Luther C. Challis, F. L. Crane, Milton C. Dickey, Samuel Dickson, George H. Fairchild, Wilson L. Gordon, George S. Hillyer, Holliday, Jeremiah [sic] Murphy, and Pomeroy. But the directors in 1860 were Abell, Bird, Challis, Crane, Dickey, Fairchild, Joel Huntoon, Holliday, Pomeroy, Edmund G. Ross, Jacob Safford, J. H. Stringfellow, and R. H. Weightman. The directors in 1864 were W. F. M. Army, Challis, Crane, H. W. Farnsworth, Joseph Frost, Holliday, D. L. Lakin, Pomeroy, Safford, W. R. Saunders, Stringfellow, and S. N. Wood. By 1864 the local consistency had changed slightly, as seen in the list of officers elected in 1864 and 1865. Pomeroy became president in January, 1864, remaining in office until September, 1865. S. N. Wood was elected vice-president in January, 1864, but bowed out in August, 1865. The period from January, 1864, to August, 1865, also saw Holliday as secretary. Lakin was treasurer for the same period. The vice-president's position became Caylord's (until March, 1870), as did the secretary's and the treasurer's (both until September, 1868). This shift from local men to officers outside the immediate area apparently reflects the feeling of futility felt by the railroad company. Obviously the Kansas men knew the road would never be built without capital from the East, but, presumably, they wanted to retain control of the road and, of course, control of the disposition of profits. The association put together in early 1868 showed the complete collapse of the first idea, and the transfer in late 1869 from the Associates to the railway company, the demise of the second.

26. Weidel, "Splinters of the Santa Fe," v. 17, pp. 194-195.

27. Topeka *Commonwealth*, September 22, 1881.

28. Andreas-Cutler, *History of Kansas*, p. 244.

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Willis Gaylord
[Thomas] Sherlock
[George] Hill
Philip Caswell, Jr.
Henry Keyes, Trustee
F. H. T. and E. F. Keyes
Henry Blood

Thomas Sherlock
George H. Hill

Willis Gaylord
Thomas Sherlock
George A. Hill
Dr. Caswell

Emmonds [sic] Raymond
J. W. Ellis
G. Opdyke [sic]
W. Dennison
B. M. Smith
Perkins, Livingston & Post
C. J. Broadwell

S. Broadwell
John Sebastian

The available minutes of the meetings of the Associates show that other men than those listed in the "Plan" took part and had influence over some matters.²⁹ Newspapers in this and any other age printed what seemed to be true, according to their sources.³⁰ As for the Andreas-Cutler book, even though published in 1883, its sources remembered too many people connected with the Atchison Associates.³¹ The newspaper report may account for one of the men mentioned in the Andreas-Cutler list, George Updyke. The paper said that H. C. Lord and A. E. Burnside pulled out, assigning "their shares to George Updyke of New York, and Kidder, Peabody and Company of Boston." The "Plan" listed fewer men than were mentioned in the minutes, but the 20 listed may have been the shareholders. The others may have been included in the Associates without being shareholders, as Waters notes concerning Emmons Raymond, "a later president of the Passumpsic Railroad, [who] borrowed money on personal notes from Boston banks to make up the recurring deficiencies"³² in the payments by the shareholders.

The major shift from Kansas backers to those in the Boston, New York, and Cincinnati areas became the established pattern for the later years of the Santa Fe railroad. Most assuredly the makeup of the board of directors in 1868 was due partly to the

29. The men included A. Z. Huggins, Emmons Raymond, and J. W. Kirk. Henry Cummins and H. W. Dupuy are connected to the group in another contract.

30. The newspaper has some men such as S. Broadwell and John Sebastian and their shares listed that are hard to account for. Neither Pomeroy nor Gaylord were included there.

31. Andreas-Cutler, *History of Kansas*, p. 244, added several new names to the list: J. W. Ellis, a Mr. Perkins, Livingstone & Post, B. M. Smith, and W. Dennison; and again Pomeroy was left off.

32. Cited from Waters, *Steel Rails*, p. 36, which had no reference or source given.

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influence of Peter and his backers who were convinced by him that the road could be profitably constructed.³³

Little information is available, a century later, on most of the 31 men mentioned in the various lists of Atchison Associates. Most prominent, in later recorded accounts, were A. E. Burnside, Henry Cummins, C. K. Holliday, Henry Keyes, D. L. Lakin, Henry C. Lord, William F. Nast, Samuel C. Pomeroy, Thomas J. Peter, and Jacob Safford. This list shows conclusively that the speculators—which the Associates were—were men who either could make money or who as politicians were useful for lobbying purposes.

The real builder of the Santa Fe across Kansas was Peter, the engineer and contractor. He later built and owned the line from Newton to Wichita, then sold it to the Santa Fe. He terminated his services with the Santa Fe in 1876, 20 years before he died.

When the Atchison Associates were dissolved in 1869, newspaper reports gave confident expression of the road's future. Henceforth, the construction, finances, and administration were to be carried on by the railroad company itself. Until late in 1869 the Associates thought that they could shoulder the load and persuade contractors to accept contracts and begin construction on other sections of the road, one from Topeka to Atchison and the other beyond Burlingame to Emporia. However, a series of circumstances convinced the Associates that a change of arrangements was needed. Construction problems and administrative matters could have been handled by the existing agreement; maybe even the financial problems could have been solved. But legal difficulties may have been the straw that broke the back of the enterprise. All authors of Santa Fe histories let the Atchison Associates die because of operating losses. That the problems were larger than operating losses and had been accruing from before the time of the Associates' inception, and were related not only to the national economic difficulties but also to the men who were the Associates themselves, is obvious. There had been operating losses, as was shown by the 1871 transfer of records (whatever their value). Another serious problem was the identification of the land grant and its preservation for the company. By 1869 much of the eastern portion of the land grant was preempted by settlers. Consequently,

33. The 1868 directors were Balch, Burnside, Cummins, Gaylord, Holliday, Keyes, Lakin, Lord, Peter, Pierce, Pomeroy, and Sherlock. The men were equally divided between the East Coast backers and those from Kansas and Cincinnati.



instead of hundreds of thousands of acres being available, the Associates had only about 4,000 acres for their use.

Other difficulties were facing the Associates. The national economic scene caused investors to cast a jaundiced eye at all railroad investments and all far-off schemes. The Associates had several hundred thousand dollars worth of county bonds given to them in return for capital stock in the company. However, these assets had to be discounted greatly in order to find buyers. The Associates themselves were often in financial difficulties. One problem, other than the conditions of the time, was the cost overrun on construction. The minutes of the Associates' meetings say: "That whereas, the cost of the Road from Topeka to Burlingame has exceeded the estimates. . . ." ³⁴

At present only speculation on the legal difficulties can be made. The Associates certainly felt insecure in the arrangements between the railroad company and themselves and in the agreements concerning the land grants and the various assignments made. Early in 1869 the Atchison Associates debated at some length the question of the necessity of a railroad charter for themselves and investigated several before buying one.³⁵ Contracts on July 1 and December 1 were apparently attempts to overcome the legal problems, which resulted in the complete removal of the Associates from the scene.

To resolve the many problems of the Atchison Associates, Peter proposed in a meeting on December 2, 1869, held in New York, that they dissolve their association. The directors of the railroad company accepted the offer tendered by Peter and his Associates.

The company took over all aspects of the line as of December 1, 1869. The directors began to make financial arrangements with Kidder, Peabody & Company of Boston who later became the road's financial agents. After the return of one of the Associates from the New York meeting, the *Topeka Commonwealth* reported the following on December 19, 1869:

D. L. Lakin, Esq., has just returned from his Eastern trip, and gives us an exceeding gratifying report. Satisfactory arrangements have been made to secure the immediate building of this road to Emporia. Superintendent Peter will be here next week, and will place an additional force of hands at work on the road. The work will be prosecuted as vigorously as the work will permit. There is no mistake about this information. The Company are 'flush' and can command all the funds they desire.

34. Weidel, "Splinters of the Santa Fe," v. 17, p. 200.

35. Letters recorded in a letter-press book belonging to Charles W. Pierce, secretary-treasurer.—Letters of March 18, 20, 22, and 28, 1869.



Although not altruists, the Atchison Associates provided the real beginning for a multimillion dollar corporation that a century later was a giant in the railroad industry and a major competitor in a diversified world market beyond the dreams of C. K. Holliday.

APPENDIX A

PLAN OF THE ASSOCIATION

Whereas, T. J. Peter now has and holds under assignments of certain contracts made by and between the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Co. and Geo. W. Beach and between Willis Gaylord and T. J. Peter of June 20, 1868 and between D. L. Lakin, C. K. Holiday, Jacob Safford and T. J. Peter, as in and by said contracts and the assignments of the same, reference to which being had, doth more fully appear, the right to build the said Road and received therefor Stock, Lands, Subsidies, etc., together with the maps, profiles, books and seal of said Co. and the directorships and offices of said Co. as in said contracts and assignments stated.

And Whereas, the said T. J. Peter wishes to associate with himself others who shall, together with himself construct the said work and receive said compensation therefor.

And Whereas the said Peter proposed to divide their interest in and under said contracts and assignments into forty-eight shares fixing the nominal value thereof at this time at ten thousand dollars per share.

Now, therefore, this agreement by and between the subscribers and parties hereto each for himself and not for the others.

Witnesseth, that for and in consideration of one dollar each to the other paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and of the premises do hereby agree to accept as binding upon us the terms and agreements of the contract of 20th June, 1868, by and between Willis Gaylord and T. J. Peter and D. L. Lakin and others, and T. J. Peter and undertake, that the same shall be kept and performed by the parties of the second part thereto and the Treasurer hereinafter named shall pay out of the monies coming into his hands to the said Gaylord the monies due and payable or to become due and payable by and under the said contract and also to pay to said T. J. Peter the amount which he has paid for the Beach contract being the sum of Nineteen thousand three hundred and thirty Dollars (\$19,330) and that we will take the respective shares set opposite our names respectively and pay therefor when and as called for by a majority of the interests herein, such payment to be made at the city of _____ on _____ to Genl. A. E. Burnside who shall act as the Treasurer of said fund until some other person shall be appointed by the majority of interests herein.

Provided, However, that the subscriptions hereto shall not be binding on those subscribing unless the whole of said Forty-eight shares shall be so subscribed for and taken.



S. C. Pomeroy	Two shares
H. C. Lord	eight
N. Lord, Jr.	one and a half
H. S. Stearns	one
M. L. Sargent	one
T. J. Peter	three
A. P. Balch	one
A. E. Burnside	two
D. L. Lakin	one & half
C. K. Holliday	one & half
Jacob Safford	one & half
Willis Gaylord	one
Henry Keyes	two
Henry Keyes Trustee	one
F. H. T. & E. F. Keyes	one
Chas. W. Pierce	one
F. Dodge	one
Sherlock & Hill	two
Henry Blood	one
Philip Caswell Jr.	one

APPENDIX B

AN INCOMPLETE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ATCHISON ASSOCIATES

October 12, 1867	—Beach contract signed.
January 12, 1868	—End of Beach contract.
March 10	—End of extension of Beach contract.
March 13	—Meeting of Atchison Associates in New York for organization.
March 20	—Several meetings of the Atchison Associates by now, Holliday says in a letter.
June 20-25	—Contracts and assignments by Peter drawn up and signed.
July 25	—Congressional approval of Santa Fe use of Pottawatomie lands.
August 7	—Contract signed by railroad for land use.
September 23	—First official meeting of Atchison Associates in New York; Santa Fe now under management of Atchison Associates only.
September 24	—Contract between Gaylord and railroad signed.
Early October	—Peter arrives in Topeka to take charge.
October 30-November 5	—Uncertain date as to first construction of the company.
	—Bridge over Kansas river and grading of road to Burlingame begun.
January 9, 1869	—New York meeting of Atchison Associates.
February 20	—Washington, D. C., meeting of Atchison Associates.
January to October	—Meetings held to determine if a charter needed to be purchased by the Atchison Associates in order to expedite business but by October decided to transact business in the Santa Fe's name; and other business.
March 30, 1869	—Bridge finished.
May 1	—Purchase of the locomotive <i>C. K. Holliday</i> .
June 20	—Wakarusa excursion.
	—Second locomotive, the <i>General Burnside</i> .



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| June 23 | —First timetable announced. |
| July 1 | —First mortgage bonds of \$1,000 denominations limited to \$15,000 per mile executed by Burnside, Raymond, and Updyke as trustees. |
| July 8-August 21 | —Depot in Topeka finished and offices in use. |
| September 18 | —Track reached Burlingame. |
| October 20 | —Meeting of Atchison Associates in New York on lands, charter, bonds, and new construction. |
| November 1 | —First mortgage bonds on Pottawatomie Reserve lands issued and executed by Keyes, Sherlock, and Blood as trustees. |
| December 2-3 | —Last meetings of Atchison Associates; dissolution of the group and transfer to the Santa Fe railroad. |

Rebecca Visits Kansas and the Custers: The Diary of Rebecca Richmond

Edited by MINNIE DUBBS MILLBROOK

I. INTRODUCTION.

REBECCA RICHMOND'S diary, covering two visits to Kansas and Fort Leavenworth, was apparently borrowed by Elizabeth Bacon Custer when in the 1880's she wrote her books about life in Kansas—*Tenting on the Plains* and *Following the Guidon*. The diary remains with the extensive "Elizabeth B. Custer Collection" that is presently deposited at Eastern Montana College in Billings, Mont., but is not included in the microfilm of that collection. The entries covering the first visit begin January 1, 1868, and end April 24, 1868; those bearing on the second visit begin with an entry on February 19, 1870, and end March 23, 1870.

Rebecca Richmond (1840-1925) was Elizabeth Custer's favorite cousin and they visited and corresponded with each other throughout their long lives. Their mothers—Loraine Page Richmond and Eleanor Page Bacon—were sisters. The Page and Richmond families lived at Grand Rapids, Mich. Rebecca's father, William Richmond, was a well-to-do farmer, retired, and living at the National Hotel in Grand Rapids in 1868. Her sister, Mary, had married September 17, 1866, Charles F. Kendall of Kalamazoo who had been in business at Grand Rapids until the end of 1867 when he decided to move to Kansas. Rebecca also had a brother, Jonathan, who for a short time lived in Wamego, Kan., and later in Topeka.

In 1868 Rebecca Richmond was 28 years old, well educated for a woman of her day, vivacious and attractive though not a beauty like her cousin Libbie. She had visited Gen. George Armstrong Custer and his wife in January, 1865, when they were stationed at Winchester, Va., and apparently enjoyed the military milieu. She sang, played the piano and guitar.

The diary was written in a school notebook about 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 8" with lined pages and a picture on the cover. The diary began in December, 1866, running for 11 days only to be discontinued and then taken up again on January 1, 1868. The 1866 entries relating

MRS. MINNIE DUBBS MILLBROOK, native of Ransom, is the author of a county history, *Ness—Western County, Kansas* (Detroit, 1955). Now residing in Topeka she continues researching and publishing on Gen. and Mrs. George A. Custer. Her work has brought her nationwide recognition as a reliable authority on the Custers.



THE DIARY OF REBECCA RICHMOND

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to life in Grand Rapids are not given here. When Rebecca started to write again in 1868 she began with a long resume about the family which appears below though somewhat excerpted. The diary entries of 1870 were apparently torn from a book of the same size as the original notebook and remain with it as loose leaves. On the back of the notebook Libbie Custer wrote, "Rebecca's diary of Kansas Fort Leavenworth. To be destroyed. EBC."

The Richmond family did not settle in Kansas as it seemed they might in the spring of 1868. The Kendalls, however, remained in Topeka until Charles's death in 1895. They had one son, born in 1869, who seems to have died soon after birth. Rebecca, though traveling extensively, kept her residence in Grand Rapids throughout her long life. In her will she left a trust fund of \$10,000, the income from which was for the use of Elizabeth Custer during her lifetime.

It is not possible to identify everybody that Rebecca met in Kansas and mentioned in her diary, though an attempt has been made to find information on many of them. Most generally the data on the army officers has been found in Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, v. 1 (Washington 1903).

II. THE DIARY, January 1, 1868-April 24, 1868.

FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, JANUARY 1, 1868.—What a flood of memories the perusal of the first pages of this book has just let loose upon my heart. The changes wrought in one short twelve months are startling indeed. "Turn where so e'er I may by night or day, the things which I have seen I now shall see no more." And yet the machinery of time has been worked, so quietly, so skillfully, that the threads were scarce aware of the fact that they were manipulated into the warp and woof of history until the balance sheet of the expired year revealed the fabric complete in its variety of pattern and coloring.

The National Hotel, Grand Rapids, Mich. is no longer the abiding place of the Richmond family. After making a prospective tour through Kansas last fall, Charles and Mary returned to G. Rapids, settled up their business (disposing partnership with John Kendall), packed their furniture and household goods for transportation, and after ten days spent visiting friends in the city, bade adieu to old home scenes and faces and boarded the cars as emigrants. . . . Minnie Perkins accompanied them to Ann Arbor, and there they



spent two days with Uncle Chas. Richmond's family, going thence to Kalamazoo to visit Charlie's mother and brother, before taking a final leave of Michigan. There I joined them on the day after Christmas, and we came together to this point [Fort Leavenworth, Kan.].

Mother and father expected to leave the southeast corner, fourth story, No. 21 [National Hotel] just before or immediately after New Years, intending to go to Ann Arbor and thence east, and perhaps south, for the winter. . . .

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1868.—And now to return to the present. General Custer¹ and his wife, Anna Darrah,² Charles Kendall, Mary and I were stationed in the front parlor at one o'clock today to receive the callers and pass others along to the refreshment table in the back room. We were honored by about forty calls, and among them I can recall the following names:

Genl Smith	Col. McNutt	Capt. Huntington	
" Card	" Stein	" Barnitz	Major Bell
" Easton	" Weir	" Yates	" Parker
" Gibbs	" Sheridan	" Robbins	" Beebe
" Davidson	" Parsons	" Butler	Lieut. Gibson
" McKeever	" Hancock	" Hale	" Brown
Dr. Mills	Maj. Belger	" "Salt" Smith	" Custer
" Brewer	Ad. Moylan	" "Fresh" Smith	" Howe
" McGruder	Lieut. Jackson	Lieut. Reed	" Leary
" Lippincott	" Johnson	" Crawford	" Cooke
Gen. Morgan	Chaplain Stone	Capt. Hamilton	" Rogers
Judge Crozier	Col. Carpenter		
Mr. Wilson			
Mr. Caldwell ³			

1. Graduating from West Point in 1861, George Armstrong Custer went directly into the Civil War, emerging with a brilliant record as a cavalry officer and with a major general's brevet. His duty in the West thereafter was not so successful. After six months in Texas and a year in Kansas he had been court-martialed and put on suspension for a year as of November 19, 1867. He remained at Fort Leavenworth by courtesy of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, who invited Custer to occupy his quarters while Sheridan was on leave from September 13, 1867, to March 21, 1868. Though a major general by brevet, Custer's army rank was lieutenant colonel in the Seventh U. S. cavalry.

2. Anna Darrah was a former schoolmate of Elizabeth Custer, a daughter of Lewis Darrah of Monroe, Mich. She had first come to Kansas with the Custers in 1866 and Mrs. Custer wrote of her in her book, *Tenting on the Plains*, calling her Diana. General Custer liked people around him and from the beginning of his service in the West had urged his wife to have always a pretty young lady visitor in the house. Such a guest was a great attraction and the bachelor officers flocked around.

3. Most of these callers were officers of the military units stationed at Fort Leavenworth—six companies of the Seventh U. S. cavalry, A, D, E, F, G, and K, Company E of the



Messrs Weir, Bell, Hale, Jackson and Cooke spent the evening with us and we had some music. Major Bell⁴ brought "Silence!" a very pretty serenade, and he with some of the other gentlemen sang it beautifully.

THURSDAY, JAN'Y 2.—A mild sunny day; furs and overcoats at a discount; —doors and windows open. Took a delightful ride this morning with Gen'l Custer in his light buggy. We drove around the boundary of the government reservation attached to the fort, and took observation upon the latter from all points of view. The country is extremely picturesque and the roads fine. We started a rabbit from its farm, on a hillside and several squirrels bounded away to the tree tops at our approach.

FRIDAY, JAN'Y 3.—Armstrong and Libbie, Charles, Mary and I rode over to town this morning in the flanagan. A bright, beautiful day but a trifle cooler than yesterday. Charles found his horse, Jackson, at the depot, having just arrived from Kalamazoo; —so rode him out to the Fort, and the vacant seats in the flanagan were occupied (by invitation) by Col. Weir and Lieut. Brown.⁵ Sang

Third infantry, and Battery B of the Fourth artillery. Gen. George A. Custer being in suspension, Gen. Alfred M. Gibbs was the commanding officer of the Seventh cavalry. Other officers of that regiment were: Col. Thomas B. Weir, Maj. James M. Bell, Cpt. Albert Barnitz, Cpt. Lewis M. Hamilton, Cpt. George W. Yates, Cpt. Algernon E. "Fresh" Smith, Cpt. Henry W. "Salt" Smith, Cpt. Samuel Robbins, Lt. Henry Jackson, Lt. John M. Johnson, Adj. Myles Moylan, Lt. Francis Gibson, Lt. Thomas W. Custer, Lt. James Leary, Lt. William W. Cooke. Officers of the Third infantry were: Maj. Dangerfield Parker, Col. Andrew Sheridan, Cpt. Joseph Hale, Lt. Earl M. Rogers, Lt. Stanley A. Brown. Officers of the Fourth artillery were: Col. C. C. Parsons, Cpt. Henry A. Huntingdon, Lt. Peter Leary, and Lt. Walter Howe. Ltc. John McNutt and Cpt. John G. Butler were in the Ordnance department.

Among the generals calling was Andrew J. Smith, colonel of the Seventh cavalry but at that time commanding the Department of the Missouri while Sheridan was on leave. Gens. Langdon C. Easton and Benjamin C. Card were of the quartermaster corps and attached to the Department of the Missouri as was Gen. Michael R. Morgan of the commissary corps, Gen. Chauncey McKeever, asst. adjutant, and Dr. Madison Mills, chief surgeon. Gen. John W. Davidson had organized the Seventh cavalry in 1866 and since had been acting inspector general. Dr. David Magruder was in charge of the hospital at the fort and Drs. Henry Lippincott and John W. Brewer were assistants there. The Rev. Hiram Stone had been the chaplain at Fort Leavenworth since 1859.

A number of other officers were at the post, called either as judges or witnesses in connection with a series of court-martials that were being held. Among these were Maj. William Beebe and Lt. Alex Crawford of the 38th infantry; Col. L. H. Carpenter of the 10th cavalry; Lt. William I. Reed, Fifth infantry; and Col. Enoch Steen and Col. David P. Hancock, Second infantry. As for the civilians, Robert Crozier was a prominent attorney in Leavenworth City. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Caldwell are unidentifiable.

It should be noted that Miss Richmond lists all the officers in their brevet rank rather than in their regular army rank in which they are carried on the post and regimental returns. Brevets were usually a notch or two above the regular army rank and were bestowed for special meritorious service. The officer wore the insignia of his brevet rank but was paid and performed his duty ordinarily in his army rank.—"Post Returns"; "Regimental Returns"; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, v. 1, (Washington, 1903).

4. 1Lt. James M. Bell, major by brevet, was a Pennsylvanian with service in the Civil War. He was one of the original second lieutenants appointed to the Seventh cavalry in 1866. He was regimental quartermaster at this time.

5. Cpt. Thomas D. Weir, lieutenant colonel by brevet, was a graduate of the University of Michigan and an officer in the Third Michigan cavalry during the Civil War. In Texas in 1865-1866 he had been inspector on Custer's staff. Stanley A. Brown was second lieutenant in the Third infantry.



as we rode, also ate an apple which was presented by an outrider, a cavalryman—Bell. This evening just before retreat, Gen'l Custer was arrested by two officers from town on a charge of murder, preferred by one Lieut. Col. West.⁶ The general went with them to the city, accompanied by a dozen or more of his friends. They repaired to Justice Adam's office, examined the charges, gave bail,⁷ and returned here after partaking of a good oyster supper. Lieut. Cooke is arrested on the same charge.⁸

Lieut. Jackson preceded the rest of the party on the return and was the first to relieve us of our sorrowful apprehensions concerning the probability of the general's being obliged to remain in durance vile all night. All returned in good spirits at about ten o'clock and Jackson, Cooke, Bell, Gen'l Smith and Weir helped us to pass the rest of the evening hilariously and musically.⁹

SATURDAY, JANU 4.—Still bright and mild. Libbie, Mary and I paid some visits this morning, accompanied by Armstrong. Called upon Mrs. McKeever, Mrs. Barnitz, and the Parsons.

This afternoon at five o'clock we took dinner at the "Atache barracks" with the "Bedlam Mess, No. 1," consisting of Capt Weir,

6. The military service of Cpt. Robert M. West, Co. K, Seventh cavalry began before the Civil War when he was a private in the mounted rifles. At the end of the Civil War he was colonel of the Fifth Pennsylvania cavalry and was a lieutenant colonel by brevet afterwards. In January, 1868, he was being tried by court-martial for drunkenness on duty, the charges preferred by General Custer. In the summer of 1867 when Custer's troopers were on scout between the Smoky Hill and Platte rivers, some men were seen one day to be leaving the command and Custer ordered the officers to bring them back, dead or alive. Two were shot and the one fatally wounded was Pvt. Charles Johnson of Co. K, West's company. One of the charges against Custer in his court-martial was this "shooting of soldiers without trial." In reviewing Custer's conviction on this charge, the judge advocate general of the army suggested that the sentence in this case might be inadequate and might be taken "before a Court of competent jurisdiction." Perhaps when West brought his charges before the court in Leavenworth, he thought he was doing that very thing.—See Lawrence Frost, *The Court-Martial of General George Armstrong Custer* (Norman, 1968); Minnie Dubbs Millbrook, "The West Breaks in General Custer," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 36 (Summer, 1970), p. 146.

7. Although the court-martial charges against General Custer had been brought by Gen. Andrew Smith, there seems to have been little animus between them. Smith and Dr. Madison Mills put up the bail, \$1,000, for Custer.

8. First Lieutenant Cooke was the officer who actually shot Private Johnson. William Winer Cooke was a Canadian who enlisted in a New York regiment in 1864 and served through the rest of the Civil War. He was the youngest officer in the Seventh cavalry, probably not more than 22 years at this time. When Custer was in command, he was usually adjutant of the regiment. At this time he was posted at Fort Harker and only in Leavenworth temporarily.

9. This hilarity and high spirits was but a continuation of the Custers' insouciant treatment of the court-martial. Elizabeth had written Rebecca in September, 1867, of the court-martial charges. "It sounds quite solemn to unaccustomed ears, but officers look on it as an ordinary occurrence. . . . Then on November 20: ". . . the sentence is unjust as possible. . . . Suspension from rank and command; forfeiture of pay proper for a year, . . . Pay proper is \$95 a month, but a soldier's emoluments amount to more than his pay, so that we have enough to live on. . . . Autie and I are the wonder of the garrison, we are in such spirits."—Marguerite Merington, ed., *The Custer Story* (New York, 1950), pp. 212, 214.

11. Lt. Henry Jackson, major by brevet, was English born and enlisted as a private in the 14th Illinois cavalry in the Civil War. He became an officer and in July, 1866, was appointed a second lieutenant in the Seventh cavalry. As he was with Custer in the summer of 1867 he was a witness at his court-martial. Early in 1868 Jackson was detached from the Seventh cavalry for an assignment with the signal corps and did not rejoin the regiment until after the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876.



Yates, Major Bell and Lieut Jackson. Libbie, Armstrong, and Anna, Mary, Charles and I went, and Col. Carpenter and Lieut. Clark were also guests.¹⁰ We were treated to a sumptuous repast, gotten up in fine style and served in good order. All together very handsomely entertained. At about seven o'clock the gentlemen, our hosts, accompanied us home and spent the remainder of the evening as our guests.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 5.—A change in the weather. The morning broke cloudy with high wind which increased in strength and frigidity until night shut out the scene. All attended morning service at the chapel which is a room about the size of our S. S. room at home, in a long, low stone building. The other rooms in the building are devoted to a day school and to the soldiers' reading room. The chapel is quite cozily fitted up. There was a poor apology for a choir. This morning accompanied by a miserably managed melodeon. Rev. Mr. Stone conducted the services.¹¹ None of us went out this evening but spent the evening in singing sacred music, assisted by Lieut Jackson and Col. Weir.

On Sunday morning we breakfast at about 8½ o'clock, an hour earlier than usual so as to enable the officers to be in punctual attendance upon the regular Sunday Inspection. The display was fine today, cavalry, artillery and infantry all out at once in the parade ground. Parsons, Huntingdon, Howe and Leary are the battery officers. The first bugle call for church sounded at half past ten and the second at eleven.

MONDAY, JANUARY 6.—Very cold. Armstrong and Libbie, Mary and Charles went to the city this morning to see and hear the Swiss bell ringers, the Alleghenians. Anna and I remained at home. Messrs. Cooke and Jackson, Johnson and Howe called.

TUESDAY JANUARY 7.—Cold and high wind. Called upon Mrs. Dr. Mills, Mrs. Dr. Brewer, and Mrs. Parker. Mrs. Dr. Mills was a

10. Cpt. George W. Yates was a boyhood friend of General Custer. He enlisted in the Fourth Michigan infantry at the beginning of the Civil War and became a first lieutenant and regimental adjutant on September 26, 1862. After the war he was in the Second cavalry, transferring to the Seventh in November, 1867. Wm. S. Clark was second lieutenant in Co. I, Seventh cavalry. Louis Henry Carpenter was in the 10th cavalry. The "Bedlam Mess, No. 1," was apparently one of several established by a group of bachelor officers.

11. The Rev. Hiram Stone (1824-1911) arrived in Kansas in 1856 to become rector of St. Paul's church in Leavenworth. He accepted the chaplaincy at the fort in 1859 and remained there eight and one-half years, resigning June 3, 1868. While at the fort "he preached regularly every Sunday morning, taught the Session School during the week [three hours in the afternoon] and discharged such other duties as were required of a chaplain. He administered the Holy Communion regularly on the first Sunday of the month, and held services Wednesday and Friday evenings during Lent. Because of the very nature of army life, with its constant moving of troops, attendance varied from twenty-five to one hundred. . . ." Also as long as there was no pastor in Leavenworth he held a service there every Sunday.—Blanche M. Taylor, *Plenteous Harvest* (Topeka, 1973), p. 59.

Miss Halsey of Trumansburg, N. C. and therefore connected to uncle John Marsh's family. She has two daughters at Miss Porter's school at Farmington, Conn., and Mrs. Dr. Brewer is another daughter. Mrs. Major Parker is a young Philadelphia lady, quite pleasing, and reminds me of Georgie Bull of Detroit. Her husband is a fine guitarist.

JANY 7.—This morning we have had a jolly good time playing parlor games, and redeeming forfeits. The company consisted of Gen'l Custer, Col. Sheridan,¹² Col. Weir, Major Bell, Major Beebe, brother Charlie, Libbie, Mary and I. Anna was incapacitated through neuralgia.

Anna and I dined with Gen'l Gibbs and family.

WEDNESDAY JANY 8.—Very cold but bright. The examination into the Custer and Cooke case commenced today at the Office of Justice Adams.¹³ The defendants, accompanied by numerous friends, repaired to the city at half past eight this morning and did not return until seven this evening.

SATURDAY, JANY 11.—Brother Charles bought today a stock of goods in the city of Leavenworth which was brought here from Cincinnati on commission and which was about to be re-shipped from lack of encouragement. When the proprietor accepted Charles offer of fifty cents on the dollar, Charles paid for the stock consisting of woolen goods, hosiery, handk'fs, gloves, collars, &c.

SUNDAY, JANY 12.—Very cold and cloudy. We all attended service at the chapel this morning. There being an ineffectual attempt to muster a choir. Mary and I after church offered our service for the evening to assist Miss Brewer and any others who might volunteer. With the sanction of the chaplain Rev. Mr. Stone, Miss Brewer appointed a meeting for rehearsal at 3½ o'clock. At that time there assembled at the chapel, Mr. Stone, Gen'l Custer and Libbie, Miss Brewer, Col. Weir, Col. Sheridan, Major Beebe, Mary and I and a member of the band to play the melodeon. We had a real nice rehearsal, using the "Church Choir" and preparing the whole musical service for the evening. But, when evening came and the rest of us reported for duty, behold Miss Brewer had taken her seat in the congregation, thus refusing her countenance and

12. Col. Andrew Sheridan of the Third infantry had been commander at Fort Dodge through 1866, but had gone on leave and remained AWOL for several months. He was at Fort Leavenworth under arrest awaiting court-martial.

13. Justice Adams was surely Moses S. Adams, who was a member of the firm of Adams, Crozier & Ludlum, and also at this time the recorder or police judge of Leavenworth City. He had come to Leavenworth in 1857 and was later elected a member of the state legislature and became speaker of the house. In both positions he displayed "rare legal knowledge and in the latter, statesmanship and ability of a high order."—H. Miles Moore, *Early History of Leavenworth* (Leavenworth, 1906), p. 298.



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assistance. Under those embarrassing circumstances Gen'l Custer and Major Beebe decided that it was best to leave the chants unsung but leading off the psalm and hymn to the old familiar tunes of Silver Street and Christmas, the congregation joined with one heart and voice.

After service Col. Weir, Capt. Hale, Major Beebe and Lieut. Jackson joined our family circle and enjoyed a good old fashioned sing for about an hour.

MONDAY, JANUARY 13.—Snow storm.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 14.—Bright and pleasant. The sleighs have been flying around right cheerily today. Spent an hour and a half with Mary and Libbie in at the Gen'l Gibbs spreading bread and butter for the "hop." This evening the general and Libbie, Anna and Mr. Jackson, Major Bell and I attended said "hop," which was held in the Davidson house¹⁴ now vacant. A very nice party—good music, handsome decorations, agreeable people, and refreshing refreshments consisting of bread and butter, cold turkey, chicken salad, coffee and lemonade. Met Mrs. Dr. Magruder, a particularly pleasing lady, who has just returned from a short visit at St. Louis. There were several young ladies from Leavenworth City, among them, Miss Hunt, Miss Delahey, Miss Young and the three daughters of Justice Adams. Became acquainted with an agreeable officer of the 10th cavalry, a Capt. S. R. Colladay, hailing from Philadelphia.¹⁵ Charles returned so late from his business and was much fatigued that he and Mary declined attending.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 16.—Sleighing all gone. Still clear and cold. This morning Capt. Yates, Major Bell and Lieut. Jackson called to invite us to attend the theatre, but for various reasons a party could not be enlisted, therefore after responding to a false summons to officers' school, Messrs Jackson & Bell returned and spent the evening with us. The Major and I suffered much in a game of euchre with Gen'l Custer and Libbie, the score standing 6 to 1.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 17.—Mary and I went down town in a hack today and called at Charlie's place of business, N.—Delaware Street. He occupies one half of Mr. _____ music store, and had one clerk

14. Gen. John W. Davidson had been stationed at Fort Leavenworth throughout 1867 and only moved his family away after New Year's, 1868. For further information on this officer, who organized the Seventh cavalry, see Homer K. Davidson, *Black Jack Davidson* (Glendale, 1974).

15. Julia Delahay, 17, was the daughter of Mark W. Delahay, a prominent attorney of Leavenworth. She married in 1870, Thomas A. Osborn, who in 1872 and 1874 was elected governor of Kansas. Miss Hunt was perhaps Ellen Hunt, a daughter of Col. F. E. Hunt, U. S. army paymaster, who lived in Leavenworth. Miss Tessie Young cannot be identified nor can the Adams daughters. Justice Adams at this time had but one son, six years old. Samuel Rakestraw Colladay was an officer in the 10th cavalry.



named Burdick, formerly from Kalamazoo. He is having a lively trade, amounting to about one hundred dollars a day.

There were four fresh arrivals at the Fort today, in the person of three young ladies and one gentleman, guests of General Easton. Miss Majors, of St. Louis, is a sister of Mrs. Easton; Miss Lee is her friend from Hannibal, Missouri and Miss Easton is a niece of the general. The young man is a Mr. Plant, affianced to the last mentioned lady.

SATURDAY, JAN'Y 18.—Justice Adams today dismissed the charges preferred against Gen. Custer and Lieut. Cooke, and the result of the trial has been a thorough and complete vindication of their character as officers & gentleman.¹⁶

SUNDAY, JAN'Y 19.—Mild and thawing but cloudy. Armstrong and Libbie, Charles, Mary and I rode to Leavenworth this morning, and attended St. Paul's church. The pastor Rev. Mr. Egar,¹⁷ preached at Grand Rapids once, after Dr. Cummings death when we were in search of a rector.

A neat, tasty, gothic church, yet unfinished, fine organ, good singing (Misses Adams in the choir) and an earnest discourse.

We today received a letter from father, written at Detroit and announcing the joyful fact that he and mother had at last started out from Grand Rapids. They are going to Ann Arbor for a day or two, thence to St. Catherine's, where mother would stop, and thence to Aurora. After a short stay there, father expects to turn his steps Kansasward.

This evening Charles and Mary, Col. Weir and I attended service at the chapel; and sitting in front of the melodeonist, we, with Mrs. Dr. Magruder did, in the absence of any choir, lead the singing of the psalm and hymn, the last being the evening hymn, tune "Old Hundred."

Major Armes and Capt. Cushing¹⁸ of Fort Riley called this eve-

16. The Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, January 19, 1868, which reported the trial at some length, gave the verdict thus: "Gen. Geo. A. Custer was yesterday discharged from arrest upon the charge of murder, upon which he has been for several days undergoing examination. The charge the judge finds, was not sustained by evidence."

17. When John Hodson Egar (1832-1924) came to St. Paul's from Illinois in 1863, the church had had no pastor since Hiram Stone had left it to go to Fort Leavenworth in 1859. Although Stone came to hold a service every Sunday, "the congregation dwindled; the Sunday School was disbanded; even the little church building had passed out of the hands of the Episcopalians." But Egar proved to be diligent and by 1868 had gathered his parish together and had erected a stone church.—Blanche M. Taylor, *Plenteous Harvest* (Topeka, 1974), p. 59.

18. Maj. George Armes, captain in the 10th cavalry, was one of the most controversial officers in the army. He was at this time in Leavenworth for his court-martial.—See Col. George A. Armes, *Ups and Downs of an Army Officer* (Washington, 1900). Howard B. Cushing of the Third U. S. cavalry was the brother of William B. Cushing, a famous naval officer of the Civil War.



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ning. Cushing's brother distinguished himself in the naval service during the war.

SATURDAY FEB. 22ND.—Retired at five this morning after having danced from 9½ last night until 4 this A. M. Arose at nine as usual.

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 23.—Rain early this morning, the first I have seen in Kansas & cloudy sky all day and very high wind. Miss Baker and Lieut. Gibson ran in a few minutes during guard mounting. Armstrong and Libbie, Anna and I and Lieut. Jackson attended morning service at the chapel. Mr. Robt. Foster, a friend of Anna's from Fon du Lac, arrived at Leavenworth today and called in this afternoon. Capt. Yates and Dr. Renick¹⁹ also called. The latter brought me a rosy apple. Sent a letter to Jonty²⁰ today and a paper to Charles. Intended to go to evening service in the city, but the weather was too tempestuous to trust to the "flanigan." Messrs Moylan Bell and Robbins spent a part of the evening here. Had ever so much sport retiring Mr. Foster, who is to sleep on the sofa in the parlor. He is jolly enough.

MONDAY FEB. 24.—Bright and cool, very little wind. Wrote part of a letter to mother this forenoon, then took a long walk with Libbie in the Arsenal grounds, down by the river. It is so delightful a stroll that I do not wonder that it takes some people four hours to go there and back. Played ball with Mr. Foster and Col. Weir during evening parade. After supper made a party call at Dr. Mills with Dr. Renick. Lieut Cook arrived this evening from Ft. Harker. Major Beebe, Lieut. Jackson, Col. Forsyth, Lieut Hale, Capt. Yates and Lieut. Omstetter called.²¹ Libbie and Mr. Foster, Dr. Renick and I wound up the evenings entertainment with several games of euchre in which *we* came out the best. Rec'd a Canada paper from mother.

Unpleasant rumors on the street today regarding war. The President, the War Dept. and Congress are fighting a "triangular duel." Sec. Stanton refuses to be deposed, Pres. Johnson insists, and Congress threatens to impeach the latter.²²

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25.—Cold and cloudy; snow this evening.

19. Dr. William H. Renick, acting asst. surgeon, rejoined the post January 11 from a leave of absence. He was a citizen physician or contract surgeon, and not a commissioned army officer.

20. Jonty, Jonathan Richmond, was Rebecca's brother, two years younger than she, according to the 1850 census.

21. Col. George A. "Sandy" Forsyth was an aide on the staff of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan. Charles L. Umbstatter, second lieutenant in the Third infantry had earlier been on leave.

22. This refers to the attempt of Pres. Andrew Johnson to relieve Sec. E. M. Stanton as head of the War Department and appoint General Grant in his place.



We had *such* a nice game of ball on the front porch this morning after breakfast. The principal participants Mr. Moylan, Capt Weir, Mr. Foster, Major Bell and Miss Richmond.

Mr. W. E. Webb²³ called upon us this forenoon, bringing an introductory letter from William I. Welles. He was once the business partner of the latter, and is now a member of the Legislature representing Hays City. He came specially to invite me and General Custer and family to join an excursion party which proposes to go up the U. P. R. R. next week to Hays City, and there institute a grand buffalo hunt. Mr. Foster started east on the 7 p. m. train.

Informal "hop" this evening at the "Davidson house." Attended with Major Bell and had a very good time. Last dancing of the season, I suppose.

ASH WEDNESDAY FEB. 26—Cold and cloudy. Breakfasted at ten o'clock. Callers this morning, Capt. Yates, Lieuts. Law, Johnson²⁴ & Cooke, and Dr. Renick. Libbie sick with severe cold. House very quiet and solemn on account of Genl Gibbs illness.²⁵ He passed a wretched night, rushing down stairs in his delirium and trying to the utmost the strength and endurance of his attendants, Col. Parsons, Col. Weir and Gen'l Custer.

Attended service at the chapel this evening. Wrote a long letter to Mary to send to Wamego by Lieut. Cook, who is going back to Harker tomorrow.

23. William E. Webb, born in New York about 1839, came to Kansas late in 1866 with a group of men from St. Louis, who purchased land in the vicinity where Fort Hays was to be located. He came back to Kansas in 1867 when the railroad had reached Hays and surveyed and platted the town naming it Hays City. He seems to have been backed by the railroad and his town triumphed over Rome, a rival started by "Buffalo Bill" Cody. Webb wrote *Buffalo Land* (Cincinnati, 1872), a fictitious tale of buffalo hunting near Hays, as well as several articles for the *Kansas Magazine*.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10, p. 279.

24. Edward Law was appointed second lieutenant in the Seventh cavalry August 15, 1867, apparently from civil life and without previous military service. He resigned in 1870. John M. Johnson was a graduate of West Point in June, 1867, and with Edward S. Godfrey became the first of the military academy graduates to come directly into the Seventh cavalry. Strangely enough, Godfrey though at Fort Leavenworth in early 1868, never called on the Custers.

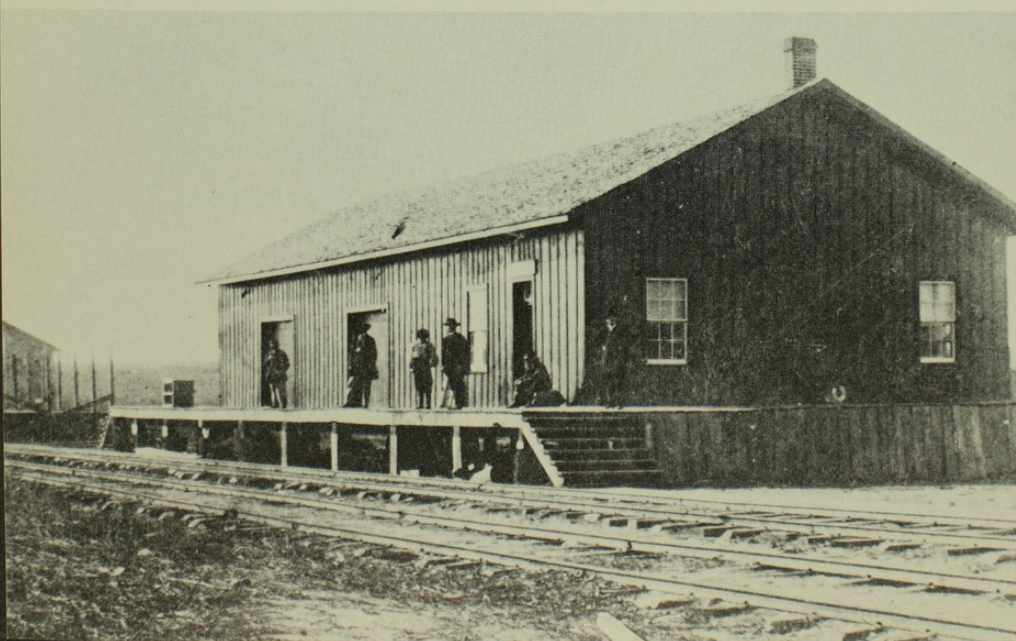
25. Gen. Alfred Gibbs, graduate of West Point in 1846, was said to have suffered from an old lance wound and was seldom on field duty. He was however an excellent administrator and commanded at several posts. He made a fine record in both the Mexican and Civil Wars ending in 1865 as a brigadier general in Sheridan's cavalry and received the brevet of major general. He came from a prominent New York family. His brother was the chemist Oliver Woolcott Gibbs, his father the mineralogist George Gibbs, and his grandfather Oliver Woolcott, secretary of the treasury in the administration of George Washington and John Adams. For all his charm, wit and ability, he, like so many of the army officers of that time, drank too much. This habit seems to have been of long standing.—*See Diary of a Union Lady*, 1861-1865, ed., Harold Earl Hammon (N. Y., 1962), pp. 221-222. "February 22, 1868—Colonel (Alfred) Gibbs, Mrs. Woolcott, Gibbs son, was dead drunk, and Corcoran was obliged to put him under arrest. . . . Gibbs died suddenly, of "congestion of the brain," December 26, 1868.



Bvt. Maj. Gen. and Mrs. George A. Custer are seated in front row. Standing at back are Mary Richmond (Mrs. Charles Kendall), Rebecca Richmond (the diarist), and Charles Kendall. Photograph courtesy Custer Battlefield National Monument.



Lincoln avenue in Wamego. Presumably Rebecca Richmond, the diarist, was a guest at the hotel on the right during her stay in Wamego. (Lower) The Union Pacific (Eastern division) railway depot at Wamego. Both photographs were taken by Alexander Gardner in 1867.



My thoughts today have been much with St. Mark's Church²⁶ and the congregation.

SUNDAY, MARCH 1, 1868.—Mild and bright this morning, growing cold and windy and cloudy towards night. Libbie and I attended service at the chapel this morning. On our return, Tom Custer told us that he had seen my father and Judge Christiancy²⁷ at the Planter's Hotel.²⁸ This afternoon father rode out to the Fort, and we returned to the city with him this evening and attended church. Full choral service, even to the entering of the prayers. It does not please me; savors of ritualism, which does approach Romanism.

MONDAY, MARCH 2.—Spent the morning in packing. This afternoon Libbie went with me to pay parting visits to Mrs. Magruder, Mrs. Parsons, Mrs. Brewer, Mrs. Gen. Easton, Mrs. Genl McKeever, Mrs. Major Parker; all very cordial, hospitable ladies. Father came in from town and dined with us and then called with Gen'l Custer upon Gen. Sheridan.²⁹ The parlor has been thronged with la militaire this evening mostly come to bid me good bye. Mr. Moylan, Col. Weir, Capt. Yates, Lieut. Gibson, Major Bell, Dr. Renick, Col. Forsyth, Gen. and Col. Sheridan, Lieut. Custer, Col. Parsons. And a deal of vocal music, often singing, "adieu, kind friend, friends, adieu." Dr. Renick and I exchanged apples to be eaten at one tomorrow. At ten o'clock Father and I repaired to the Planters Hotel escorted by Dr. Renick and Tom. Have had a pleasant evening which will long, long be remembered.

TUESDAY MARCH 3. From Leavenworth to Wamego, Kansas.—Arose at 5½. Breakfast at 6, boarded cars at 7, "sick call," keep offer to write home. A few thoughts devoted to Dr. Renick, M. D. Am introduced to Mr. & Mrs. Martin, brother of Gen. and Harry.³⁰

26. St. Mark's Episcopal church was Rebecca's church in Grand Rapids. She had taught a class of boys in the Sunday school and participated in all the activities of the church.

27. Judge James P. Christiancy, of the Michigan supreme court, lived in Monroe, Mich., and had been a close friend of Daniel Bacon, Elizabeth Custer's father. Christiancy had been a political adviser to Custer until that young officer seemed to have aligned himself in the summer of 1866 with Pres. Andrew Johnson then in opposition to the Republican party in control of the U. S. congress. Christiancy was a Republican.

28. The Planter's Hotel of Leavenworth was built in 1856 by Missourians to be "forever controlled by Southern men for Southern gentlemen." However, as the political tides turned, it was bought by others who operated it for anyone who paid his bills and acted like a gentleman. It was an imposing four-story brick building on the bluffs above the river with steps leading down to the dock below. It was the finest hotel west of St. Louis and was the social center of northeast Kansas. The dining room was 106 feet long and would accommodate 200 diners; the bar room supported two bar tenders. Horace Greeley called it "a wonder of elegance and comfort."

29. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan arrived in Leavenworth February 28, 1868. He commanded the Department of the Missouri and all the Kansas forts were under his jurisdiction.

30. At this time the only Kansan by this name with the rank of general was John Alexander Martin of Atchison. He was a Pennsylvanian before coming to Kansas.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10, p. 241.