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pointed down the avenue toward Constitution hall; the gunners were at their posts and the fuse was burning, all ready for firing. With his squad of cavalry, their revolvers in hand, the colonel galloped on to Constitution hall. One division, ordered to "file right," swept the Topeka Guards to the east, past the present post-office. The other advanced and halted in front of the hall, while Colonel Sumner dismounted and proceeded to the assembly-rooms.

He was given a seat on the platform while the house was called to order, and the members responded to the roll-call. Then he delivered his dispersion message. After a deep pause a member asked: "Colonel, are we to understand that the legislature is dispersed at the point of the bayonet?" Colonel Sumner replied: "I shall use all the forces in my command to carry out my orders." At this the members dispersed.

Colonel Sumner then proceeded to the senate, which had not yet been called, although the hour had arrived. He ordered them to disperse without even permitting them to convene. One of the senators broke the embarrassing silence with the dignified response: "Colonel Sumner, we are in no condition to resist the United States troops; and if you order us to disperse, of course we must disperse." This voiced the sentiment of the senate.

As Colonel Sumner mounted his horse to withdraw, three cheers were given for him, and three for John C. Fremont, the then Republican candidate for president of the United States. There also rang into the surprised ears of the departing dragoons three cheers for the Topeka convention and state legislature, and three groans for President Pierce, through whose orders it had been dispersed.

There could be no resistance to the United States army; so the free-state legislature dispersed in a quiet and orderly manner. Had the Missourians come as rumored, a clash of arms would have resulted; but the free-state men could only obey the national government. The pro-slavery adherents half hoped there would be an open conflict with the United States troops; then the free-state men could be treated as in rebellion. But the fortunes of the free-state men were at low enough ebb, and to an observer it would seem that the climax had already passed, and the goal of a pro-slavery state would soon be reached. A free-state historian of that time ends his story here and calls it "The Conquest of Kansas." But the final untying of the knot in the Kansas drama is not what the onlooker expects. It is not a tragedy that he has been witnessing. A year later, when elections occurred, armed guards at the polls kept the Missourians from voting and the elections were carried by free-state men.³ And from then on the free-state citizens with lessening opposition, tended victoriously toward the free-state goal.

Although the dramatic dispersion of the territorial legislature of 1856 may not have been far-reaching in its political or historical results, yet it may be said to mark the climax in the Kansas drama, when it was impossible to tell which opposing force would win.

NOTE 3.—September 25, 1857, Gen. W. S. Harney issues instructions to troops for guarding polling-places in Kansas territory in the election of October 6, 1857.—Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 5, p. 303.



Dispersion of the Territorial Legislature of 1856. 543

James Redpath, in *Chicago Tribune*:

TOPEKA, July 4, 1856, eleven P. M.—Naturally a more beautiful, politically a more important, day never rose in Kansas than the present 4th of July. Cannon in the camp of the cavalry announced its advent. Yesterday afternoon and during the night the free-state men received accessions to their strength. About 800 men were in the city this morning. Of this number, 500 at least had arms and were drilled. Flags floated in the breeze from every public building and in front of every tent. Five companies of dragoons, under Colonel Sumner, were encamped southeast of the town, and five companies from Fort Riley, under Major Merrill, on the opposite side of the river, about two miles northwest of Constitution hall.

The mass convention met at eight o'clock. Speeches were delivered by Colonel Phillips, Judge Wakefield, Colonel Allen, Judge Schuyler, Rev. Pardee Butler, Mr. Chapman, Mr. Collyer, Mr. Wm. Hutchinson, Mr. Samuel C. Smith, Mr. Watson, of Leavenworth, and others. The subject of debate was the propriety of the legislature convening, notwithstanding the intimation received from Colonel Sumner that he would disperse that body at all hazards. We had a clique of Buchanan intriguers in the convention, who were endeavoring to induce it to pass resolutions by which the Democracy might be saved from defeat at the approaching presidential election.

About ten o'clock a gentleman moved that the business of the convention be temporarily suspended for the purpose of listening to a proclamation from Marshal Donaldson. The motion was adopted, and Marshal Donaldson mounted to the platform. He is a tall, lanky gentleman of forty-five or fifty years, with a fair complexion and iron-gray whiskers. He was dressed in jeans pants, vest, and coat, and wore a shocking bad and very dirty straw hat. He said, as any judge of human nature could see, that he was not good at speaking, and called on Judge Elmore to read the proclamation. Judge Elmore arose and took out the official parchment. He read the proclamation of Franklin Pierce, "president of the Southern portion of the United States," issued in February last; then the proclamation of Wilson Shannon; thirdly, another proclamation, dated July 4, issued by Daniel Woodson, secretary of the territory and acting governor; and, lastly, a note from Colonel Sumner, addressed to the legislature, announcing his determination to execute the command of Woodson (for the legislature to disperse) "at all hazards." There was only one copy of Woodson's proclamation and Sumner's note permitted to be taken, and a gentleman carried it off before any of the reporters could transcribe it. It will be published.

As soon as the proclamations were read, the business of the convention was resumed, as if no interruption had occurred. Marshal Donaldson remained. He looked as a countryman looks at a railroad for the first time—utterly amazed, apparently, at the conduct and coolness of the convention. He left. On reaching the camp he told the officers there must be a fight. Colonel Sumner, excited by the news, ordered his men to prepare for battle. Two field-pieces were charged with grape-shot and the dragoons loaded their carbines and revolvers. Shortly afterwards they were ordered to march. The convention was informed of the fact as soon as they began to move, but proceeded quietly with its business and continued to discuss the resolution before it, even after it was surrounded by the troops.

As Colonel Sumner, riding at the head of his men—about 200—turned round the Garvey House and entered Kansas avenue, company G, Topeka Guards, under Messrs. Mitchell and Haynes, were drawn up in front of Constitution hall for the purpose of being presented with a banner by the ladies of the city.

Colonel Sumner, both by his manner and tone, indicated that he was determined to obey orders, and expected to fight. Several of the officers and men have informed us that such was the expectation of every soldier when they entered the town. Colonel Sumner, by a series of rapid movements, stationed his men, with admirable skill, in three divisions—one drawn up in front of Constitution hall; another in line with it, but further up the street; a third several paces back and between the first and third divisions. There was no intention of resisting the United States troops; and, therefore, the colonel could easily station his forces in the most formidable position. If the people had intended to fight him, he never would have been permitted to enter Topeka. The drummer of company G, Topeka Guards, was beating when the troops entered town. He kept on and the company stood firm, even when the dragoons were riding toward them. The drummer plied his sticks regularly until the head of the horse of the first file touched

NOTE 4.—"As the 4th of July approached, day after day witnessed some new effort of the pro-slavery party to prevent the state legislature from assembling at that time. Several members of that body were languishing in state prisons, and others had to keep in places of concealment to avoid arrest. Governor Robinson, the life and the soul of the free-state men, was in prison."

"Many active and influential free-state men exerted themselves to induce all the free-state men in the territory to assemble at Topeka on the 3d of July. For this purpose a mass convention of the people was called to deliberate at that time and place on the condition of the territory."—Phillips's *Conquest of Kansas*, 1856, p. 392.

him. He made one step forward and then stood still. So with the others; none moved till the horses of the troops could go no further without stepping on them, and then they made only one step forward and immediately "dressed left." Colonel Sumner looked at them half angrily, half admiringly. The drummer still kept on, and did not desist until requested to do so by the colonel. On the banner of the company the ladies had inscribed: "Our lives for our rights."

As soon as the troops were stationed, a committee appointed by the convention waited on Colonel Sumner and informed him that the citizens had no intention of resisting the United States troops, and asked him whether he proposed to disarm them or disperse the convention. If he had attempted to do either he would have been resisted by the free-state men. As he was entering the town, some one moved that the companies lay down their arms and parade without them. Mr. Watson, of Leavenworth, said: "Gentlemen, in every city in the United States to-day companies of armed men are parading. We have the same right to carry arms that they have. If Colonel Sumner attempts to disarm these companies, he supersedes his authority, and does so at his peril. I shall stand among the boys." This brief speech was loudly cheered.

To return: Colonel Sumner replied that he did not intend to break up the convention or disarm the volunteers; he had come there to prevent the legislature from convening, and would do so if they attempted to assemble; but if they did not, he would remain in town until after twelve — the hour to which the legislature had adjourned — and then retire to his camp. Three cheers were proposed and given to Colonel Sumner. I did not see exactly what this waste of breath was for, and proposed three cheers for Governor Robinson, a man, in my opinion, more deserving of the honor. They were given with the wildest enthusiasm, the boys waving their hats and cheering in front of the armed "instruments" of the slave power. One of the officers, a pro-slavery man, looked concentrated razors at me for so doing, but, after casting a few essence-of-meat-ax glances at him, he finally bestowed his eyes on other individuals. Three cheers were proposed and given for freedom in Kansas.

Colonel Sumner dismounted and entered the chamber of the house of representatives. He was very much agitated. The man appeared to be ashamed of the soldier. Colonel Sumner is a true gentleman; but he is the tool of Pierce, and is he not to be pitied? I would have given three tears for him, if I had the feminine accomplishment of producing salt water at pleasure; but to the servant of F. Pierce, No! by Jove, no cheers. Mrs. Gaines, of Lawrence, and another lady went up to Sumner and extended their "snowy digits." "How do you do, Colonel Sumner," said the ladies. He took each of them by the hand and said, in a confused tone: "Ladies, I am sorry to interrupt you, but I must attend to my duty." "Stop, colonel," said one of the ladies, as he was going off, "these gentlemen (pointing to the Topeka Guards) met here to receive a banner from the ladies of Topeka, on the day of our would-be independence." "You shall be independent," said the soldier, as he suddenly left them. I don't see any point in this conversation; but, as conversations with the fair sex are often pointless, I merely state it as one of the incidents of the day.

The colonel entered the chamber of the house of representatives, his sword hanging by his side, with a stern but agitated expression of countenance. He went up to the platform. The chamber was densely crowded. A deep silence ensued, unbroken till the soldier entered into a private conversation with gentlemen around him. At noon Samuel F. Tappan, assistant clerk, in the absence of the speaker and the chief clerk, called the house to order, and proceeded to call the roll of members with as much coolness and regularity as if Colonel Sumner had been at Leavenworth and Franklin Pierce a myth. Twice the roll was called over. Caleb S. Pratt called it the third time. Seventeen members answered to their names. There were thirty-four members in town, and, as the people had decided that the legislature should proceed, Mr. Tappan arose and ordered the sergeant-at-arms to go after absent members.

Colonel Sumner immediately rose from his seat, apparently much affected, and said: "Gentlemen, I am called upon this day to perform the most painful duty of my life. Under the authority of the president's proclamation, I am here to disperse this legislature, and I therefore inform you that you cannot meet. I therefore, in accordance with my orders, command you to disperse. God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will have none as long as I hold my present position in Kansas. I have just returned from the borders, where I have been sending home companies of Missourians, and now I am ordered here to disperse you. Such are my orders, that you must disperse. I repeat, that this is the most painful duty of my life — but you must disperse." Judge Schuyler: "Are we to understand that the legislature is dispersed at the point of the bayonet?" Colonel Sumner: "I shall use all the forces under my command to carry out my orders." Colonel Sumner then sat down and the house and audience dispersed.

After the chamber was cleared, the old soldier went out and mounted his horse. A law-and-order man went up to him and suggested that the senate should also be dispersed. Colonel Sumner dismounted and entered the senate chamber. He delivered nearly the same speech as he addressed to the house of representatives. The senators stood in a semicircle about him, and the

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chamber was densely crowded. After Colonel Sumner concluded his remarks an unbroken silence prevailed. Colonel Sumner, feeling the embarrassment, said: "Gentlemen, do I understand that you consider yourselves dispersed?" Mr. Thornton, of Topeka, president of the senate, stepped forward and coolly replied: "I cannot answer, nor can any other member of the senate. The senate is not in session." Colonel Sumner felt that his situation was exceedingly embarrassing. After reflecting for a few moments—his brows knit, his eyes cast on the ground—the senate was addressed by Marshal Donaldson, who said: "Gentlemen, I want a pledge from each of you that you will not assemble again; if you don't give it, I will arrest every member of the senate." This unparalleled impudence on the part of the marshal was received with the silent contempt it deserved. Who ever heard before of a conditional arrest? If the marshal had writs to serve, it was his duty to execute them. He had none, and his threats were at once uncalled for, insulting, and childish.

"Will the colonel," asked Mr. Thornton, "give us time to converse, in order that the decision of the senate may be known?" Sumner answered, "No! my orders command me to prohibit you from convening. I must command you not to assemble, and the senate must consider itself dispersed."

As Colonel Sumner was coming down stairs he recognized Colonel Phillips, of the New York *Tribune*, and nodded to him. "Colonel," said Phillips, "you have robbed Oliver Cromwell of his laurels." Sumner did not speak, but the expression of his eye clearly indicated what he thought. He looked startled at first, then serious, angry, and agitated. He evidently saw at once the full enormity of the orders he had been compelled to obey; and how odious his act, even although unwillingly executed, would appear in the annals of American history. He mounted his horse and gave orders to march. Three cheers were given for Colonel Sumner, as he put his foot in the stirrup, in order to convince him that, although the people allowed the act he had committed, they did not regard him as responsible for it. "Forward, march!" shouted the officer, in a strong, ringing, but agitated, voice. "Three cheers for John C. Fremont!" cried a voice in the crowd. Three loud, prolonged and enthusiastic cheers were given for the Republican candidate. The troops heard it, and I saw the free-state officers smile as they rode along. "Three groans for Franklin Pierce!" cried another squatter. An effort was made to suppress this demonstration of disrespect, lest the officers should suppose, as they were now some distance off, that it was intended for them. But it was too late, and three heartily given groans were heard in the streets.

I had forgotten to add that as Sumner came out of Constitution hall a new American flag was hoisted over it. Three cheers were given for this star-spangled banner.

The mail is preparing to start. I enclose a letter from Colonel Sumner to a committee appointed by the convention; the resolutions adopted by the people; a couple of speeches; a communication from the prisoners at LeCompton; and the memorial to Congress.

The outrage I have endeavored to describe was perpetrated on the 4th of July, by command of the president.

KANSAS EXPERIENCES OF OSCAR G. RICHARDS,¹ OF EUDORA, IN 1856.

Read by O. G. RICHARDS before the Lawrence Annual Convention of "56ers," October 25, 1902.

I CAME to Kansas territory in the summer of 1856, from Livingston county, Illinois, by what was known as the overland route, through northern Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska, down to Topeka. Capt. William Strawn, son of Jacob Strawn, of Jacksonville, Ill., organized the company I belonged to, at Ottawa, in that state, in May, 1856, just after the sacking of Lawrence. There were about fifty members of the company. We were furnished with Sharp's rifles and revolvers for firearms, which were purchased by Captain Strawn. Six of our number, including myself, were se-

NOTE 1.—OSCAR GRINMAN RICHARDS was born January 12, 1836, at Napoleon, Jackson county, Michigan. His father was Xenophon Richards, and was prominent in the Indian wars; was a soldier in the Black Hawk war. His mother was Samantha Whaley, daughter of Ohio pioneers. Mr. Richards drove the first team over "Lane's road," and planted the first stakes. He later became a lawyer, and was admitted to the Douglas county bar in 1869. He was elected a member of the house of representatives from that county in 1878, and has held offices in the city of Eudora.



lected to come the overland route, to bring such things as had been donated to the free-state cause, such as provisions, clothing, blankets, farm implements, etc. The rest of our company came by water, by way of St. Louis, and up the Missouri river to Leavenworth. On arriving at Leavenworth the men were taken prisoners by Buford's men, and put on board of a boat and sent back down the river to Alton, Ill., except Captain Strawn, who made his escape by hiding under a bed in a hotel. Later on he went north to Iowa, where he met the free-state party and then came through with us.

Those of us that came the overland route joined Captain Cutter's company, from Massachusetts, at Iowa City and came through with his company to Nebraska City, where we found several other companies. General Lane and John Brown were with us and seemed to have charge of the whole free-state forces from Iowa City to Topeka. Colonel Eldridge, general agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, was also with us on the route. He had charge of the commissary and general supply department, and furnished us the sinews of life, and it can be truthfully said of him that he never allowed us to go hungry in camp or on the march. On our arriving in Topeka, our party was immediately ordered to Washington creek, in this county, without waiting hardly long enough to get dinner. At Washington creek we went into camp a day or two, drilling and preparing to capture the pro-slavery men at Fort Saunders. While camping at Washington creek, a party of us drove out to a corn-field near by, and took up the body of Col. David S. Hoyt, who had been killed a few days before by the pro-slavery men. We gave him a more decent interment than those fellows had. After burying Colonel Hoyt we advanced on Fort Saunders, as it was called, August 15, and made an attack on it, but found that all the pro-slavery men had fled, leaving only a colored man to hold the fort. The fort was simply a double log house located on a hill, with port-holes in it, with an embankment of dirt thrown up around the building. After securing provisions and firearms left by the absconding border ruffians, we burned the building. I remember very well of hearing General Lane call out at the top of his voice for us to get away from the building, as there might be a large quantity of powder about the premises and its explosion might kill some of us. He also cautioned us not to drink the water from the well, as it might be poisoned. There was supposed to be about forty or fifty persons in the fort, and perhaps more, but on seeing us coming, which they could some distance away, they all fled to the woods.

General Lane's mode of attacking these log blockhouses used as forts was to put a load of hay on a wagon and back the wagon up to the building, the hay serving as breastworks, and then follow up with another wagon just behind with a barrel of tar or pitch, throw the tar on the hay and then set fire to it and burn them out, without endangering the lives of our men. That was the mode adopted at Fort Saunders, but not carried out, for the reason that our enemies had fled, as I have said before.

After destroying the fort and securing provisions, arms, etc., we returned to camp, cooked and ate our supper, and took up the line of march for Titus's fort, near Lecompton. We marched until some time after midnight, and then went into camp about a mile west of Judge Wakefield's place, on the California road. Just before going into camp we ran into a gang of horse-thieves, who turned out to be some of Titus's men, and captured several of

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them. At break of day, August 16, Capt. Henry J. Shombre, who had been with us from Nebraska City, and perhaps longer, came around and awoke us, saying if he could raise sixty cavalymen he could take Titus's fort. The number of men was soon raised and away they went to Fort Titus, which was about three miles distant, without even waiting for their breakfast. The rest of our men took breakfast and then took up the line of march to Fort Titus, but before we had reached there a messenger on horseback from Shombre's men came back and urged us to hurry up with our cannon, the "Old Sacramento," saying that Captain Shombre and several other men were shot. It seemed, we learned afterwards, that Captain Shombre and others of his men had ridden up in front of the fort and demanded that Titus surrender; but Titus refused, saying he would spill his last drop of blood before he would do that. No sooner had he said this than his men opened up fire through the port-holes, and Captain Shombre, I think, was the first man shot. By the time our main army arrived with "Old Sacramento," there were several of our men lying on the ground wounded, but not dead. "Old Sacramento" was placed on a hill east of the fort about eighty rods, and soon commenced a bombardment of the fort. My recollection now is that it took just thirteen shots from "Old Sacramento" before the white flag went up, the plastering and chinking flying at every shot. When the white flag went up we rushed into the building, and took Titus and his men prisoners, numbering about twenty, all told. After destroying the fort we took Titus and his men to Lawrence.

During the siege and destruction of Titus's fort, a company of United States cavalry troops from Leecompton, which was about one mile north of us, formed in line and watched us all the time, but did not in any way interfere with us. Col. Sam. Walker, I think, had charge of the free-state forces that day. There must have been about 1000 of them. Captain Shombre, who was shot at the capture of Titus, died two days later at Lawrence, which was Monday, August 18, 1856. In a day or two arrangements were made between the pro-slavery and the free-state forces to exchange prisoners, they having some of our men as prisoners at Leecompton, Governor Robinson being among the number. So it was arranged for us to turn over to them the pro-slavery prisoners we had, and they to us the prisoners they held of ours, which was done. I think we also turned over a cannon captured at Franklin by our forces. Wilson Shannon was the territorial governor at that time.

After the border-ruffian war was over I took a claim near Manhattan, built a house, and made other improvements, and late in the fall went back to my old home in Illinois, leaving my claim in the possession of one of my comrades. The next spring I returned with a party of twenty-five, all relatives of mine, who settled in Eudora township, Douglas county, on what was then known as the absentee Shawnee Indian lands. Soon afterwards I sold my claim at Manhattan and moved to Eudora, where I have resided ever since.

There are but a few men in Kansas to-day who realize how much they are indebted to the early settlers for the blessings they enjoy, or who ever consider the hardships and privations endured by the old settlers in the early days.

Nearly half a century has passed since then, and many marvelous



changes have taken place in the state and in the nation. Most of those who took part in those struggles to make Kansas a free state have gone to their reward. The few of us who still remain ought to keep in close touch with each other, until the last one has passed over the silent river and joined that innumerable throng in the bright hereafter.*

REMINISCENCES OF HARTMAN LICHTENHAN.¹

I WAS born in Saxony, Germany, in 1832, and came to America in 1846, making my home in Philadelphia. December 14, 1852, I enlisted in the Second dragoons, U. S. A., for service on the frontier, under Second Lieut. Alfred Pleasanton. We were at Carlisle barracks for two months; then went to Governor's Island, N. Y., for two weeks, and took a transport to Texas. The third day out, as we struck open water, and lost sight of land, I was placed on guard. I happened to discover with my naked eye a hulk having no mast or sail, and gave the alarm to the mate. He thought I was mistaken, but getting a spy-glass soon made out a wreck, upon which we found five sailors who had been adrift three days. Within twenty minutes after we had rescued them the wreck sunk. The crew had started from Baltimore with a cargo of flour for Mobile, and had been run down in the night by a steamer. The mate, captain and five sailors were lost.

We landed at Indianola, Tex., and signaled the lighthouse. An officer soon came out. We laid by until the next morning, when two steamers came out and pulled us in through the shoal water. We then traveled on foot 500 miles to Fort Graham, now a large city. When we reached Texas there were but sixteen buildings in Waco, and at Fort Worth there was no sign of a settlement. From Fort Graham, Tex., we marched to Fort McKavett, Tex., on the head waters of the San Saba river; from there to Fort Chapman, and then to Fort Riley, Kan. While at Fort Chapman, when part of our men were out on a scout, 1100 Comanche Indians surrounded the fort. We had but forty men inside the enclosure, and could not get out for five days. One man who ventured out during that time was struck by eleven arrows. He got back inside, and the arrows were taken out by Doctor Hammond, afterwards the famous surgeon. Two passed through from his back, the points pushing out the surface skin just below the right nipple. Hammond pushed them through his body, and drew a handkerchief through the wounds by the use of a wire, to clean them out. The man recovered.

General Harney was at Fort Riley when we reached there. He had recently had a fight on the Platte river, Nebraska, with the Sioux Indians, in which he captured twenty-six chiefs, besides their wives and children. These he brought to Fort Riley and took on to Washington. They went by way of the Mississippi river and the ocean. The plan was to give the Indians an idea of our large white population and of our military strength, for they visited our navy-yards and arsenals. They came back by the same route, there being no railroads in those days reaching Kansas. The Indians

* Other features of this summer's campaign in Douglas county may be found in "The Events of 1856" and "Emigration to Kansas in 1856," published in Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 521, and vol. 8, p. 302, respectively.

NOTE 1.—HARTMAN LICHTENHAN, of McDowell's creek, Geary county, visited the Historical rooms in May, 1903, and gave these reminiscences.

Reminiscences of Hartman Lichtenhan.

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were returned to their hunting-grounds on the South Platte. General Harney lost in the fight in which he captured these Indians only thirty-two men, while he killed 300 men, women, and children. He was the best Indian fighter the United States ever had. He was in for demolishing them, and had no earthly mercy for them.²

When we came to Fort Riley, in September, 1855, there were only the First and Second dragoons and the mounted rifles. The dragoon was a horse soldier, responsible for his animal. The rifles took the horses of the post where they happened to be for temporary use. On our way to Fort Riley we crossed the Neosho at Council Grove. There seemed to be only a few buildings there then—a blacksmith shop, grocery, and the post-office, and perhaps four or five other shanties. The Indians were right in around the town, and had the smallpox. We did not know of the epidemic, and camped right down in the midst of them and stayed all night, and although there were fatal cases among the Indians none of us caught the infection.

Philip St. George Cooke was our colonel, and Patrick Calhoun our captain. Henry H. Sibley, afterwards in the Confederate service, was our major. Robert Henderson, who died January 6, 1906, R. E. Laurenson, E. S. McFarland, and Patrick King, who settled in Geary county, were also members of the same company. Henderson and Laurenson each served as county treasurer of Geary county, and also as postmaster of Junction City. For eighteen months steady we were in the settlements, at Lecompton, Lawrence, Topeka, Hickory Point, etc. Whenever the two parties, free-state and pro-slavery, got together, they had a spat, and we got in between and stopped it.

We were staying at Lecompton at the time of the Hickory Point fight, in Jefferson county. A guard of eighteen men was sent out from Lecompton in advance of the main troop. When about eight miles out we saw a young man leading a horse out from a hay stable. He sprang on the horse and urged it into a run. The guard ordered him to halt; instead of halting he fired his revolver and hit the shoulder of one of our men. The members of the guard immediately returned the fire, and he fell with seventeen bullets in his body. We then went on, leaving him alone with two men. for the main command to come up. He was then put into an army wagon. The news reached Lawrence before long, and his friends claimed his body. He was evidently bearing news of our coming to the disturbers of the peace at Hickory Point.

We soldiers for eighteen months were kept in hot water chasing after the free-state or pro-slavery men. We would lie down on the prairie at night wrapped up in our blankets to sleep. Probably about eleven o'clock the guard would come to us and whisper: "Come, get up, mount your horses. See, there is a fire off there on the horizon to the right." Perhaps there would be another off on the left. We would gallop toward the fires, but the attacking party would hear our horses approach and slip off in different directions, and no one would be there when we arrived.

NOTE 2.—This battle, between the command of Gen. W. S. Harney and the Bois Brule band of the Sioux nation under Little Thunder, occurred on the 3d of September, 1855. These Indians were camped on Blue Water creek, Nebraska territory, four miles from the left bank of the North Platte. Eighty-six were killed, five wounded, about seventy women and children captured, fifty mules and ponies taken besides many killed and disabled, and practically all the camp equipage destroyed. Harney's loss was four killed, seven wounded, and one missing.—Report of General Harney, commander of the Sioux expedition; Senate Documents, 34th Cong., 1st and 2d sess., vol. 2, 1855-'56, serial number 811.



Our camp outfit was very small. We generally carried a pint or quart tin cup in which we cooked. Our meat was cooked on sticks held over the coals. We would set out with rations for a day or two, consisting of bacon and hardtack. On such duty we did not get bean soup or rice. Five crackers (a pound), one and one-fourth pounds of beef or three-fourths of a pound of bacon, made up a day's rations. At the time I joined the army the government paid the mounted soldiers eight dollars a month and infantry seven dollars. In 1854 the mounted soldiers received twelve dollars and the infantry eleven dollars. I got my discharge at Fort Leavenworth in December, 1857. I then received, besides my regular pay, an amount sufficient to pay my transportation back to Philadelphia, where I enlisted.

I, however, had decided to remain in Kansas, and came right back to McDowell's creek, Geary county, and settled on the farm I still own—section 35, township 11, range 7 east, eighty acres. This I bought of the government, direct, for one dollar an acre, although the regular price was \$1.25 per acre. I had bought up an old land-warrant at a reduced price, good for eighty acres.

When I came back from the Salt Lake trip I stopped in Leavenworth, and met an old friend I had known at Fort Riley, a tailor. He asked me if I had married. Finding I was still single, he told me he knew of a young woman he thought would make a good wife. I said: "Let's go and see her." But he said: "No, I can't." I said: "What's the use of your proposing a thing and backing out immediately." He explained that he had nearly finished a suit of clothing, which he must deliver before he quit work. I offered to see to its delivery, and then we set out to see the girl. This was on Wednesday. I felt satisfied with my visit, and when I bid her good-by she told my friend that we must call again. I thanked her and said I would. On Saturday I went back to see her, but did not take my friend. I asked her, if the weather was good, would she drive up with me to Fort Leavenworth on Sunday? When I went for her she said there was such good walking that she would prefer to go that way. I had friends at the fort, where we got dinner. About five o'clock she said she must go back, as she was expected to get supper for her parents. Hacks ran between the fort and the city, and we took one of them. Luckily there was no one in the hack but the driver and ourselves. We were within a mile of Leavenworth when I bursted out: "Now," said I, "I am living on a farm by myself, and I want to get a wife. Will you marry me?" She said our acquaintance had been short. I gave her a week to study over me, and told her she could make inquiry of the officers at the fort regarding my character, etc., for they had known me for years. We parted that evening and I went back on Wednesday. On the following Sunday I went back again, and I said: "How is it? Have you studied my question? Spit it out, let it be good or bad; but I don't want it to be No." She was willing to marry me. I called on the bishop (Bishop Miège) to see about our marriage, for I was in a hurry to have it done at once. He told me we would have to wait until it was spoken three times in church. I went back to my farm, but on the third Sunday I was on hand, and we got married. We lived together thirty-six

NOTE 3.—Evidently Mr. Lichtenhan was a member of the escort of Second dragoons which accompanied Col. Albert S. Johnston on the Utah expedition of 1857.—Senate Documents, 35th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 3, 1857-'58, p. 21, serial number 920; also mentioned by Percival G. Lowe in his "Five Years a Dragoon," 1905, p. 294.

years and raised a family of seven children, all living, all married, and all doing well. My children are:

1. Charles Lichtenhan.
2. Ellie, Mrs. William Asmussen, Wamego.
3. Elizabeth, Mrs. John Hansen, Wamego.
4. Kate, Mrs. Pat Shean, Kansas City.
5. Mary, Mrs. James Mung, Topeka.
6. Frank Lichtenhan, Junction City.
7. John Lichtenhan, on the McDowell Creek farm.

My marriage was in February, 1858, and my wife's name, Kate Foster. During the year 1860 not a drop of rain fell from the 15th day of May until the following January. Nothing was raised, and in consequence provisions were very high. I freighted all summer from Leavenworth and Kansas City to the towns in the western part of the territory. In the fall I came home and asked my wife to take a trip with me to Iowa, where I could get flour at a low price for the winter supply. She said: "You must know that it is late in the season, and that Iowa is a cold country; we might be caught in the cold. A little longer absence from you will not make much difference, for you have been gone all summer, anyway." So, in three days, I started alone with my wagon and two yoke of oxen for Osceola, Iowa. I bought 2500 pounds of flour. For the best I paid \$2.25 a hundred-weight, and some I paid \$2 for. On my way back I came through St. Joseph, Mo., and started to sell some of my flour at Kansas prices. The \$2.25 flour I sold for \$9 per hundred, and the \$2 flour for \$8. I reached home with 1200 pounds. My wife saw me coming, and, with our baby on her arm, came three-fourths of a mile to meet me. Her first words were: "How are you, boy?" I thanked her, and said: "How are you, ma, and how is the baby?" She answered and said: "We are all right, but did you bring any flour?" I told her I had a little, and we drove on till we came to the house. I slipped the yokes off of the cattle and let them go to grass. She started supper, and I took off my traveling clothes and laid my money-bag on the table. She saw it was pretty well stuffed. She took the bag and counted the money, and said: "Boy, you can't have much flour, if any, for you have five dollars more than when you started, and how could you get flour without any money?" I told her I did not steal it, nor the money with which it was bought, and that she should have the story in time. After supper I told her to set the baby on the dirt floor (there were no carpeted floors in Kansas at that time). I asked her to come out and climb in the wagon and hand out to me the sacks as I carried them to the house. But she was anxious to know how I got it, and, not to worry her longer, I told her that when I got below St. Joseph I began selling it at the prices named above. She asked me if I had the cheek to ask those poor people like us to pay nine dollars a hundred. I told her my conscience was just as good as the merchants'.

While in Texas 200 of us dragoons and 500 Texas rangers, soldiers belonging to the state of Texas, were ordered up on the Red river, on the border of Texas. We were caught in the snow, and suffered great hardship. Our captain, Patrick Calhoun, was in command of the expedition. After our return to Kansas he went to Washington on a furlough given him on account of illness from exposure on that expedition, I think, and finally



died in the East. While in Washington he made application for land-warrants for the soldiers who were with him on that expedition, in acknowledgment of our sufferings and good behavior. I think he died before they were obtained; at least, we soldiers did not learn of the granting of the warrants until about sixteen years ago, and then through a guard in the post-office in Washington. I obtained mine, for 160 acres of land, and sold it for as many dollars to a young man, as I did not wish to go to another state to locate.

WESTPORT AND THE SANTA FE TRADE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by WILLIAM R. BERNARD.

WILLIAM R. BERNARD, the author of this sketch, was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, December 8, 1823. He was descended from English and Huguenot families. In 1839, when but sixteen years of age, he removed with his father's family to Callaway county, Missouri, and began work upon a farm; afterwards went to the Lake Superior country to prospect for copper; and then, like the true Western man he had become, went to Galena, Ill., and looked in at the lead-mines; from this place to Dubuque, Iowa. About the first of the year 1846, he was appointed a United States geologist for the northern peninsula of Michigan, and entered at once upon his duties. Towards the close of the year 1847 the corps of which he was a member was called to the southeast and southwest of Missouri for scientific purposes,¹ and about the end of the year 1848 the corps was ordered to California for examination of the geological formation of that country. Having a sister in Westport, Mrs. J. G. Hamilton, he obtained a leave of absence to visit her before starting on his journey to the Pacific slope. He reached Westport Christmas, 1847, and so well was he pleased with the location that he resigned his appointment, and decided at once to become a citizen of Missouri and embark in the Indian trade.

At the time he arrived at Westport the business houses of that village were, for the most part, located on a little stream that flows southeasterly through that town, crossing the present Westport avenue at what is known as Mill street. Since the period before named there had been a mill at the northwest corner of Mill street and Westport avenue. There were a number of excellent springs along the bank of this rivulet; hence the settlement. The first tavern located in the town was on this little stream, at or near the junction of Mill street, and on the north side of Westport avenue. This hostelry was the gathering place for hunters, trappers, traders, Indians, and soldiers; it was kept at that time by one Daniel Yocum. While upon this subject, it might be stated that the second tavern opened in the town was an establishment by A. B. H. McGee, at the present site of the Harris House, at the northeast corner of Westport avenue and Penn streets. John Harris succeeded McGee in this property in 1847, and conducted a hotel there until about 1861.

It is a well-established historical fact that in the year 1843 there assembled at Westport a number of men giving out that they were going to

NOTE 1.—Report of Chas. T. Jackson, United States geologist for the survey of the mineral lands of the United States in Michigan.—Ho. Ex. Doc. No. 5, 31st Cong., 1st sess., serial number 571.

the borders of Texas to fight Mexicans. The rendezvous of this party was the Yocum tavern, and after completing their preparations they departed westward on the Santa Fe trail. Word had reached the borders of Missouri that Don Antonio José Chavez, a rich Mexican, was on his way to the Missouri river, at Independence, to trade, and these men had determined to meet and rob him. They came upon Chavez in camp on the banks of a little stream generally known as Little Arkansas river, in the present state of Kansas, killing him and robbing his train. It is said that they got in booty, among other things, \$34,000² in Mexican silver, and started on their return to the Missouri with the booty. As the news had preceded Chavez that he was on his way to the Missouri with a great amount of money, so the information of the crime committed by these men preceded them on their return. They were met by a body of Jackson county citizens, near Council Grove, Kan., among whom was Geo. Buchanon, sheriff of Jackson county, and some ten of their number captured and a part of the money taken from Chavez was recovered. It might be added that some of the party escaped, by reason of having left the main body. The crime having been committed in the Indian territory and not within the jurisdiction of Missouri, the robbers were turned over to the United States authorities and tried in St. Louis; three were hung and others received various prison sentences.

There was some foundation for the report that they were going to the upper Arkansas to fight Mexicans. It will be remembered that the territory of Texas then extended across what is now Colorado into Wyoming. Its eastern borders extended from the Red river due north to the south bank of the Arkansas, about opposite Dodge City, Kan., thence up the river to a point where it crossed the Santa Fe trail, not a great distance from the city of Las Animas, Colo., and caravans loading at Independence for Santa Fe and beyond must perforce pass through territory claimed by both Texas and Mexico. The United States government, to protect caravans from attack by the Texas people, would send United States soldiers to escort caravans to the Texas boundary, there to be met by troops from New Mexico, who would protect them from that point. In the year 1843 the annual caravans from Independence were larger than usual, and were escorted by Capt. Philip St. George Cooke, who afterwards became a distinguished officer in the civil war, with four companies of dragoons, numbering about 200 men. A body of Texans under the command of Col. Jacob Snively was awaiting the caravans just inside the United States boundary, on the upper Arkansas. These parties being upon United States soil, Captain Cooke promptly disarmed them and brought about forty of their number back to the States.³ The traders were unharmed this year.

NOTE 2.—Historical Sketches of New Mexico, by L. Bradford Prince, 1883, p. 282, says there was but \$10,000 or \$12,000 worth of specie and bullion taken from Chavez.

NOTE 3.—[The following account of this affair, written by the principal actor, Gen. Philip St. George Cooke, was printed in the *Army and Navy Journal* in the summer of 1882, entitled "A Day's Work of a Captain of Dragoons." Under date of May 25, 1882, General Cooke wrote Judge Franklin G. Adams: "I expect to see very soon—I am not sure whether in the *North American Review* or the *Army and Navy Journal*—a 'bit of history' from an old official journal of mine. It is the capture of the Texans, in 1843, which has always been kept in the shade." The location of this affair was on the Arkansas river, about seven or eight miles east of Dodge City.]

In the year 1843 the territory west of 100 degrees west longitude and south of the river Arkansas was recognized as belonging to Mexico. There was an overland trade across it, with Santa Fe for its first objective, of sufficient importance to be that year the subject of diplomatic correspondence between the Mexican government and our own touching the point whether military escorts to the caravans should, for the effective performance of their duty, be allowed to disregard the boundaries.

I have already given the *Army and Navy Journal* an extract from the journal of the escort



of that year, relating how a buffalo bull, after being struck down by a cannon shot, made repeated charges upon the center of a column of dragoons under a hot fire, and in the melee tossed a corporal, both rider and horse, upon his horns, the man's life being probably saved by the interposition of a bulldog.

I will now give the official record of the second day after the occurrence. It has never been printed. That remote wilderness frontier was far beyond the scope of the news-gatherer of that day. There was not then a mania for news, excited and fed by the telegraph, and there were reasons then to rather discourage public notice and attention to that affair. It is singular that the scene of that international transaction was claimed to belong to three different governments. The claim of Texas was made known to our government a few months later, and appears to have been recognized as an aid in its negotiations for annexation. (I was present, two years later, when an engineer officer took observations, and made it three or four miles within our territory.)

The day's work began at sunrise, about four o'clock, and the muster and inspection was thorough work; and the record omits a magnificent buffalo chase, just after the march began, in which I indulged. I was mounted on a noble thoroughbred, which I rode all day. At one time I was in the very midst — almost in contact — of a dense mass of thousands of savage-looking animals, all at thundering speed.

"JUNE 30.— Mustered and inspected the command at six o'clock; marched at 8:10; after marching four or five miles, I suddenly came in view of three horsemen, about 1200 paces ahead, whom I concluded must be Texan spies. I forthwith sent a sergeant and six men in pursuit. He returned in fifteen or twenty minutes at full speed and reported that he followed, without gaining on them, until they joined a large force on a lake, and he had left his men in observation on the edge of a bluff. I directed him to guide us, and increasing my front to a platoon column, marched at the trot, sending orders to the baggage train to follow at the usual gait, under charge of the rear-guard. After proceeding thus for a short time, I saw the Arkansas river a mile off, and perceived a considerable force of men and horses about a fine, large grove on the opposite bank. They raised, as I approached, a white flag. I immediately sent a lieutenant with a trumpeter and flag to ford the river, instructing him to demand of their commander, if they had one, who they were, and what they did there; to give him, or any one he might send, safe conduct over and back; also to observe their numbers, the ground, etc., but more particularly whether and where the river was fordable by my command, telling him to cross and return at different places.

"While he was gone I arrived at the river shore, and called a council of all the officers. All of them answered me that they believed the Texans were in the United States, but two, who confessed themselves to be quite ignorant on the subject. I then said: 'Gentlemen, all perhaps would agree that if that force is in our territory it is my duty to disarm them; now I put you the question: With what little doubt there may be in your minds as to the fact, do you advise me, or not, to disarm these men, forcibly, if necessary?' Lieutenant M., Lieutenant B., Captain T. (and Lieutenant L., after his return), answered in the affirmative. Lieutenant R., who had been necessarily employed in preparing fuses for the shells, came to the council as the vote was about to be taken. He declined the responsibility of advising or voting. Captain M. preferred, before answering, to see their commanding officer. Lieutenant L. at that moment returned, and brought with him Colonel Snively and his aide (Mr. Spencer, son of the secretary of war). I then said to Colonel Snively: 'It is in my belief that your party is in the United States; have you a commission? What force have you? And what is your business here?' He replied that he commanded a Texan volunteer force of 107 men, and believed them to be in Texas. He then produced as his commission the following document, which I read aloud to the officers, who were all around me:

"DEPARTMENT OF WAR AND MARINE,
WASHINGTON (T.), 16th February, 1843.

"To Col. Jacob Snively:

"SIR—Your communication of the 25th ult., soliciting permission from the government to organize and fit out an expedition for the purpose of intercepting and capturing the property of the Mexican traders who may pass through the territory of the republic to and from Santa Fe, etc., has been received and laid before his excellency, the president, and he, after a careful consideration of the subject, directs that such be granted you upon the terms and conditions therein expressed, that is to say:

"You are hereby authorized to organize such a force, not exceeding 300 men, as you may deem necessary to the achievement of the object proposed. The expedition will be strictly partisan; the troops to compose the corps to mount, equip and provision themselves at their own expense; and one-half of all the spoils taken in honorable warfare to belong to the republic; and the government to be at no expense whatever on account of the expedition.

"The force may operate in any portion of the territory of the republic above the line of settlements and between the Rio del Norte and the boundary line of the United States, but will be careful not to infringe upon the territory of that government.

"As the object of the expedition is to retaliate and make reclamation for injuries sustained by Texan citizens, the merchandise and all other property of all Mexican citizens will be lawful prize; and such as may be captured will be brought in to Red River, one-half of which will be deposited in the custom-house of that district, subject to the order of the government, and the other half will belong to the captors, to be equally divided between the officers and men; an agent will be appointed to assist in the division.

"The result of the campaign will be reported to the department upon the disbandment of the force, and also its progress from time to time, if practicable.

By order of the president, M. E. HAMILTON,
Acting Secretary of War and Marine.

"I then, after some conversation, told Lieutenant R. to entertain the gentleman, and called aside the other officers, and, after some remarks, I again put the question: 'Shall I, or shall I not, disarm these men, doing it by bloodshed, if they make it necessary?' (At the same time said that I should not consider myself bound by their advice or vote.) Lieutenant L. and Captain T. responded, 'Yes.' Lieutenants M. and B. and Captain M., 'No.' There was a short pause. 'I had been in the country before; I knew that the boundary-line had not been marked by the government, and I believed it was my duty to consider that the line would prove to be on that side of the Texans where common opinion placed it, until the government should perform the duty of marking it. Besides the spies, I now saw many of their men crossing a mile or two



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below, to the south side. I believed a civilized government should scarcely acknowledge such a document, which, without an indication of the forms and customs of regular organization, outrages the rules of modern warfare, which scarcely allow the individual robbery of private property on land. I believed that most of the ruffian crew were outcast citizens of the United States. If in Mexico, these men exceeded their instructions in that they had dared to send their spies into our country to assist and enable them the more surely to assail our peaceful trade; above all, the safety and welfare of fellow citizens who were large owners in the caravan depended upon my decision. I could no longer hesitate. But my government recognizing Texas as an independent nation, I deemed it my duty to recognize this as her army.

"We then returned, and all being seated in a group upon the grass, with veteran faces for a background, addressing the Texans, I said:

"Gentlemen, your party is in the United States; the line has not been surveyed and marked, but the common judgment agrees that it strikes the river near the Caches, which you know is above this; some think it will strike as high as Chouteau's island, sixty miles above the Caches. Now the best authorities on national law agree that no power, in its warfare against another, has the right to enter a neutral's territory, there to lie in wait for its enemy, or there to refresh himself, afterward to sally out to attack his force, or his citizens, or his property; and it is the right of the neutral in such cases to disarm the intruders and send them where they please, through or out of their territory. I remember distinctly a precedent in the Polish revolution of 1830, where a large Polish force, retreating, passed the Austrian frontier, and they were disarmed and escorted on their way to another frontier. Now, there are about twenty of your men now crossing the river to the south side, and I found three on our road which I believe were sent to be spies of the movements of the caravan — a caravan of peaceful merchants of our own and a friendly state; a trade which it is our object to protect, and which you confess your determination to attack.

"Now, Colonel Shively, I demand of you that your men march across the river and lay down their arms before me. Then, as you say you are in want of provisions, I will return to you guns enough for use in hunting; and you shall have free permission also to enter our own settlements. The arms I will hold subject to the disposal of our government. I have 185 soldiers, besides officers, and two howitzers, which can throw shells into the grove you are encamped in; you are at liberty to inspect them. I wish to treat you as friends — as imprudent friends; my course is legal; it will be no dishonor to surrender; you should do it at the demand of a civil magistrate; I should make the same demand if I had but ten men; but, of course, I can make no child's work of it. Go over to your men, who, you say, you are in doubt that they will obey you, and I will give you an hour to begin crossing; if any leave the grove in an opposite direction I shall instantly open fire with the howitzers, and thus drive you from the woods and attack you upon the plain.

"Snively and his aide then offered various arguments in deprecation of my course; among others that, by national law, a power had the right to 'pursue an enemy twenty miles into a neutral's territory'; that they had seen lately 2000 or 3000 Indians, whom they feared, etc. They made also several propositions, evidently, I thought, with a design to get their men out of my power, or to gain an advantage; one was that I should send an officer over with them, to see their almost starving condition, and to satisfy himself that a party of seventy-five men, becoming discontented, had departed three days before for Texas. Snively said he had given them an order to save them from being treated as banditti.

"They said they had attacked 100 Mexicans ten days before, fifteen or twenty miles west of the Caches; had killed eighteen and wounded eighteen, taking the rest prisoners, whom he had liberated, giving them twenty muskets; that he was about returning to Texas, having become convinced that the caravan had returned. He admitted that their spies had gone with Mr. Brent's party to Walnut creek, about seventy-five miles northeast of this point.

"I had taken it for granted that his men could, and would, ford the river directly across to my front, where Lieutenant L. had first crossed, but I now learned that he swam his horses, and that these officers were now going to a point near a mile below, where Lieutenant L. had returned with them. This made another disposition advisable, and I proposed to Snively that I march my force back with him. To this he and his friend cheerfully assented; they seemed pleased with it. Accordingly I marched down-stream several hundred paces. It was blowing a gale up-stream and the muddy water was very rough. I sent in a horseman and from the depth and quicksand he was immediately submerged, and with difficulty extricated. Then I marched further — so far that I thought I was losing control of the occasion. The howitzer boxes were water-tight. Halting for two minutes, the edge of the low, vertical bank was spaded off. Then, commanding forward, I gave spur, and my horse leaped in. I was closely followed, but all spread out, avoiding holes and quicksands encountered. It was 300 paces to cross, but it was safely accomplished. I then marched up the bottom, perhaps out of rifle shot both of the grove and the sand-hills. There was stir and excitement in the grove. Their horses were by this time saddled, but my line was formed, facing the bivouac at about 150 paces, the little battery unlimbered, slow-matches lit.

"Colonel Snively had put forward his aide to address the men and induce them to submit. They were paraded, and I waited possibly half an hour, Snively remaining with me from choice. I then commanded him to go and to send his men immediately to lay down their arms fifty paces in front of my line. He said he would do so, 'and, if alive, would return to me — he would have nothing more to do with them.' They soon began to comply, Captain T.'s troops having been advanced to receive the arms, and some dismounted men were sent to put them in an empty wagon which I had ordered to follow. There was an interruption. The aide was addressing them with much excitement. I rode forward, sending a platoon to their rear to search for arms in the grove. Captain T.'s sabers were gleaming in the sunshine. My men afoot quietly took the arms of those nearest, discharged them, and placed them in the wagon.

"The Texans then made a clamor, claiming to be treated as prisoners. I told them I would not consider them as prisoners; that they must address me through their officers, if they had any, with whom I would arrange their treatment; they also demanded to be escorted and protected to our settlements.

"There were individual attempts to slip off up the river-bank and to the hills. I had these men seized, and placed a picket-guard on the hills in rear. A man had been murdered, they said, just before my arrival, and Snively remarked: 'He must keep guns enough to shoot the fellow



In 1848, Mr. Bernard entered into a partnership with Col. A. G. Boone, under the firm name of Boone & Bernard. The place of business of this firm was on the north side of Westport avenue, second door west from Penn street; they also had a warehouse on the river, at the foot of the present Grand avenue. The firm prospered greatly. In 1848 gold was discovered at Sutter's mill in California, and the tide of emigration and gold-seekers to that country was immense. Large bodies of people from this country and from many of the countries of the globe landed from Missouri river steamers at Kansas City, and made their way to Westport to outfit and organize. Cattle, mules, horses, wagons, harness and everything pertaining to travel were in great demand. Westport was a market for the whole country, and droves of horses, mules and oxen were brought there from every part of the state and from many states for sale, and were disposed of. This entire outfitting business was cash trade, and money was plentiful. The prairies south of the town and beyond the present Wornall and Ward farms were covered with tents and wagons, and appeared like the camp of a great army. These parties made themselves up into trains, as they were termed; some employed mules for transportation purposes, some oxen, others horses, and not a few strong-spirited men loaded a few supplies into a cart drawn by a single mule, and walked beside it.

this evening.' I now marched back, crossing the river at the same places, and camped opposite the grove, at 3:30 o'clock.

At the moment in which I first marched to cross the river I sent an expressman on my trail to meet the caravan, and tell them I was about to disarm some hundred Texans; that they had reported a large party had left the country, and that I did not believe it, and to be on their guard. On my return I met my messenger, who reported the caravan two miles off. I sent him again with a note, written on horseback, announcing the result, and that I should camp here. Soon after, having left the main road, they came and formed near me their corral.

Now, a Texan came to me, nearly exhausted from swimming the river, with a message that the Mexicans were in sight, about to attack them. I wrote a brief note to Snively, and sent it by a horseman, telling him if it were true to cross the river below me and he should be protected. As there was much stir and confusion around my camp, I sounded to horse, and the squadrons were soon in the saddle and on their assembly grounds. Soon after a message came that the rumor of Mexicans was false.

"Afterwards came a note, of which the following is a copy:

"Captain C.: DEAR SIR—The man who was wounded when I visited your camp is expiring; it is impossible to move him at present. If you could send a company to guard us this night I would consider myself under many obligations. Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant, J. SNIVELY."

"I returned answer that I believed there was no danger, and would not send men; if there was danger, to come over, leaving the man and the attendant hid in the woods.

"Now a committee of the caravan called to discuss matters; a principal man said that I ought to have slaughtered them all." They seemed at first discontented that the Texans should be free. It has been ascertained that they had lied about the party who had left; it was only yesterday. The committee left me after dark, apparently well pleased.

"And now this most laborious record having made out, the eighteenth hour of excitement and labor, I lie down to rest with a comfortable feeling that important duties, much beyond the usual range of my low rank, have been faithfully, rightfully and successfully performed."

And so ended the day's work.

About half the disarmed were escorted to Missouri; the others chose to return to Texas; and it was reported a number of them lost their lives.

They and their friends were very revengeful, and for many years disposed to make the dragoon commander, and even his friends, the subjects of a Texan vendetta; nine years after he was in Texas exposed to plots and attempts of assassination; and, as afterwards informed, when he left, was followed as far as New Orleans.

But only five years after, returning from Mexico, an unknown gentleman 'of Texas' sent him his card to his hotel room in New Orleans; and this supposed enemy was ordered to be shown up.

Great was the writer's surprise when the stranger advanced, hands extended, with the greeting: "I have for years looked out for this opportunity to shake you by the hand and thank you for causing my release from a Mexican dungeon."

In brief, he had been an officer of our army; but it was his fate to join a Quixotic party who made a revolutionary invasion of Mexico and penetrated as far as Mier, in Tamaulipas. He was one of the Mier prisoners, who suffered a long and grievous imprisonment in the fortress of Perote. Our minister to Mexico, Waddy Thompson, had repeatedly interceded in their behalf, but in vain. Finally, news of the saving of the caravan, and especially the capture of the Texans, got to the city of Mexico. Our minister was furnished with some answer to Mexican reproaches; he felt encouraged to make a last appeal; he found President Santa Anna in the best disposition, and the release of the prisoners was readily granted. Santa Anna declared that the day's work "was the first act of good faith ever shown by the United States to Mexico."

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In 1848 Boone & Bernard began an effort to draw Mexican trade to Westport;⁴ before that time it had all gone to Independence. Nature did much to turn the trade to Kansas City. The eastern border of the plains, so called, on the great line of travel, was the little town of New Santa Fe, in the southwestern part of Jackson county. It was twenty miles from this point to Independence, and to Westport much less. By the Independence route the Big Blue river had to be crossed, and this was often high in the spring of the year; consequently much time was lost in passing it. The road to Kansas City led over the high ridge that divided the waters that on the one hand flowed toward the Blue and on the other toward Turkey creek. A little later than this, the definite time Mr. Bernard cannot recollect, a rich Mexican trader, Don Chavez, a brother to him who had been murdered, was on his way to the Missouri river to trade, his destination being Independence; he was fearful of robbers and, fortunately for the Westport trade, fell in with the noted scout and guide, F. X. Aubrey, who was also on his way to the Missouri. Aubrey and Bernard were friends, and he advised Chavez to come direct to the house of Boone & Bernard, at Westport, and offered to protect him to that point. Chavez did as he was advised, and brought with him \$100,000 in Mexican silver. This money was conveyed in bags of rawhide. The money had been sewed up in the bags while the hides were green, so when the skins were dry the money was firmly secured.

Silver at this time was worth a premium in New York, but Chavez had been so worried in reaching the Missouri that he told Mr. Bernard that if he would get him the face value in New York he was welcome to the premium. There was no express at that time from Westport to St. Louis, and Colonel Boone advised against taking the money on account of the difficulty in disposing of it. Mr. Bernard, with Western energy and enterprise, accepted the money, and invited James Winchester, afterwards of the firm of Winchester & Piper, one of the great houses of Westport, to go with him. Mr. Winchester, ever ready for adventure, accepted the invitation. So the two loaded the money into a wagon at Westport, transported it to Kansas City, carried it on board a steamer, and guarded it night and day until St. Louis was reached and the amount forwarded in exchange to New York. This was probably in the spring of 1849. Mr. Bernard says that this transaction with Chavez, more than any other, brought the Mexican trade to Westport and Kansas City, and for this he gives F. X. Aubrey the credit. When it became known to Mexican traders that Mexican firms could meet all their requirements here, that fact, together with the advantage of a natural route, carried the trade to Westport, to the injury of Independence. Within five or six years after Don Chavez's visit to Westport, the trade of that place had grown to enormous proportions. Wagon-trains by the hundred came to and left Westport during the year.

Westport became a great outfitting station. Manufactures of every kind relating to transportation sprang up. Wagons were constructed on a great scale. Harness, saddles, tents, wagon-covers, were made and sold in great quantities. Two or more firms were wholly engaged in the making of yokes and bows. The trade in guns and gun furnishings was extensive. What is now Westport avenue was lined with outfitting houses from a point east of

NOTE 4.—History of Jackson County, Missouri, 1881, p. 351.



Broadway to Mill street, and on Penn street from Fortieth to Forty-second streets. So great did this idea of manufacturing take hold of the minds of the Westport people, that some time before 1855 a large factory was built on the main road leading south from Westport, at the crossing of the little stream before mentioned, for the manufacture of star candles.

Westport was the gathering-place for hunters, trappers, traders, and Indians. On its streets every type of man of the West was represented. About this time, or a little later, an unusual article of trade was in great demand, namely, strychnine, and it was imported and sold in wholesale quantities to hunters who pursued wolves for their pelts.

In 1853 Charles E. Kearney, a merchant of Santa Fe, came to Westport and became a partner of Mr. Bernard, under the firm name of Kearney & Bernard. The firm did a general outfitting business. Mr. Bernard says he had never known Mr. Kearney until he came to Westport at the time mentioned. Mr. Kearney had quite a history. At the breaking out of the Mexican war he was a member of a company of Texas rangers, commanded by Capt. Samuel H. Walker. This company was ordered to duty in Mexico, and was engaged in a number of battles in the Mexican war. Finally Captain Walker was appointed by the president captain in the Mounted Rifles, now Third United States cavalry, and Mr. Kearney went with Captain Walker. Captain Walker was killed at Huamantla, the last battle of the war between the United States and Mexico.

After serving his term of enlistment, Mr. Kearney went to Santa Fe, and thence to Westport. He was a man of military tastes, and was a member of a company in Kansas City, Mo., made up of prominent business men, known as Craig Rifles. Mr. Bernard, during the Mexican trade, was a member of several firms, and it was a notable fact that although these firms did in the aggregate a business of more than one-half million dollars, yet their entire loss did not exceed \$5000. One of these losses, amounting to \$3500, was caused by the trader owing it being killed by the Indians and his stock carried away and wagons destroyed. He does not remember now how the remaining \$1500 was lost. The traders and trappers of the period were an exceedingly honest body of men. It seemed not to occur to them to do otherwise than pay their debts when it was possible for them to do so. Almost the whole of this business was done upon a credit of from six to twelve months.

The great Western trade from Kansas City and Westport practically stopped at the beginning of the civil war. The presence of war had something to do with it, for, from its beginning to its close, the western part of Jackson county was not wholly free from raiding parties. Fort Leavenworth, Atchison and Nebraska City had become starting-points for the trade. So far as war was concerned, they were safer places for the starting of trains. During the whole period of the war both Kansas City and Westport declined as trading-points. Garrisons of soldiers were kept in each.

Mr. Bernard relates an incident of Western enterprise to this effect. In 1865 Pleasant Hill was for a time the terminus of the Pacific railroad, and a large shipment of his goods for the Western trade had reached that point. A single track had been laid on the line of the railroad, as far as the summit now known as Lee's Summit; so he made a bargain with the railroad authorities to attach five cars of his goods to a construction train carrying supplies to build a bridge across the Little Blue. There were no sidings at

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the summit; so he was compelled to load his train of sixteen wagons during a rain-storm from box cars while the flat cars carrying bridge materials had gone on to the Little Blue. This probably was the only instance of a wagon-train for the Western trade being loaded at Lee's Summit.

After the beginning of the Mexican war, government stores destined to New Mexico were required to be shipped from Fort Leavenworth. This was an inconvenient point for the freighters. The Santa Fe road, as it existed at that time from Fort Leavenworth, ran down across the hills, striking the Kansas river at what was called Toulee's⁵ (or Moses Grinter's) ferry, a short distance above the present town of Argentine. The road thence lay south and west, keeping on the west side of Turkey creek, to a point about Lenexa, Kan., where it joined the main trail from Westport. It was probably thirty-five or forty miles from Leavenworth to the point of junction, and much of the road was rough, and, besides, the Kansas river was to cross, which was often troublesome in the spring of the year. The road from Kansas City, as before stated, on leaving Westport, passed over a high ridge, and was free from any stream of magnitude for the distance of at least eighty miles, or to the present site of Burlingame, Kan. It was clear to the minds of the freighters that if the government stores for the Western trade could be disembarked from the Missouri river steamers at Kansas City, it would be much easier and cheaper for them to get out on the great highway than from Fort Leavenworth. After many efforts were made, an agreement was finally entered into with the officers of the government, permitting the United States stores for New Mexico and southward to be unloaded at Kansas City, but at the same time it was understood that the government should be at no charge for storage. For the purpose of covering and protecting this property, a large stone warehouse was built at Kansas City, at a point now in the bed of the river; and to meet the expense of this house each of the freighters who received goods there paid a certain amount; this amount was fixed on a graduated scale. One of the prime movers in bringing the government stores to Kansas City was J. S. Chick, who is still living, and Mr. Bernard gives him the chief credit for its success.

Westport was the rendezvous and outfitting station of a great number of the exploring expeditions that went into the great West prior to 1860. Captain Bonneville, who left Fort Osage, now Sibley, in this county, on the 1st of May, 1832, passed through Westport, although he makes no specific mention of it.

Fremont's first expedition was organized at the trading-house of Cyprian Chouteau, some seven miles from Westport, near the Shawnee Manual-labor School. His party was composed almost wholly of Frenchmen and Canadian Frenchmen gathered up around St. Louis. Lucien Maxwell was hunter of the party, and Christopher Carson was its guide. Fremont's second expedition was organized at Westport, in 1843, and his men were largely Canadians. In this again Lucien Maxwell was hunter, while Thomas Fitzpatrick was its guide. Later Christopher Carson joined the expedition at a point on the Fontaine Qui Bouit, and was with it to the end. It is needless to speak of the results of the expeditions of Fremont; they are known the world over, and appreciated wherever pluck and bravery are admired.

In October, 1848, Colonel Fremont resigned from the army, and deter-

NOTE 5.—John Speer spells this name *Tooley*, in volume 7 of the Historical Collections, at page 495.



mined to return to California and make it his home. As he had done on former occasions, he organized his traveling force at a point across the line, near Westport. Bernard recollects well that he was accompanied by his accomplished wife, daughter of Senator Benton. Both Colonel Fremont and his wife were guests at the Harris House, and Mrs. Fremont spent some time as a guest of Maj. Richard Cummins, Indian agent, who lived in Cass county.

This expedition started October 19, 1848, and its leader determined to pursue a course he had not traveled before, up the Arkansas or one of its branches, and across the mountains at a pass of which he had heard but had never seen. This expedition was disastrous in many respects. By the time he had reached the great mountain range winter had come, his guide became lost, one-third of his men perished, and all of his mules destroyed; with two-thirds of his men, he escaped to Taos, N. M., where, after recuperating, he pursued his journey by the southern route.

Learning that the government was desirous of exploring routes, with a view to constructing a transcontinental railway, he returned to Missouri early in 1853. It is clear that Colonel Fremont and Senator Benton were of the opinion that the great line of railway should cross the Missouri at about the mouth of the Kansas, or, more accurately speaking, at Kansas City, Mo., proceed up the valley of the Kansas 400 miles, then cross to the Arkansas and up that stream or one of its branches, and thence by routes of which he had no personal knowledge to the end of the San Joaquin valley in California. In September of that year he again organized his traveling party at Westport, and started from that point, passing up the Kansas river and thence across to the Arkansas, as before mentioned, and up that stream to the mountains. He reported an easy route along the lines of the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth degrees of north latitude. This route, however, was not adopted by the government when the Union Pacific was built, nor was it adopted by the builders of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway. It has the merit of being much shorter, but probably passed through a more mountainous region than does the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. This was Fremont's fifth and last exploring expedition.

In May, 1846, the historian, Francis Parkman, landed at what was afterwards called Wayne City, in Jackson county, but made his way to Westport to organize and outfit. This he did in the course of a few days, and started on his trip, which led to Fort Laramie, on the North Platte, thence to the Black Hills, and from there back again to Laramie, and south to Pueblo, on the upper Arkansas, and thence back to Westport, by the way of the Arkansas. He has preserved the history of this trip in a delightfully written book known as "The Oregon Trail." He mentions the names of Col. Wm. Chick, the father of our citizen, Joseph S. Chick, and Louis Vogle.

Parkman gives this description of Westport in 1846: "Westport was full of Indians, whose little, shaggy ponies were tied by the dozen along the houses and fences. Sacs and Foxes with shaved heads and painted faces; Shawnoes and Delawares fluttering in calico frocs and turbans; Wyandottes dressed like white men; and a few wretched Kansas wrapped in old blankets were strolling about the streets or lounging in and out of the shops and houses." He also says: "Whisky, by the way, circulates more freely in Westport than is altogether safe in a place where every man carries a loaded pistol in his pocket."

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At a later date Mr. Bernard knew both Maxwell and Carson well. Maxwell was a thrifty man and became immensely rich, receiving a large grant from the Mexican government. Maxwell's ranch, at the head waters of the Canadian, became a great source of litigation in the courts of the United States after his death.

In the year 1853 the government determined to survey three routes from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean, with a view of constructing a railroad line. The first of these expeditions was to start from St. Paul and terminate at Puget Sound; the third from Fort Napoleon, at the mouth of the Arkansas, or more correctly from Fort Smith, on the western border of the state of Arkansas; while the second, under the command of Capt. John W. Gunnison, United States topographical engineers, rendezvoused at Westport. Most of their outfitting was done there, and a number of trappers and hunters joined the party at that place, but Mr. Bernard at this date cannot recall their names. It is a historical fact that Captain Gunnison passed up the left bank of the Kansas river; visited Fort Riley; crossed there the Republican fork; and thence in a southwesterly direction crossed the other branches constituting the Kansas river, proceeding until he reached the Arkansas, at the vicinity of the present town of Larned; thence up the Arkansas, through the Royal Gorge, and out into Utah. He was there murdered by Indians, but the expedition went on under the command of another officer, Lieut. E. G. Beckwith, who discovered a better route up the Huerfano. Much of the route⁶ marked out by Captain Gunnison has since been followed by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad. This road follows the Kansas on its right bank to Topeka, thence in a southwesterly direction, striking the Arkansas valley at Hutchinson, and passing through Great Bend, at about the point selected by Captain Gunnison. A river and county in Colorado bear the name of Gunnison, in memory of the intrepid explorer. The Gunnison country was famous as a mining region for a time.

Mr. Bernard knew Capt. E. F. Beale⁷, and remembers his expedition, which left Westport in May, 1853. He had a party of twelve riflemen. They went to Council Grove first, then up the Arkansas, then to the mouth of the Huerfano, thence to the San Luis valley, and from that point on to the Pacific coast.

Mr. Bernard was well acquainted with F. X. Aubrey, and had many business transactions with him. He was an honest, simple-minded man, true to friends, but ever ready to resent any imputation against his honor. Aubrey was the first man to take a loaded train from the Missouri river to New Mexico in winter. He was the discoverer of a third route to Santa Fe, about 1849-'50. Before this there were but two, namely, that by way of the Cimarron, and the other by way of the mountains, which was at a later date followed by the Santa Fe railroad. Aubrey's route crossed the Arkansas river below the mouth of the Big Sandy, not far from Big Timbers. The greatest distance without water on this route was thirty miles, while on the Cimarron road the greatest distance without water was sixty miles;

NOTE 6.—Report of the Secretary of War Communicating the Several Pacific Railroad Explorations, vol. 2, p. 14, Washington, 1855.

NOTE 7.—Central Route to the Pacific; Journal of the Expedition of E. F. Beale and G. H. Heap, from Missouri to California, 1853, Philadelphia, 1854.

however, for various reasons the Aubrey road was not generally used. As has been often written and told, Aubrey was killed at Santa Fe, by Maj. Richard H. Weightman. Mr. Bernard's account of this tragedy was furnished by an eye-witness, and is as follows: Prior to Aubrey's trip to California, Captain Weightman had been conducting a small paper at Santa Fe, and through its columns had cast some doubt upon the discovery of the new pass through the mountains to California claimed by Aubrey. Some time thereafter Aubrey returned to Santa Fe, and meeting Captain Weightman the two adjourned to a neighboring saloon, in accordance with the custom of the time. Both men called for brandy. Aubrey raised his glass to his lips, and then putting it down said: "What has become of your paper?" Weightman answered: "Dead." "What killed it?" asked the other. "Lack of support," was the answer. "The lie it told on me killed it," said Aubrey. Without a word Weightman threw a glass of brandy into his opponent's face, and, while blinded by its effects, stabbed him to death.⁸

Mr. Bernard also knew Major Weightman, who, after the above tragedy, returned to Missouri. In speaking of the matter once, Major Weightman told Mr. Bernard that he saw that Aubrey was angry, and was drawing his pistol, and that one or the other must be killed, and that he only struck to save his own life. Mr. Bernard has no doubt that the reason given was both true and a good one.

At that period, and among such men, the accusation of lying was followed by a blow, frequently mortal. Major Weightman was an artillery officer during the Mexican war, and accompanied General Kearney's expedition from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe in 1846. He then went with Doniphan's expedition, from the last-named place to Chihuahua. He greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Sacramento Pass.

When the civil war began he entered the Confederate army. At the battle of Wilson Creek, August 10, 1861, as colonel in the Missouri State Guard, he commanded a brigade of Missouri infantry, and distinguished himself by boldly seizing an advantageous position in advance of the Confederate lines. The recent Senator F. M. Cockrell commanded a company in this brigade. Colonel Weightman was killed at about the time General Lyon, commander of the federal forces, fell. Mr. Bernard has no doubt that he would have taken high rank had he survived.

Mr. Bernard tells this story: On one occasion William Wing Loring, colonel of the United States Mounted Rifles, now Third cavalry, was passing through Westport and left his kit with Kearney & Bernard for safe-keeping. After some time it was placed in the basement of the store building, where it remained until the last year of the civil war, and was finally found by some federal soldiers, who were exploring the premises without leave of the owner. They at once took possession of the contents, which consisted of one or two sabers, shoulder-straps, some moth-eaten uniforms, and a liquor case well filled. The liquors were pronounced excellent by those who confiscated them, some of whom celebrated the occasion. Colonel Loring was at that time a brigadier-general in the Confederate army. Mr. Bernard knew him well, and, as was usually the case with officers of that period, a gentleman of the highest type. After the civil war, General Loring entered the service of the khedive of Egypt, and distinguished himself on the battle-

NOTE 8.—This account of the killing of Aubrey agrees substantially with that given by F. A. Root in "The Overland Stage to California," p. 425.

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fields of the oldest country in the world, as he had done in those of the states and Mexico.

Mr. Bernard, in his dealing with the government, came in contact with many officers who became distinguished afterwards in the civil war. Among them were Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, Col. E. V. Sumner, and Maj. David E. Hunter. Major Hunter had a brother-in-law living in Westport and often visited him. He also knew well Lieut. J. E. B. Stuart, First cavalry, who afterwards became famous as a Confederate cavalry leader. He also knew his family in Virginia. He remembers with pleasure the profound respect the freighters, traders and hunters had for the officers of the army, and recalls the courtesy shown and prompt protection afforded by the officers on their part. On the plains and at the outlying posts the officer in command deemed himself the representative of the government, and did not fail to do all that was required to protect its property and the lives and property of its citizens. He was not bound in red tape, but acted with promptness and decision.

Mr. Bernard enjoyed the intimate acquaintance of Thomas H. Benton, who often visited Westport, and every one knew the prominent idea in Senator Benton's mind was a railway to the Pacific coast. He argued and spoke for it in and out of season. When at Westport he usually was the guest of Col. A. G. Boone. Mr. Bernard remembers once being in St. Louis and hearing Senator Benton speak from the court-house steps in favor of a railroad to the Pacific coast. The crowd listened to him with respect, though incredulous as to the practicability of building a road through the Rocky Mountains. In the course of the speech some one called out: "How will you get through the mountains?" Senator Benton replied: "It is an almost level road from Westport to the Rocky Mountains, a distance of about 600 miles, and when we get to the mountains we will get through some way." But some one called out again: "But after you get to the mountains how will you get through?" Pointing to a liveryman in the audience, a man of large stature and well-known habits, Senator Benton said: "When we get to the mountains, if we cannot get through any other way, we will get Bob O'Brien to swear a hole through." This was followed by a laugh, and ended all questions as to how the mountains should be crossed.

In that early day little use was made of banks; in fact, there were no great banks west of St. Louis. There were one or two branch banks at Independence, but these did not do business on a large scale. The merchant through whom the trader bought his goods was his factor. The factor received the goods and bought the wagons and teams—that is, he bought such as were not brought in from New Mexico, and gave attention to the loading, and to the weigh-bills and bills of lading. The factor also advanced to the trader such money as he needed until the receipts came in from his venture. These receipts came in the first instance to the factor, who paid himself for charges and advances, and turned the remainder over to the trader.

Mr. Bernard recollects that the first great shipment of goods made to Kansas City and Westport was for the firm of Messervy & Webb, New England merchants, doing business at Santa Fe, N. M. The goods were consigned to Boone & Bernard, who as factors engaged wagons and teams for transportation purposes. There were sixty-three of these wagons, each drawn by six yoke of oxen. The freight of each wagon was about 6000

pounds. In this case John F. McCauley, of Independence, furnished the transportation and loaded at Kansas City.

A sketch of Westport would be incomplete without mentioning at least some of its prominent business men. Mr. Bernard takes 1855 as the period. Among the men and firms of prominence were Kearney & Bernard, A. G. Boone, J. M. & J. Hunter, Baker & Street, William Dillon, S. P. & W. H. Keller, S. C. Roby, J. G. Hamilton, F. Gallup, Fred Eslinger, Edward Price, Henry Sager, Francis Booth, J. Bucher, Antonney Richter, and A. B. H. McGee and Louis Vogle, P. D. Elkins, father of Senator Elkins, of West Virginia, F. G. Ewing, freighter, and Coleman Smith, manufacturer of ox-yokes. H. F. Hereford and Joel B. Morris were the most prominent physicians. Park Lee was the principal lawyer in the place, and John J. Mastin was a law student. Scott & Boggs was the principal druggists, and did a large business. A. M. Eiseley had a bakery at the northeast corner of the present Mill street and Westport avenue. A bakery in those days was more important than a bakery at the present time. It was patronized by traders, trappers, hunters and Indians who had not the means or inclination to go to hotels. Eiseley became comparatively wealthy, and built a two-story stone building, which at the time was probably the best in the town. This building was afterwards burned, but Eiseley's heirs were left with much valuable property. Among those citizens who should be mentioned was W. Bent, who had a trading-house on the Arkansas about thirty-five miles above the present site of Las Animas, Colo. He was a man of great ability and established a number of forts and trading-houses at different points on the Arkansas, and south of it. The building afterwards used as a commissary, at old Fort Lyon, Colo., was built by him. This fort or post was the model of all the trading forts or posts on the plains. It was in the form of an oblong, with a gate opening on the east, and an open court within. The rooms occupied for various purposes all opened onto this court. At each corner was a tower with embrasures for artillery, generally built of sun-dried bricks. Colonel Bent's wife was a Cheyenne woman, and the couple spent most of their time at some trading-post on the plains. Their children, however, resided at about the present location of Thirty-eighth and Penn streets. The eldest son, Robert, became an excellent business man and lived for many years in New Mexico. At the beginning of the civil war, another son, George, entered the Confederate army, and was taken prisoner, but was afterwards released by an army officer who knew his father. A third son, Charles, was under the care of Bernard until about the close of the civil war, when he left for the plains, and became one of the most cruel of Indian warriors that ever scourged the Santa Fe trail. Some years later he was killed in a fight with the Kaw or Kansas Indians.

Mr. Bernard recollects that one session of the legislature of Kansas territory was held at the Shawnee Mission, a few miles west of Westport. There was ample room at the mission for the deliberations of the legislature. The individual members, for the most part, however, boarded at Westport, and went back and forth daily.

Kansas was *dry* at that time, in fact, as it is in theory now. It was Indian country then, and the government absolutely controlled the liquor traffic, as it does in the Indian Territory to-day. Therefore the mission, as a residence, was not wholly satisfactory to those who needed stimulation produced by the spirit of corn.

Explanation of Map.

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As a conclusion, Mr. Bernard subjoins the following sketch of Col. A. G. Boone: He was a grandson of Daniel Boone, the hunter and explorer, and was probably born in St. Charles county, Missouri, and was a deputy county clerk there at one time. In this office he learned much of form that was useful to him in business afterwards. He then removed to Portland, a point in Callaway county, on the Missouri river, and with his brother-in-law, Warner, entered into the tobacco business. Later he came to Fort Osage, in Jackson county, and was in the employ of Lilburn W. Boggs, once governor of the state, who kept a trading-house at this point. He was a master of the Osage language; also spoke several other Indian tongues, and was successful as an Indian trader. He came to Westport about 1838, and left at the beginning of the civil war, when he established himself at a trading-post called Boone Town, a short distance below the present city of Pueblo, Colo. He was employed by the government frequently in negotiations with the Indians. Colonel Boone, though a most successful man, probably did not accumulate a fortune. He was a most lavish entertainer, and his house was open to all traders, and was a stopping-place for people of prominence coming from and going to the great West. He was a very tall, large man; in dress, manners and habits he was a gentleman of the highest type of the old school.

EXPLANATION OF MAP.

(Opposite page 576.)

This map is the first attempt of the Historical Society to locate within county boundaries the various places and routes of importance in Kansas previous to 1854. It also includes some wagon-roads used as late as the later '60's.

Where possible the accompanying notes give exact locations. In most cases credit for authority has been omitted because of the many different sources from which it has been obtained.

After the plate for the map had been cast, attention was called to the fact that it did not show the noted points and stopping-places on the Santa Fe trail. To mend this several of the more important are located in the notes under the different counties.

The secretary will be glad to receive any information towards the perfecting of this map and notes.

ATCHISON COUNTY.

- 1.—Cow island (Isle au Vache), site of Cantonment Martin, the first military post established in what is now Kansas, in October, 1818. A part of the troops of the Yellowstone expedition wintered there in 1819-'20. (For history of the island, see index of this volume; also, vol. 8, p. 436.)
 - 2.—Mission and school of the Methodist Episcopal Church South among the Kickapoos, Rev. F. M. Williams, superintendent, 1860-'61. The building occupied by the school was situated about a mile west of the eastern boundary of the reservation, on the overland stage line, near Kennekuk. (See also, "Kickapoo Missions," this volume.)
- Atchison.—Starting-point of the overland stage to California, the Butterfield overland despatch to Denver, and the Parallel road to the Kansas gold-mines.



BARTON COUNTY.

Fort Zarah was established September 6, 1864, by Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, and named in honor of his son, Maj. H. Zarah Curtis. It was located on the left (or east) bank of Walnut creek, about one-half mile from its confluence with the Arkansas river. The fort was abandoned in December, 1869, and a few years later all the stone in the buildings had been confiscated by early settlers in that neighborhood. (See B. Smyth's "The Heart of the New Kansas," 1880, p. 82.)

Pawnee Rock, a sandstone promontory, which jugged out at a height of twenty feet or more upon the Arkansas bottoms just north of the present town of that name. The plain at its base was a popular camping-ground on the Santa Fe trail, while the face of the rock bore the names of the passing travelers. The present owner, by using this historic point as a stone-quarry, has destroyed much of its old time interest.

BOURBON COUNTY.

1.—Fort Scott, established May 30, 1842; abandoned October, 1865. T. F. Robley, in his History of Bourbon County, says that the post was practically abandoned in April, 1853. In May, 1855, the buildings, which cost in the neighborhood of \$200,000, were sold at public auction for less than \$5000 for the whole bunch.

2.—Fort Lincoln, located on the Osage river, about twelve miles north of Fort Scott. Established in 1863; abandoned in January, 1864.

Zebulon M. Pike first entered what is now Kansas, on his expedition of 1806, at a point near the northeastern corner of this county.

BROWN COUNTY.

Site of boarding-school established by the Presbyterian missionary board for the Kickapoo Indians, in 1856; continued work until June, 1860. A day-school was taught in this building from 1866 to November, 1871, at the expense of the Indian fund, when the building was dismantled for the purpose of erecting a new school building.

The Jim Lane road entered Kansas on the northern boundary of this county, 1856.

DONIPHAN COUNTY.

1.—Iowa and Sac and Fox mission, established May, 1837, under the auspices of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by Rev. Samuel M. Irvin, and located near the present town of Highland.

2.—Site of old Kaw Indian village visited by Bourgmont in 1724.

DOUGLAS COUNTY.

1.—Trading-post of Frederick Chouteau, established about 1827 or 1828; removed about 1830 to the mouth of Mission creek, Shawnee county.

2.—Methodist Episcopal mission among the Shawnee Indians, established about 1848. Site was on section 8, township 13, range 21 east, near the mouth of the Wakarusa, and was under the charge of the Rev. Abraham Still and others. Abandoned about 1857.

Explanation of Map.

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ELLIS COUNTY.

Fort Hays was established October 11, 1865, and was known as Fort Fletcher. On November 11, 1866, the name was changed to Fort Hays. Fort Fletcher was located on Big creek, about fourteen miles southeast of the present Hays City, but a flood in the spring of 1866 or 1867 utterly destroyed the post; whereupon it was reestablished by General Pope on a site about a mile west of Hays City, and on the line of the proposed Kansas Pacific railroad. Fort Hays was abandoned as a military post in 1889. During the summer of 1899 the reservation was declared open for settlement by a subordinate in the Interior Department, but the Kansas delegation in Congress, in March, 1900, succeeded in securing to the state of Kansas the land and houses for educational purposes. A branch of the State Normal School and an experiment station of the State Agricultural College are now located here.

ELLSWORTH COUNTY.

Fort Harker was established in August, 1864, as Fort Ellsworth. The original site of the fort was on the north bank of the Smoky Hill river, at the crossing of the old Santa Fe stage road, and was for a long time the shipping-point of freight for New Mexico. The name was changed to Fort Harker November 11, 1866. In January, 1867, the site of the fort was abandoned and a new one located about a mile east of the old one. Abandoned in the fall of 1873.

FORD COUNTY.

- 1.—"Fort Mann. No definite information relative to the location of this fort has been found. It appears, however, from a book entitled 'The Prairie Traveler,' written by Capt. Randolph B. Marcy, U. S. A., and published by authority of the War Department in 1859, that Fort Mann was situated near the Arkansas river, on the route from Fort Leavenworth, Kan., to Santa Fe, N. M., about 359 miles from Fort Leavenworth and about 423 miles from Santa Fe. It is understood to have been established about 1845, and to have been discontinued upon the erection of Fort Atkinson, at the train crossing of the Arkansas. Fort Mann is referred to in Niles's Register of January 1, 1848, vol. LXXIII, p. 275."—Letter from United States War Department, June 26, 1906. See, also, Fort Mackay.

"Fort Mackay, located on the site of old Fort Mann, on the Arkansas river; named after Col. A. Mackay, quartermaster's department, U. S. A." Dates of establishment and abandonment not ascertained. This was also the site of Fort Atkinson, which was established August 8, 1850.

Fort Atkinson was located on the Arkansas river about six miles west of the town of Dodge City. It was established August 8, 1850, and abandoned October 2, 1854.

- 2.—Fort Dodge was located on the north bank of the Arkansas river, about two miles east of the present town of Dodge City. It was established in 1864, and abandoned as a military post in 1882. What remained of the old military reservation, 126 $\frac{7}{10}$ acres, was purchased by citizens of Dodge City in 1889 and presented to the state of Kansas, to be used as a State Soldiers' Home, which was opened January 1, 1890.



Caches, five miles west of Dodge City, Kan., on the Santa Fe trail, were pits dug on the north bank of the Arkansas river in the spring of 1823 by James Baird and — Chambers, who were on their way to Santa Fe, N. M., with merchandise. They "cached" their goods in these pits and proceeded to Taos, N. M., where they obtained mules, and returned and took their goods to Santa Fe. (See Gregg, vol. 1, p. 67).

FRANKLIN COUNTY.

- 1.—Ottawa Baptist mission was first established in 1837 on the Marais des Cygnes river, near the present town of Ottawa, by Rev. Jotham Meeker, and continued until his death, January 11, 1854. After the flood of 1844, the mission was moved to higher ground, about five miles northeast of Ottawa.
- 2.—Sac and Fox Mission, located on the Osage river, about six miles east of the Osage and Franklin county line; established about 1860 or 1861, by Reverend Duvall, a Methodist minister; removed to Osage county some years later.—C. R. GREEN.

GEARY COUNTY.

- 1.—Fort Riley, established in the spring of 1852, by Maj. E. A. Ogden, and known as Camp Center, being very near the geographical center of the United States. Name was changed in spring of 1853 to Fort Riley, in honor of Gen. C. B. Riley.—Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 7, p. 101.
- 2.—Provinces of Quivira and Harahey, visited by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado in 1541, as located by J. V. Brower and others.

HAMILTON COUNTY.

- 1.—Fort Aubrey, established early in September, 1865, by companies D and F, Forty-eighth Wisconsin volunteer infantry, under command of Capt. Adolph Whitman, and abandoned April 15, 1866. It was located on section 23, township 24, range 40 west, at a spring, the source of Spring creek, about two and one-half miles from its confluence with the Arkansas river, and about fifty miles east of Fort Lyon, Colo., and 100 miles west from Fort Dodge, by the wagon road.

JEFFERSON COUNTY.

Trading-house of Frederick Chouteau, built at Horseshoe lake (Lake View, Douglas county, now) in fall of 1829, and abandoned in 1831.

JEWELL COUNTY.

Fort Camp Jewell, on site of Jewell City, built by the home guards, in 1870. W. D. Street was captain.

JOHNSON COUNTY

- 1.—Shawnee Mission (Methodist Episcopal Church South), established in 1829 or 1830, by Rev. Thomas Johnson. Located on the northeast quarter of southwest quarter of section 24, township 11, range 24 east.

Shawnee Manual-labor School, successor to the Shawnee Mission, 1839. Located on southwest quarter of section 3, township 12, range 25 east.

Explanation of Map.

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Shawnee church, located on north half of southeast quarter of section 11, township 12, range 24 east.

The Prophet's Town, located on northeast quarter of southwest quarter of section 32, township 11, range 25 east.

Quaker Shawnee mission, established 1834, abandoned about 1861. Located on northeast quarter of section 6, township 12, range 25 east. See, also, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 8, p. 250.

Baptist Shawnee mission, established 1831, abandoned about 1855. Located on the northeast quarter of section 5, township 12, range 25 east.

Little Santa Fe, located on the west half of section 23, township 13, range 25 east, was a noted stopping-place early in the '40's.

KEARNY COUNTY.

"Chouteau island was in the upper ford of the Arkansas river, just above the present town of Hartland, Kearny county, Kansas. The name dates from the disastrous expedition of 1815-'17, when Chouteau retreated to this island to withstand a Comanche attack." Note in Thwaites' Early Western Travels, vol. 19, p. 185.

LEAVENWORTH COUNTY.

- 1.— Site of second French fort mentioned by Bougainville, in his list, 1727, in "Northern and Western Boundaries of Ontario." Toronto, 1878. [See Bradbury's Travels. Thwaites, vol. 5, p. 67, foot-note 37.]

Also site of ancient Kaw Indian village, supposed to have been deserted on the removal of the tribe to the mouth of Independence creek, Doniphan county.

Also, site of Kickapoo Indian mission, located in the northeastern part of the county, and established by Rev. Jerome C. Berryman in fall of 1833.

- 2.— Fort Leavenworth, established in May, 1827, by Col. Henry Leavenworth, and called "Cantonment Leavenworth" until February 8, 1832, when the name was changed to Fort Leavenworth.

Camp Bateman, established in October, 1857, by a part of the Sixth United States infantry, under command of Lieut.-col. George Andrews. Abandoned May 8, 1858. It was a temporary camp, and was located at Cincinnati, near Fort Leavenworth.

Camp Thompson, established April 29, 1858, by Lieut.-col. George Andrews, of the Sixth United States infantry. Abandoned May 7, 1858. A temporary camp, located near Fort Leavenworth.

Camp Magruder, located near Fort Leavenworth; a temporary camp for recruits *en route* to Utah, during July and August, 1860, under command of Lieut.-col. Geo. B. Crittenden, mounted riflemen. The data concerning Camps Bateman, Thompson and Magruder are from a letter from United States War Department, June 26, 1906.

- 3.— Leavenworth, the starting-point of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express line; also of the Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott military road.

Maj. Robert Wilson established a trading-post in 1844 in Salt creek valley, near the Salt creek bridge. In 1852 he sold out to Maj. M. P. Rively and became sutler at Fort Riley.



A Catholic manual-labor school was established in Kickapoo township about 1834, but as the Indians did not take kindly to labor, the school was abandoned to a great extent. In 1854 one of the buildings of the school was used by the *Kansas Pioneer*, of Kickapoo City, for a printing-office.

LABETTE COUNTY.

- 1.—Hopefield mission among the Osages, established by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1823, was first located on the Neosho river, in what is now the Indian Territory, and was removed northerly at two subsequent periods, the last time to the west bank of the stream, in Labette county, near the village of old White Hair, chief of the Great Osages. This mission was discontinued in 1837.
- 2.—Village of old White Hair, chief of the Great Osages, located on the west bank of the Neosho river, about five miles south of the present town of Oswego, in Richland township, Labette county.

LINN COUNTY.

- 1.—Trading Post, established in 1834, by Girard and Chouteau. For a number of years the furs collected here amounted to \$300,000 annually—all paid for with whisky, tobacco, and trinkets.
- 2.—Sugar Creek mission (Catholic) among the Pottawatomie Indians, established in March, 1839, and abandoned in 1847. This site was near the town of Centerville, and was abandoned for the new mission site on the Kaw river, at St. Marys.

MARION COUNTY.

Lost Springs, a favorite stopping-place on the Santa Fe trail, was located on the north half of section 21, township 17, range 4 east, and was about 180 miles from Independence, Mo.

MIAMI COUNTY.

- 1.—The Miami mission was located about ten miles southeast of Paola, near the site of the old Miami village, which was on the Marais des Cygnes, on section 24, township 18, range 23 east, and was established in 1847. One of the agencies was also located at this place. The Catholics established a mission among the Miamis in 1850.
- 2.—The Baptist mission among the Weas was located a mile east of Paola, and was established by Dr. David Lykins about 1840, and was in successful operation for many years.
- 3.—The Methodists established a mission among the Pottawatomies in 1837. It was located upon the site of the town of Osawatomie, and abandoned when the Pottawatomies moved north in 1847-'48.

MORRIS COUNTY.

- 1.—Council Grove, the principal stopping-place on the Santa Fe trail in Kansas, mentioned as early as 1820. A treaty was made here, August 10, 1825, between the Osage Indians and Benjamin H. Reeves, Geo. C. Sibley, and Thomas Mather, commissioners for the United States for the purpose of securing the right of way for a road from the western frontier of Missouri to the confines of New Mexico.
- Kaw Indian mission school, under the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, from 1850 to 1854. (See page 231, this volume.)

Explanation of Map.

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Rock Creek crossing was situated about the middle of section 12, township 16, range 9, where the trail crossed Rock creek, the Kaw Indian name of which stream was Ne-ko-its-ah-ba, meaning "Dead Men's creek." Some time in the early nineteenth century a great Indian battle was waged along the valley of this stream between the border tribes on one side and the plains tribes on the other. The latter-day Indians, seeing so many bones along the creek and evidences of the fight, gave the above name. This crossing was a good camping- and watering-place, with wood for fuel. A. I. Baker settled there in 1853. On the night of July 3, 1862, Baker and his brother-in-law, George Segur, were killed by the Anderson gang.—GEO. P. MOREHOUSE.

Big John creek and springs, 140 miles and 55 chains from Fort Osage, on the Missouri river, and on the Santa Fe trail, was one of the fine camping-grounds. Here were two fine springs, one known as Big John spring and the other as Fremont spring. John C. Fremont once stopped here, in the early '40's, and for many years a stone with his name, date, etc., existed, along with many ancient and odd inscriptions carved on the ledge of rocks near the springs. The springs are several rods north-east of the original crossing of the trail, but at its crossing in later years.—MOREHOUSE.

Diamond Springs, originally named on the trail as "The Diamond of the Plain," was located 158 miles and 28 chains from Fort Osage; was an important camping-place and stage station in the trail days. This spring is near the head of the present Diamond creek (then called Otter creek), and situated near the southwest part of the northwest quarter of section 34, township 16, range 6 east. "The Diamond of the Plain" was and is one of the largest fountain springs of pure cold water in the state. On the night of May 4, 1863, the noted guerrilla, Dick Yeager, and his band of outlaws, without any cause, robbed the Diamond Springs station on the trail, and killed Augustus Howell and severely wounded his wife. The Diamond Springs of trail days is about five miles north of Diamond Springs, on the Strong City extension of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway, and was 589 miles from Taos, N. M.—MOREHOUSE.

NEOSHO COUNTY.

- 1.—Boudinot Presbyterian mission among the Osages was established in 1824, and abandoned in 1837. Located on Neosho river, near mouth of Four Mile creek, on farm now owned by James O'Brien.
Osage Catholic mission, on the site of the present town of St. Paul, established by Father John Schoenmachers, in 1847. (See page 19 of this volume, Father Ponziglione.)
- 2.—Neosho mission, on west side of Neosho river, established by Presbyterian church in 1824, Rev. Benton [not Benson] Pixley in charge; discontinued in 1829.
- 3.—Canville trading-post, established by A. B. Canville, in 1844, near the town of Shaw. A treaty between the United States and the Osage Indians, September 19, 1865, was made at this place. Other trading-posts were established in different parts of the county as early as 1837, by Edward Chouteau, Gerald Pappin, and John Matthews.
Village of George White Hair, chief of the Osages, was located in this county, exact site not known.