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Herschel C Logan

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Back Cover: *Major Reece P. Brown's commission from James H. Lane as an officer in the First Regiment, First Brigade, Kansas Volunteers.*



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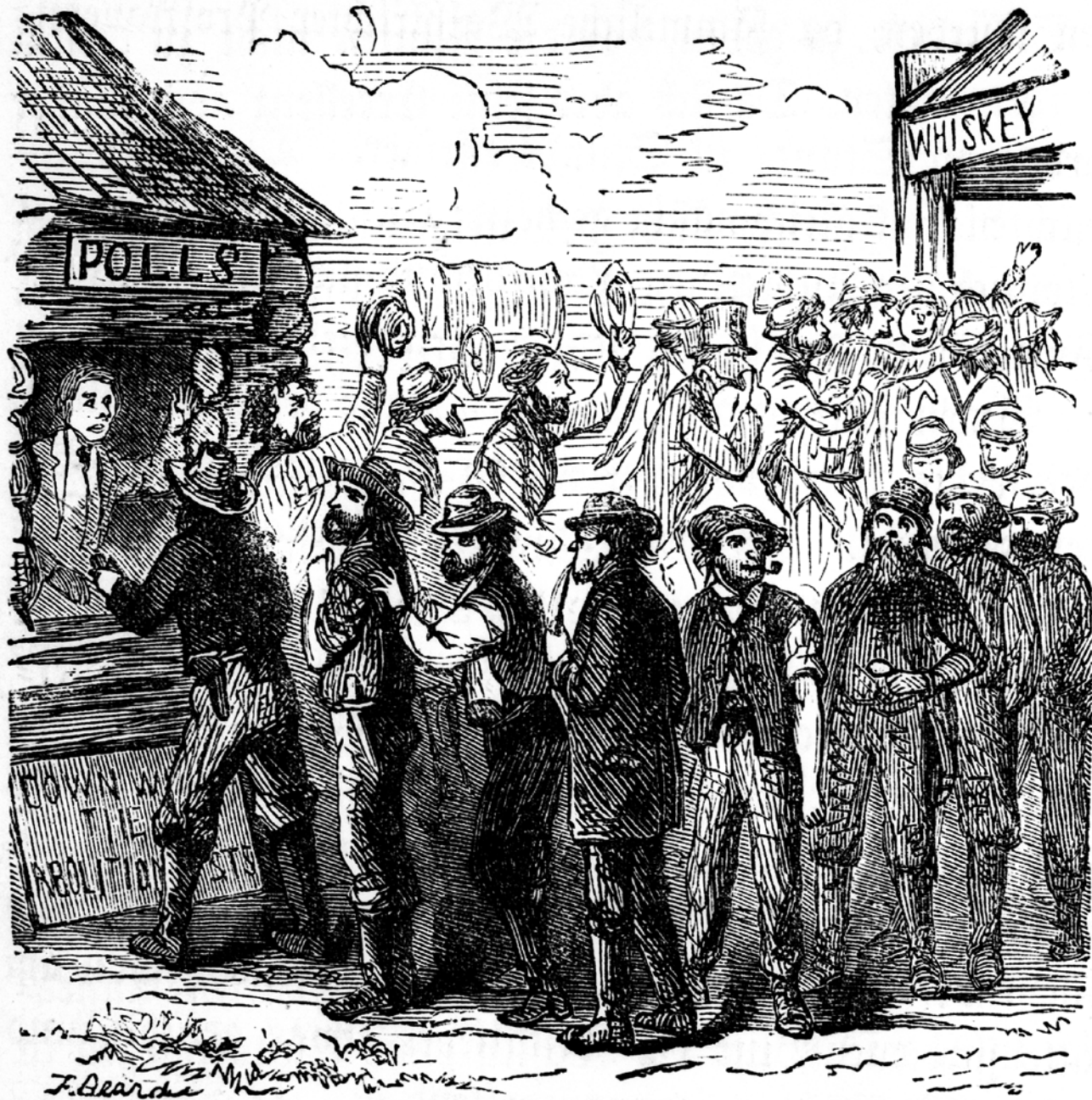
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Proslavery Missourians vote at Kickapoo, Kansas Territory, in 1855 in this image from Albert D. Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi*.

Samuel J. Kookogey in Bleeding Kansas: A “Fearless vindicator of the rights of the South”

by Antonio Rafael de la Cova

Samuel J. Kookogey personified the generation of adventurous Southern bachelors who migrated west seeking land and wealth in the antebellum period. The Columbus, Georgia, native, raised on his family’s slave plantation, first sought acreage through the bounty promised in a filibuster expedition and afterward by settling in Kansas. When Kookogey was twenty-three years old, he was one of the leaders of the failed 1851 Cuba filibuster expedition mustered in Georgia under General Narciso López to invade the island and overthrow Spanish colonialism. He was enticed by Masonic ideology and the offer of a large plantation and cash for his services. That violation of the Neutrality Act prompted Kookogey’s arrest under a warrant authorized by President Millard Fillmore, which ended the young Georgian’s attempted paramilitary adventurism. Four years later, he joined thousands of migrants attracted to Kansas Territory by a desire for cheap and fertile land, lucrative government contracts and patronage, and the chance to help shape the destiny of slavery after the passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act.

Kookogey, a grandson of Quakers, was representative of a good number of proslavery settlers who did not partake in violence or lawlessness during the Bleeding Kansas sectional contest swirling around him. His life in Kansas counters the Border Ruffian image of the proslavery men. The Georgian did not join the proslavery militia, disregarded provocative taunts from freestaters, and acted as a peacemaker during confrontations between armed factions. Kookogey likewise avoided involvement in the Civil War. No government investigation, memoirs, or other written accounts accuse him of violence in the territory. Instead, Kookogey upheld Southern rights through public service and the electoral process, aspiring to a seat in the Kansas legislature in 1856 and as a delegate to the Leecompton Constitutional Convention in 1857. The following year, he was appointed by the territorial governor as one of three election judges for Easton precinct in Leavenworth County. Kookogey served as surveyor, constable, and justice of the peace at Easton, and married and fathered a son with the teenage widow of the town founder. This essay examines the life and times of this filibuster officer and Kansas pioneer who has been neglected in historical accounts.¹

Antonio Rafael de la Cova is the author of *Cuban Confederate Colonel: The Life of Ambrosio Jose Gonzales (2003)* and *The Moncada Attack: Birth of the Cuban Revolution (2007)*. He teaches history, African American studies, and Latin American anthropology at the University of South Carolina in Columbia.

The author thanks the journal’s staff and Tim Rues, administrator of Constitution Hall in Leecompton, for their assistance.

1. Kookogey appears to be the correct surname, although it is listed in various records as Kookogee, Koockogee, Kookagee, Koockogy, Kookogy, Cookagey, and Coockygy. A notable example of Kookogey’s absence from most historical accounts is Robert W. Johannsen, “The Leecompton Constitutional Convention: An Analysis of Its Membership,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 23 (Autumn 1957): 225–43.

Samuel J. Kookogey was born on April 15, 1828, “the first white child” in the young village of Columbus, Georgia. His father, Colonel Samuel Kookogey, called “Uncle Sam,” was born in 1794 in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, to Quaker parents from Prussia and Pennsylvania. When the patriarch was seven years old, he accompanied his father, a Revolutionary War veteran, to Philadelphia’s Franklin Square on March 4, 1800, “to partake of an Ox, roasted in honor of the election of Thomas Jefferson over Aaron Burr.” During the War of 1812, the senior Kookogey answered the call of the Pennsylvania governor to muster the militia and raise volunteers in Philadelphia in July 1814. He served in the Advanced Light Guard stationed near Wilmington, Delaware, until November 20, when they marched back to Philadelphia and disbanded on January 3, 1815. Uncle Sam remained there working as a carpenter and in 1819 helped build the Lutheran Church in nearby Germantown.²

In December 1820 Colonel Kookogey landed at Savannah, Georgia, seeking better fortunes. He moved to Milledgeville and then settled in Elberton, Elbert County, where he married Martha Carter on February 10, 1825. Two years later, Kookogey became a fortunate drawer of the Georgia Land Lottery in Muscogee County and moved 215 miles southwest to Columbus on November 11, 1827. He cleared a place by the river, near what would be Front Street, and “cut a fork of a tree to make a kind of shelter” for him and his pregnant wife. The city lots were sectioned by the surveyors two months later and the next fall attorney Mirabeau Lamar advertised them for sale. Kookogey purchased one on Oglethorpe Street, where he built the first residence in Columbus. By 1830 Kookogey owned a 300-acre cotton plantation with ten slaves in Wynnton, 3 miles east of Columbus, where he also erected the first house in the village.³

Kookogey plied his carpenter’s trade in Columbus and many years later a local newspaper account praised him for “building many of the houses for the people that were coming in.” The colonel taught carpentry to his slave assistant, Jacks. During the 1830s Kookogey speculated

with hundreds of acres in Columbus and its environs, making numerous purchases and sales. His firstborn, Samuel J. Kookogey, was raised on the family plantation and inculcated with the prevalent regional attitude that slavery was a constitutional right and an economic necessity for the South. By the time Samuel was twelve years old, the family included four younger sisters, two of whom, Lucy Ann and Rebecca, survived into adulthood. His father’s chattel property had by then more than doubled to twenty-one slaves. Colonel Kookogey also worked for another local farmer, Littleton Wood, on a plantation with fifteen slaves in a neighboring district.⁴

The record of Samuel’s teenage years is sketchy but he apparently had a traditional upbringing, received elementary schooling, acquired the art of carpentry from his father, and assumed some managerial plantation tasks. The youth also learned to use the land surveyor’s transit, measuring chains, and plat maps, skills that would later be profitable in Kansas. Unlike his father, the younger Kookogey did not express an early interest in military affairs. He did not join the local Columbus Guards militia that in 1846 served in the Mexican War, nor does he appear in the records of the Georgia Militia units of Muscogee County from 1846 to 1849. At the age of twenty-one, Kookogey joined Masonic Columbian Lodge No. 7, past members of which included Colonel James W. Fannin, a Goliad martyr of the Texas Revolution, and General Mirabeau Lamar, the Columbus pioneer who had sold Kookogey’s father his original plot in Columbus and who had later been the hero of the Battle of San Jacinto and president of the Texas republic.⁵

db.aspx?dbid=2085; State of Georgia, Recorder Office, *Official Register of the Land Lottery of 1827* (Milledgeville, Ga.: Grantland & Orme, 1827), 126; U.S. Census, 1830, Georgia, Muscogee County, 281; U.S. Census, 1880, Georgia, Talbot County, 6; “Editorial Correspondence,” *Georgia Weekly Telegraph*, September 3, 1878; and “Spending the Summer,” *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, August 10, 1881.

4. “Spending the Summer,” *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, August 10, 1881; U.S. Census, 1840, Georgia, Muscogee County, 330; and Direct Index to Deeds for Muscogee County, 1 and 2; Reverse Index to Deeds, 1; Deed Record H-1, 135–36; Deed Record I; and Tax Book for Muscogee County for 1847, Muscogee County Government Center, Columbus, Georgia.

5. The surveyor’s chain was sixty-six feet long and had one hundred links. Eighty chains equaled one mile and ten square chains measured one acre. Georgia Military Records, Muscogee County, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia; *Proceedings of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Georgia, at its Communication, for the Year 5849* (Macon, Ga.: S. Rose & Co., 1849), 67; William R. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons* (Independence: Missouri Lodge of Research, 1957), 2:34, 3:49; Lucian Lamar Knight, *A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians* (Chicago, Ill.: Lewis Publishing Company), 3:1340–42; and Asa Kyros Christian, *Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* (Austin, Tex.: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1922), 194–97.

2. Etta Blanchard Worsley, *Columbus on the Chattahoochee* (Columbus, Ga.: Columbus Office Supply Co., 1951), 76, 230, 231; William H. Davidson, *A Rockaway in Talbot: Travels in an Old Georgia County* (West Point, Ga.: Hester Printing, 1988), 23; “Uncle Sam’s Proclamation,” (Macon) *Georgia Telegraph*, February 17, 1857; “Editorial Correspondence,” (Macon) *Georgia Weekly Telegraph*, September 3, 1878; and “Spending the Summer,” *Columbus* (Ga.) *Daily Enquirer-Sun*, August 10, 1881.

3. Jordan Dodd, *Georgia Marriages to 1850* (Provo, Utah: Generations Network, Inc., 1997), available online at search.ancestry.com/search/

In March 1851 twenty-two-year-old Kookogey began his brief but consequential flirtation with military life when Cuban revolutionary Ambrosio José Gonzales arrived in Columbus with letters of recommendation from General Lamar and Georgia Governor George Towns. Gonzales was aide-de-camp to General Narciso López, who on May 19, 1850, had landed a filibuster expedition with 610 Americans at Cárdenas, Cuba, in an effort to overthrow the Spanish colonial regime. Gonzales and López were members of Masonic Solomon's Lodge No. 1 in Savannah. The filibusters were pursuing Cuban independence with American volunteers, weapons, and funds, and would subsequently petition for Cuba's admission to the Union. Men with diverse motives and affiliations joined the movement, including Mexican War veterans, Freemasons, proslavery advocates, Young America movement expansionists, independence idealists, and adventurers seeking payments of cash and large acreage on the island after its liberation. The first filibuster invasion in 1850 had failed due to various strategic factors and lack of popular support, and the Cuban revolutionaries were now covertly preparing another attempt.⁶

After Gonzales reached Columbus, he informed General Lamar that a steamer had already been acquired that could carry up to seven hundred men and two hundred horses. Gonzales indicated that he was "using every effort" to raise \$10,000 for López to complete the purchase of another vessel. The second steamer would allow passage for eighteen hundred Southern recruits led by two Mexican War veterans. To complete his expedition plans, Gonzales asked Lamar to use "very especially your moral influence" with friends in Columbus and Macon and with his cousin Charles Augustus Lafayette Lamar in Savannah. As a result, a number of prominent Georgians throughout the state provided filibuster support. Colonel John Forsyth, Jr., the editor of the *Columbus Times* and a plantation owner, Mexican War veteran, and commander of the Columbus Guards militia, was involved "to a very great extent" in the conspiracy. Captain John Eayers Davis, a local merchant, assisted in selling Cuban bonds at ten cents on the dollar. He was an officer in the Columbus

6. Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 22, 25–26, 28, 84; Ambrosio Jose Gonzales to M. B. Lamar, March 14, 1851, Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar Papers, folder 2469, box 1909-1-26, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Austin, Texas (hereafter cited as "MBLP"); Minutes Book, 1849–1859, Solomon's Lodge No. 1, Free and Accepted Masons, roll X-0940-05, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah; Antonio Rafael de la Cova, "Filibusters and Freemasons: The Sworn Obligation," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 (Spring 1997): 98; and de la Cova, "The Kentucky Regiment that Invaded Cuba in 1850," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 105 (Autumn 2007): 571–72.



In May 1850 Venezuelan-born General Narciso López landed a filibuster expedition at Cárdenas, Cuba, in an effort to overthrow the Spanish colonial regime and secure Cuban independence. The invasion—caricatured here in an 1850 cartoon by John Magee that has López saying, "Well! We have not Revolutionized Cuba, but then we have Got what we came for. . . . I've got the Cash, they've got the Glory"—failed, but the filibusters covertly prepared another attempt. Samuel J. Kookogey was part of these clandestine activities. Cartoon courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Guards and a veteran of the Creek War of 1836–1837 and the Mexican War. Several Georgia state militia cavalry and infantry companies pledged their armaments for the expedition, and Gonzales "made arrangements to collect one thousand men and from 200 to 300 horses."⁷

7. Gonzales to M. B. Lamar, March 14, 1851, MBLP; U.S. Census, 1850, Georgia, Muscogee County, 304, 309; Bibb County, Macon, 144; McIntosh County, 220; U.S. Census, 1860, Alabama, Russell County, 88; Lonnie A. Burnett, *The Pen Makes a Good Sword: John Forsyth of the Mobile Register* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006); Ambrosio Jose Gonzales, "The Cuban Crusade: A Full History of the Georgian and Lopez Expeditions," *Times Democrat* (New Orleans, La.), April 6, 1884; "The Cuba Scheme," *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), April 25, 1851; Folks Huxford, *Pioneers of Wiregrass Georgia* (Homerville, Ga.: self-published, 1951), 5:407; and Tim Chitwood, "Mystery Whipped," *Ledger-Enquirer* (Columbus, Ga.), April 21, 2004.

During these clandestine activities, Samuel J. Kookogey became involved in the Cuba filibuster movement. It appears that General Lamar, a Freemason and an old family friend, introduced him to Gonzales. Freemasonry, and in particular the Masonic ideology against tyranny and despotism, bonded the Cuban revolutionaries and the Columbus volunteers. The landless Kookogey was also enticed by the offer of a plantation. He received the rank of captain and was authorized to raise his own company of local recruits. By the time the expedition was scheduled to depart in April 1851, Kookogey had assisted Gonzales in mustering a skeleton Georgia regiment of four hundred men, more than seventeen hundred rifles, and ten pieces of brass artillery. But the filibuster plans began to unravel on April 10 when Allen Ferdinand Owen, a one-term Whig congressman from Talbotton, Georgia, and the newly appointed American consul to Havana, sent word from Columbus to Secretary of State Daniel Webster that “men and money has [sic] been raised in Georgia” for a contemplated invasion of Cuba with “1600 men.” That same day, Jesse Reneau, editor of the *Atlanta Republican*, telegraphed President Fillmore: “Our rail-roads are crowded with an army of adventurers destined for Cuba—by way of Savannah beyond all doubt.” The *Rome Courier* reported that “this new movement is sanctioned, if not promoted by men of influence and official standing in Georgia and other Southern States,” and that the expedition would sail from Savannah in two days. President Fillmore ordered the disbanding of the expedition.⁸

The Spanish vice consul in Savannah, John G. Doon, filed a complaint in federal court against the filibuster leaders for violation of the Neutrality Act. His statement was accompanied by a deposition from informant William E. Oliveira, who had infiltrated the Macon expeditionary contingent. An arrest warrant, authorized by President Fillmore, was issued for Kookogey, López, Gonzales, and seven other filibuster leaders. U.S. Deputy Marshal Michael Finney, pursuing the informant’s lead, took a revenue cutter up the Satilla River in coastal Georgia to the Waverly plantation in Camden County. Finney,

8. De la Cova, “Filibusters and Freemasons,” 95–120; United States Congress, *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1989), 1600, available online at bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp; and A. F. Owen to Daniel Webster and J. Reneau to president of the United States, April 10, 1851, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, RG 59, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (hereafter cited as “NARA”). Owen was appointed counsel in early April but did not assume official duties until May 12. “Another Cuban Expedition,” *Rome (Ga.) Courier*, April 10, 1851.

assisted by naval officers, arrested Kookogey, Richard Ralston, and two other Columbus officers and rounded up twenty-seven members of Kookogey’s company and escorted them to Savannah. All were quickly released except Kookogey and the other three leaders, who gave recognizance bonds to appear before the November term of the U.S. District Court. Kookogey’s arrest was announced in newspapers across the nation.⁹

Two months before the scheduled trial, the charges filed against Kookogey, Gonzales, and the other filibuster officers were dismissed after General López landed another expedition in Cuba and was captured and executed on September 1, 1851. Kookogey avoided further filibuster activities and remained in Columbus working as a carpenter. Muscogee County property records indicate that he did not possess land and owned two slaves that he had inherited: George, a carpenter, and Lucia, a teenage seamstress. Kookogey used these chattels on June 8, 1852, as collateral to obtain a promissory note for \$1,100 from John B. Strupper, an Italian confectioner. He paid the debt seven months later, and the same day obtained another one-year promissory note from William A. Chisolm for \$1,350 using the same persons as guarantee. Public records indicate that this second amount was never repaid and Chisolm still owned George eight years later.¹⁰

In 1855 Kookogey set out for the western territories, hoping to emulate his father’s pioneering spirit by seeking a preemptory claim and new entrepreneurial opportunities in Kansas. The Kansas–Nebraska Act of May 1854 opened both territories to settlement and allowed for the slavery question to be decided by popular sovereignty. Sectional violence erupted in Kansas after the dubiously elected territorial legislature passed laws protecting the institution of slavery in July 1855. Free-

9. “Warrant to Arrest,” May 2, 1851, U.S. District Court, Southern District of Georgia, Savannah, case file D-15, RG 21, NARA; *Republican* (Savannah, Ga.), May 13 and 22, 1851; Henry Williams to Daniel Webster, October 23, 1851, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, RG 59, NARA; “Southern Items,” *Boston (Mass.) Daily Atlas*, May 17, 1851; “Southern Items,” (Keene) *New Hampshire Sentinel*, May 22, 1851; “Arrest of Supposed Cuban Officers,” *Raleigh (N.C.) Register*, May 21, 1851; and “Arrest of Supposed Cuban Officers,” (Natchez) *Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette*, May 24, 1851.

10. Antonio Rafael de la Cova, *Cuban Confederate Colonel: The Life of Ambrosio José Gonzales* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 98, 115; Deed Record F, Muscogee County, 207–8, and Deed Record G, Muscogee County, 332, Muscogee County Government Center, Columbus, Georgia; U.S. Census, 1850, Georgia, Muscogee County, 302; and 1860 Georgia Slave Schedule, Muscogee County, 474, NARA.

soil settlers refused to succumb or pay taxes and in October established a rival government at Topeka under a constitution outlawing slavery.¹¹

In the midst of this turmoil, Kookokey arrived at Leavenworth, Kansas, in September 1855. He headed west on the post road to Fort Riley, stopping after twelve miles at Easton, a village founded the previous year by Kentuckian Lucian Johnston Eastin, the editor of Leavenworth's proslavery *Kansas Weekly Herald*; Armstead Dawson, a former merchant in Weston, Missouri; and William G. Mathias, an attorney from Maryland. In 1852 Dawson had established a cattle ranch, farm, and a trading post just east of Stranger Creek Bridge, at Dawson's Ford, on the Fort Riley road. His home was two hundred yards from the store and he owned 114 of the town's 192 lots. A credit agent for R. G. Dun and Company reported that Dawson had briefly been a partner in the firm Andrews and Dawson and "was reputed in good credit for reasonable amounts." Dawson had recently married Anne Eliza Large, a teenage Kentuckian whose father was a local farmer.¹²

Kookokey lodged at the Dawson ranch, which "furnished travelers a place to sleep as well as a place to eat" while the stagecoaches that ran through the area changed horses. Men from neighboring towns would gather at Dawson's "to gamble and be up late for the night." The way station was described as "a villainous-looking, rum-drinking and half-breed establishment; almost totally destitute of the most common requirements of the traveler." Anne "kept house and did the cooking," and Dawson "had a number of hired help to take care of his place" and attend his more than one hundred head of cattle. Kookokey himself found employment with

Dawson as a clerk in his general store, and the Georgia transplant staked a 160-acre preemption claim one-and-a-half miles southwest of Easton, on the Delaware Trust Lands that the federal government intended to open for legal occupancy. The *Herald of Freedom* described the area as "rich and fertile," with a "great body of timber," and an "almost inexhaustible supply of coal and lime rock."¹³

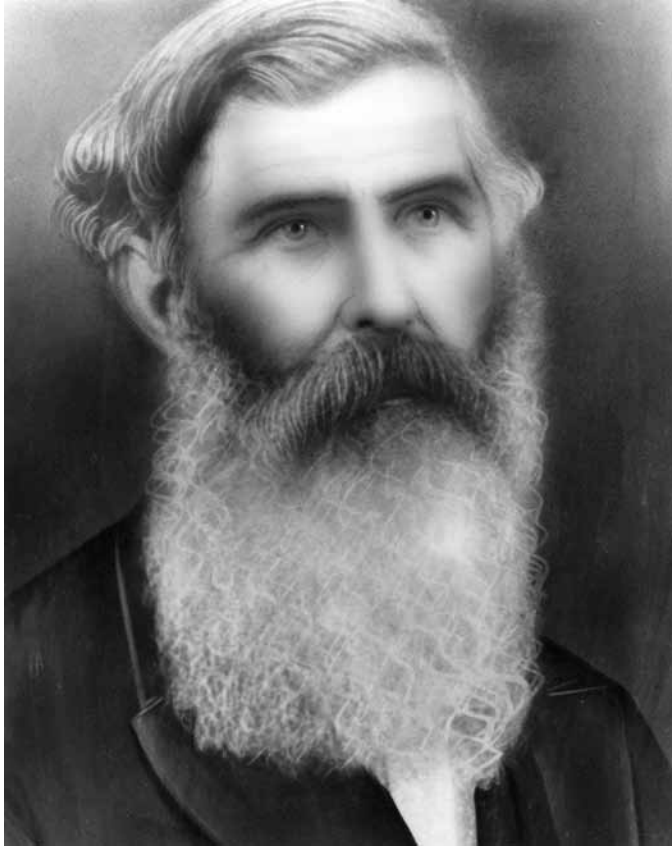
Less than six months after he settled in Kansas, Kookokey found himself involved in the territory's sectional politics. Leavenworth County scheduled elections for state officers under the free-state Topeka Constitution on January 15, 1856. A controversy over the contest prompted the resignation of the free-state mayor of Leavenworth, Thomas T. Slocum, and several councilmen. The new mayor, Dr. J. H. Day, a former New Yorker, issued a municipal order against the plebiscite. Two days later, some local free-state men decided to hold the election anyway, "free from the pro-slavery influence." It occurred "in an informal way by carrying the ballot box around" the county to collect votes. In Leavenworth the ballots were placed in a stocking that circulated covertly. In Easton, half a mile from Kookokey's residence, the polls opened at noon in the "large log house" of farmer Thomas A. Minard, his wife Sarah, and their three children. Minard, a New York native and former Boston resident and Iowa sheriff, had been the captain of a free-state company, who "was sometimes given to drink, which cost him the loss of this commission." Seventy-two

11. Daniel W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka: Geo. W. Martin, Kansas Publishing House, 1875), 35–38, 45; J. N. Holloway, *History of Kansas: From the First Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, to its Admission into the Union* (Lafayette, Ind.: James, Emmons & Co., 1868), 106–9; and John H. Gihon, *Geary and Kansas* (Philadelphia, Penn.: Chas. C. Rhodes, 1857), 43–44.

12. Walter Bickford Davis and Daniel S. Durrie, *An Illustrated History of Missouri* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke & Co., 1876), 505–6; R. G. Dun & Company Credit Report, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, Harvard Business School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1:377, 381, 388 (hereafter cited as "R. G. Dun & Co. Collection"); U.S. Census, 1850, Missouri, Boone County, 458; Frank W. Blackmar, ed., *Kansas: A Cyclopaedia of State History, Embracing Events, Institutions, Industries, Counties, Cities, Towns, Prominent Persons, Etc.* (Chicago, Ill.: Standard Publishing Company, 1912), 1:559; Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 47, 56; Jesse A. Hall and LeRoy T. Hand, *History of Leavenworth County, Kansas* (Topeka, Kans.: Historical Pub. Co., 1921), 146; John Rydjord, *Kansas Place-Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 269, 368; Herbert C. Jones, *The Trail to Progress, 1855–1955: History of Easton Kansas* (Clay Center, Kans.:

Wilson's Engravers & Printers, 1956), 7–8, 51, 54, 70, 89–91; Kansas Territorial Census, 1855, Leavenworth County, Sixteenth District, 6, 16, 32; "Estate of Armstead Dawson," May 20, 1858, Probate Court, Inventories of Estates, microfilm AR 3440, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society; *Kansas Claims*, 36th Cong., 2nd sess., 1860, H. Rept. 104, serial 1106 (hereafter cited as "*Kansas Claims*"); Robert W. Baughman, *Kansas Post Offices May 29, 1828–August 3, 1961* (Wichita, Kans.: McCormick-Armstrong Co., 1961), 197; U.S. Census, 1860, Kansas, Leavenworth County, Easton Village, 764, and Leavenworth City, First Ward, 589; and U.S. Census, 1870, Kansas, Leavenworth County, Easton Township, 14.

13. Armstead Dawson is erroneously identified as "Andrew J. Dawson" in William G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, Ill.: A. T. Andreas, 1883), 461; Jones, *The Trail to Progress*, 8, 52, 90; "The Stranger's Grave On Stranger Creek," *Potter Kansan* (Atchison), May 15, 1912; "Fifty-two years Easton Post Office has lasted," *Daily Times* (Leavenworth, Kans.), December 22, 1907; Kansas Territorial Census, 1855, Leavenworth County, Sixteenth District, 32; *Kansas Claims*, 567; Gihon, *Geary and Kansas*, 20; Hall and Hand, *History of Leavenworth County*, 147; Survey Plat MS 364-R, 50, Official Plat Records, U.S. Department of the Interior, Kansas, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka; Tract Book MS 325-R, 201, Tract Books, Leavenworth County, Kansas, U.S. Department of the Interior, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka; Homer E. Socolofsky, "How We Took the Land," in *Kansas: The First Century*, ed. John D. Bright (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1956), 1:282, 288; and "Easton," *Herald of Freedom* (Lawrence, Kans.), April 14, 1855.



When Kookogey moved to Kansas Territory to stake a claim in September 1855, he settled near the village of Easton, which had been founded the previous year by Kentuckian Lucian Johnston Eastin, Missourian Armstead Dawson, and Marylander William Mathias, twelve miles from Leavenworth along the post road to Fort Riley. Eastin, above, was the editor of Leavenworth's proslavery *Kansas Weekly Herald* and a commander of a proslavery militia brigade. Dawson, who owned a cattle ranch, farm, and trading post in Easton, offered Kookogey employment as a clerk in his general store.

free-state men from throughout the county gathered in the Minard home. When the official ballot box failed to arrive, they placed their votes in a hat that was passed around.¹⁴

Their leader was Major Reese P. Brown, who reached Easton at ten o'clock that morning "with eight or ten men, all armed to the teeth." Brown, a thirty-year-old wool dealer and native of Springfield, Massachusetts,

14. Minard was seized by the Platte County Self-Defensive Association in Weston, Missouri, on July 10, 1854, and "tried, condemned as an abolitionist and ordered to leave the country in twenty-four hours or receive fifty lashes on the bare back." He was elected speaker of the house of the Topeka legislature on March 4, 1856. See Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 126, 269; "The Struggle in the West," *Herald of Freedom*, June 30, 1855; U.S. Census, 1860, Kansas, Arapahoe County, Nevada Gulch, 510; William H. Coffin, "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1901-1902 7 (1902): 334; Gihon, *Geary and Kansas*, 71; Charles S. Gleed, "Samuel Walker," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1897-

had moved to Logan County, Ohio, and then migrated with his wife Martha and their daughter to Salt Creek, Kansas, in October 1855. He had been elected to the free-state legislature and the following month received from James H. "Jim" Lane a military commission as an officer of the First Regiment, First Brigade, Kansas Volunteers. He and the other free-state voters in the Minard home were armed, highly alert, and drinking whiskey to keep warm. They discussed rumors that the Kickapoo Rangers, a proslavery company of the territorial militia's northern division, had seized the ballot box at Leavenworth and were headed for Easton to do likewise. The Kickapoo Rangers had twenty-five horsemen on a bluff at Janesville, nearly a mile away, who were stopping and disarming those going to vote at Easton.¹⁵

At roughly six o'clock that evening, Major Brown appeared with two men in front of Dawson's store "and publicly declared he had an organized company with him of armed men, and made threats that he would shoot holes through any man faster than he could count, if any man dared to touch him." Brown threw open his coat to reveal a pair of concealed pistols as he entered the structure. The major boasted that "they had come there to have an election, and to vote, and would not be molested, as they were armed for resistance." Neither Kookogey nor any of the fifteen proslavery men inside the store responded to Brown's threats. An hour later, Edward S. Motter, a Maryland-born physician whose office adjoined Dawson's trading post, saw Brown in the store reading a letter and told him to go home with his men as the situation was getting critical.¹⁶

After Brown departed, those gathered in the establishment, many of whom were drinking whiskey to counter the record-setting bitterly cold winter, denounced what they regarded as an illegal free-state election "supporting a legislature not recognized by the governor." In the midst of these increasing tensions, Kookogey accompanied his neighbor Mrs. Minard,

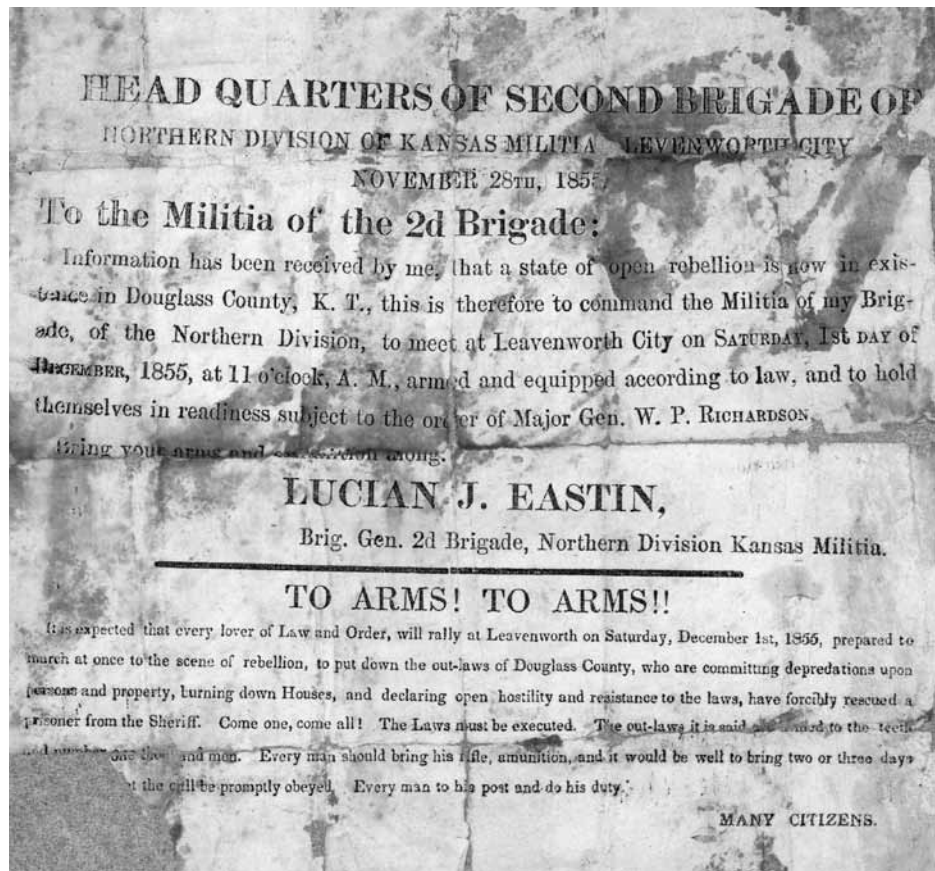
1900 6 (1900): 258; William H. Mackey, Sr., "Looking Backwards," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1907-1908 10 (1908): 646; "Matters in Kansas," *Milwaukee (Wisc.) Daily Sentinel*, February 5, 1856; and "Troubles in Kansas," *Daily National Intelligencer*, February 8, 1856.

15. *Kansas Affairs*, Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in the Territory of Kansas, 34th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rep. 200, serial 869, 997, 998, 1006 (quotation), 1009, 1011, 1013-14 (hereafter cited as "*Kansas Affairs*"); Blackmar, *Kansas*, 560; Thomas Goodrich, *War to the Knife: Bleeding Kansas, 1854-1861* (Mechanicsburg, Penn.: Stackpole Books, 1998), 91; Coffin, "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas," 334n.; Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 90; *Kansas Claims*, 1488-89; Hall and Hand, *History of Leavenworth County*, 147; and "The Last Victim to Law and Order in Kansas," *Herald of Freedom*, March 1, 1856.

16. *Kansas Affairs*, 1007-8, 1015, 1017; U.S. Census, 1860, Virginia, Marion County, 567.

who had been in town, back to her residence. He was not challenged by the armed sentries posted one hundred yards from her cabin. The Georgian later testified that he only recognized a few local men amongst the free-state group gathered inside the house and that the rest were strangers. Upon returning to the store, Kookogey received notice from Kansas's congressional delegate, John W. Whitfield, that Dawson had retroactively been appointed postmaster at Easton. He then went back to inform Minard, accompanied by a young surveyor named Joseph McAleer.¹⁷

While Kookogey spoke with Minard, Stephen Sparks appeared and urged Minard to join in hanging McAleer. Sparks, a native of Rush County, Indiana, was a local free-state legislator who had migrated in 1854 from Platte County, Missouri, to a Walnut Creek settlement three miles south of Easton. He took Kookogey aside and tried to start a political argument, but the Georgian replied that they "were so far apart on the slavery question," there was no use in talking about it. Sparks later alleged that Kookogey and McAleer had requested the ballot box to prevent trouble and that he responded with harsh words. After Kookogey and McAleer departed, notes with threats, insults, challenges, and demands for the ballot box were delivered back and forth between the men at Dawson's store and those in the Minard house. Meanwhile, Sparks rode out that evening and hailed his free-state neighbors, who were "determined fighters," to grab their guns, rally at the nearby Wright settlement, and march five miles to Easton. One summoned settler, a Quaker named William H. Coffin, decided to remain in his cabin praying on his knees with his family. Sparks also sent a call for help to Jim Lane at Lawrence, claiming that "Mr. Minard and his



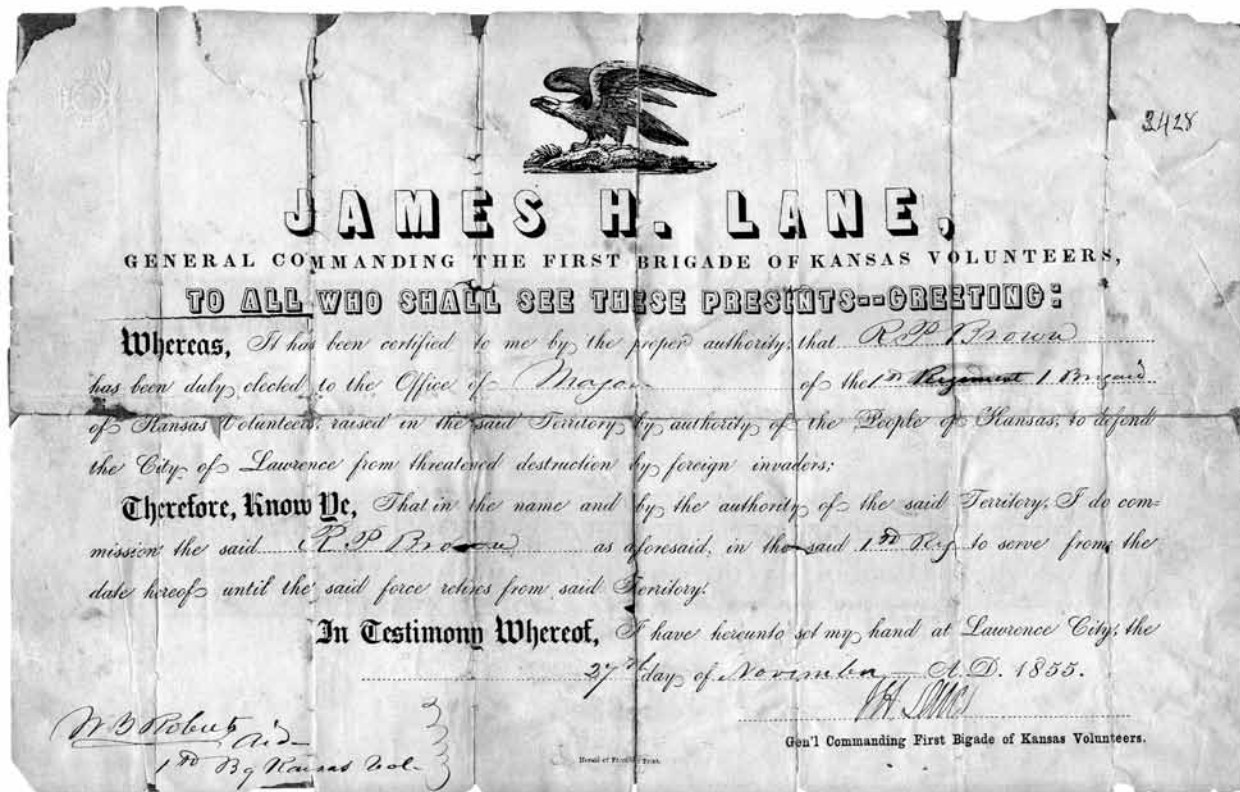
Kookogey arrived in a territory embroiled in sectional crisis. Calls to arms were more and more frequent on both sides of the slavery question, such as this notice from Lucien Eastin to the Second Brigade of the Northern Division of the Kansas Militia. Eastin instructed his forces to meet at Leavenworth on December 1, 1855, "armed and equipped according to the law" and ready to put down the rebellion perpetrated by "the out-laws of Douglass [sic] County, who are committing depredations upon persons and property, burning down Houses, and declaring open hostility and resistance to the laws."

friends were surrounded in their house at Easton by 500 Kickapoo rangers."¹⁸

Around nine o'clock Major Brown returned to Dawson's store with a dozen armed men to buy liquor. He "called for something to drink all around, and got a jug of liquor and a fiddle." Kookogey and Dr. Motter asked the group to leave to avoid violence. Brown declared that "he had seen one ballot-box taken, and he would be God-damned if he would see another taken unless they went over his dead body." He and his followers returned to Minard's house after midnight, as Sparks was departing with his fifteen-year-old son, Greene, and a nephew. Rather than heading straight home, Sparks veered one-quarter mile

18. Stephen Sparks was born July 6, 1808, in Union County, Indiana, and died February 11, 1899, in Easton, Kansas. F. B. Sanborn, ed., *The Life and Letters of John Brown: Liberator of Kansas, and Martyr of Virginia* (Boston, Mass.: Roberts Brothers, 1891), 225-28; Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 270; Coffin, "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas," 334-35; and Glead, "Samuel Walker," 257.

17. *Kansas Affairs*, 1010, 1016; Kansas State Census, 1855, Sixteenth District, 4.



An election for state officers under the free-state Topeka Constitution, held throughout Leavenworth County on January 15, 1856, gave rise to violent conflict between proslavery and free-state supporters in Easton after the official ballot box failed to arrive. Leading the free-state men was Major Reese P. Brown, a thirty-year-old wool dealer and native of Springfield, Massachusetts, who had moved to Salt Creek, Kansas Territory, in October 1855. He was elected to the free-state legislature and the following month received from James H. Lane this military commission as an officer of the First Regiment, First Brigade, Kansas Volunteers. By January 17 Brown was dead and being hailed by abolitionists as "one of the first martyrs to freedom in Kansas."

from his usual route and provocatively walked past Dawson's store with a rifle on his shoulder.¹⁹

Kookogey was with Dr. Motter in his office along with two other men when they heard the clamor outside as a dozen men surrounded Sparks. Kookogey and the physician ran outside and climbed a rail fence from which they pleaded with the crowd to release Sparks, who was cursing, refusing to surrender, and daring the mob to kill him. Sparks later testified that Dr. Motter told the rabble: "as Mr. Sparks is on his way home and has got thus far, let him go." Major Brown appeared fifteen minutes later with a cocked double-barreled shotgun followed by twenty-five armed men. He retrieved Sparks and the free-state men slowly marched backward over the snow-covered ground, guns raised with fingers on the triggers, cautiously scanning their opponents under a dim moonlight.

When the proslavery men and freestaters were about eighty yards apart, a shot rang out. Each side blamed the other for starting the ensuing gunfight. The antislavery men took cover behind some houses and a creek bank, while their adversaries ducked behind Dawson's store, where Kookogey also sought refuge. During the next twenty minutes "volley after volley was rapidly exchanged" under a constant fire. Bullets grazed Greene Sparks on his head and arm. On the proslavery side, John P. Richardson, a fifty-year-old farmer from Michigan who owned eighty acres in south Leavenworth, was shot in the leg. John Cook, standing in front of Dawson's store, was mortally wounded by a rifle bullet that lacerated his colon, kidney, and spine. Kookogey and Marshall F. Comstock, a local farmer, did not arm themselves and remained behind the store as the others rushed out to assist Cook. A freestater fired two bullets at the Georgian and his companion, striking a nearby fence. Kookogey hurried into the store, grabbed blankets, and helped carry

19. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, 465; *Kansas Affairs*, 1007, 1011, 1014, 1017; and Hall and Hand, *History of Leavenworth County*, 147.

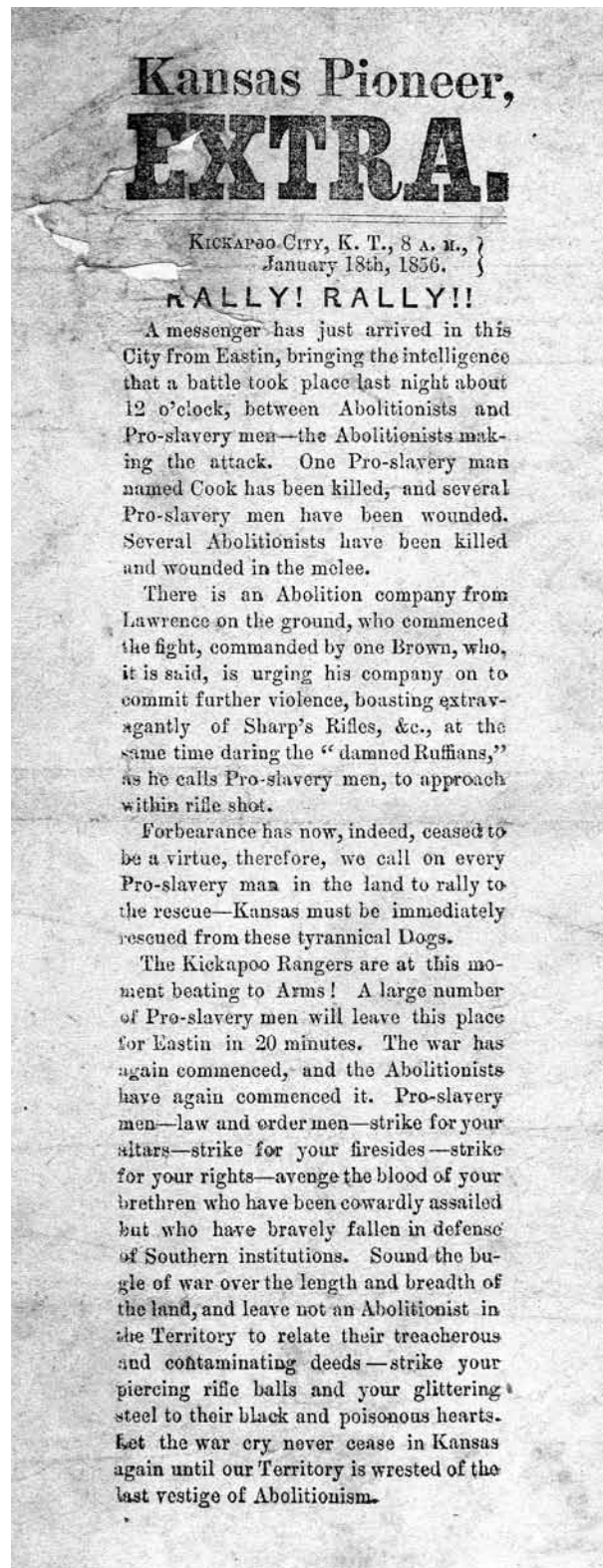
Cook to Dawson's house, where he lay on Dr. Motter's bed until expiring two days later.²⁰

Kookogey immediately sent an express message to Leavenworth attorneys D. J. Johnson and J. M. Lyle, while Dr. Motter got word to Kickapoo that the proslavery men in Easton needed assistance. Around noon the next day, a posse of Kickapoo Rangers commanded by Captain John William Martin intercepted Major Brown and seven of his followers in a wagon seven miles from Leavenworth. The outnumbered freesoilers were disarmed and escorted back to Dawson's grocery and detained in an adjoining room. In an attempt to discover who shot Cook, one ranger waved a rope at the prisoners insinuating that they would hang for his death. George Taylor, a Leavenworth resident who was amongst the detained, was surprised that his captors did not demand the electoral poll books they were carrying. All the detainees were individually questioned in Dr. Motter's office and released by four o'clock, except Major Brown, who did not deny his role in the shootout the previous day and admitted he was the group's leader. Captain Martin informed the crowd outside that Brown would be taken to Leavenworth "to await his trial according to the laws."²¹

The crowd was not placated, however, and Kookogey was one of several who watched as the mob "broke open the door and rushed in upon Brown," dragging him outside. Robert Gibson immediately punched and mortally wounded the prisoner with a hatchet blow that severed his left temporal artery. Despite his condition Brown fled into the woods; he was quickly caught and returned to Dawson's store. Kansas Militia Captain Charles Dunn, who had heard of the events transpiring in Easton, intervened and placed his opponent in a wagon to transport Brown eleven miles to his Salt Creek Valley home, three miles northwest of Fort Leavenworth.

20. *Kansas Affairs*, 1002-4, 1007-10, 1013-14; U.S. Census, 1860, Kansas, Leavenworth County, 295; Leverett W. Spring, *Kansas: The Prelude to the War for the Union* (Boston, Mass.: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1885), 73; Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 270; Hall and Hand, *History of Leavenworth County*, 147; William A. Phillips, *The Conquest of Kansas, by Missouri and Her Allies* (Boston, Mass.: Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1856), 242; "Troubles in Kansas," *Daily National Intelligencer*, February 8, 1856; and "From Kansas—Latest News," *Ripley (Ohio) Bee*, February 9, 1856.

21. *Kansas Affairs*, 999-1000, 1003, 1008, 1010; *Kansas Claims*, 1512-13; Goodrich, *War to the Knife*, 91-92; Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 271; Hall and Hand, *History of Leavenworth County*, 148; "From Kansas—Latest News," *Ripley Bee*, February 9, 1856; "The Latest Affray in Kansas," *North American and United States Gazette* (Philadelphia, Penn.), February 4, 1856; and "Reply to Rev. Utter by a Son of 'Old John Brown,'" *Cleveland (Ohio) Herald*, December 8, 1883.



The proslavery *Kansas Pioneer*, published in Kickapoo City, issued this extra edition at eight o'clock on the morning of January 18, 1856, to report on the violence transpiring in Easton and as a call to arms.

The affray received national coverage after Brown passed away the next day and was hailed by abolitionists as “one of the first martyrs to freedom in Kansas.” Two days later, on January 21, twenty free-state men from Lawrence, “armed to the teeth” and led by Colonel Milton C. Dickey and Samuel Walker, arrived at the Wright settlement to prepare a revenge attack on Easton. They were joined the next morning by sixty men from the surrounding area, including Sparks and his son. Walker recalled how they rode into Easton “pell-mell, shouting at the top of our voices, our horses on a keen jump, and our arms all in readiness. Imagine our feelings of relief in finding the street entirely deserted. Not a ranger was to be seen; they had left three days before.” Regardless, the electoral frauds and ensuing violence in Kansas prompted a congressional inquiry. A commission of three federal investigators and their assistants arrived in Kansas on April 18, 1856. A month later, Kookogey gave sworn testimony before the commission at Leavenworth regarding the conflict at Easton.²²

The sectional violence intensified during the summer of 1856, after Lane mustered his so-called Army of the North with 396 free-state volunteers. They were augmented on August 13 by the arrival in Topeka of the Chicago Company, led Colonel James A. Harvey. Lane decided to attack Leavenworth by way of Easton with Harvey’s assistance. Harvey, a Mexican War veteran, approached Easton at eight o’clock in the morning on September 8 with seventy-six men. Some two dozen of his followers, who were from the area, refused to participate in the raid and went home. The Chicago Company encountered Henry Reddy, “a good Free-State man,” on horseback a mile and a half from town. He was forced into a wagon and a raider rode the impressed animal toward Easton. A mile further on, the group encountered James Willoughby, who was also ordered to dismount his horse and get in the wagon.

22. Martha A. Brown donated her husband’s blood-stained diary and his militia commission (see p. 154) to the Kansas Historical Society. Reese Brown’s single head wound was exaggerated in free-state accounts, which depict him being “stabbed and chopped until literally hacked from head to foot.” After his burial on Pilot Knob, Leavenworth, his widow quickly returned to Ridgeway, Ohio. Reese P. Brown Collection, 1855, miscellaneous box 1, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka; Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 272, 296–302; “The Butchery of R. P. Brown,” *Herald of Freedom*, February 2, 1856; “Letter from the Widow Brown,” *Herald of Freedom*, January 10, 1857; *Kansas Affairs*, 997, 1000–1, 1004; “The War Remembered,” *Herald of Freedom*, January 19, 1856; “Sketch of the Martyred Brown,” *Herald of Freedom*, March 22, 1856; Gihon, *Geary and Kansas*, 72; Phillips, *The Conquest of Kansas*, 245; Hall and Hand, *History of Leavenworth County*, 149; Gleed, “Samuel Walker,” 257–58; and *Kansas Claims*, 567.

A squad went to Willoughby’s sawmill on Stranger Creek, where he resided with his wife and two children, and took two horses, five mules, and harnesses valued at \$1,300. Some thirty of Harvey’s men crossed the creek and forcibly entered the store of Missourian Mason T. Summers, taking, “with threats and menaces,” numerous “dry goods, clothing, boots and shoes, saddlery, guns, and some groceries,” worth about \$1,000. The marauders also expropriated the bay horse of grocer Martin Hefferlin, a reputedly “peaceful and quiet” Frenchman. The Chicago Company then entered Easton, stopping at Dawson’s store, while the town residents gathered outside. Kookogey saw Willoughby and Reddy held prisoner in the wagon and recognized two of the expropriated mules as having been sold by Dawson to Willoughby.²³

Harvey, with a dozen men, entered Dawson’s grocery and asked Kookogey where he was from. “The State of Georgia,” the clerk replied. The intruder then inquired how long the Southerner had been in Kansas. After getting an answer, Harvey patted Kookogey on the shoulder, wrongfully assuming that he was Dawson, who had a reputation as “a man not strenuous in his political conduct, and kind of on the fence.” Harvey remarked, “Well, we don’t intend to take much from you,” and, pointing across the street at John M. Gallagher’s store, added, “we intend to give him hell.” The raiders started carrying off merchandise and Kookogey “did not ask them for pay,” as he “was too anxious to get away.” The items taken included four-and-a-half sacks of flour, ten bushels of meal, a two-hundred-pound keg of lead, one keg of powder, six red flannel shirts, ten shotguns and rifles, a revolver, sundry shoes and boots, candy, sugar, and other trifles. A group of raiders went to Dawson’s residence, seized Marshall H. Comstock, who was “keeping house,” and led him back to the store. They grabbed Comstock’s rifle, revolver, and saddled sorrel mare, in addition to four horses and a mule belonging to Dawson.²⁴

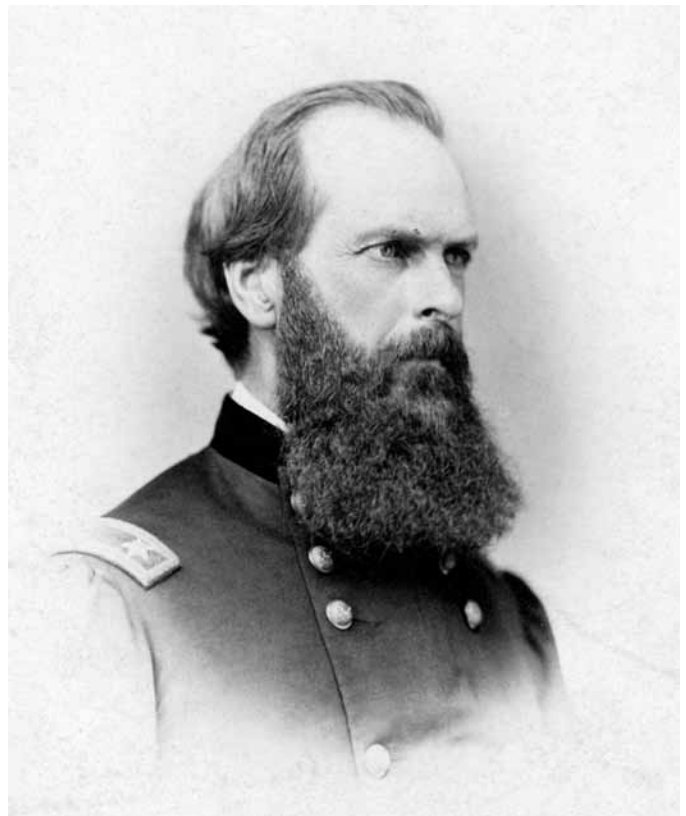
23. “Senator Lane,” *Freedom’s Champion* (Atchison, Kans.), July 12, 1866; Samuel A. Johnson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1954), 194, 199; “Kansas Experience of J. A. Harvey,” Thaddeus Hyatt Collection, No. 401, folder 3, box 2, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka; Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 413–14; Spring, *Kansas*, 71, 169, 178; *Kansas Claims*, 562–64, 1110–13, 1502; U.S. Census, 1850, Missouri, Platte County, Weston, 571; and Hiram J. Strickler, *Commissioner to audit, under the laws of the territorial legislature of Kansas, the claims of the citizens of that Territory for losses sustained in carrying into effect the laws of the territory, or growing out of any difficulties in the territory*, 35th Cong., 2nd sess., 1859, H. Misc. Doc. 43 (Washington, D.C.: James B. Steedman, Printer, 1859), 312, 338, 411–14 (hereafter cited as “Strickler Report”).

24. *Strickler Report*, 314–17; *Kansas Claims*, 566–70, 623–25; “Kansas Experience of J. A. Harvey.”

The Chicago Company found a meager assortment at Gallagher's store, which had been raided a week earlier by Captain Dunn's proslavery militia. Harvey's men carried off ten pair of boots, six dress coats, twenty pairs of socks, twelve pounds of rope, a silk handkerchief, and a sorrel pony, all worth \$211.75. William Henry Mackey, a free-state blacksmith and store owner, treated the raiders to "refreshments, sardines, crackers, cheese, tobacco, etc." He subsequently claimed that in Easton "it was shooting, cutting and killing all the time, so it was not a very pleasant place to live in." Harvey's company "took several prisoners from Easton" who had made remarks against them. Two hours later, when Lane's force did not show up for the attack on Leavenworth, Harvey decided to return to Lawrence and released all the detainees. The marauders departed on a circuitous route to avoid federal troops and encamped that night six miles from Easton near the storehouse of David M. Bivens on Fall Creek. They broke into the building and carried away more than \$2,000 worth of dry goods along with a bay mare and a saddle and bridle belonging to John Braly. Chicago Company Lieutenant N. W. Spicer later boasted that "in this campaign, we took between thirty and forty horses and mules." The sacking of Easton gave the Chicago Company the sobriquet of "Colonel Harvey and his forty thieves." In consequence, a proslavery militia company was organized in Easton under Captain Marshall H. Comstock but Kookogey did not join them.²⁵

In "retaliation for the robbery of Willoughby and Dawson," some 115 proslavery militiamen, led by Captain Charles Dunn, went to Easton on September 15 and looted the store of free-state supporter William H. P. Bristow. The general merchandise, including bolts of prints, linen, and chambray; shoes; clothing; a parasol; six Bibles; forty cakes of shaving soap; and a load of watermelons, all worth \$452.52, was dumped outside and carted off in a wagon. Afterward, Kookogey was appointed constable to protect Easton from the plundering factions. The Georgian identified with those persons who, as noted in the proslavery *Western Reporter*, "are pro-slavery and who do not approve of that wild and blind policy, inaugurated by [Senator David R.] Atchison and [Dr. John

25. "Kansas Experience of J. A. Harvey"; *Strickler Report*, 317-19, 389-91; *Kansas Claims*, 1525-32, 1535-37; Johnson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom*, 206; "Experience of N. W. Spicer in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1875-1880* 1/2 (1881): 232; Mackey, "Looking Backwards," 644-47; J. C. Malin, "Colonel Harvey and His Forty Thieves," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 19 (June 1932): 57-76; Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 290, 402-3; Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 108; Gihon, *Geary and Kansas*, 141, 143, 147; and "Report of the Secretary to the President," September 20, 1856, in "Executive Minutes . . . Governor Wilson Shannon," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1881-1884* 3 (1886): 336.

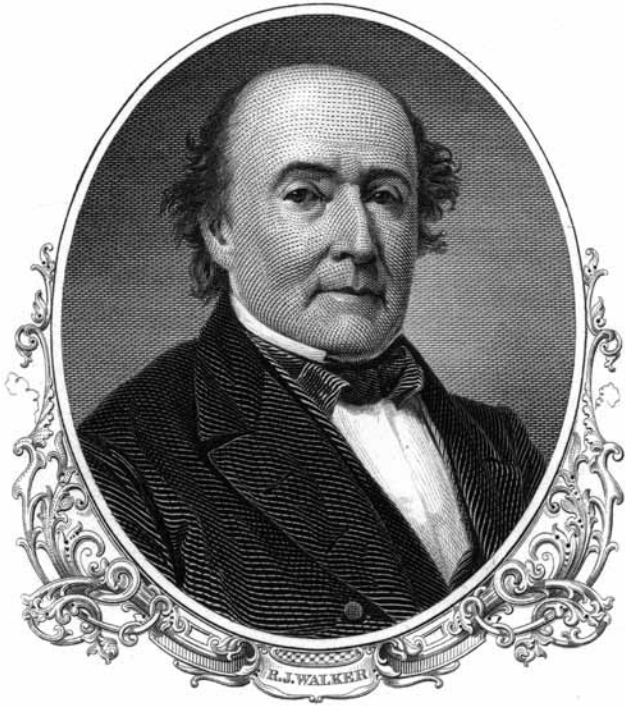


The violence continued through 1856 in Easton, where citizens suffered reprisals on all sides. In the fall of that year Kookogey was appointed constable to protect the town from plundering factions. He also turned to politics as a way of voicing his support for the proslavery cause. He entered the political fray after Governor John W. Geary, pictured, ordered territorial elections for October 1856. Geary, a Pennsylvania native who had been the first mayor of San Francisco and would go on to become a Union general in the Civil War and governor of the Keystone State, served as the governor of Kansas Territory, from September 9, 1856, to March 12, 1857.

H.] Stringfellow. They believe that the policy of this class of pro slavery men are doing more to abolitionize Kansas than any other class." The newspaper called for "men of wise and cool heads, to guide the destiny of the country."²⁶

Kookogey attempted to do just that when he turned to politics as a way of voicing his support for the proslavery cause. Instead of taking up arms, he aspired to peacefully uphold Southern rights through the electoral process, entering the political fray after Governor John W. Geary ordered territorial elections for October 6, 1856. Like

26. *Strickler Report*, 335-38; *Kansas Claims*, 707-12; and *Western Reporter* as cited in "From Kansas-Latest News," *Ripley Bee*, February 9, 1856.



In February 1857 the Kansas Territorial Legislature called for a constitutional convention to convene at Leocompton in early September. The move was denounced by free-state activists who had already written their own constitution and petitioned Congress for statehood. Governor Geary, at odds with the legislature, resigned in March and was replaced the following month by Robert J. Walker, pictured. Born in Pennsylvania, Walker had served as U.S. Secretary of the Treasury and as a senator from Mississippi before accepting appointment as the governor of Kansas Territory, a position he held from May 27 to November 16, 1857.

Kookogey and some of the other Cuba filibusters, Geary was a Freemason, who served as a charter member and secretary of California Lodge No. 13 in San Francisco when he was mayor of that city in 1850. According to the records of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Kansas, however, Kookogey never associated with the fraternity after the filibuster fiasco. Kookogey ran as a Democrat for a seat in the territorial legislature representing Leavenworth County. Despite receiving the highest number of votes in Easton against nine opponents, he fared poorly in four other precincts and lost his bid. Instead, Captain Martin, leader of the Kickapoo Rangers; probate judge Matthew R. Walker; and attorneys William G. Mathias and D. J. Johnson were elected as representatives from Leavenworth County.²⁷

27. "The Election in Kansas," *New York Herald*, October 18 and 26, 1856; Gihon, *Geary and Kansas*, 195; Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, 3:101; Robert B. Pfuetze, Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge AF&AM of Kansas, email message to author, June 4, 2003; William E. Connelley,

The territorial violence abated after the first sale of public lands on November 17, 1856, starting with more than 200,000 acres of the Delaware Trust Lands. Kookogey went to Fort Leavenworth, where Governor Geary and fifteen hundred men, one-quarter of whom were settlers looking to prove their claims, gathered for the event. Kookogey was eventually called before the land commissioner on December 1 to give an account of the stewardship of his 160-acre claim and offer proof of settlement. He paid \$200 in gold and silver for his quarter section and received a certificate of purchase. Three months later Kookogey sold his land for \$700 to Mary Large, the mother-in-law of Armstead Dawson. His timing was lucky, as he completed the sale just prior to the Panic of 1857, which caused land prices to plummet. Kookogey used some of the profits to finance his budding political ambitions.²⁸

Meanwhile, on February 19, 1857, the Kansas Territorial Legislature approved a bill for a constitutional convention to convene at Leocompton in early September. Sixty delegates would be apportioned from an upcoming special census of voters in all thirty-four counties. The law was denounced by free-state activists who had already written their own constitution and petitioned Congress for statehood. Governor Geary, at odds with the legislature despite his initial efforts to remain neutral on the slavery question, resigned in March and was replaced the following month by Robert J. Walker. That spring, there was massive emigration to Kansas "almost wholly from the Northern states." Kookogey and his fellow proslavery advocates were increasingly outnumbered. The first week of May, Edwin F. De Graffenried, a thirty-one-year-old physician from Milledgeville, Georgia, wrote from Leavenworth to the *Columbus Enquirer* that "Sam. Kookogey, formerly of Columbus, is still a resident of Kansas, and has always been a fearless vindicator of the rights of the South in the Territory and the bitter opponent of the Abolitionists, who have now the ascendancy, in his neighborhood."²⁹

"The First Provisional Constitution of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1897–1900 6 (1900): 113; and U. S. Census, 1860, Kansas, Arapahoe County, Mountain City, 476.

28. Coffin, "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas," 347; Gihon, *Geary and Kansas*, 207, 211; "The Land Sales," *Herald of Freedom*, November 29, 1856; deed record, vol. 3, 125–26, October 1, 1858, Leavenworth County Register of Deeds, Kansas Territory; U.S. patent record, vol. J, 141, June 11, 1860, Leavenworth County Register of Deeds, Kansas Territory; Survey Plat MS 364-R, 50; and Tract Book MS 325-R, 201.

29. Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 445–46; Gihon, *Geary and Kansas*, 287; Franklin G. Adams, "The Capitals of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1903–1904 8 (1904): 342; "Interesting letter from Kansas," *Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer*, May 23, 1857; and U.S. Census, 1860, Georgia, Baldwin County, 16.

MUSTER ROLL, COMPANY						REG.	BRIG.	DIV.	Easton		
KANSAS VOLUNTEERS, FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE BALLOT-BOX.											
CAPTAIN	AGE	WHERE BORN	WHERE FROM TO KANSAS	RESIDENCE IN KANSAS	REMARKS	FIRST TIME	AGE	WHERE BORN	WHERE FROM TO KANSAS	RESIDENCE IN KANSAS	REMARKS
Joseph, Hicks	41	Ohio	Ohio	Mo	3 years	Amos, Smith	35	Ohio	Mo	3 years	
FIRST LIEUTENANT						J. H. Thompson	20	Ohio	Mo	5 months	
J. H. Thompson	20	Virginia	Mo	2 years	Sharp	J. Thompson	41	Ill.	Ill.	2 years	through
SECOND LIEUTENANT						William, Smith	35	Ill.	Ill.	6 months	through
P. C. ...	49	Virginia	Mo	2 years		James, Price	21	Ill.	Ill.	1 year	through
FIRST SERGEANT						E. White	41	Ill.	Mo	2 years	
A. B. ...	21	Ill.	Ill.	3 years	Sharp						
SECOND SERGEANT											
L. H. ...	21	Mo	Mo	1 year							
FIRST CORPORAL											
J. H. Hicks	27	Ohio	Ohio	1 year							
SECOND CORPORAL											
J. H. ...	25	Ohio	Ill.	6 months	Adler						
THIRTY											
John,	Ill.	Mo	3 years							
B. B. ...	45	Ill.	Mo	3 years							
James, ...	23	Ill.	Mo	3 years							
Nathan, ...	22	Ill.	Ill.	6 months							
Lucas, ...	27	Ill.	Ill.	6 months							
James, ...	40	Ill.	Mo	3 years							
John, ...	30	Ill.	Ill.	2 years	Sharp						
John, ...	30	England	Ill.	12 years							
Columbus, ...	21	Ill.	Ill.	3 years	Sharp						
John, ...	21	Mo	Mo	1 year							
John, ...	46	Ill.	Mo	3 years							
Samuel, ...	47	Ill.	Mo	2 years	12 months						
August, ...	37	Ill.	Ill.	3 years							
P. D. ...	49	Ill.	Mo	2 years	Sharp						
H. B. ...	72	Ohio	Ill.	2 years	Sharp						
H. ...	15	Ill.	Ill.	2 years							
J. H. ...	27	Ohio	Ohio	2 years							
J. J. ...	42	Ill.	Ill.	1 year	Sevier						
John, ...	31	Ill.	Ill.	2 years	Sharp						
H. ...	35	Ohio	Ohio	2 years	Sharp						
Columbus, ...	21	Ohio	Ohio	6 months	Sharp						
W. H. ...	15	Ill.	Ill.	2 years							
H. ...	40	Ill.	Ill.	1 year							
William, ...	35	Ill.	Ill.	2 years							
Joseph, ...	41	Ohio	Mo	3 years							
George, ...	15	Mo	Mo	2 years							

On July 18, 1857, the free-state government in Topeka "resolved that James H. Lane be appointed . . . and authorized, to organize the people in several districts, to protect the ballot-boxes at the approaching elections in Kansas." Lane sent out a call to "the people of Kansas" to form companies of between thirty and eighty men "in their various neighborhoods, towns, and settlements." Registries of the Kansas Volunteers for the Protection of the Ballot Box were made in communities across Kansas Territory, such as the one pictured here listing the names of men willing to safeguard the boxes in Easton from the sorts of violence that had overtaken voting there the previous year.

Even still, Kookogey sought political office in hopes of influencing the outcome of popular sovereignty in Kansas. Kookogey appeared on the roll of 123 registered voters in Stranger Creek Township on May 5, 1857. Fifteen days later, he attended the Leavenworth County Convention of the Democratic Party to nominate candidates for the Lecompton Constitutional Convention. The meeting apportioned a set of candidacies to five county townships. The delegates from each township then selected their own aspirants. Kookogey, on a motion by S. W. Tunnell, the Leavenworth County sheriff and a carpenter by trade, was declared the sole nominee for Stranger Creek Township. Lucian Johnston Eastin was one of the five candidates from Leavenworth. Those selected were unanimously declared the nominees of the Democratic Party by the convention. A free-state convention in Topeka on June 9 resolved to boycott the upcoming election of delegates to the

Lecompton Constitutional Convention. When the contest was held on June 15, only 2,200 of 9,251 registered voters participated in twenty-one out of thirty-four registered counties. Kookogey was one of twelve men elected from the Fourth District, Leavenworth County, with 413 votes. Eastin was also elected in the same district with 431 votes.³⁰ Two weeks later, on July 2 and 3, Kookogey

30. A U.S. House Select Committee concluded that the free-state voters had boycotted voting for delegates to the constitution convention and "prevented the registry themselves." *Kansas Constitution*, May 11, 1858, 35th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rep. 377, serial 966, 13, 22-24 (hereafter cited as "*Kansas Constitution*"); Robert W. Johannsen, "The Lecompton Constitutional Convention: An Analysis of its Membership," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 23 (Autumn 1957): 226; Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 115, 118-19, 127; Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 453, 465; Gihon, *Geary and Kansas*, 302; Spring, *Kansas*, 212; U.S. Census, 1860, Missouri, Platte County, 735; 1857 Census, Kansas Territory, Leavenworth County, "List of Qualified Voters of Leavenworth County Kansas Territory"; and "Proceedings of the County Convention," (Leavenworth) *Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 23, 1857.

attended a convention of proslavery Democrats held at Lecompton that nominated candidates for territorial delegates for Congress.³¹

Two months later, on Monday, September 7, the Lecompton Constitutional Convention met in what would come to be called Constitution Hall, a two-story rectangular-frame building that served as a U.S. land office and district court, among other uses. Kookogey was one of forty-four delegates present of the sixty that had been elected. Twenty-one of the sixty were farmers and eleven were lawyers. The Georgian's occupation was listed as surveyor, and he was, as in the past, affiliated with the Democratic Party. The free-state press hooted the convention and its "grotesque" delegates with a plethora of colorful epithets. In contrast, a *New York Herald* correspondent described those gathered as "a large proportion of farmers and country shopkeepers . . . not unused to the work of political conventions," who were "particularly responsible settlers and property holders." The federal government recognized the assembly as a legally constituted body and provided military troops to protect it. The convention dedicated its first meeting to approving organizational resolutions before adjourning until the following day.³²

On Tuesday Kookogey joined those who elected John Calhoun, the surveyor-general of Kansas and Nebraska territories, over Lucian Johnston Eastin and Rush Elmore to preside the convention. The Georgian also sided with the majority who chose other permanent officers. Father John J. McGee, an Irish Catholic priest residing at Lecompton, was declared chaplain of the convention and afterward initiated all sessions with a prayer. The constituents spent the next two days dealing with the rules of order governing the convention and passing resolutions related to fourteen standing committees. On Friday, September 11, Kookogey was assigned with five other men to the state boundaries committee, where his surveying knowledge played an important role. When a general vote was taken on a motion to adjourn until November 1, Kookogey and fifteen others in favor of it

31. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 128; Spring, *Kansas*, 215; Robert Morris Peck, "Recollections of Early Times in Kansas Territory," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1903-1904* 8 (1904): 487; and "History of Kansas," *Herald of Freedom*, April 11, 1857. In the summer of 1857 Kookogey sent a letter to the Leavenworth paper, "Man Shot," *Kansas Weekly Herald*, August 15, 1857, reporting on local matters in Easton. He promised further dispatches as necessary.

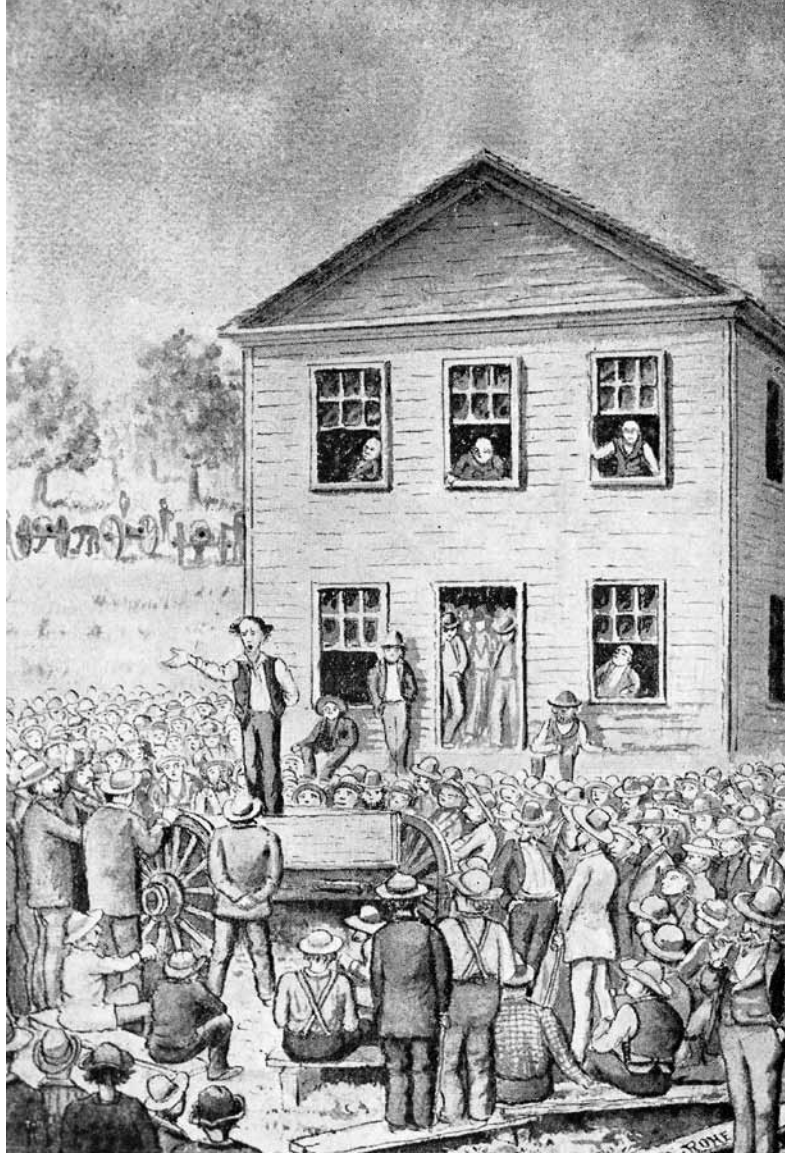
32. (Emporia) *Kansas News*, November 21, 1857; "Affairs in Kansas: The Constitutional Convention," *New York Herald*, September 22, 1857; Johannsen, "The Lecompton Constitutional Convention," 230; "Delegates to the Kansas Constitutional Convention," *New York Herald*, September 7, 1857; Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 134; Spring, *Kansas*, 221; and Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 465.

were overruled. That afternoon, the Georgian voted with the majority who agreed to adjourn until October 19.³³

The postponement allowed the delegates to return home and participate in the October 5 election for the territorial legislature and U.S. Congress. The polls in Easton, under orders from Governor Walker, were protected by Company M, Second U.S. Artillery from Fort Leavenworth, commanded by Brevet Major Henry Jackson Hunt. Although the election resulted in a free-state victory, Kookogey and his colleagues returned to Lecompton on October 19 to conclude their futile endeavor. Many of the delegates were intimidated by hundreds of free-state men who thronged outside Constitution Hall to hear Jim Lane denounce the assembly as "outlaws, bloodhounds, villains, devils, rascals, recreants, scoundrels, usurpers, murderers, and thieves, and their schemes as atrocious, disgraceful, hellish, and damnable." Lane "himself was in favor of cutting their throats then and there." As a result of this provocation, no convention quorum could be mustered for three days. The delegates resumed their work on October 22 and heard reports from the committees on education and the bill of rights. Discussion on these and other issues continued the next day, with only thirty-two delegates present. Nearly half of the assemblymen also failed to attend the next two sessions. Kookogey was apparently absent on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, as his name does not appear on the roll calls or voting results of the thirty-two active members. He returned on the afternoon of the twenty-eighth to hear the report of the committee on elections and rights of suffrage. Kookogey voted with a slim majority to strike out the word "white" in the document regarding the eligibility to vote and after the word "election" to insert "and shall have paid for the year previous a territorial or state and county tax."³⁴

33. John Calhoun (1806-1859), a Boston native, studied law in New York and in 1830 settled in Springfield, Illinois, where he became a surveyor. He served in the Illinois State Legislature and as thrice-elected mayor of Springfield. In 1855 Father John J. McGee was the first resident priest of Hudson, Wisconsin, where he supervised the construction of St. James Catholic Church, completed in 1857. McGee was one of the three appointed judges of elections in Versailles Precinct, Shawnee County, in the August 1858 Lecompton Constitution referendum. Robert W. Johannsen, "The Lecompton Constitutional Convention: An Analysis of Its Membership," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 23 (Autumn 1957): 237; *Kansas Constitution*, 23-38; "The Kansas Constitutional Convention," *New York Herald*, September 19, 1857; U.S. Census, 1860, Kansas Territory, Wyandotte County, 887; and "Proclamation to the electors of the territory of Kansas," *Herald of Freedom*, July 24, 1858.

34. *Kansas Constitution*, 38-56; Wendell Holmes Stephenson, *The Political Career of General James H. Lane*, Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society 3 (Topeka, Kans.: B. P. Walker, State Printer, 1930), 90; Johannsen, "The Lecompton Constitutional Convention," 229; and "Governor Walker's Administration," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1891-1896* 5 (1896): 310-12.



When the Lecompton Constitutional Convention met on September 7, 1857, Kookogey was present as an elected delegate from Leavenworth County. The federal government recognized the assembly as a legally constituted body, but free-state supporters condemned the convention. At a meeting of the convention in October, hundreds of free-state men thronged outside the hall to hear Jim Lane denounce the assembly as "outlaws, bloodhounds, villains, devils, rascals, recreants, scoundrels, usurpers, murderers, and thieves, and their schemes as atrocious, disgraceful, hellish, and damnable." Lane "himself was in favor of cutting their throats then and there." The provocation, which prevented the mustering of a convention quorum for three days, is captured in this illustration from John Speer's Life of General James H. Lane, which shows Lane speaking at center left.

The same report was again taken up at the next day's session and Kookogey voted with the majority to adopt its final version. That afternoon the assembly discussed the reports of the committees on boundaries and education and quickly approved them. On October 30 the committee on slavery presented its report. The delegates concurred on its four sections and added a preamble that stated: "The right of property is before and higher than

any constitutional sanction, and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same, and is as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever." Kookogey was among the forty delegates who approved the preamble, which received only three negative votes. The entire following day was spent on taking up the report of the committee on corporations. Kookogey voted with the majority on the various motions

on the table. On November 2, considerations of the same report were resumed. The Georgian once again sided with the majority on the issues in question. The rest of the day was spent on adding small amendments to the twenty-five sections of the report from the committee on the legislative department and the eight sections of the report from the committee on finance. Kookogey did not participate that afternoon in the three votes on finance issues.³⁵

The delegates met for the last time on November 3 to finish work on the document that would be submitted to the territory's electorate before the end of the year. The report of the committee on incorporations was taken up as unfinished business. Kookogey abstained from the five votes taken on various amendment motions. The convention then approved the Lecompton Constitution that protected chattel property and prohibited free blacks from living in the state. Forty-five delegates signed the document; Kookogey's name was followed by that of Easton. Subsequently, the convention's president John Calhoun announced a December 21 election to vote on the constitution with or without slavery. With free-state partisans boycotting the election, the Lecompton Constitution with slavery passed 6,226 to 569, and the document was sent to Washington, D.C., for approval.

A select committee of fifteen members of the U.S. House of Representatives, presided over by future Confederate Vice President Alexander H. Stephens, analyzed the Lecompton Constitution and its proceedings, concluding that "the legality and regularity of the whole are marked throughout. Every step in its progress was taken in strict conformity to law." Nevertheless, when the document was submitted to a second territorial referendum called by the newly elected free-state legislature for January 4, 1858, it was rejected by more than ten thousand votes, with fewer than two hundred favoring ratification.³⁶

Kookogey's destiny took another turn in late January, when Dawson passed away and was interred on a hilltop in Easton Cemetery. Kookogey, Thomas Minard, and Dawson's widow took inventory of the estate, which amounted to \$30,000, including nearly \$10,000 in pending notes.

35. *Kansas Constitution*, 56–73.

36. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, 134, 147; Spring, *Kansas*, 221–22, 236; Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 467, 476–77, 533; *Kansas Constitution*, 2, 97; Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln: Douglas, Buchanan, and Party Chaos 1857–1859* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 269, 296, 453; and Willard Carl Klunder, *Lewis Cass and the Politics of Moderation* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1996), 299.

Thirty-eight of the 114 city lots owned by Dawson were immediately offered for sale. Kookogey bought fifteen of them for \$264 and, as part of the sale, surveyed the plat of Easton for a \$20 fee. Dawson's personal property was sold at an administrator's sale and Kookogey purchased a freight wagon for \$62. A probate court adjudicated Kookogey's \$33 claim against the Dawson estate. Seven months later, Kookogey mortgaged all his lots for a \$55 promissory note "with interest at the rate of twenty per cent per annum" from James Wallace. With this Kookogey began to expand his real estate holdings in Easton.³⁷

On August 2, 1858, a third Lecompton Constitution referendum mandated by an act of Congress was held in Kansas. Governor James W. Denver and the other members of the Board of Commissioners appointed Kookogey as one of three election judges for Easton precinct. The *New York Herald* indicated that all "the appointments are said to be good ones, the men being persons of high character." The charter was again rejected by a wide voter margin, and Kookogey's nascent political career, built on support of slavery and Southern rights, was over.³⁸

That summer, Kookogey married Anne Eliza Dawson, the widow of his former boss, and began to further expand his Easton holdings as the little town began to grow. *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley stopped at Easton in May 1859 en route to San Francisco, and described it as "a village of thirty to fifty houses." The town grew rapidly after it became Station No. 2 of the Pike's Peak Express stage line and hundreds of west-bound emigrant stagecoaches and freight wagons stopped at Easton.

Kookogey bought the Minard family property for \$550 on July 22, 1859, and in October, Samuel Kookogey, Jr., was born. The following month the Kookogeys sold

37. Dawson's grave had no tombstone in 1958. A massive stone monument with a plaque was later erected over his grave in a large rectangular plot outlined with stones. "Monument to Founder," *Tonganoxie (Kans.) Mirror*, November 27, 1958; Jones, *The Trail to Progress*, 58; Probate Journal and Order Book, 1858, Leavenworth County, Kansas, vol. A, 125, 154, 158, microfilm AR3440, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka; *Kansas Claims*, 565–67; "Report of the Secretary to the President," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1881–1884* 3 (1886): 326–27; "Probate Court," *Leavenworth (Kans.) Times*, March 6, 1858; "Administrator's Sale," *Kansas Weekly Herald*, March 13, 1858; Probate Court, Inventories of Estates, Armstead Dawson, February 20, 1858, vol. A, 12425, microfilm AR 3440, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka; and deed record, vol. P, 144, March 6, 1861, Leavenworth County Register of Deeds, Kansas.

38. E. Duane Elbert, "The English Bill: An Attempt to Compromise the Lecompton Dilemma," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 1 (Winter 1978): 219–34; "Proclamation to the electors of the territory of Kansas," *Herald of Freedom*, July 24, 1858; and "Our Kansas Correspondence," *New York Herald*, June 26, 1858.

three of their town lots to Robert Bannister for \$250.³⁹ The Georgian served a brief stint as justice of the peace in Easton, performing at least one marriage ceremony, and then turned to farming. On March 7, 1860, Anne purchased from her parents for \$600 the 160 acres of land they had bought from her husband three years earlier. Kookogey's efforts at farming were frustrated when an unprecedented drought that spring and summer caused a major crop failure in the territory, a setback that prompted thirty thousand settlers to leave Kansas. On November 19, 1860, the Kookogeys used their land deed as collateral to obtain a \$300 promissory note from Lewis J. Burnes, at 20 percent annual interest, payable at the banking house of Scott Kerr and Company in Leavenworth. The loan was repaid eighteen months later. In the July 1860 federal census Kookogey listed his occupation as farmer, his real estate was worth \$600, and his personal property was valued at \$400. Easton residents celebrated when Kansas was admitted into the Union on January 29, 1861, but a month later, perhaps out of financial necessity, Kookogey and his wife sold three of their town lots for \$30.⁴⁰

When the Civil War erupted in April, Kookogey did not join a military unit, nor did he return to his native state like many other Southerners. Probate court records reveal that twenty-one-year-old Anne Kookogey passed away in May 1862 and her estate was inherited by her husband. The same source indicates that Kookogey died five months later, at the age of thirty-four, and Thomas Donehoo of Leavenworth County became the administrator of his estate. Donehoo finished selling Kookogey's property in July 1864. There are no death or burial records to describe how the Kookogeys died. Samuel and Anne Kookogey are probably interred in an unmarked grave in the Dawson family plot. In 1870 their son, Samuel Jr., was attending school in Easton and living

with his maternal grandparents, sixty-five-year-old John Large and his wife. The ten-year-old boy and his relatives then disappeared from all subsequent Kansas census records. Colonel Samuel Kookogey never knew the fate of his son or grandson. In 1871 he told a Houston, Texas, newspaper that his son was "supposed dead," after not hearing from him for many years. He passed away in 1889 at the age of ninety-six in the Talbotton, Georgia, home of his granddaughter Mattie E. Martin.⁴¹

Samuel J. Kookogey acquired in Kansas the land and wealth he was unable to attain in a failed filibuster attempt in Cuba. The youthful quirk of character that led him to partner with the filibusters was prompted by Masonic fraternal influence and the temptation to get rich quick. Kookogey was imbued with his father's pioneering spirit when he arrived in Kansas. He worked hard as a clerk, surveyor, land speculator, farmer, constable, justice of the peace, and election judge, and eventually married a financially secure widow and started a family. Kookogey, a former slave owner, supported the institution by legal means and avoided warfare during Bleeding Kansas and the Civil War. A Democratic Party activist and public servant like his father, he ran for elective office twice and was elected to the Lecompton Constitutional Convention, where he assisted in drafting the proslavery charter. Although slavery was soon outlawed, it did not change Kookogey's resolve to remain in Kansas. In contrast, forty-one of the sixty Lecompton constitutional delegates had left the territory by 1860. Kookogey, like some other antebellum Southerners who migrated westward, never returned to his place of origin and ended up in an early and unmarked grave. KH

39. Abolitionist John Chadwick officiated wedding ceremonies as justice of the peace in Easton from December 1858 to March 1860. It seems that after this Kookogey briefly took over these duties. Marriage Index and Abstracts, Leavenworth County, Kansas, October 1855–January 1869, vol. 1, Leavenworth Public Library, Leavenworth, Kansas; deed record, vol. I, 493, July 22, 1859, and vol. M, 568, November 10, 1859, Leavenworth County Register of Deeds, Kansas Territory; Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey, from New York to San Francisco, in the Summer of 1859* (New York: C. M. Saxton, Barker & Co., 1860), 50; and Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi: From the great river to the great ocean; life and adventure on the prairies, mountains, and Pacific coast . . . 1857* (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Company, 1867), 160.

40. Lewis J. Burnes, along with his two brothers and a partner, operated the ferry at Atchison between 1855 and 1857, before selling it for \$8,000. R. G. Dun & Company Credit Report, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, 1:361; deed record, vol. M, 578, March, 7, 1860, and vol. P, 44, November 19, 1860, Leavenworth County Register of Deeds, Kansas; Spring, Kansas, 271; Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 560–61, 564; and U.S. Census, 1860, Kansas, Leavenworth County, Easton Village, 764.

41. Thomas Donehoo does not appear in the 1860 federal census for Leavenworth County, Kansas. The 1870 federal census for neighboring Atchison County lists Thomas Donohue, a sixty-two-year-old Irish farmer, who moved to Kansas from Missouri in 1862 with his family. His real estate was valued at \$6,000 and his personal property was worth \$915. U.S. Census, 1870, Kansas, Atchison County, Atchison County Township, 271, and Leavenworth County, Easton Township, 14; deed record, vol. R, 518, and vol. 5, 72–73, February 28, 1861, Leavenworth County Register of Deeds, Kansas; Leavenworth County, Kansas, Index to Record of Administrators, May 25, 1857 to July 23, 1870, vol. A, Estate of Samuel J. Kookogey, October 17, 1862, microfilm AR7345, State Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka; Alberta Pantle, "Death Notices From Kansas Territorial Newspapers, 1854–1861, part one: A–L," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 18 (August 1950): 408–26; Hall and Hand, *History of Leavenworth County*, 147; *Galveston Tri-Weekly News* (Houston, Tex.), May 19, 1871; "Uncle Sam Kookogey," *Georgia Weekly Telegraph*, November 19, 1880; and Worsley, *Columbus on the Chattahoochee*, 231.