Letters from Paradise

by James C. and Eleanor A. Duram

One of the most interesting phenomena of the decade extending from the late 1860s to the late 1870s was the appearance of a large number of what became known as "Kansas" letters. The letters, written by Kansas emigrants and sent to their hometowns "back East," described conditions in the state in glowing terms and encouraged emigration. Significant numbers of these letters were published in the local newspapers of the communities from which the emigrants had come. There, if the remarks of the local editors are accurate, they stirred much discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of moving West, even creating in some severe cases of what became known as "Kansas fever."

An interesting perspective on the substance of the letters and the role they played in encouraging settlement appears in those published in the two local newspapers in Bellefonte, Centre County, Pennsylvania, between 1867 and 1879. Centre County was one of a number of central Pennsylvania counties that saw significant numbers of their citizens emigrate to Kansas in the decade ending in 1880. During that time, the Democratic Watchman published thirteen and the Bellefonte Republican twenty-four Kansas letters, as

Scenes such as this emigrant train in Topeka in 1879 prompted urgent letters to the folks back East, warning that Kansas was filling up.
well as extensive editorial comments and other letters commenting on them. Chronologically, the letters begin in January 1867 and extend into July 1879 with fully eighty percent of them coming after 1874. Only one of the letters was written and published during the 1878-1879 period when Kansas suffered from the effects of depression, drought, and plagues of grasshoppers.

The letters that appeared in the two Bellefonte newspapers were the work of nineteen different authors from thirteen Kansas counties. Eighteen were the work of three authors. Of the three, W. W. Brown, the former editor of the Republican, was actively engaged in recruiting Pennsylvanians for his settlement at Lincoln Centre, Lincoln County. Brown seems to be a classic example of the land developer-speculator whom Paul Wallace Gates saw as playing a dynamic role in western settlement. Gates noted interestingly that settlers drew distinctions between resident speculators, like Brown, who improved their lands and absentee speculators who did not.

Evidence about the business connections and functions of the other authors is lacking, although all trumpeted the advantages of their own locations and several mentioned railway land agents favorably. Many of these same authors also mentioned that they were either in possession of letters of inquiry or would be happy to answer such letters from their Pennsylvania friends. Whether motivated by personal gain, community service, or both when these motives were intertwined, the letter writers did stimulate much interest about Kansas in Pennsylvania.

Prior to an assessment of the main themes in the letters, a brief discussion of the numbers and locations of Pennsylvanians who came to Kansas as emigrants in the 1860-1880 period is in order. Census statistics reveal that the numbers of Kansas born in Pennsylvania jumped from 6,468 in 1860, to 19,287 in 1870, and to 59,236 in 1880. Pennsylvanians along with settlers from Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, New York, and Missouri constituted the largest groups populating the Sunflower state in those two decades. As John Rydjord has noted in his definitive work, Kansas Place-names, several towns in Kansas reflect the Pennsylvania origins of their first settlers. Examples of towns named after central Pennsylvania locations include: Bellefonte, Philipsburg, and New Cambria; the first two located in Centre County and the latter in adjacent Cambria County.

With this background in mind, let us turn to an examination of the main themes appearing in the letters. Virtually all of them provided two kinds of information about Kansas. First, they described significant aspects of the physical and human environment. Secondly, they tendered advice to those contemplating emigration to Kansas. Taken together, the letters present a fascinating, if somewhat flattering, portrait of pioneer

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1. The letters cited in this study were taken from microfilmed runs of the Bellefonte Republican, hereafter cited as Republican, and the Bellefonte Democratic Daily Watchman, hereafter cited as Watchman, obtained from the Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, public library. See Table 1 for a complete list of the letters, their authors, and their dates of publication.

2. The only exception was the letter published in the May 8, 1874, issue of the Watchman. For a description of conditions in Kansas during 1873-1874, see William F. Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State, 1st ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 185-64.

3. Table. The three principal authors were: Tibbens (7), Dickinson County Boy (6), and W. W. Brown (5). Brown had been editor of the Republican prior to his migration to Kansas in November 1872.


5. Watchman, January 25, 1872, February 2, March 16, March 23, 1877, January 25, March 1, 1878, Republican, June 28, 1871, June 30, 1875, February 23, 1876, April 24, 1878.

6. Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, People of Kansas: A Demographic and Sociological Study (Topeka: Kansas State Planning Board, 1936), 208.

7. Ibid.; J. D. Morgan, Some Controlling Forces in Kansas Population Movements (Lawrence: Bureau of Business Research, School of Business, University of Kansas, 1953), 82-83.


Kansas by those involved in its creation; one that placed heavy emphasis on an opportunity for a better life than that offered in the rugged mountain valleys of central Pennsylvania. Though long on optimism, the letters did contain occasional and even consistent streaks of hard-headed realism in the composite picture that they present to the modern reader.

The Cultural and Physical Environment

A number of the letters were marked by a sense of urgency. Both of the newspapers published letters noting that Kansas was filling up fast and that those interested should move quickly lest they be left out. One letter written from Lincoln Centre on February 21, 1878, typified this aspect of the correspondence.

The country is full of emigrant wagons—prairie schooners, as they are called here—people are flocking into Kansas from the Eastern States in great numbers. If the rush continues it will not be long before all the desirable land in this portion of the State has been taken up... But this Kansas is a great State, and there are millions of acres of the most magnificent land to be had yet. But in a short time most of the desirable land will be taken and homeseekers will be obliged to rush farther west.

Such words were not designed to encourage discretion and deliberation among Pennsylvania readers. They were in fact classic examples of what we would refer to today as the modern psychology of demand.

Many of the writers pointed with pride to the construction of churches, schools, and the progressive social environment that existed in Kansas. Pennsylvanians were assured that Kansas was rapidly being civilized. As a writer from Monrovia, Atchison County, stated in 1867:

...in many portions of the State, there exists very good society. The greatest of efforts are made for schools and churches. I do think the sharpest of fining is for these purposes is brought forward. Where there are ten scholars, there must be a graded school, and in a town or city, with a population of two thousand, a College and Commercial school. In short they are a go ahead set of people. You must not come here to find ignorant or misers. Old fogyism is lost sight of, and all modern improvements are aimed at sharply, and with such a spirit imbued in the hearts of this people with the various advantages its climate, soil and central location affords it will soon be the nexus [sic] of wealth, commerce, and trade.

It is about agricultural potential of Kansas that the writers waxed most eloquent. Of central importance to the emigrants was the existence of vast quantities of relatively cheap and fertile agricultural land which could be acquired from either the government or rail-road land companies. The overwhelming majority of these writers exuded a sense of confidence even in the face of adversity. Consider the following example written on January 25, 1878:

No doubt some of you will smile and say, how about the hoppers? In reply, I would say that we do not purpose [sic] to combat with the Red Legs that come here on angel wings from the north-west, but we do most emphatically declare that we can and will fight the little 'cusses' that hatch from the eggs the ones deposit. We can fight them as successfully as a bad crop of weeds.

Again and again, the writers cited the richness of the soil and how it produced tremendous quantities of wheat, corn, and other cereals, far more than imagined possible in Pennsylvania. Many of the writers cited specific examples of wheat prices and volume. A few examples should suffice. An 1876 letter from Dickinson County read:

I think if some of the Centre county farmer boys should take a look over the fields of waving grain in Kansas they would bid farewell to those hills and mud holes forever.

A letter from Rosalia, Butler County, dated June 19, 1871, stated that Kansas

Soil is not surpassed anywhere. A man near Eldorado [sic] tells us if we sow our wheat the last of August or the first of September, and don't get forty bushels per acre, he will pay for the trouble of putting it out. Mellons [sic] of all kinds beat Jersey all hollow, larger and far more delicious. To make a good days work at husking corn, a man should be on horseback, in order to be able to reach the ears, which are very large and always two on a stalk. And there are a few more claims of the same sort left.

10. Republican, January 30, 1878; Watchman, October 12, 1877, January 25, 1878.
11. Republican, February 27, 1878.
12. Republican, June 28, September 6, 1871, June 30, 1875, April 24, 1878, March 26, 1879: Watchman, January 20, 1872, April 21, May 12, 1876.
13. Watchman, March 29, 1867 (note early date of this letter).
14. Virtually all of the Kansas letters examined in this study discussed this subject. Two typical examples appeared in the Republican, February 27, 1878, and the Watchman, March 1, 1878.
15. Republican, January 30, 1878.
16. Republican, May 24, 1876.
17. Republican, June 28, 1871.
An 1872 letter from L. F. Eggers in Oskaloosa, Jefferson County, asserted:

The soil of this country is excellent. Corn, wheat and all small grains do well. On upland prairie 50 to 60 bushels of corn are raised per acre on an average, by measurement. Root plants and all kinds of vegetables grow to perfection. There is no crop that does not do well in this country, if properly cultivated. The soil is much easier to farm and keep in order than in most of the other States. Farmers say a man can cultivate two acres here in half the time and with much less labor than one in Pennsylvania, New York, or any of the old States.18

Such descriptions certainly must have left the space-starved Centre County farmers green with envy and open to suggestions about migration to Kansas.

Though the writers had to work somewhat harder to present the Kansas climate in the glowing terms that they used to characterize its agricultural potential, they did a more than passable job. Many of the writers mentioned the hot, sunny days and windiness, but most emphasized that these conditions were most beneficial to the state's inhabitants. As one put it:

This country is very healthy, and Doctors are in poor demand. The atmosphere is very clear indeed. Asthma, that dreadful malady which afflicts so many in the East, is unknown here, or is certain to leave the sufferer after a residence of a few months in Kansas.19

There was virtually no mention of the periodic outbreaks of scarlet fever, typhoid fever, and diphtheria that occurred in the West.

Such calamities as droughts, tornadoes, and grasshoppers were minimized with generous doses of optimism. One of the writers went so far as to suggest that...

...it is also a noticeable fact that our climate, owing to the building of houses, planting of trees, cultivating the soil, running of railroads and telegraph lines, &c.,

18. Watchman, January 26, 1872. For similar descriptions, see Watchman, February 2, March 16, 1877; Republican, June 30, 1869, June 30, 1871, January 12, May 21, 1876, January 30, February 27, April 24, June 5, August 14, 1878.

is gradually changing for the better, so that for several years there has been a very perceptible increase in the rain fall.\textsuperscript{20}

It would be difficult to find a more succinct expression of the "rain follows the plow" theory in western boomer literature. Another reaction similarly in discussing the impact of tornadoes on Kansans.

...we passed through that part of the State which had been visited by the cyclone the day previous by which some thirty persons were killed in four or five counties and twice as many, more or less injured. In answer to questions, the citizens who escaped the visit of destruction, assured us that they now feel more safe than ever, as cyclones have never been known to visit the same locality the second time.\textsuperscript{21}

Despite these efforts, sporadic complaints about the heat of the Kansas summer did surface in the letters.\textsuperscript{22} Others also noted the suddenness and extremes of the weather patterns in the state.\textsuperscript{23} Still, given the realities that the settlers faced, the relative fewness of these complaints was remarkable. It suggests that the economic opportunities surrounding the cheap land simply overwhelmed the potential disadvantages. It also suggests that the damp, humid climate of central Pennsylvania was also somewhat short of perfection.

Only rarely did antidotes for "Kansas fever" appear in the Bellefonte papers. When they did, these letters portrayed in graphic terms the types of challenges confronting Kansas farmers. On June 21, 1876, the Bellefonte Republican published a letter from Dickinson County under the heading "A New Pest in the West." In it, the author asserted that he had "pictured... the bright side previously" and that "it will be but justice to show a little of the dark also."

We were cursed with the grasshopper and locust, and are now enjoying the ravages of the caterpillar, (if enjoyment it can be to see a man's crop destroyed.) They have only been noticed within the past week, but are here in countless numbers. Whole fields of grain have been destroyed...

Should the caterpillar destroy our wheat crop, and the merry hopper feast on our corn, it will leave Kansas poor as a church mouse, and I presume you will hear a mournful wail from whence you might have heard rejoicing.\textsuperscript{24}

Such individual tales of discouragement about the periodic infestation of insects in various parts of the state were, however, rare exceptions in the general tide of good news the Pennsylvanians received from Kansas.

**Practical Advice**

The letters also reiterated the primary role that railroads played in post-Civil War nineteenth-century American life. Many contained favorable references to railroads. Several advised settlers to contact railroad land agents for good bargains.\textsuperscript{25} Others noted the cheap excursion fares and urged potential settlers to take advantage of them and see for themselves what Kansas had to offer. Others emphasized the advantages to be had from the proximity of railroad connections, and they reported the impending expansion of railroads to their specific locations.\textsuperscript{26}

Writing from Salina on September 15, 1877, the Reverend Andrew Jackson Hartsock, a recent emigrant from Centre County, Pennsylvania, presented a clear picture of the mutual benefits to be gained from association with the railroads.

The K. P. R. R. has land and gives good chances to all who want farms. This road is doing all it can to aid emigration, knowing that when the country is improved the traffic will repay them. They carry household goods at less than one-half rate. Mr. Gillmore, the general land agent for the company here, expects to have an excursion, for every Wednesday, from Pittsburgh to Ellis, about 300 miles west of Kansas City, the round trip to cost about $40, and when here the company shows parties the country if they intend to buy.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{20.} Republican, June 5, 1878. See also Watchman, March 16, 1877.
\textsuperscript{21.} Republican, June 25, 1878.
\textsuperscript{22.} Republican, September 20, 1876, August 14, 1876.
\textsuperscript{23.} Watchman, April 21, 1876; Republican, September 19, 1877, July 16, 1879.
\textsuperscript{24.} Republican, June 21, 1876.
\textsuperscript{25.} Republican, January 30, April 24, November 20, 1878; Watchman, March 16, 1877, March 1, 1878.
\textsuperscript{26.} Those urging the use of excursion/discount fares included: Watchman, March 29, 1877, May 18, 1877; Republican, September 19, 1877, June 25, 1879. Those stressing the advantages of railroads included: Watchman, March 29, 1877, March 16, 1878; Republican, June 30, 1879, May 25, 1879, September 6, 1871, June 30, 1875, January 9, 1878.
\textsuperscript{27.} Republican, September 19, 1877.
The authors thus viewed railroads in a very functional manner, as a positive force working for Kansas' economic development. Despite the beginnings of Granger agitation in the latter part of the 1870s, none of the letters contain any critical remarks about railroads.

The letters were also quite specific in their discussions of who should come to Kansas and what they should bring with them. There was no room there for speculators and idlers.\textsuperscript{28} What Kansas needed most, according to the writers, were farmers to settle and develop the state.\textsuperscript{29} From the earliest to the latest, the letters placed great emphasis on the work ethic. Many emphasized that those coming needed plenty of ambition and the will to succeed, and noted that Pennsylvanians, already in Kansas, of course, possessed those traits and were doing well.

Despite their generally optimistic tone, the letters were not without streaks of realism. Virtually all of the writers urged those coming to Kansas to bring sufficient cash with them. The suggested amounts varied from $300 to $2,000, with $1,000 being the most common amount.\textsuperscript{30} As a Salina writer explained in a letter dated October 17, 1877, to the Democratic Watchman:

Men are needed here in all the vocations of life and under proper conditions can do well, but no man should come here without some money. Some writers and speakers say to all "Go West" and own your own farm—you can have 160 as a home-stead, 160 under the Timber claim, 160 to pre-empt. So you can, by paying $14 on each claim, then you must have one team, costing $250.00, harness $34, wagon $75, plow $16, drill $65, harrow $10, two cows $60, and cash enough to buy food, clothing and feed for one year. Then you have no house; suppose you add $350. No one should venture on a claim with much less than $1,000; then he would be away from market for a while at least, but with this amount there would be little uncertainty about the future.\textsuperscript{31}

"Tide us over" money was thus deemed essential. Credit was scarce in Kansas.

\textsuperscript{28} Republican, June 25, July 16, 1878; Watchman, March 29, 1877, May 18, 1877.

\textsuperscript{29} Watchman, March 29, 1877, February 2, March 16, 1877; Republican, September 6, 1871, January 12, 1876, June 5, 1878.

\textsuperscript{30} Republican, September 6, 1871, April 24, 1878, July 16, 1879; Watchman, February 2, May 18, October 26, 1877, January 25, March 1, 1878.

\textsuperscript{31} Watchman, October 26, 1877.
The Reverend Andrew Jackson Hartsock (1832-1907) was one of the published letter writers. He settled in Salina, founded the first Lutheran church there, and then moved to McPherson where he was a minister, farmer, and businessman.

In contrast to this point, a number of the letters described the ease with which land could be obtained through homestead preemption. Individual writers also passed on a variety of specific instructions about ways to enhance the possibilities of successful farming such as locating close to timber and coal supplies. Another suggested that a person could always combine farming and teaching upon arrival as a means of creating temporary financial security. Another cautioned incoming settlers not to buy too much land.

Signs of Resistance in the Pennsylvania Press

Not all of the letters that the Bellefonte papers received about western settlement were favorable. One in particular, written in 1877, underscored in rather poignant terms the belief of many that the West was no place for the elderly.

Editor Republican—as a fewor somewhat pervades our vicinity as to moving West, and this 'shifting of locations' may be of essential service to many who are young and hearty, and who are the young of a 'swarming hive,' it seems but natural they should emigrate. Yet let the 'old settlers' remain where they are, and not risk the hardships and acclimation of a strong climate, et cetera.

The following lines are beautiful and pathetic, and accord with my feelings and views on the subject.

Old Setter.

Goin' West to Die.

Well, here we are, my dear old wife, on board the train at last!
Our little all packed in a trunk, with lock and strap made fast.
I hear the bell a ringin' and the whistle's piercin' cry;
There, wife, we're movin' out of town!—we're going West to die!

We've been from Jane's to John's house, from John's house back to Jane's,
Till now, they're laid their burdens down on board this Western train,
'Tis rather hard to send us off, all crippled up and gray,
To find a place in which to die, two thousand miles away.

(And so on for eight more verses)

While though far from typical of the enthusiastic reaction of most Americans to the westward movement, the "Old Setter" underscores the awareness of many that the opportunities of the West were counterbalanced by its challenges. It might also have been part of an organized campaign to slow what seemed to many town boosters a rather damaging drain on the economic and social resources of central Pennsylvania communities.

On March 15, 1878, the editor of the Democratic Watchman announced that he had published enough Kansas letters and placed an "embargo" on them. In explaining his decision, he said:

We propose heretofore to put an embargo on Kansas letters in the Watchman. They are all so glowing, of such a roseate hue, that we fear many people may be deceived by them. Kansas may be a land flowing with milk and honey for aught we know, but it takes work.

32. See for example: Republican, February 23, 1876; Watchman, May 18, 1877.
33. Republican, February 27, April 24, 1878.
34. Watchman, February 2, 1877.
35. Watchman, April 21, 1876.
36. Republican, September 19, 1877. This text was printed verbatim as it appeared in the original newspaper printing. A brief article in the October 26, 1877, issue of the Watchman stated that Colong Brown's lecture on Kansas emigration was postponed when no more than a half dozen Bellefontians showed up at the courthouse to hear him.
to extract it from the soil there the same as elsewhere. One can’t go to Kansas without a little money. The circulating medium don’t grow on trees there any more than it does in Pennsylvania, and emigrants ought to understand this before they start. It isn’t well to believe all one reads in a Kansas letter.37

Whether the editor was moved to this position because of his concern for the economic consequences of out-migration of Pennsylvanians, because of a sudden conversion to journalistic ethics, or because of the gruesome economic impact that the panic of 1875 had on Pennsylvanians who had moved to Kansas is uncertain. For whatever reason, census statistics reveal that the decade of the 1880s brought only a slight increase in the number of native-born Pennsylvanians in Kansas.38 A combination of bad harvests, high mortgages, falling crop prices, and the occupation of the better portions of farm and range land combined to slow the migration.

37. Watchman, March 15, 1878. References to the embargo also appeared in the Johnstown Democrat, March 27, 1878. See also the comments of the editor of the Republican, March 27, 1878, in which he noted that the Republican also had banned the letters.

38. Clark and Roberts, People of Kansas, 265.

Conclusions

Were the letters effective? Though it is difficult to assess their specific impact in quantitative terms, the frequent references in the editorial columns of the Republican and Watchman to the large groups of Pennsylvanians migrating suggest that they played an important role in the peopling of Kansas.39 The letters from former neighbors and friends were important catalytic agents in the creation of a favorable climate of opinion among Pennsylvanians about the opportunities awaiting them. Sometimes intentionally, sometimes not, they worked as did the cheap fares and other promotional efforts of the railroads, speculators, townsites developers, and the land-saturated federal government to create “Kansas fever.” The letters that constitute the basis of this study thus present a microcosmic view of one of the recurring phenomena of American westward development. They tell us much about what Americans believed and wanted to believe about Kansas and the trans-Mississippi West.

In summation, the letters examined in this study are historically significant for a number of reasons. They exemplify one of the chief means by which interest in the migration to Kansas was developed and maintained. There is much in the letters about the emotions, opportunities, and hopes that drew Americans to the West. They reiterate the importance of access to cheap land as the major driving force behind western settlement. So, also, do they underscore the important role of the railroad in the settlement process.

Many of the letters reflect the optimism and the hopes for a new life that many Pennsylvanians carried with them. Much in them remind us that reality is not necessarily as important as one’s perception of it. The sense of wonder about the openness of the Kansas prairies, standing in sharp contrast to the limited farmlands in the mountain valleys of central Pennsylvania, certainly contributed to this sense of optimism. Many of the misconceptions about Kansas which appeared in the letters can be attributed to this contrast. That these highly optimistic impressions were encouraged by speculators, land developers, and railroads who stood to benefit from the settlement of Kansas is also beyond doubt. Though not usually dominant, there was a streak of cold realism in the midst of overwhelming optimism in the letters. This was especially evident in

39. The March 8, 1878, issue of the Watchman listed over one hundred Centre County citizens who were about to depart by rail for Kansas. After the group departed, the editor of the Republican, March 13, 1878, remarked: “If this keeps on this way, they will soon depopulate old Centre.” Upon the arrival of the group in Kansas, the editor of the Saline County Journal, Salina, March 14, 1878, announced: “All Pennsylvania is turned loose and coming to Kansas.”
the repeated admonition that emigrants should bring adequate amounts of money and select carefully the locations where they settled.

For many Pennsylvanians and other "Easterners," the Kansas letters, if not invitations to paradise, were at least invitations to a better life. More often than not they were directed at a people who were already strongly inclined to believe that the West was a land of agricultural opportunity.40 As such, they are best understood as important elements in the shaping of the nineteenth-century version of the American dream, one that reasserted the preeminence of agrarian values in a society that was already in the process of a rapid transformation to industrialism. The letters stand as a not so distant mirror of values, ideals, and a way of life that events in the twentieth century seem to have doomed to extinction.

40. The authors were struck by the total lack of concern for feminine interests and perspectives in the letters, most of which were intended for publication and widespread circulation. The letters were written by males to and for males. They underscore the existence of the two-spheres concept of nineteenth-century family relationships. As the writings of Joanna Stratton and others suggest, pioneer women wrote to women, and pioneer men wrote to men, with the latter's sphere including the public discussion of migration to Kansas.

### TABLE 1
Kansas Letters Used as the Basis of This Study

#### PART 1 Letters Published in the *Bellefonte Republican*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Written</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Published</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 25, 1876</td>
<td>Fort Scott</td>
<td>W. S. MacFeaters</td>
<td>March 30, 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 13, 1870</td>
<td>Girard, Crawford Co.</td>
<td>Center [sic]</td>
<td>May 25, 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 19, 1871</td>
<td>Rosalia, Butler Co.</td>
<td>J. M. Stevens</td>
<td>June 28, 1871</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug. 25, 1871</td>
<td>Grasshopper, Atchison Co.</td>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>Sept. 6, 1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 21, 1875</td>
<td>Girard, Crawford Co.</td>
<td>Keystone</td>
<td>June 30, 1875</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 3, 1875</td>
<td>Dickinson Co.</td>
<td>Centre Co. Boy</td>
<td>Jan. 12, 1876</td>
</tr>
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<td>Jan. 25, 1876</td>
<td>Dickinson Co.</td>
<td>Centre Co. Boy</td>
<td>Feb. 23, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 26, 1876</td>
<td>Dickinson Co.</td>
<td>Centre Co. Boy</td>
<td>April 5, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(undated)</td>
<td>Dickinson Co.</td>
<td>Centre Co. Boy</td>
<td>May 24, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(undated)</td>
<td>Dickinson Co.</td>
<td>Centre Co. Boy</td>
<td>June 21, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 15, 1877</td>
<td>Salina, Saline Co.</td>
<td>Andrew Jackson Hartsock</td>
<td>Sept. 19, 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1, 1878</td>
<td>Winfield, Cowley Co.</td>
<td>William P. Rothenrock</td>
<td>Jan. 9, 1878</td>
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#### PART 2 Letters Published in the *Democratic Watchman*

<table>
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<th>Date Written</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Published</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jan. 28, 1867</td>
<td>Monrovia, Atchison Co.</td>
<td>J. B. Schaffer</td>
<td>March 29, 1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(undated)</td>
<td>Oskaloosa, Jefferson Co.</td>
<td>L. F. Eggers</td>
<td>Jan. 26, 1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29, 1874</td>
<td>Abilene, Dickinson Co.</td>
<td>A Pennsylvanian</td>
<td>May 8, 1874</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 9, 1876</td>
<td>Ottawa, Franklin Co.</td>
<td>John C. Henry</td>
<td>April 21, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 30, 1876</td>
<td>Ottawa, Franklin Co.</td>
<td>John C. Henry</td>
<td>May 12, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 21, 1877</td>
<td>Lincoln Centre, Lincoln Co.</td>
<td>W. W. Brown</td>
<td>Feb. 2, 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 12, 1877</td>
<td>Lincoln Centre, Lincoln Co.</td>
<td>W. W. Brown</td>
<td>March 16, 1877</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 12, 1877</td>
<td>Lincoln Centre, Lincoln Co.</td>
<td>W. W. Brown</td>
<td>March 23, 1877</td>
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<td>April 27, 1877</td>
<td>Lincoln Centre, Lincoln Co.</td>
<td>W. W. Brown</td>
<td>May 18, 1877</td>
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<td>W. W. Brown</td>
<td>Oct. 12, 1877</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 17, 1877</td>
<td>Salina, Saline Co.</td>
<td>Andrew Jackson Hartsock</td>
<td>Oct. 26, 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 15, 1878</td>
<td>Lincoln Centre, Lincoln Co.</td>
<td>Occident</td>
<td>Jan. 25, 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 19, 1878</td>
<td>Lincoln Centre, Lincoln Co.</td>
<td>Occident</td>
<td>March 1, 1878</td>
</tr>
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