GEORGE A. GRAY, PIONEER, CLAY COUNTY, KANSAS

by

John R. Warner, Jr.

George A. Gray

- Born 9 April 1859, near Hallowell, Maine the only son of Woodman Gray and Susan Potter Gray. Died 2 March 1942, at the age of 82 years,
  - ten months, 21 days, at his home in Clay County, Kansas.

During the years from 1928 to 1938 my maternal grandfather, George A. Gray, wrote several letters to the editor of the <u>Clay Center Times</u>. Most of the letters were historical in nature. They were written in the seventh and eighth decades of his life, and as he comments in his letters, at that time he is probably better able to recall the history of his part of the county than any other living resident. His letters tell not only of the history of the county, but of his own family past. In the following essay I want to summarize and discuss the history he told. I have relied in some instances upon information which I have gathered from other sources.

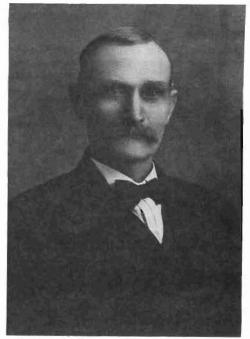
Two of the articles were quite long. The first of those in my possession, written for the <u>Times</u> and published on 25 October 1928, runs between 40 and 50 inches of newsprint. The essay written and published in the <u>Times</u> on 10 March 1938, was about the same length. Others were shorter. In this first essay, written in 1928, my grandfather was "looking back" sixty years. His memory was extremely clear, and he wrote that the "simple things that we shall write of are as plainly printed on the mind as many things that have happened at a much later date." Here Grandfather told the story of his first years in Kansas, arriving in October, 1867, a boy of eight years. The 1928 essay was written in honor of the <u>Times</u> sixtieth year of publication.

George A. Gray, born 9 April 1859, was the only son of Woodman and Susan Potter Gray. Woodman's older brother, Charles, joined a party of "free-soilers" in Massachusetts in 1854. The purpose of the party was to help populate the Territory of Kansas with citizens who would vote "free" when the state came into the Union. A younger brother, John, also came to Kansas. George wrote:

A short time before the secession of the Southern states, Ducle [Charles] made a return visit to Maine and my father wished to go with him to Kansas on his return to this territory, but was advised not to do so on account of the danger from both white men and Indians, as my father, before this time, had acquired a wife and baby, the latter of which was myself. So he decided to postpone going to Kansas until the troubles were over. Accordingly, he waited until the fall of 1867 which seemed a favorable time . .

Woodman Gray and his wife and eight year old son George set out late Thursday afternoon, 4 October 1867, traveling by train through Montreal, Canada. They stopped over in St. Louis on Saturday evening and Sunday, staying in a hotel, and arrived in Junction City, Kansas on Monday, 8 October 1867. There they were met by Uncle Charles, a wheelwright in Junction City.

In the spring and summer of 1867 I remember of being thrilled now and then by the statement that in the fall we would go out to Kansas. At last the time came and after the preliminaries of a sale, getting the trunks packed, etc., my father, mother and myself got aboard the local train at our station, Leeds Junction, and went to another station, called Danville Junction, a few miles away, to wait for the through train to Montreal, Canada. Coming that way was cheaper than coming through Ohio and Penn., and we saw more new country. A large part of the country in Canada was being settled and looked a little as Kansas did a couple of years later.<sup>3</sup>



George A. Gray

Grandfather observed that the speed with which his train traveled from Maine to Kansas was about the same as "at the present time. In other words, no improvement has been made in the rate of speed on railroad, but it is claimed that a great deal has been done to insure safety in travel."<sup>4</sup> On coming to Kansas, it was found that fall was not the right time of year to locate a home in a new country, so there was nothing to do but wait for spring.

During the winter, my father was interested by the accounts of the fine land to be had in parts of the state further south, but the Indians were said to be dangerous there and the country was not as well protected, so in the latter part of March, we started for Fancy Creek.<sup>5</sup>

Shortly before departing for Clay County from Junction City, Grandfather reported a sight that made a lasting impression on him. A train of government wagons, each capable of carrying four tons of supplies, and each pulled by six mules, passed through Junction City on route to Fort Hays. His uncle Charles joined the train to assist in the upkeep of the wagons. The train was about a mile long, consisting of approximately 90 wagons.

The family set out for Fancy Creek in late March 1868, and stopped at the home of Elihu Moon for a few days. Then, on 3 April, they came to the property "which has been this man's home since that time."<sup>6</sup>

During the first summer the family began building a log cabin on their homestead property. Grandfather remembered three events from that first year. In June

a herd of Texas cattle were driven through Clay County going north and crossed the creek a short distance from where we were living in a tent at that time. We never knew the number of cattle and I could not guess, but as both ends of the line were not in sight at the same time, there must have been several thousand at the least. The track they made in crossing the country remained several years, but of course finally became obliterated.

In the month of August occurred the first visitation of grasshoppers, or Rocky Mountain locusts. Possibly the number of these insects has been exaggerated by some writers, but there were certainly enough of them, and in a day or two the leaves were entirely eaten from the trees in the timber along the creck. As there were no crops in sight to be destroyed, the pests then moved on.

The third event was a political one. In November 1868, George and his parents drove to Clay Center, the county seat, where Woodman voted in the General Election.

The election was held in the log school house, and my father helped by one vote, to carry the state for U. S. Grant. The next term of office to which he was elected, President Grant signed my father's patent to a quarter section of land. A fair exchange of favor, was it not?<sup>8</sup> The log cabin was not completed by fall, and the family moved to a vacated cabin for the winter of 1868-69.

When spring came, we were back on the cabin. The summer of 1869 brought a number of settlers . . .

. . . and all the land along the creek which could furnish firewood, was homesteaded.

That fall, we had a close call to being burned out by a prarie [sic] fire, but escaped by almost a miracle.

I wish to step back, here, from Grandfathet's story, in order to place that story in the context of the historical setting. In the year 1854 Stephen Douglas, Senator from Illinois, sponsored the Kansas-Nebraska Act. For the next six years the turmoil caused by that act gave Kansas its title of "bleeding Kansas." Southern and Northern forces sought to populate the state. One Charles Robinson, of Lawrence, Kansas, led in the establishing of a free-soil government. Robinson was an agent of the New England Emigrant Aid society, which was evidently the society joined by "Uncle Charles" in 1854, and which aided Charles in coming to Kansas at that time.

The Homestead Act of 1862, and its amendments of 1866, was the Act by which Woodman and his family gained their property on Fancy Creek. The Amended Act required that an adult male citizen must live on a claim of 160 acres (one quarter-mile section) and cultivate that land for five years in order to gain the land as his own property. The land wont quickly, and Indians were driven out of the state shortly after the Civil Wat in order to populate the land with homesteaders.

In the year that my Grandfather arrived in Kansas, the Indian wars were at their peak in Kansas. Eight days after his arrival in Junction City, the new famous peace council on Medicine Lodge Creek began. It began on 16 October 1867, in what the Cheyenne call the Moon of the Changing Season. The Cheyenne Chief Black Kettle signed a treaty, but the younger Cheyenne warrior, Roman Nose, refused to sign.

General Sheridan's troops sought out Roman Nose and his Dog Soldiers, and on 17 September 1868, Roman Nose went into battle prepared to die. He died in a skirmish in a dry bod of the Arikaree river that day.

On 26 November 1868, General George Custer, having been sent out by Sheridan to fight the Cheyenne, led the massacre on the Washita River in Oklahoma. Here Black Kettle and his wife and many other peaceful Cheyennes were killed. Indians of many tribes vowed after that massacre that they would teach the golden haired Custer a lesson, and eight years later in Montana they did.

Grandfather too recalled the Indian struggles. He wrote:

During the years 1869 and 1870, the Indians on the frontier were giving trouble, and the government

decided to destroy the herds of buffalo for which Kansas was famous and starve the Indians out as they depended on buffalo for most of their living. Accordingly, Buffalo Bill and other noted hunters were employed to kill them off. The buffalo being gone, the Indians were starved out, and compelled to leave the state.

The years following 1869 saw a rapid growth of county population.

Until now [1869], we had not expected the prarie [sic] lands to be settled for a number of years at least, but the next two years saw the county almost entirely populated. A large number of the people constructed dug outs and shanties, but a few people, with more faith in the country, and we suppose with more money, built better homes . . .

In the spring of 1870, our school district was organized as No. 24. A log house was built which was used as a schoolhouse until the summer of 1875, when a real school house was built of limestone. This served the district until the present one was built about 50 years ago [about 1888?].<sup>12</sup>

Grandfather enjoyed watching one encampment of Pottawatomic Indians in the summer of 1870. They had been granted, for the last time, the opportunity to bunt in Clay County, and they carried a letter from the Indian agent to that effect.

They put up a number of tents at the creek, half a mile from where we were living. I do not know how much game was killed, but only one deer was ever seen here afterwards . . . These Indians had quite a herd of ponies, which they used in hunting and moving about. As might be expected, an Indian camp was a tough looking place even on the frontier. One Sunday evening while there, a few of the neighbors put on their good clothes and went to visit the Indian camp. There was no place even to sit down except on the ground. Most of them only spoke the Indian language and had no use for white people, unless they had something to sell them. The squaws made baskets and rugs to sell to white people, and did most of the other work, while the men were hunting. I was interested to see these women handle wood. One woman could put a stick of wood on the fire, which would take about 2 white men to handle.  $^{13}$ 

Grandfather told that the township of Goshen, in which he lived, was organized about 1870, and named by J.C. McCurdy, a settler there, for his home town of Goshen, Indiana. In an earlier article, he wrote,

only land was settled which had a wood supply or was located near wood which could be obtained without difficulty, but in 1870, the wood claims were practically gone and the remaining land was settled with a rush. During that season and the next, all the land open for homestead was taken. Four sections were reserved in each township for state and school purposes. This land was sold at a later date and also settled, or as was sometimes the case, the land was bought to enlarge adjoining farms. Small habitations were at first constructed of limestone, sandstone, sod, etc., but a large part of the dwellings were dugouts which the owners declared were best as they were "cool in summer and warm in winter." For sometime settlers on the praries [sic] were hard pushed for fuel, but in 1873 a railroad was built to Clay Center and coal was shipped in. However, many still burned corn, as it was considered cleaner than coal.<sup>14</sup>

Grandfather told other bits and pieces of the early history of Clay County, but there is only one more event from those early years which I wish to cite. He told of the "grasshopper scourge" of 1874.

I was a boy of 15 at that time and perhaps remember as much about it as anyone now living, except rhe date of the hopper visit, for which I should have to depend entirely on the memory of someone else, but I know that the summer was very dry and so far as Clay County was concerned the last hope of a corn crop had failed before the hoppers showed up ...

The day that the hoppers came we noticed them in the sky early in the afternoon and toward evening they began coming to the ground. As we had seen exactly the same thing six years before we knew what would happen the next day. So we went to the field with corn knives in the morning to save what we could of the fodder before it was eaten up. We worked, cutting and shocking until about the middle of the afternoon, when we guit work as there was nothing left worth saving. When night came the grasshoppers had eaten everything off the stalks that they could get and the stalks were left standing straight and bare. At one end of the field were a few shocks of fodder which we had saved. At the same time the insects stripped the leaves off the trees on the creek bordering the field. A patch of cane which we were raising to make sorghum syrup was not eaten as the insects are neither cane nor prairie grass.

The migrating hoppers were different in color and a little different in appearance from our mative insects, but they were perhaps no more destructive. The home grown kind are numerous enough.<sup>15</sup>

George's mother, Susan H. Gray, died on 14 December 1893. His father, Woodman M. Gray, died on 15 January 1894 just one month and one day after his wife.

George Gray married Ettie I. Auld "at the home of the bride's parents, Mr. and Mrs. William Auld, who lived northeast of Clay Center, near the Thornton school. They were married by Reverend Holt on the wedding anniversary of the groom's parents." $^{16}$  The date of George and Ettie's wedding was 27 January 1984.

Ettie I. Auld was born in Pennsylvania and came to Kansas in March 1879. Their children were: Albert, Alice, Lawrence, Charles, Minnic, William, Harold and Ione. Charles and Minnie died in early childhood. Ione is my mother.

In the clipping telling of their anniversary, one other significant event is told. "Mrs. Gray recalled that their first home was destroyed by a tornado which swept through that community."<sup>17</sup> George and Ettie lived all their married lives on George's father's homestead, fourteen miles northeast of Clay Center.

George Gray died on 2 March 1942, at the age of  $\vartheta 2$  years and ten months.

George Gray had a "cnigger" for writing.

When the notion of writing gets possession of an individual it is something like the bite of a chigger. A continual worry so we are going to try writing a few lines to relieve the strain.<sup>18</sup>

In this case the "chigger" was his interest in a discussion in the <u>Times</u> as to "whether it would not be more interesting and about as useful in public school to teach more local history and geography and less about foreign countries ..."<sup>19</sup> More about this topic later. But his "chigger" led him to write more than once. Another time he wrote from the uneasiness of what he considered to be an error in the <u>Times</u>.

Perhaps I am taking a shot out of turn but one or two little statements in recent issues of The Times have made me uneasy and as historical accuracy is a great hobby with me I shall not be easy until I have offered a few amendments.<sup>20</sup>

On another occasion Grandfather shared a "laugh" with his readers.

The biggest laugh which we have had for a fortnight or more came from reading the allusion to the article in the Kansas City Star regarding Mormonism and poligamy (sic). (Letter written on April 25. I believe the year was 1930, but am uncertain.)<sup>21</sup>

Again he speaks of the urge to write.

For a number of years at each receiving season represented by the present time I have felt an urge to write a few lines in a modest and patriotic way in memory of the humble citizens of our country who have given their blood and lives for their country and for the benefit of us all.<sup>22</sup> In August 1931, Grandfather wrote to challenge the tales of the past which he believed were, perhaps, a bit exaggerated.

The report of grasshopper ravages in some of the more northern states seems to bring to mind the season of 1874 in Kansas and the question whether the insects really did as much damage as is sometimes attributed to them. <sup>23</sup>

From the letters to the <u>Times</u>, I have been able to gather a bit of information regarding Grandfather's education. At the time George and his parents left on a train at Leeds Junction, Maine, George was about eight years old. Possibly he had attended school two or three years prior to that time. He did attend school in Junction City when he arrived there, but only for a part of the year 1867-68. Of that first year in Kansas, Grandfather wrote of a "small private school which I attended for a short time, finishing the term at the public school."<sup>24</sup>

Though he did not speak of attending the school, Grandfather told of the organization of the school in the Goshen township of Clay County.

The summer of 1869 brought a number of settlers, so that the summer of 1870 found us with an organized district and a log schoolhouse of our own.<sup>25</sup>

. . . A log house was built which was used as a schoolhouse until the summer of 1875, when a real school house was built of limestone. This served the district until the present one was built about 50 years ago.<sup>26</sup>

Speaking of that first school year in 1870-71, Grandfather reported that the school "that winter was taught by Dick Frazier."<sup>27</sup>

I know no more regarding his formal education, but the reader can see by the clear and fine language illustrated in these letters to the <u>Times</u> that Grandfather was well educated for his time. According to my mother, Grandfather purchased an American Edition of the Encyclopedia Brittanica, and spent many hours reading the Encyclopedia. I have that set now in my possession. It is a leather-bound copy, copyrighted first in 1890, and last in 1907. He makes reference once to this encyclopedia, when in 1933 he wrote:

Still for a person, who likes the subject, history has plenty of kick, and with a standard Universal History of the World and a fairly good encyclopedia, it seems to me a man can get all the entertainment he wants.<sup>28</sup>

Grandfather also subscribed to and read regularly publications including the <u>Literary Digest</u>, <u>American Magazine</u>, numerous farm publications and the county papers.

Grandfather was certainly interested in history. This is illustrated by his own attempts to set the record straight, to correct errors in the <u>Times</u>, and simply to tell readers about the early days in Clay County. But his interest extended to the more general subject of how history should be taught in the public schools. His essay of 24 September 1933, discussed whether it is better to teach local history or world history. After a lengthy discussion, which included several details of local history which he wished to share (the origin of the names of Pete's Creek and Dead Man's Creek), Grandfather went on to look at both sides of the issues. "There are advantages to knowing world history, although it is frustrating to try to learn the entire history of 40 or 50 countries, the history of some extends back for thousands of years."<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, he was convinced that every student should know his own history.

But one thing we would consider settled, which is this. Every student whether a graduate of the public school or of college, should be familiar with the history of the United States and of his own state. $^{30}$ 

Grandfather makes several references to the folly of war.

History, which is almost a continued account of war between nations and people, should be useful to teach people the folly of killing each other to settle disputes and disagreements.

He continues the paragraph quoted above.

Our present troubles seem to be largely a result of our last war. For the sake of civilization nations must find other means to settle their differences.<sup>32</sup>

Yet he respected, perhaps revered, the soldier who gave his life for his country. In his Memorial Day Letter of 1931, written on May 17, he paid tribute to the "unknown" soldiers, the little men who fight and die that the great leaders may grow in fame. Here he told the story of one of his uncles who fought in the Civil War.

In 1861 there lived at Litchfield, Maine, a young man by the name of John Potter who joined the army at Lincoln's first call for men. He was an uncle of mine and his case was about the same as thousands of others except that the section of the country where we lived seemed to be in sympathy with the south which would tend to give more credit to the actions of the loyal man--more credit whether he was citizen or soldier. Not all citizens or people of the northern states were loyal to the Federal cause at the beginning of the war some of them thinking perhaps that the states belonged to the people who lived in them to do with as they pleased. Of course they learned their mistake later. The first I can remember of uncle John was when he returned home from the hospital with a disabled arm and was discharged from the army to recover. After a few

months his arm healed and he returned to the army and served until the close of the war; was mustered out at Washington and returned home.<sup>33</sup>

Grandfather believed in internationalism, and was a strong supporter of those who worked for world peace. In the same Memorial Day letter he wrote:

The main object of this article is to add if possible the weight of an atom to the pressure now being brought to bear for the establishment of world peace among nations. War is a relic of barbarism; an extreme exhibition of man's savage nature and must no longer be used in the settlement of world affairs if we wish to retain the advantages of modern civilization . . .

Patriotism itself takes on a somewhat broader view in the advancement of human obligations to each other as we advance in thought and ideas of the rights of others, and more willing to give the other fellow equal chances. With ourselves this is the secret of agreement between nations as between individuals and must sometime become the rule when people are dealing with others. Any other plan than this may mean further war and the gradual decay of civilization.

War can be abolished when the people are in the right condition of mind and insist on it and the sooner that time comes the better for all of us. $^{34}$ 

Politics was a favorite subject of Grandfather, and Republican he was. His support of the Republican Party had its origins at least in the Civil War and his family's strong support of freedom for slaves and the cause of Lincoln.

Grandfather seemed to believe that all of his friends around Clay County were Republicans, and indeed his letters suggested that it would be a contradiction for a man to be both Democrat and friend of George Gray.

Democrats, according to Grandfather, were drunkards, lacking in intelligence, and responsible for the ignominious sin of electing Grover Cleveland. They were a different kind of people, the butt of jokes, and not particularly common in Clay County--a place for decent people.

The joke in The Times about the Goshen township Democrat who voted the Republican ticket and was not permitted to share the Democratic jubilee in the fall of '84, brings back memories. There are very few of us left who voted with either party in that election in this township. We never heard about the voter spoken of in the <u>Times</u>, but the fact remains that the Democrats had a blow-out in celebration of the defeat of Blaine and the election of Cleveland. After all the kegs were emptied and everything done by which a Democrat might express satisfaction and glee, a deep hole was dug and a tall pole set in the ground with a flag fastened to the top of the pole. As the Democrats seemed to know no way to raise and lower a flag to preserve it for future use it remained at the top of the pole until reduced to tatters. Then the pole was chopped down and we suppose used for firewood. As the Democrats perhaps would not be expected to use the same care in preserving the flag that we would expect of Republicans, we let it go at that.<sup>35</sup>

Grandfather went on to accuse the Democrats of "removing from the leadership of the American people the ablest man since the time of Lincoln,"<sup>36</sup> namely the Republican candidate James G. Blaine.

Nor did Grandfather think much of the Federal government, although he did support it at the time of the Civil War. He mentioned the Federal government several times, with more derisive language than praise. In discussing the history of Kansas, he wrote that

the people of the North were finally successful in saving Kansas for freedom, although opposed to the administration of Washington which did all in its power to help out the interests of slavery.<sup>37</sup>

The failure of the Federal government was mentioned again in the same essay. This time the government failed to clear the Indians out as it had promised those early settlers.

It is supposed that the Federal Government had neglected to fulfill its obligation in the treaties made with the Indians, at any rate, there were plenty of them in different parts of the state, making as much trouble as ever.<sup>38</sup>

Grandfather was born into a strict Protestant family, and grew up, according to my mother, having to be quiet and reading the Bible every Sunday. Not only was George not allowed to play on Sunday, but he was also not allowed to see other children play. He did not mention his own religious worship, and after the family left Maine there would not have been an opportunity to worship regularly for several years. Grandfather did not attend worship on Sundays when he was grown, according to my mother, but was a kind and respected man in the community who maintained a strict Protestant morality.

I believe that it is possible that his parents might have been Quakers. The Quakers were politically active churchmen and many were ardent abolitionists, supporting Lincoln in the Civil War, and were involved in other abolitionist activities. Hence it is not unreasonable to suggest that Woodman's brother Charles was involved in the plan to make Kansas a Free State because he was a Quaker. And George Gray told the story of his uncle, John Potter, of Litchfield, Maine, "who joined the army at Lincoln's first call"<sup>39</sup> George went on to say that it was not a popular thing among many of the Potters' neighbors that John should side with the Union, many of the citizens of Maine believing that "the states belonged to the people who lived in them to do with as they pleased." This sounds very much like a Quaker family. But this is only a guess on my part.

George married Ettie, who was a Mormon from Pennsylvania. Ettie took the family to a neighborhood United Brethren church three miles northeast of their home. My mother grew up in this church. Grandfather never attended regular services, but once surprised the family by bringing home a "fancy surrey" to take them all to church on Children's Day.

Grandfather did show an interest in the local churches from a historical point of view, and mentioned the Swedish Mission church, the Swedish Lutheran church, and the Swedish Methodist church in one essay.

But Grandfather did know the Bible! He illustrated this knowledge in his story about "Mormonism and poligamy [sic]."<sup>41</sup> Discussing polygamy, Grandfather was able to make cautious but sweeping general statements about the entire Bible.

I think they claim to shape their lives [Mormons] according to the way people mentioned in the Bible [lived], which would give them the right to practice poligamy [sic]. I think there is no account in Scripture of any thing of this kind from the time of the Patriarch Jacob down to King David. In fact history informs us that this king introduced poligamy, [sic] which is perhaps the right way to spell the word, into the kingdom of the Jews and that it was unknown previous to that time, but the celebrated psalmist and his no less mated son, who seems to have been the champion poligamist [sic] of history, are the characters around which the latter parts of the Old Testament Scripture seem to revolve.<sup>42</sup>

As a matter of fact, George evidently believed in eternal life. When speaking of the Kansas law regarding polygamy, that a man must serve 20 years in the state penetentiary for the crime of polygamy, he calculated that King Solomon would, if he lived in Kansas, have to spend 17,000 years in prison.

This seems a long time to be in trouble, but not nearly as long as will be our lot if we fail to correctly follow the creeds that are taught.  $4^3$ 

However, Grandfather did hold one belief which probably excluded him, at least in his own mind, from fellowship with the neighborhood church. He believed in evolution!

In his Memorial Day essay of 1931, George Gray tells that it is his belief that war is a relic of barbarism, and that with the growth of civilization mankind will outlaw war. But why did be hold such faith in mankind?

I believe in the law of evolution. Under this law man has reached a somewhat advanced state of existance [sic] which we shall call civilization. Under the working of this law war will be abolished

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at some time in the future and why should it not be done now.

In the eight essays which I have, Grandfather made one comment regarding "colored" people. In his first letter to the <u>Times</u> he told of seeing "colored troops" in Junction City. Here he spoke a "good word" regarding those troops, indicating his own gentleness toward peoples of other races.

Both negro and white soldiers were in the service of the government at that time, but, of course, in separate units. The colored troops were said to make fair soldiers.

At least it can be said that he thought more highly of those "colored troops" in this essay than he did of the Democrats in the 12 December 1933 letter to the <u>Times</u>.

Grandfather's attitude regarding race, indicated by this statement as well as his family's involvement in the Civil War in support of Lincoln, and in conflict with neighbors who supported the South, suggests further the influence of Quakers in his thinking.

Grandfather remained alert and strong until the very end. He wrote the last letter to the newspaper when he was 79 years old, still recalling with great accuracy the earliest events of his own life and those of the settlement of Clay County.

## NOTES

- 1. Clay Center Times, 25 October 1928.
- 2. Ibid.
- 3. Clay Center Times, 10 March 1938.
- 4. Ibid.
- 5. Ibid.
- 6. Ibid.
- Clay Center Times, 25 October 1928.
- 8. Ibid.
- 9. Ibid.
- 10. Clay Center Times, 10 March 1938.
- 11. Clay Center Times, 25 October 1928.
- 12. Clay Center Times, 10 March 1938.
- 13. Ibid.
- 14. Clay Center Times, 25 October 1928.

- Letter to the editor of the Clay Center Times, 16 August 1931, 15. 16. Clay Center Times, January, 1934. Letter to the editor of the Clay City Times, 16 August 1931. 17. 18, Clay Center Tiems, 24 September 1933. Ibid. 19. 20. Clay Center Times, 9 May 1930. Letter to the editor of the Clay City Times, 25 April 1930. 21. Clay <u>City</u> Tim<u>es</u>, 17 May 1931. 22. Z3. Clay Center Times, 16 August 1931. 24. Clay Center Times, 25 October 1928. 25. Ibid. 26. <u>Clay</u> <u>Center</u> <u>Times</u>, 10 March 1938. 27. lbid. 28. Clay Center Times, 24 September 1933. Z9. lbid. 30. Ibid. 31. Ibid. 32. Ibid. 33. Clay Center Times, 17 May 1931. Ibid. 34, 35. Clay Center Times, 7 December 1930. 36. Ibid. 37. Clay Center Times, 25 October 1928. 38. Ibid. 39. Clay Center Times, 17 May 1931. 40. Clay Center Times, 24 September 1933.0 41. Clay Center Times, 25 April 1930. 42. Ibid. 43. Ibid. 44. Clay Center Times, 17 May 1931.
  - 45. Clay Center Times, 25 October 1928.