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Witness! Kilburn Knox and the Trial of the Lincoln Assassination Conspirators.

By Dr. Robert Girard Carroon
Past Commander-in-Chief

On the evening of April 14, 1865 a group of Confederate sympathizers led by John Wilkes Booth killed Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, seriously wounded William H. Seward, the Secretary of State and made a failed attempt on the life of Andrew Johnson, the Vice President. With the exception of Booth, the conspirators, David Herold, and John Surratt, Jr. were speedily rounded up and eventually incarcerated in the old penitentiary at the Washington Arsenal. Booth was eventually caught and killed and Herold captured and added to the number of those in prison.

The conspirators were brought before a military commission or tribunal established by executive order of the new president, Andrew Johnson. The trial lasted over fifty days and 366 witnesses were called to give testimony. As the trial progressed evidence was presented which indicated that the conspirators intended to bring down the United States Government by assassinating its primary leaders.

The Military Order of the Loyal Legion, which had already been established by the time, the trial began on May 10, 1865, was well represented by future Companions involved in the trial. Of the nine officers who were members of the military commission eight (Generals

Hunter, Wallace, Kautz, Harris, Howe, Foster, and Colonels Clendenin and Ekin) became members of MOLLUS. Only Col. Charles Tomkins did not become a Companion. The prosecution was handled by the Judge Advocate General, Joseph Holt, and two officers of the JAG corps, Maj. John A. Bingham and Maj. Henry L. Burnett, both of who became MOLLUS Companions. MOLLUS was represented among



Brigadier General Kilburn Knox at the time he was serving on the staff of governor John A. Dix of New York.

counsel for the defense by Major General Thomas Ewing. Major Generals Winfield Scott Hancock and John A. Hartranft who were in charge of the prisoners also became Companions of MOLLUS.¹

In the course of the trial a number of military officers were called, as witnesses of whom seven became MOLLUS members including Lt. General Ulysses S. Grant. Among the others who testified was Brevet Lt.

¹ Edward Steers, Jr. The Trial Transcript as compiled and arranged in 1865 by Benn Pitman. (Hereinafter The Trial) 2003. v-xix. Robert G. Carroon and Dana B. Shoaf Union Blue (2001) passim.

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121st MOLLUS CONGRESS AT LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

By Karl F. Schaeffer, Sr. Vice Commander-in-Chief

Our Congress at historic LMU in Harrogate, Tennessee will be held from Friday, October 20th to Sunday, October 22, 2006. I now address all Companions and Dames of MOLLUS and DOLLUS to consider attending this once in a lifetime, twofold event - our MOLLUS Congress and LMU's Lincoln Symposium.

MOLLUS and DOLLUS have had a strong connection to LMU and Major General Oliver Otis Howard (#3808) since LMU's charter was issued on February 12, 1897. In late September 1863, our 16th US President, Abraham Lincoln met with General Howard. President Lincoln asked the good General to create a university in the Appalachia, Cumberland Gap region as the people were very poor and he wanted an equal opportunity institution, without regard to race, national origin, sex, age or religion. President Lincoln's wish was realized in 1897 when General Howard, Rev. A. A. Myers and Cyrus Kehr created Lincoln Memorial University in memory of and in dedication to the principles of Abraham Lincoln's life and legacy.

For the first time in one hundred and nine years, all of our MOLLUS and DOLLUS members, along with their spouses, will have the opportunity to attend our Congress and LMU's Symposium which will be an awesome event. You will have the opportunity

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Witness! Kilburn Knox...from page 1

Colonel Kilburn Knox. While the history of such witnesses as General Grant is well known, the background of such witnesses as Lt. Colonel Knox is not. It is helpful to know something about him to understand why he was subpoenaed as a witness.

Ira Kilburn Knox was a native of Pennsylvania where he was born in Lawrenceville on October 23 1842, the son of The Hon. John Knox, one of the Justice's of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and Adeline Kilburn. He was known as Ira Kilburn Knox at the time of his enlistment on April 19, 1861 in the Commonwealth Artillery of Philadelphia. He was assigned with his company to Fort Delaware where he remained until June 1861.

On June 9, 1861 Kilburn was commissioned a 1st Lieutenant in the 13th U.S. Infantry, commission to date from May 14, 1861. Lt. Knox was transferred to Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, Missouri, where he was assigned to duties as drill officer for three regiments of volunteers. He then went on recruiting and mustering duty in Iowa. He was transferred to the Army of the Tennessee where he served in the Commissary Department under Major General William T. Sherman; he was promoted Captain on May 14, 1864. Kilburn was then assigned to the staff of Major General James Birdseye McPherson. He was brevetted Major in the Regular Army on July 24, 1864 for gallant and meritorious service at the Battle of Atlanta on the recommendation of General John Logan. He was with General McPherson at the time of his death and accompanied the General's remains when they were returned to Ohio for burial. He returned to duty and participated in the battles of Jonesboro and Lovejoy Station.

In September 1864 he was ordered to Washington D.C. where he was assigned to the staff of the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton in the Commissary General's office. He was brevetted Lt. Colonel on March 13 1865. On April 15, 1865, he was assigned to duty as military aide to President Abraham Lincoln, which appointment was nullified by the death of the President. He was then appointed Assistant Secretary to President Andrew Johnson and served in that position until August 1865. At that time Kilburn Knox reverted to his regular army rank of Captain and returned to service with the 13th U.S. Infantry and then transferred to the 22nd Infantry. He was assigned to command Fort Dakota, Dakota Territory, a position he held until he resigned his commission on April 1, 1869.²

Kilburn returned to Philadelphia. Moving to New York City he accepted a position with the firm of Schuyler, Hartley and Graham. On April August 19, 1871 he married Annie Menager. When General John A. Dix was elected Governor of New York. Knox was appointed to the Governor's staff

² Microfilm Publication M-1064 National Archives and Record Service Branch of the Adjutant General's Office 1863-1870. Roll 536; Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1903. 1:607; NARS K399 cr. 1864. Pay record of Kilburn Knox...

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COMMANDERY NEWS

OHIO COMMANDERY

HISTORIC GLENDALE CEMETERY AND CIVIL WAR MEMORIAL CHAPEL, AKRON, OHIO

On Saturday afternoon, July 15, 2006, nearly two hundred citizens from Akron, Ohio and surrounding area attended a magnificent military service at the Memorial Chapel that was constructed by the Buckeye Post of the Grand Army of the Republic in 1876.

After opening remarks by Gerry Huhn, President of the Summit County Chapter of the Ohio Genealogical Society, the main speaker for this event was Paul Huff, Past Commander of SUVCW General A. C. Voris Camp #67 and MOLLUS member. Each person in attendance was asked to report one Union Civil War family member to be memorialized within the confines of the Civil War Memorial Chapel. A roll call of 105 Civil War veterans was read.



l. to r. - John Seibert, Gordon Bury, Rosemary/Karl Schaeffer, Elizabeth/Madeline/Robert Rock and Lynne Bury

A memorial service was then held in front of the Statue of the Unknown Dead located in front of the Chapel. Participants in this ceremony were:

Past National Commander-in-Chief of MOLLUS and Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War - Gordon R. Bury
MOLLUS National Sr. Vice-Commander-in-Chief and Past Commander of SUVCW McClellan Camp #91 - Karl F. Schaeffer

MOLLUS member and Past Commander of SUVCW General A. C. Voris Camp #67 - Robert E. Rock

Past Commander of SUVCW General A. C. Voris Camp #67 - Rick Acker

Chaplain of SUVCW General A. C. Voris Camp #67 - Larry Williams

Karl F. Schaeffer, Sr. Vice Commander-in-Chief

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Welcome New Companions

The following Companions have joined the Military Order of the Loyal Legion since May 2006. The Commander-in-Chief extends congratulations and a warm welcome to each one.

Jeffrey C. Burden, Chancellor-in-Chief

Companions	Insignia No.	Commandery
Hereditary Companions		
2nd Lt. Sam Edmund Clegg, USA	22445	Virginia
Samuel O'Donald Cahill	22446	Virginia
Edward Hawkins Sisson	22447	D.C.
Michael Victor Scarlato, II	22448	Missouri
Associate Companions		
Maurice David Descoucy, III	A209	California
Thomas Edward Jacks	A210	Missouri

Hereditary Membership Program

Our Hereditary Membership Program is in effect each fiscal year, October 1 through September 30. Here are the rules that apply to this program. Recruit a minimum of three (3) new Hereditary Companions and you will be rewarded with a Lincoln MOLLUS Certificate of Appreciation for meritorious service and a Lincoln Membership Medal of Honor presented by our current Commander-in-Chief. These two prestigious awards will be presented to you at our annual National Congress, the Lincoln Memorial Ceremony in Washington, D.C. or at the Lincoln Tomb Ceremony in Springfield, Illinois. If you are unable to attend one of these three major functions, arrangements may be made to mail the certificate and medal to your home. This program is the lifeblood of our historic Military Order and will ensure our noble existence for countless generations to come.

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Remembering "MOLLUS" In Your Will

After you provide for your family and other matters, would you consider including a memorial gift in your will to our hallowed Order? Your gift to the Loyal Legion Memorial Fund, which is tax deductible, would be used to support the preservation of battlefields, monuments and programs that serve to memorialize the Civil War. In this way you would be perpetuating the memory of your Civil War ancestors and fellow companions.

MOLLUS WEBSITE

Loyal Legion Historical Journal is now online!

<http://www.suvcw.org/mollus/mollus.htm>

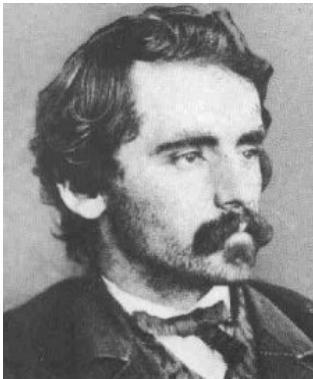
Witness! Kilburn Knox...from page 2

as Commissary General and Chief of Ordnance with the rank of Brigadier General. He was much involved in veteran's affairs in New York and was one of the earliest members of MOLLUS becoming a Companion (Insignia No. 65) of the Pennsylvania Commandery on November 1, 1865. He transferred to the New York Commandery on April 30, 1877 and to the Wisconsin Commandery on October 2, 1889.

Kilburn was appointed Secretary and Inspector of the Northwestern Branch, National Home for Disabled Veterans at Milwaukee, Wisconsin in January 1887. He became Governor of the Home on May 1, 1889. His wife Annie worked as a Matron of the Home. The Knox's had a daughter, Birdseye McPherson Knox. General Knox died at the National Soldier's Home on April 17, 1891. Annie M. Knox continued to work as a Matron at the Home until her death in 1927 Birdseye married Oscar Chrysler and they had three children: Laura Annette, Harriet Louise, and Frederick Knox Chrysler.³

Kilburn Knox was called to testify as a witness in the portion of the trial of

³ *In Memoriam Companion Kilburn Knox* Commandery of the State of Wisconsin MOLLUS, Circular No. 11, Series 1891, Whole No. 205; Union Blue 2001, 276; Widow's Pension Application, Annie Knox. Box 39411, Bundle 17, Cert. 354382. National Archives and Record Service.



Michael O'Laughlen. Did he fail to carry out his real assignment?

the conspirators which dealt with the defendant Michael O' Laughlen. O' Laughlen was a childhood friend of John Wilkes Booth when both were residents of Baltimore, Maryland. O'Laughlen had enlisted in the First Maryland

Infantry in the Confederate Army in 1861 and served until late 1862 when ill health forced him to resign and return to Maryland. John Wilkes Booth had drawn him into the initial conspiracy, which was to kidnap President Lincoln. The plot to kidnap the President failed and O' Laughlen returned to Baltimore from the Capitol. Several weeks later he was summoned by Booth to meet with him in Washington DC and was present in the city on April 13.

It was on the evening of April 13, 1865, that Major Knox encountered Michael



Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. Was he a target of the conspirators?

O'Laughlen in front of the home of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. It was charged in the specifications that Michael O'Laughlen's assignment in the conspiracy was to murder General Grant who it was stated was staying at the home of Secretary Stanton. The theory advanced was that O' Laughlen had gone see if Grant was at the Stanton home and what opportunity he might have to assassinate him the next evening, in concert with the attacks by Booth, Adzerodt and Powell.⁴

It was to give evidence in support of the specifications by the Judge Advocate General that Lt. Colonel Knox testified on May 16, 1865 in the trial chamber at the Washington Arsenal. In response to questions from Joseph Holt, Knox stated, "I was at the home of the Secretary of War, in this city on the evening of the 13th of April last, and saw there a man whom I recognize among the prisoners. There he is [pointing to the accused,

Michael O' Laughlin]⁵ I left the War Department at 10 o'clock after the illumination there was over and walked up to the Secretary's house. There was a band playing at the house and on the steps were General Grant, Mrs. Grant, the Secretary, General Barnes and his wife, Mr. Knapp and his wife, Miss Lucy Stanton, and two or three small children. I was standing on the upper steps talking to Mrs. Grant and the General. Some fireworks were being set off in the square opposite and I stepped down a little to allow the children to see them. I got down on the step, I think, next to the last one, leaning against the railing, and this man [O'Laughlin] came up to me after I had been there ten minutes, probably, and said, 'Is Stanton in?' Said I, I suppose you mean the Secretary? He said, 'Yes.' I think he made the remark, 'I am a lawyer in town; I know him very well.' I was under the impression he was under the influence of liquor. I told him I did not think he could see him. Then, he walked to the other side of the steps and stood there probably five minutes. I still staid there, I suppose five minutes and he walked over and said, 'Is Mr. Stanton in?' and then said, 'Excuse me, I thought you were the officer on duty here.' Said I, There is no officer on duty here. He then walked to the other side of the steps and walked inside of the hall, the alcove, and stood on the inside of the step. I saw him standing there, and I walked over to Mr. David Stanton and said, Do you know that man? He said he did not. I said to him, He says he knows the Secretary very well, but he is under the influence of liquor and you had better bring him out. Mr. David Stanton walked up to him, talked to him a few moments, and then took him down the steps. He went off, and I did not notice him again. He did not say anything about General Grant. By this time, I think, the General had gone into the parlor."

"I think the Secretary stood on the steps outside, and this man stood behind the Secretary, and from where he stood he could see into the parlor.

⁵ Although it is spelled "O'Laughlin" in the trial transcript, the family spelled it "O' Laughlen".

⁴ *The Trial*, xc-xci, 20

On the left-hand side of the hall, going in, is the library; on the other side is the parlor door. He stood on the side next to the library, and in that position he could have looked into the parlor, and seen who was in there through the door. The whole house was lighted up, and I feel pretty certain that the prisoner, O'Laughlin, is the man I saw."

On being cross-examined by O'Laughlen's defense counsel, Walter Cox, Lt. Colonel Knox said, "I do not recollect whether it was moonlight or dark that evening. There was a great crowd around the Secretary's house, and close up to the steps. I did not notice the man until he walked up on the steps and spoke to me, and after he went out again I saw him no more. I did not go inside the hall while he was there. Secretary Stanton was on the left-hand side of the steps talking to Mrs. Grant, and the man went up on the right-hand side past them, and went in and took a place on the left hand side. He had on a black slouch hat, a black frock coat, and black pants; as to his vest I cannot say. That was while the fireworks were going on. I had never seen the man before. I have seen him once since in this prison; I came here a week ago last Sunday for the purpose of identifying him."⁶

The importance of Kilburn Knox's testimony lies in the identification of Michael O'Laughlen and in his conversation with him wherein O'Laughlen only asked after Secretary Stanton and not General Grant. David Stanton, the Secretary's son, backed up Knox's testimony. Sgt. John C. Hatter who was also at the Stanton home said that O'Laughlen did ask after Grant, but his testimony may simply have been influenced by the specifications which were public by the time he and the others testified.

The indictment listed the obvious targets that were actually attacked or threatened with attack: The President, the Vice President and the Secretary of State. The indictment also listed Lt. General Grant. If O'Laughlen was to

⁶ *The Trial*, 226-227, 344, 382.

attack Grant, then he would have gone to the Willard Hotel, not the residence of the Secretary of War, where there was no indication that Grant would be staying, or that he would be there on the following day, April 14, when the attacks were to be carried out. Grant always stayed at the Willard and the conspirators would surely have known this. On April 13, Booth checked out Ford's Theatre, Powell strolled by the home of the Secretary of State and actually spoke to the male nurse enquiring after Seward's health, and George J. Adzerodt went to the Kirkland House where he had the clerk point out Vice President Andrew Johnson, whom he did not know, who was having a meal in the dining room. If the assassins were checking on the location of their potential victims then why did O'Laughlen go to the house of the Secretary of War if his intended target was Grant, who always stayed at the Willard? An obvious answer is that Grant was not the target at all-but Edwin M. Stanton was.⁷

In many ways Secretary Stanton was the person who had done more to bring about the destruction of the Confederacy than any of the others in the administration with the exception of the President. As the trial developed the question of a possible attempt on the life of the Secretary of War, to be carried out on the same night as the others was suggested but was brushed aside in favor of the more dramatic target, Ulysses S. Grant. However there was no knowledge on the part of the conspirators that Grant would be in the Capitol until he actually arrived on the 13th and checked in at the Willard. On the other hand Stanton was known to be in Washington and the conspirators certainly knew where he lived. The Secretary of War, given the other intended victims, was the obvious fourth target. As the other assassins were checking out their targets and places of operation, so, it appears, was Michael O'Laughlen, but, when it came to actually carrying out his mission, like

⁷ Michael W. Kaufman *American Brutus* (2004), 213-214, 317. Elizabeth D. Leonard, *Lincoln's Avengers* (2004), 110

George Adzerodt, it may well be that he got cold feet. Also like Adzerodt he had been drinking heavily on the April 13th and continued to do so on April 14th. In any case he returned to Baltimore on the 15th where he was later arrested.⁸

The testimony of Kilburn Knox, had it been more carefully analyzed by the prosecution, indicated that Edwin McMasters Stanton was the most logical and intended fourth victim of the conspirators and not Ulysses S. Grant who, at most, would have been only a target of opportunity.

The story of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln continues to be the subject of historical research, with books and articles on the topic appearing almost annually. Speculations are still made about all aspects of the assassination and the trial and the figures connected with the "crime of the century." This article is only one of many and suggests a theory that it was Edwin M. Stanton who was the target and that Michael O'Laughlen was as involved as George Adzerodt in the attempt to assassinate the leaders of the government on April 14, 1865.

⁸ H. Donald Winkler, *Lincoln and Booth* (2003), 67. Trial, xciii.

The New York Commandery meets regularly for dinner and welcomes any companions visiting New York City to join us. We meet at 3 West 51st Street (WNRC), New York City, courtesy of the Squadron A Association with drinks in the Pub at 6:30 PM followed by dinner at seven. The schedule for the coming year is as follows:

2006

Wednesday, Sept. 13th

Wednesday, Oct. 11th

Wednesday, Nov. 15th

Monday, Dec. 11th.

2007

Monday, Jan. 8th

Tuesday, Mar. 6th

Monday, April 16th

Monday, May 7th (Annual Meeting)

Wednesday, June 13th.

Donald L. Twiss, Recorder, (914)713-2400

The Legacy of Abraham Lincoln Along with the Future of DOLLUS is Moving in the Right Direction and Will Prevail for Generations to Come

Rosemary Schaeffer, National President

A historical military order was formed by three Union officers on April 15, 1865 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was formed to honor and remember Abraham Lincoln, our beloved 16th United States President, who was brutally assassinated the previous day at Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C. The Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (MOLLUS) was created to perpetuate the principles and leadership of Abraham Lincoln.

Two wives of MOLLUS members called a meeting on May 11, 1899 at the Palmer House in Chicago, Illinois



Mrs. Ella Thomas Hapeman

to form a ladies auxiliary of MOLLUS. This historic event was organized by Mrs. Ella Thomas Hapeman of Ottawa, Illinois, widow of Lt. Col. Douglas Hapeman of the 104th Illinois Volunteers (MOLLUS Insignia No. 3488, Illinois Commandery) and Mrs. Lorenzo Bruce Shattuck, wife of Capt. L. B. Shattuck, 35th New York Infantry, (MOLLUS Insignia No. 3703, Illinois Commandery). A committee was formed from among the fifty-one charter members to draft a constitution and bylaws of the Dames of the Loyal Legion of the United States (DOLLUS). The new DOLLUS organization elected

Mrs. Shattuck, a leader in a number of Chicago club activities, as its first president. She began her one-year term at the group's first meeting on October 5, 1899. Mrs. Hapeman was elected president in 1900-1901. At this time MOLLUS and DOLLUS has a connection which has continued to flourish.

One of the key issues in 2006 and future years is to encourage membership growth. MOLLUS has a productive

recruiting program to insure growth now and countless years to come. Our member Dames should strive to attain new members by signing up our daughters, daughters-in-law, granddaughters, nieces and cousins (no age requirement – from cradle on up). The admission fee and first year dues are \$20.00. Dues thereafter are only \$10.00 a year. Recruit a member today!

COMMANDERY NEWS

Commandery News...from page 2

Massachusetts Commandery

A report was made during the formal meeting concerning the successful restoration of the Civil War Soldier statue in the city of Brockton, Massachusetts. Massachusetts Commandery made a significant contribution to its restoration. Companion Brendan O'Connell reported on his participation in the Lincoln Birthday ceremonies in Washington, D.C. and informed members about the MOLLUS annual meeting at Lincoln University in October 2006. We discussed participation in Memorial Day ceremonies at the National Veterans Cemetery in Bourne on Cape Cod. The commandery was recognized for its participation.

Companion Bayard Lincoln, manager of ROTC awards, reported on the presentation of the awards made at MIT, Northeastern University and the University of Massachusetts. Five awards were presented which consisted of a MOLLUS medal and a cash gift. The recipients were: Army Cadets Ryan J. Walsh, Andrew De Georgio, David Hunter, Air Force Cadet Kyle A. Bowman, and Navy Midshipman Jacqueline Perez.

Commander Warren Wells called for the annual election of officers. The results chose new officers as follows:

Commander Frederick Stevens, LtCol USA Ret

Vice-Commander Howard Norris, LtCol USAF Ret

Treasurer John Taft, CDR USN Ret
Recorder Bradford Blaser, CDR USN Ret

Carol Bundy, a noted local historian, entertained members and guests after a fine luncheon, with a fascinating and moving profile of the short but important life of Colonel Charles Russell Lowell, Jr. (1835-1864), a Civil War hero who died in battle.

Virginia Commandery

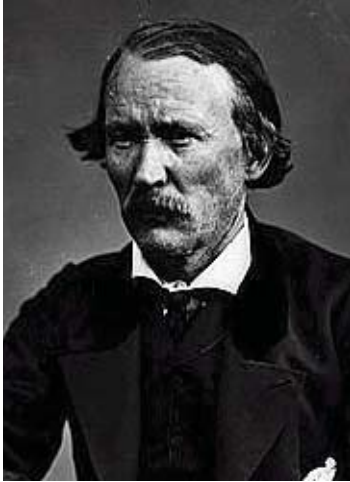
Members of the Commandery met on 28 June 2006 in Richmond to review recent Commandery events, introduce new members and discuss recruiting, as well as make plans for the upcoming Congress. Companion David Condon brought a special relic of his to the meeting – a presentation sword that belonged to his MOLLUS ancestor, Brig. Gen. Edmund Jackson Davis, 1st Texas Cavalry (US). Alex Wise, executive director of the American Civil War Center at Historic Tredegar, gave an update on the progress made towards Opening Day, now set for this fall. The museum will tell the story of the war from the Union, Confederate, and African-American perspectives, and will occupy more than 10,000 square feet on three levels built in Tredegar's foundry building.

Jeffrey Burden, Recorder

Recollections of Kit Carson

Read before the Illinois Commandery of MOLLUS,
March 1, 1928

by Nelson Thomasson, Captain Company E, 5th
Infantry USA



Kit Carson

Good-Bye, Friends, Adios Amigos – The last words of Kit Carson.

Commander and Companions:

We reached Albuquerque on July 4, 1862, and then and there, for the first time I met Kit Carson. But the heat was so terrific and the flies were so pestering, that the room was kept dark and I saw little of him. But afterwards, up and down the Rio Grande, and during the Navajo campaign, I saw enough of him, to fall in love with him. He was already enthroned in my mind, by my reading the first novel I ever read, *Lena Leota or The Prairie Flower*, by G. P. R. James, published in 1853, and by the accounts made to me by my maternal uncle, David Meriwether, appointed by President Pierce as Governor of New Mexico in 1854.

Kit Carson's life is full to repletion with adventure. Look at his career with Fremont, just before and during our war with Mexico, and during the short while he was a Lieutenant in the regular army. The Senate would not confirm his appointment which he held about one year, but performed service to his Government even after he knew he was rejected in the winding up of certain public affairs. By the way, something ought to be done about the U. S. Senate ruling of confirmations. Don't we all

remember the late Dr. Leib, who was the Editor and Proprietor of the "Rail-Splitter" in Chicago in 1860? He was made a Q. M., and became McClellan's capable Quarter Master in West Virginia, but the Senate would not confirm his nomination, and he gave up and went back to his old medical profession, and years after came out to us as a contract physician when we inaugurated the territory of Arizona, at Prescott, the capital thereof. Dr. Leib wrote a book how to make a million (which he did not do) but died a poor man in Prescott, and his widow married another doctor.

Carson was passionately fond of the buffalo, and told me he had hunted buffalo every year since he was 12 years old. He despised the appellation of scout, and wished to be called a trapper or hunter in his younger days.

In a paper of this kind it is so hard to tell what is best to give and the better to omit. But no matter how you do it, you will be criticized, and so we will dictate it just as it comes to us, and let it alone at that.

Christopher Carson was born at Cynthiana, Kentucky on December 24, 1809. But he was carried in his mother's arms to Missouri in less than a year afterwards. When I was part of the garrison of New Fort Barracks in Kentucky in 1868, I took the trouble just after Colonel Carson's death, to run down to Cynthiana, his birthplace, as it is in the adjoining county, but I could not find a soul who knew anything worth recording as to this Carson family. And by the same token little can be learned in Missouri, because when the subject of our inquiry became a mere boy, "he was on the jump," to use his expression, to make a living. But if you really want to know anything, go to Taos today, and every adult will talk and tell you a great deal of our hero of heroes.

He became a waggoner at the age of 15, and a hunter when about 17 years of age, and a full-fledged scout before Colonel Charles Fremont found him when he took his (Carson's) daughter to school in St. Louis. Fremont had his other employees, but when he could get the

services of Carson he never rejected them.

Up to the time of the Civil War Carson had a great partiality for California, and every time he could go with Fremont or others, or alone, he would go. The first Mission established by the Roman Catholic religion was San Diego, in 1769, and then about 25 to 30 missions north, all near the Pacific Ocean or on the rivers that had their only outlet through the Golden Gate at San Francisco. Then the wealth of our country consisted of the precious metals of the South, or the rich peltries of the North. These two pursuits have, in a manner, been the pioneers and precursors of civilization, and without pausing on the borders, they have penetrated at once in defiance of difficulties to the very heart of savage countries, laying open the secrets of the wilderness after them, not waiting the slow and pausing steps of agriculture and the coming of crowds, and this was what Carson gloried in, to be an explorer, trapper, and hunter.

Captain Asa B. Carey, who died as chief paymaster of the U. S. Army (whom I ever regard as the James Madison of our crowd) was next in command in the celebrated Navajos campaign. Carey had two companies of the 13th U. S. Infantry with him. We would start out in the morning, and unless we had water holes in view for camping purposes, we would make about 10 to 13 miles a day. We had American horses and they could in their walks keep the little mustangs in a perpetual dog trot. Carson would always lead the way, and when we would arrive at our rendezvous, he was there and through Murphy would yell out "Pheiffer, you throw your Company over thar and Birney, your Company adjoining" and so making a perfect semi-circle. And then in a few moments you could smell the fragrant coffee to be relished by the tired and almost exhausted soldiers.

Colonel Carson would always keep his camp chair at the head of this circle and receive the reports of the different detachments. Afterwards, if sufficient

Recollections...from page 7

officers were present, a card party would be formed, and certain officers (I often thought) would be invited to come and join in the game of draw poker, or whatever the majority or Carson might wish. Right here I wish to record Carson would only allow a small ante and limit to be practiced. He would invariably gamble or bet on canned fruits or chicken a la Marengo, and also what was called then lemonade sugar. This was new to us and "Oh!" so nice in that hot climate to our tired and jaded bodies. We all, if we could afford it, had meerschaums, but Carson was very partial to the briar pipe - some depended upon chewing tobacco being protected from the dry climate by tin foil covering, which General Winfield Scott had invented 16 years before on the road from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. And then would begin the stories beside the camp fires, which I will never forget if I live ages to come.

Colonel Carson was not what could be called an educated man, and always regretted he was not. He could write his name, and wrote it "Kit Carson," but Murphy, the adjutant of the column, decreed it would not go down with the third auditor, and prevailed upon having it "C. Carson." I had a large box of these orders and returns signed by Colonel Carson but, of course, they all went up in your great smoke of 1871, where they were in an iron vault, but which proved to be no protection in your said great fire.

Once when we were jogging along I asked Colonel Carson how many Indians he had sent to the "Happy Grounds." His reply was that he could not tell exactly, but he said he never killed any unless his life was in great danger, and then he would send the Indian before him.

One day, looking up the road which came through the Bosque (or woods), I saw Colonel Carson coming toward me, mounted on a very superb horse. He was escorted by a few cavalry men of his New Mexican regiment. He saluted me teniente, "How you like my new horse? It is a present from the people

of St. Louis or State of Missouri." I have forgotten which he stated. Colonel Carson said, "I wish you would keep it for me till I return from the Navajo Country, but you must promise me to let no one on its back but you. I will be gone about three weeks. When I get out of the Canon de Chelly, my address will be Ceboeta. I will come back here." I promised - I told him I would like to discard the Mexican bit. "No," the Colonel said, "he is too spirited to be without this curb." This animal was a beauty - with the bridle (but which I thought was cruel) you could manage him with the left hand most easily. If Custer had this curbed bit he would not have had that runaway of his horse at the grand parade in Washington City in 1865. There is no cruelty to the horse by a skillful rider. The slightest pressure opens the animal's mouth, but his nostrils are free, which a horse so much likes. Napoleon could not adopt it, because he never could use the bridle reins with only his right hand, never the left.

Colonel Kit Carson was a great believer and lover of pure religion - that religion born in a stable and educated in a carpenter shop, he was a verily true Christian - but he would have nothing to do with theology. At the camp fires when the talk would glide into that, he would turn himself in his canvas back chair, and exhale his puffs of smoke from his briar root pipe in an opposite direction. What would he think if someone told him that we now have church property in the United States amounting to 3 billion dollars and that there were 183 sects of purported religions? Would it not have petrified him with astonishment as much as any of his Arizona trees? As to these statements, see the 1926 Statements of the Census Bureau. But I am not a preacher or an exhorter, but let us hope, yes, let us pray that with these 183 sects or denominations and 3 billion dollars worth of church property, that we will soon have more practical piety and righteousness.

Carson was never heavy on any religion, but he knew that his Christ had

been born, had died, and still lived - that was enough for him. He used to say, "A man should never do anything in day time that would make him repent thereof when the night came." Now do you think we youngsters went wrong when we truly idolized this nature's man?

He took quite a liking to a Captain who commanded a Company of Americans, but who came too late to get into the regular column. This Captain was an ex-preacher and when detached and sent on scout would make speeches to his battalion, saying they were about to go into action, and every man should implore his Maker, or the God of battles, for His protection. This officer would spring doctrines upon Carson, but the Colonel would then turn his head away - puff his smoke in another direction. Colonel Carson had some time and somewhere been told about the simple and sincere teachings of the humble Galilean and of his 12 men who stood against the whole world and won. He believed in this and let theology go hang. He believed that membership in the kingdom above could be insured only on the basis of individual righteousness. No other credentials were worthy of a moment's consideration. He believed in the Heavenly Father who is the embodiment of mercy and redeeming love for his children.

And so I could go along and tire you with these recollections - but Cui Bono. He (Carson) lived a long life, as great men's lives are all short. Abraham Lincoln died at 56 years, and Carson a few years later, in the year 1868. He died really from a wound he received when a young man. This wound at times gave him great trouble. He was brought down from Taos to Fort Lyons to be near a doctor of the regular army. This doctor told him almost to a day how long he could live, ie., when the wound would reach a certain stage in his throat, and one day Carson had felt he was being choked, and he only had time to cry out, "Friends, good-bye," and dying he shouted "Adios Amigos."

Carson was born on the 24th of December, a Christmas Eve present to his

parents, 1809, Madison County, the same year that Abraham Lincoln saw light, but he was brought to Missouri early to what is now Howard County. Missouri was then called Upper Louisiana, being a part of the land ceded to the United States by France in 1803. This Howard County, Missouri, where Carson came as a child, was a wild region, infested on all sides with Indians, often hostile and always treacherous. Carson told me he had sown his wild oats before he was 21, he knew he could not have his cake and eat it, too, so he chose to save his money and his strength for future use.

About the year 1868, General William Tecumseh Sherman made an inspection tour of the Plains forts, almost all said forts in Kansas and Colorado. Instead of hiring or inviting Kit Carson or Maxwell, formerly of Kaskasika, Illinois, to escort him and staff, as it had been the custom, General Sherman by a special order, commanded Captain Edmund Butler of my Regiment, the 5th U. S. Infantry, and platoon of soldiers, to be his bodyguard. At this we then marveled. The heirs of Butler proudly show this special order today. Why was it thus? About a year or so previous General Sherman was presented with a scholarship from some university in Indiana, and as Tecumseh had no son then eligible for this college, he selected the oldest son of Kit Carson to be the candidate to go through the curriculum. Carson's boy went, and before the first year was out, or soon thereafter, General Sherman had a bill of about \$1,000 sent him for board and books, for Kit Carson's boy. This made Tecumseh mad as a March hare, and hence his screed against all scouts in general and particularly those in the employ of the U. S. Government then - stating the Indians were almost gone, and the scouts should go with them, and so forth and so on. But Reno will tell you (who is alive today) that if Custer had more scouts and depended upon them, that he (Custer) would never have come to such an inglorious end. But Sherman's screed had its effect, and how Buffalo Bill flourished in his long career; I have

often thought it was due to Mr. Cody's perseverance and to his tip-top worthiness.

Colonel Carson always gave me the credit of his being appointed Indian agent of the Southwest, and I never did do a semi-public action that gave me so much private satisfaction. It happened in this way: When on waiting orders here in Chicago I made a visit to Washington City, and had hardly taken a seat in General John C. McFerran's office, when he spoke right out, that he wanted me to go to General Grant and join with others in asking this commission for Carson. I told him (McFerran) that Lieutenant Colonel Chaves, Carson's Lieutenant Colonel, had a candidate for that office, etc., but McFerran said, "No matter, go ahead, and be quick about it." We immediately made a petition in as few words as possible. I went to the old warhorses first, whom I knew personally, such as General Rucker, Sheridan's father-in-law; McFeeley, Thompkins (who led the first cavalry fight in the Civil War, etc.) and who knew Carson fortunately and got them to sign this petition.

Next morning I appeared before McFerran and showed him the petition, and he said we will go right over to Grant's office. We went, and found Grant just coming down the stairway, with Major Leit (who had been a cross-eyed dry-goods clerk in Chicago) and Grant had taken him on his staff. McFerran, who had been a classmate of Grant's at the Point in 1844, did the talking, saying "General, here is a small petition; we wish to call your immediate attention thereto." Grant stopped and McFerran read the petition and some of the names appended. He (Grant) took the paper from McFerran and handed it to Major Leit, and told him to make out this commission to Colonel Kit Carson.

Of course, this made Lieutenant Colonel Chaves howling mad, and he came out in the papers asking what could a delegate from the great territory in New Mexico amount to, when the administration made an appointment over his head by a Lieutenant of the

regular army, and more similar stuff. But really, this was originated by McFerran, who died shortly after as Quarter Master General of the U. S. Army. He needed Carson very much to carry out certain provisions promised to the Utes and Navajoes, and this was the only way to do it.

How fast humans increase even in bondage. We brought from the Navajo Country 9,200 prisoners, and now they write me there are about 21,000 Indians on the reservation. But this increase does not exceed that of the Negro race. Lincoln, with a few strokes of his pen manumitted four million slaves, and now there must be several more million citizens of African decent - voting at the Northern Polls.

I wish to bespeak of the American people their best actions to these Navajos. Even General Sheridan, whose antipathy extended to all Indians, used to confess to his compadres that there were many good Indians in the Navajo Tribe.

Right here and now I wish to stress the fact that this Navajo campaign was comparatively a bloodless one. On the second day after entering Canon de Chelly, and the killing of Major Cummins, the Major of Carson's regiment, which I told you about in a former paper, we had no real fighting. It was all planned by General James H. Carleton and Colonel Carey - and executed by Colonel Kit Carson and his command - and all very successfully. I can, in my recollections, see Manulita, the Chief of all the Navajos, bowing his head in acquiescence, and crying out after Carson had his talk and smoke with him, "Good Medicine."

And now I am dead tired, and I am afraid you are also, and this is all I will say about Colonel Carson tonight, that he retired after his Indian appointment to that lovely Taos in New Mexico, just East of the Continental Divide - and the Ute and Navajo reservations in Arizona.

But I want to add one word about Lincoln - I tried to do so last evening but could not as I did not have the

121st MOLLUS Congress...from page 1

to see, listen and talk to some of the greatest American historians and authors during this Symposium, which is intertwined to allow all of us to attend our Congress and the Lincoln Symposium, during our three days at LMU. I attended LMU's Lincoln Symposium in 2001 and it was a grand event.

LMU will provide their bus to pick up attendees who plan to fly into the Knoxville, TN Airport, which is about 60 miles southwest of Harrogate, TN. They will pick you up and then return you to the airport for your departure home. Let us know your flight schedule so that we can advise the University. Those who are driving to Harrogate, check your map for Middlesboro, KY which is just a mile or so north of Harrogate, TN in the furthest southeast corner of Kentucky, which also touches the furthest southwest corner of Virginia.

I have been advised that housing will be at the Holiday Inn Express in Middlesboro, KY. This fine hotel is owned by the Mars Family, two of which are members of the LMU Board of Trustees, financial supporters and graduates of LMU. As we get closer to our Congress and Symposium events, you will be advised of the details.

Your presence at our 121st Congress and LMU's Lincoln Symposium will be very special for all who attend. Remembering our MOLLUS/DOLLUS patriarch, Abraham Lincoln, LMU founders and our present LMU officials from President Nancy Moody down will represent our remembrance of this outstanding University.

The Ohio Commandery is responsible for our 121st Congress, under the leadership of our 54th Commander-in-Chief (2001-2003) and long time Commandery Recorder, Gordon R. Bury. Karl F. Schaeffer



Recollections...from page 10

manuscript with me. Here it is, and I allude to it now again, because in our last meeting some of us intimated that we were not keeping the recollection of Lincoln as fresh as we might. In my article on Lincoln published in the Chicago News some time ago, this article hardly went to press before I came to hear of something further which I regret not knowing then, so I put it in now as it is too important to leave unmentioned.

I was recently in Dr. Gardiner's anteroom waiting for my turn for a treatment, and I noticed a man and a woman and several children waiting with me. Suddenly the woman came up to me, and to my surprise asked me how I regard the memory of Lincoln.

Loyal Legion Historical Journal

I replied that it would take me a long time to tell her. She interrupted me and told me she was teaching her children to regard Abraham Lincoln as a demigod and in another generation Lincoln would be regarded as great as any saint above.

Some of you know I have been writing my different recollections about Statesmen whom I knew, as Douglas, Lincoln, and others. But the articles I wrote fell stale with the exception of that of Lincoln - but Lincoln's has been reprinted in the New York Herald-Tribune, Washington, D. C. papers, and especially all through the South and the Pacific Slope. That shows that Lincoln's fame can take care of itself, and as this Russian lady said, it will soon be the loftiest ikon on all the world's flags.

Loyal Legion Memorial Fund

The Loyal Legion Memorial Fund is a 501(c)(3) organization that serves as the charitable arm of the Order. The Memorial Fund publishes the Loyal Legion Roster and the Historical Journal, and supports commemorative observances at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., and the Lincoln Tomb in Springfield, Illinois. The Fund also provides support to the Civil War and Underground Railroad Museum, Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Grant Monument Association, Zellwood Historical Society and Museum, GAR Museum and Library, the Civil War Preservation Trust, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and the Abraham Lincoln Museum at Lincoln Memorial University, among others.

The following individuals have contributed to The Loyal Legion Memorial Fund during the period of April 1 through July 31, 2006

The Abraham Lincoln Society (\$1,000 and above)

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Corrections: The acknowledgements of certain contributions received were listed incorrectly in the Spring 2006 publication of the Journal, for which an apology is extended.

James W. Reese should be listed as James W. Reece.

The contribution from Mrs. Paul M. Niebell, Sr. was made in memory of her brother, Grahame T. Smallwood, Jr.

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