John Stratton is a native Kansan and charter member of SFTA. He is currently director of the Regents Center Library at the University of Kansas, Edwards campus. Prior to that he was Director of Wallerstedt Library at Bethany College in Lindsborg, Kansas. The title for this article comes from Mollie Hoops's 1885 recollection of the death of Ed Miller: "Edward Miller was a young man about eighteen years old who was familiar with the trail and was a bold and fearless rider" (quoted in Fraznza, item 12 below). Stratton would be interested in knowing about any further materials not included in this article that notes or discusses Ed Miller's death. Please contact him at 2620 Cranley St, Lawrence KS 66046 (785) 842-2957, <jstratton@ukans.edu>.

ONE of the most poignant and potentially confusing tales in the history of the Santa Fe Trail in central Kansas may be one about the death of eighteen-year-old Ed Miller on July 20, 1864, at the hands of Cheyenne Indians near present-day Canton, Kansas. Research into this single, isolated incident reveals a plethora of conflicting historical accounts that detail the event, including the date of his death, Miller's purpose for traveling on the Trail, and even his given name.

There can be little doubt that Miller died on the day noted above, a fact corroborated by a significant amount of research and other contemporary accounts published since at least 1911, including the recollections of R. C. Coble, A. A. Moore, and Frank Doster, all published in the Marion County Record in the early years of the 20th century. The recollections of these persons serve to settle the facts: On July 20, 1864, young Ed Miller was traveling on the Trail on an errand of mercy for the purpose of bringing Mrs. E. P. Waterman from Big Turkey Ranch to Marion to care for her ailing daughter, Mrs. A. A. Moore, wife of A. A. "Lank" Moore, one of the early settlers in Marion County. Miller was killed by Cheyenne Indians near present-day Canton, Kansas, while undertaking the task.

Nonetheless, what the novice researcher may potentially discover are numerous published and occasional unpublished accounts recounting Ed Miller's death as occurring either in 1864, 1865, 1869, or even 1885. Further, it has been reported in some sources that Miller was either on an errand of mercy for an ill woman, a substitute mail carrier, a Pony Express rider, going to visit nearby friends, riding for help from a ranch besieged by Indians, or was a member of a caravan passing through the area, died of smallpox, and was buried at the present site of his grave. Moreover, his name has been reported as Ed, Edward, Edgar, and in two accounts as George. All accounts agree he was eighteen years old at the time of his death in what is now extreme east-central McPherson County and that he was killed by Cheyenne Indians.

Examination of some of the research about Miller's death also reveals a lack of agreement as to the occupants of the Big Turkey Ranch near the site of Miller's death and who may have witnessed Miller's death some 3-4 miles to the north-east of that site. At least one record notes that Mrs. Fuller, wife of Charles Fuller, founder of Fuller's Ranch in 1855, was the person Ed Miller was going to fetch, while others note it was Mrs. Waterman, wife of E. P. Waterman, who was to be summoned. Indeed, Mr. Waterman has been identified as "E. P.," "Eli," "Vet," and "Ir" Waterman. As noted above, historical accounts have indicated Miller's true errand was to retrieve Mrs. Waterman to care for her ill daughter in Marion Center. Indeed, this part of the Ed Miller story is linked to the wider history of the Fuller Ranch in McPherson County, another important Santa Fe Trail site in east-central McPherson County.

In addition, some accounts of the death of Ed Miller raise questions about the black tombstone marking Ed Miller's grave. Private citizens from Marion had marked Ed Miller's grave with this monument some 40 years after his death. Further, the Daughters of the American Revolution placed a red granite marker directly behind (or in front of) the privately erected monument in 1906. The date inscribed on the privately-erected marker has added to the confusion surrounding the date of Miller's death, and there are legitimate but unanswered questions about whether or not the year of his death recorded on the marker was changed. For example, at least two contemporary accounts note the date on the marker appears to have been changed to 1869 from either 1864 or 1865. If this did occur, when was it changed, why, and by whom? These questions remain unanswered but have added to the general lack of consensus in written accounts about his exact date of death.

The purpose of this article is to present an annotated bibliography of some of the published (books, articles, and pamphlets) and unpublished literature (manuscript or typescript material) that note or discuss Miller's death. The intent is to guide interested readers and researchers through part of the "paper trail" that illuminates this incident of Santa Fe Trail history in central Kansas. All entries are numbered and arranged alphabetically by author or title. Following the bibliographical section, each numbered entry is indexed under the following headings: (A) date (year) of Miller's death as indicated in the entry, in this case either [1864], [1864 or 1865], [1864, 1865, or 1869], [1869], [1864], [1865], [1864, 1865, or 1869], [1869], [1864], [1865], [1864, 1865, or 1869], [1869],
or [1885]; (B) his name as reported in the item or document; and (C) the reason for Ed Miller being on the Trail to begin with, or his occupation, as articulated in the individual source (mail carrier, Pony Express rider, etc.).

**Numbered entries:**


   Barry’s article discusses the widespread Indian raids along the Santa Fe Trail in central Kansas in July 1864. On page 291, to clarify comments made by G. W. Ridge in a letter dated July 24, 1864, Barry notes in parenthetical remarks that “the body of the youth referred to by Ridge” killed on July 20—Edgar Miller, of Marion—was found near present Canton in McPherson county (italics mine). Barry, of course, is well known to Santa Fe Trail scholars for her series of articles about ranches along the Trail as well as other contributions to Kansas history, including the invaluable *Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1840-1854*. Note item 8 below, wherein it is noted that Ed Miller’s brother (not identified) states Ed’s name was Edgar, not Edward.


   Berry’s article provides information about the Jones Cemetery near Canton, Kansas, where Miller is buried. He states that Cheyenne Indians killed Ed Miller on July 20, 1864, and debunks the legend that Miller was a Pony Express rider when he was killed. As Berry wrote: “the Pony Express only operated for 18 months in 1860-61, and did not cross McPherson County” (p. 13A).


   The chapter notes for the Quivira Chapter of the Santa Fe Trail Association describe a tour of historical sites in McPherson County, among them the Ed Miller gravesite. It stated, “Miller was killed by a war-party of Cheyennes in July 1869.”


   This document was found on the Internet and states Ed Miller was killed by Cheyenne Indians on July 20, 1864 (p. 3). It reports that Miller was delivering a message to Mr. and Mrs. Ira Waterman at the “Big Turkey Creek Ranch (Fuller’s Ranch) that their daughter was very ill and wanted them to come to her in Marion.” The section discussing Miller’s death also states, without further attribution, that “the date of death on Miller’s marker has been altered.” On p. 4, a brief description of Ed Miller’s grave appears.


   Cordry writes on page 116: “The other markers in Marion county are placed as follows . . . the other at ‘George Miller’s grave,’ on the McPherson county line, on land then belonging to M. M. Jones. This last marker is on a cement base, at the head of the grave of George Miller, who was killed at this point by Cheyenne Indians in 1865. His grave is at the tip of a small knoll by the side of the trail. The grave has been kept in good shape, and was the starting point for a country cemetery.” On p. 162, marker “34. George Miller’s grave” is listed. It may be that the sources used by Mrs. Cordry included those articles in the *Marion County Record* published in 1911/12 that originally (and erroneously) reported Miller’s death as 1865 (see item 7 below).

   Cordry’s book was reprinted in 1996 with an added addendum entitled “Addendum to the Marking of the Santa Fe Trail” by Shirley S. Coupal and Mrs. Vincent Traffas. Following page 164, on page 11 of the separately-paged addendum, marker 34 is listed in McPherson County as follows: “Jones Cemetery, Ed Miller’s grave, killed by Cheyenne in 1865.”


   Cress’s article describes a horse and wagon ride on the Santa Fe Trail in central Kansas in 1988. The last paragraph notes that the riders visited Jones Cemetery “where 18-year-old Ed Miller was buried after being killed by Cheyennes in 1864.”


   The brief introduction to these reprinted articles states that Ed Miller “was killed by Indians near the Trail in 1864 (mistakenly given as 1865 in some of the following information).” This collection of articles provides important information about Ed Miller’s death as it appeared in the *Marion County Record* in the years 1911-1912.

   The articles reprinted include “How Ed Miller Died” by “An Old Settler” (see item 24 below). This article states that the “E. P. Waterman” family, residents at Turkey Creek Ranch, watched through “field glasses” from the rooftop as Indians chased a rider east along the Trail and overtook him in a “cloud of dust.” It is interesting to note that the end of this article includes a postscript stating “Henry Roberts, mentioned in the article, has purchased a beautiful black granite tombstone to be placed at the grave of Ed Miller, giving his age, date of death, and by whom killed.” One presumes that Roberts initially would have had it carved to read “1864” since he was one of the men to find Miller’s body and must have been well aware of the year. However, upon examination today the tombstone appears to have been altered sometime in the past to read 1869. Pantle, item 19 below, includes further comments about Miller’s companion Alphonce Bichet, who briefly accompanied him on the Trail that day. Pantle dates this article from the *Marion Record* as January 11, 1912.

   Another article reprinted is entitled “That Miller Story: Another Pioneer Writes Interesting Account of Ed Miller and Indians,” which contains the recollections of R. C. Coble, one of the men who found the body of Ed Miller after his death. Mr. “Eli Waterman,” resident at Turkey Creek Ranch, is listed in the article as one of the “early inhabitants of Marion county in those early days.”
Other reprinted articles include “In the Early Days,” which contains more recollections from Coble. The article entitled “Further Testimony from Old Timers Concerning the Death of Ed Miller,” reprints letters from Frank Doster (sent to Henry Roberts, another of the discoverers of Miller’s body on the Trail after his death) and A. A. Moore (sent to Alex Case), who notes in his letter that the Watermans were “my wife’s parents” and that “Vet Waterman,” who lived at the ranch where Ed Miller was going, was still alive at the time of the writing of the letter (ca. 1911/1912). In addition, a summary of a letter from H. P. Paddock, another discoverer of Miller’s body, to Charles Atkinson, is included in this article. In all cases, these letters state unequivocally that Miller died on July 20, 1864, and was on an errand to fetch Mrs. E. P. Waterman from the “Running Turkey” Ranch to care for an ailing Mrs. A. A. Moore in Marion.


This article is a compilation/combination of other separate articles noted in item 7 above that appeared in the Marion County Record in either 1911 or 1912 (Pantle, item 19 below, dates one of the articles as appearing in the January 11, 1912, issue). However, this article goes on to state (p. 3) that “the date of 1864 has been changed sometime in the last thirty years to 1869. The actual date of death was 1864 (on Miller’s grave) according to several sources” (italics mine). In addition, notes at the end of this article provide information on Miller’s family and his true given name, Edgar, according to one of Miller’s brothers (who is not identified). The story also refutes the legend that Miller was a Pony Express rider, noting that Ed Miller was a “handman for cattle ranchers in the area.”


This document is the same as the above except procured by an introductory paragraph stating, “Part I - Submitted 1/12/02 by Larry Laloge, the great-great-grandson of ‘French Frank,’ Frank Laloge. Thanks for the contribution, Larry.” Frank Laloge started his trading post on the Santa Fe Trail in 1861, according to Pantle (see item 19 below, part I, pp. 23-24). His store came to be locally known as “French Frank’s” store.


Flory notes on page 62 that the “Ed Miller memorial . . . is located in Jones Cemetery. Miller was a young man who substituted as a mail carrier on the mail route between Marion Center and Fuller’s Ranch when the regular carrier, a Mr. Roberts, was at home with his sick wife. In July of 1864 Miller, in the line of duty, was overtaken and killed by Cheyenne Indians.” Pages 61 and 65 of Flory’s Atlas contain maps placing the “Ed Miller Memorial” near Canton, Kansas.


Franzwa provides an account of Miller’s death but does not provide the date. He states that Miller was “riding to a nearby ranch . . . to bring news of a relative’s illness and rode into an ambush.” He also recounts the story of residents at the ranch, presumably the Turkey Creek Ranch, who watched through a telescope the Indians “circling a single rider.” The residents are not identified.


Franzwa writes on page 67 that Miller was killed in 1865. He reprints an account written by Mollie Hoops in 1885 (wife of Evan Hoops, one of the discoverers of Miller’s body after his death). The Hoops arrived in Marion County in 1864 (see item 24 below, p. 20). Mollie Hoops recalled Miller’s death as occurring in 1865 as the result of a general Indian raid in the vicinity of western McPherson and eastern Marion counties. Interestingly, a photograph of Miller’s headstone and the Santa Fe Trail marker near it on page 68 is captioned “A DAR marker stands near the headstone of Ed Miller, killed by Indians in 1864.”


The article states, “According to the marker, 18-year-old Miller was killed by Indians in 1864 or 1865 (the date is not clear).” It is unclear if the author is referring to the last digit on the tombstone or to varying accounts about the year of Miller’s death that do not agree on the year.


Hintz stated that Miller’s gravestone is inscribed with the date of death “July 1869, but even the date is suspect, because the figure “9” appears to have been recut from either a ‘4’ or a ‘5,’ and the monument was not erected until Miller had been dead nearly 40 years.” Hintz gives credence to the legend that Miller was substituting as mail carrier for Henry Roberts. Miller, Hintz writes, apparently agreed to serve that fateful day since Roberts, a family man, may have been killed by Indians “on the prowl.”


This manuscript, found in the McPherson County Historical Society, contains notes prepared for a tour of historical sites in McPherson County. On page 1 it states “Ed Miller . . . was scalped by the Indians in 1869, leaving a legacy of legends about how he met death.” The legends, recounted in this manuscript, include that he was a “substitute mail carrier,” that he was at a ranch besieged by Indians and “volunteered to ride for help,” and that he was going to fetch an ill Mrs. A. A. Moore’s mother at “Empire” (note the inclusion of this town as the location of Mrs. Moore’s family, not the Turkey Creek Ranch).


On page 79, Long writes the inscription on Ed Miller’s grave stone, “a column of polished black marble,” reads as follows: “Ed Miller / Aged 18 yrs. / killed by / Cheyenne Indians / July 7, 1865.” This brief notation presents the latest date found concerning Miller’s death. There is not
an attribution or citation. Could it be that Mollie Hoops was the source of an 1885 description of the death of Ed Miller (reprinted in Franzwa's *The Santa Fe Trail Revisited*, item 12 above)?


Under the heading "McPherson County" (p. 15), Mallinson refers to "Jones Cemetery, the location of the grave site of Ed Miller, killed in 1864 by Cheyenne Indians on the trail."


In a survey of historical spots in McPherson County, Montgomery writes that Miller was "killed by Cheyenne Indians in 1869."


Pantle writes on page 25 of part I that "on July 20, 1864, Ed Miller, a young boy of Marion Centre, was sent to take a message to the E. P. Waterman family at Running Turkey Creek on the Santa Fe Trail west of the Cottonwood Crossing." Pantle's article notes that possibly the last person, among the settlers at least, to see Ed Miller alive was Alphonse Bichet. Note that Pantle cites the source for this statement as the January 11, 1912, issue of the *Marion Record*. Part II of this article concludes in 19:2 (May 1951): 174-206.

20. *Santa Fe Trail / McPherson County, Kansas / [pamphlet] [Historic Trails Award / Boy Scouts of America / Sponsored by Troop No. 139 / McPherson, Kansas]" No date.

Under "Points of Interest Item 1" the following information is presented: "Ed Miller's Grave—East of Canton near the center of the Jones Cemetery...is the black marble gravestone of Ed Miller who according to the inscription was killed by Cheyenne Indians in 1869."


Simmons writes on page 109 that "Miller, a mail courier (not a Pony Express rider)" was "killed on the SFT in 1864 by Cheyennes." Simmons is well known among Trial scholars and members of the Santa Fe Trail Association for his many contributions to Trail history.


Sterling's information mirrors Cordry's information (item 5 above) that "George Miller" was "killed by Cheyenne Indians in 1865."


Van Meter gives an account of Miller's death but assigns no date. She writes: "The most serious incident involved the Cheyenne ambush of eighteen-year-old Ed Miller. Miller had offered to go to the C. O. Fuller ranch on the Santa Fe Trail in McPherson County to get Mrs. Fuller to return with him and care for the ill Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Fuller's daughter, at the A. A. Moore ranch in northwestern Marion County. Miller was traveling toward the Fuller ranch when the Cheyennes caught him, tortured and killed him. His body was found a mile west of the present Marion-McPherson county line." Many other accounts state that "E. P. Waterman" and family resided at the "Fuller" ranch by 1864, then referred to as the "Turkey Creek" ranch. Further, many sources note that Mrs. Waterman was the mother of Mrs. A. A. Moore. The A. A. Moore family was living near Marion Center by that time, not at the site of the original Moore ranch (in which place Charles Fuller was living by 1864—see the articles reprinted in *Wagon Tracks*, item 7 above). The footnote at the end of the passage about Ed Miller cites David Wiebe's book *Grace Meadow* (item 25 below), which assigns the date of death as 1869.


In the chapter entitled "Ed Miller, Indian Casualty / How Ed Miller Died" (pp. 16-17), it states that Ed Miller died in July 1864. [Note in the *Wagon Tracks* article entitled "The Death of Ed Miller on the Santa Fe Trail" (see item 7 above), the date erroneously appears as July 1865.] The material provides an account of how Miller was dispatched by his father from their residence on "Mud Creek" to the "Turkey Creek Ranch" to fetch Mrs. Moore's mother to visit her in Marion Center. Note the article states that Mrs. Moore's mother was not Mrs. Fuller but Mrs. Waterman, wife of the owner of the "Big Turkey Creek Ranch on the Santa Fe Trail." Charley Fuller was not apparently the owner of the Turkey Creek Ranch by 1864, but was in fact residing at Moore's Ranch (see item 7 above).

The chapter entitled "The DAR Places First Markers for the Santa Fe Trail," (p. 22) reprints an article from the *Durham Journal* dated October 4, 1906, comprised of a letter from Alex Case to the DAR, noting, but not specifically dating, the "massacre of Ed Miller, of our settlement."


On page 34, Weibe writes: "In 1869, eighteen-year-old Ed Miller was killed by Cheyennes on the Old Santa Fe Trail. He was the last white person killed by Indians in central Kansas." See also the photo of Miller's tombstone between pages 32-33.


The article mentions the "legacy of legends" about how Ed Miller met his death. The legends recounted include Miller may have been killed by Cheyenne Indians in July 1864 while serving as a "substitute mail carrier"; that he was a member of a Santa Fe Trail caravan and died of smallpox and was buried in the grave marked by the DAR; that he was riding for assistance from a ranch besieged by Indians; that he was going to visit friends; and that he was a Pony Express rider. No conclusion regarding the veracity of any one of these legends is offered.
DATE OF DEATH

The following index entries are arranged by date of death as reported in the numbered items above. Some articles that survey the various Miller legends indicate more that one year of death: hence there are index entries with multiple years.

1864. See item numbers: 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 17, 19, 21, 24, 26
1864 or 1865. See item numbers: 12, 13
1864, 1865, or 1869. See item number: 14
1865. See item numbers: 5, 22
1869. See item numbers: 3, 15, 18, 20, 23, 25
1885. See item number: 16
No date of death indicated: 11, 23

Note: Item 23 “Van Meter” gives no specific date of death but cites item 25 “Weibe” as the source, which gives the date of death as 1869; hence the double index entry for item 23.

GIVEN NAME

The entries below list Miller’s given name as follows:

Ed. See item numbers: 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26
Edward. See item numbers: 7, 12
Edgar. See item numbers: 1, 4, 8, 9, 24
George. See item numbers: 5, 22

PURPOSE FOR BEING ON THE TRAIL/OCCUPATION

Ed Miller’s purpose for riding on the Santa Fe Trail, or his occupation, has been disparately presented in various accounts. These reasons/occupations listed below are followed by entry numbers referring to entries above. Please note some have multiple entries, viz. if the entry recounts multiple legends, e.g. items 15 “Historical” and 26 “Youth”:

Errand of mercy. See item numbers: 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 23, 24

Mail carrier. See item numbers: 10, 14, 15, 21, 26
Pony Express rider. See item number: 26

Going for help/besieged by Indians. See item numbers: 15, 26

Died of smallpox. See item number: 26
No specific purpose/occupation indicated. See item numbers: 1, 3, 5, 6, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 25

FORT LEARNED

-TEACHER’S TRADING POST-

Chris Day, Editor

The education committee is seeking ways to help teachers and students learn more about the Trail. Young people may receive encouragement from publication of student writings (item 1), and programs for teachers are now available (items 2 and 3).

Student Poem

This poem was written as part of a multimedia presentation on Kit Carson and the Santa Fe Trail. Shawn Lopez is a fifth-grade student at Pinon Elementary in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The teacher is Eileen Stapleton.

Kit Carson

Kentucky was my home, that’s true,
But saddle making made me blue,
So off I ran to the Santa Fe Trail,
Along came Apache, waging his tail.

This horse of mine was my best friend,
He took me to hunt and fish to the end.
I trapped beaver in water as cold as ice,
And found time to be married, not once, but twice.
I guided and scouted and camped outside,
On many cold nights, I nearly died,
I lived a full life the adventures were great,
Oops I should mention I died in ’68.

By the way, my name’s Chris, Kit Carson to some,
I’d love to tell more, but I’ve got to run.

Summer Teacher Workshops

The SFTA Education Committee is planning summer workshops for teachers in Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico. The purpose of the workshop is to provide teachers with materials that will help teach the Trail and cover state standards.

Teachers will be introduced to research-based “best teaching practices.” Each workshop will emphasize the state standards that can be applied to the study of the Trail. Teachers will leave the workshop with “ready-to-use” materials easily adapted to own their social studies classes.

The first of these workshops will be in Lamar, CO, in July, 2003, for two days. College credit will be available. Teachers of grades 4-8 will benefit most from the workshop.

Watch Wagon Tracks for more information. If you have questions, please contact Marcia Fox <foxmjr@wamego.net>.

Summer Trail Venture Available for Teachers, with College Credit

Preparations and educational meetings are currently in progress as Chris Day and Janet Armstead are gearing up for the 10th Santa Fe Trail Trip with eleven- and twelve-year-old students from North Central Kansas. The ten-day trip will be June 1-10, 2003, following the Cimarron Route to Santa Fe and taking the Mountain Route back to Kansas.

The students travel in chartered busses and camp out in national, state, or private campgrounds. All students are divided into work groups and help do the necessary chores it takes to keep a caravan of this size traveling down the road.

A trip of this magnitude requires adult chaperones and, with each trip over the years, many have helped Chris, Janet, and former educational leader Marcia Fox. The Santa Fe Trail Association always seeks to reach out to teachers because they are the link in teaching children the history of the Santa Fe Trail.

To help SFTA reach some of the educational goals, Day and Armstead are making available a few adult chaperone positions on the 2003 Trail trip. These openings will be for teachers who would like to travel with the modern wagon train and learn the benefits of taking students on a historic Trail adventure. College credit will be available if desired.

The cost of the trip for the teachers includes (1) travel expenses to and from Wamego, Kansas, (2) SFTA membership dues if not currently a member, and (3) college credit. If interested, call Chris Day (785) 456-8254 or Janet Armstead (785) 456-7737.