Article Title: A History of the Welsh Community of Carroll, Nebraska

Full Citation: Richard L Guenther, “A History of the Welsh Community of Carroll, Nebraska,” *Nebraska History* 46 (1965): 209-224


Date: 6/02/2016

Article Summary: The Welsh who settled in Wayne County in the late 19th century established farms that they passed on to their children. They were church-goers who voted Republican and supported the Farmers’ Alliance. The distinctive homogeneity of their community diminished after World War I.

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Cataloging Information:

Names: John R Morris, William James, C H Morris, Howell Rees

Place Names: Carroll, Wayne County, Nebraska; Montgomery County, Iowa;

Keywords: Homestead Act, Preemption Act, Timber Claim Act, Northeast Nebraska Railroad Company (Wayne to Niobrara), Christian Endeavor Society, Welsh Congregational Church, Welsh Bethany Presbyterian Church, literary society, prohibition, Republicans, Farmers’ Alliance, Deer Creek Vigilance Company
A HISTORY OF THE WELSH COMMUNITY
OF CARROLL, NEBRASKA

BY RICHARD L. GUENTHER

The Welsh who migrated to Wayne County, Nebraska were confronted with a land almost wholly different from their native country. It was not entirely distinct because the western townships of the county, in which the Welsh settled, did offer at least one similarity. They were hilly, and walls of earth provided comfortable security to people accustomed to hill country. ¹ The undulations of their new homeland were not the same as the more precipitous Cambrian Mountains of Wales, but they did lend assurance. Dissimilarities were numerous. There were no shrubs and only a few trees were in evidence; these grew almost solely along the water courses. In place of them was mile upon mile of empty grassland. Neither were the perennial, moderating rains that showered their homeland with sixty or more inches of precipitation to be experienced in a climate that featured blistering summers and biting winters.


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The Nebraska that greeted them was in a state of marked progress. There was nothing stagnant about it in the 1880's. Population growth was rapid. Railroad mileage was increasing with the influx of new settlers and in turn it assisted in bringing more immigrants. More and more virgin prairie was broken and agricultural production rose. Machinery became a more common sight on the farms of the young state. The vigor of youth and the promise of the future were everywhere evident.

Many people from Wales emigrated to the United States following the War Between the States. The Union's industrial and agricultural output during that critical period had served to publicize the mineral resources and agricultural opportunities of this nation. Reports from America must have been exciting news to Europeans who were generally suffering from "... deficient crops, old uneconomical methods, grinding poverty, overtaxation, military burdens, and social discontent ..." according to Edward Self as quoted by Lawrence Brown. Such conditions were supplemented by a restlessness caused by the lack of opportunity for social and economic advancement. Most of the Welsh were occupied with either farming or coal mining and its related industries. The typical farmer had, on the average, land totaling fifty acres. Little of this was in tillage as most of it was used for the grazing of cattle or sheep, the climate being particularly favorable to dairy farming. Some large dairy farms did exist in Carmarthenshire, a pastoral county, but the industrial center of Glamorganshire had made deep inroads on their labor supply.

Though Nebraska had much to offer the incoming settlers, there would be hardships. Because of them it is

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3 Ibid., p. 116.
4 David Hamer, Interview, November 9, 1961.
6 Ibid., p. 149.
interesting to note the conditions that precipitated the decision to make a home in this stark, strange land. Some have already been inferred; they were those that generally motivated the crossing of the Atlantic. Many of the Carroll Welsh did not come directly to Nebraska, but instead they located themselves in more easterly communities where other of their countrymen had previously settled. The most notable among these settlements was Montgomery County, Iowa. While situated in these American communities, the economic conditions of this nation caused a further move—now to Nebraska. By the 1880's the desirable land in the states east of the Missouri had grown scarce. That which could be purchased, was not available at a reasonable price. With the possibility of acquiring cheap or free land to the west, those of strong, resolute disposition and those possessed with a venturesome heart moved themselves across the wide and muddy river. The decision to move was made easier because the fierce Indians of the Plains had been conquered and travel was increasing between the coasts. In the middle of the western trails was Nebraska standing with arms open in welcome. After the original settlement was made, many Welsh, no doubt, came to the Carroll vicinity because of friends, relatives, and the natural desire to settle with people of a like ethnic group. The Welsh had a tendency to be clannish. This is common among hill peoples when they move outside their native environment.

Most of the early settlers in Wayne County purchased their land, but some were also able to acquire titles through the Homestead, Preemption, or Timber Claim Acts. Speculators had come into ownership of the greater portion of land in the county by purchasing various issues of scrip. A common price for land in the earliest days of settlement

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7 Hamer, op. cit.
9 Durand, loc. cit.
was $1.25 an acre. Many acres had been set aside for school support by the government. The Enabling Act of April 19, 1864, set aside sections sixteen and thirty-six of each township for that purpose. The State of Nebraska accumulated 2,240 acres in Wayne by the authority of the Morrill Act of July 2, 1862, and the railroads building across Nebraska also came into the possession of Wayne County land through grants from the government. Thus, the land was available from various sources.

The genesis of the Welsh Community near Carroll was when John R. Morris came to Wayne County in November, 1882. After ascertaining the general situation and looking over the land, he leased section 36, township 27, range 1 east from a land agent whose responsibility it was to look after state school lands. This section is located about three miles directly west of the present site of Carroll, almost in the geographical center of what was to become the Welsh Community. As new residents moved in, they seemed to radiate outward from it. It was not until April, 1884, that Morris made an attempt to live on the land. He and W. I. James arrived at that time and the following month the Morris family joined the husband and father. Wayne County gained many new citizens in this year, and predictions rang out that the county’s population would be doubled.

As Morris had ascertained when he considered settlement in Nebraska, he and others like him were to be faced with distinctive pioneer problems. The pioneers east of the Mississippi had seldom faced a shortage of timber. The men who desired to settle on Nebraska land would find an almost total absence of wood. The alleviation of the problem caused by its absence would take new ideas. The log cabin of American heritage was not possible to Great Plains pioneers. John R. Morris’ solution to the housing situation was unique. While in Red Oak, Iowa, in the months prior

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11 Ibid., pp. 10-12.
12 The Logan Valley Herald, (Wayne, Nebraska) March 7, 1884.
13 Dale, op. cit., pp. 87-93.
to his coming to Nebraska, he had taken apart a frame house. He then loaded it aboard a railroad car and brought it and some agricultural machinery with him. The car’s contents were unloaded at Northside which was a flag station located to the west of the town of Winside. From here Morris hauled the pieces of his home to his land where he reconstructed it. He moved the house in 1885 when he found out where the road would run. Pioneer genius was admirably displayed in this instance.

The absence of wood caused early Wayne County settlers to make further innovations. Seeking an inexpensive fuel, they turned to corn and hay, both of which were available in abundance. Special hay burners could be purchased from which heat could be had for two to four hours after each filling.  

Morris had not been able to move his machinery to his place immediately but had left it on the siding at Northside. When he returned for it, he found much of it missing. Upon inquiring as to its whereabouts from a nearby settler, he learned that various of the settlers had taken it. Presuming that Morris would have no immediate need for it, they had only borrowed it until they completed their spring work. They then returned each piece, bringing it to his place rather than the flag station. Morris’ comments on the incident suggests that these early settlers were of the highest probity.  

The settlement of these men paved the way for additional Welsh in the area. A boom in population was expected in the spring of 1885 despite the hardships of the frontier. William M. James and his family had returned to Iowa for the winter, but in March of 1885 four new families came from Red Oak. These newcomers had previously purchased the land on which they were to make their homes. By this date land was selling for five to

14 Wayne Herald-Tribune, November 7, 1884; January 15, 1885.  
15 Carroll Index, June 16, 1927.  
16 Wayne Herald-Tribune, January 3, 1885, January 22, 1885.
fifteen dollars an acre according to an advertisement of real estate brokers John T. Bressler and D. C. Patterson.\textsuperscript{17}

The flow of newcomers increased in the latter half of the decade and in the 1890's. Most of them probably came by rail. In the town of Wayne alone, thirty-three cars of immigrant goods were unloaded in the first two weeks of March, 1885.\textsuperscript{18} These later immigrants were more ably served after 1886 when the railroad running through Carroll from Wayne to Randolph was completed.

Among the earlier settlers were several who had been born in Wales, but had not come directly to Carroll. Such was the case of Howell Rees and John R. Hamer; both had been married in the United States, Rees in Red Oak, Iowa, and Hamer in Wales, Iowa.\textsuperscript{19} These two Iowa communities seem to have contributed a number of the Carroll settlers. Among other early settlers, all of whom were born in Wales, were: David E. James in 1886; Ellis Kenrick in 1888; and Richard Rees in 1889.\textsuperscript{20}

The Welsh Community was concentrated in four Wayne County townships. The main settlement was located in Garfield and Sherman while smaller groups were settled in Deer Creek and Chapin. All or most of the following sections of land were owned by persons of Welsh descent in 1918; Sherman, 14, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 34, 35, and 36; Garfield, 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15; Deer Creek, 30, 31, and 32; Chapin, 6, 7, and 18.\textsuperscript{21} These townships are contiguous and are located in the northwest corner of Wayne County. The community was located primarily west and southwest of Carroll, which is in section 34 of Deer Creek Township.

It was an agricultural settlement, and, therefore, its population never became great. The Welsh adapted them-

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., November 7, 1884.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., March 12, 1885.
\textsuperscript{19} Carroll Index, January 6, 1927; Carroll (Nebraska) News, January 8, 1941.
\textsuperscript{20} Standard Atlas of Wayne County, Nebraska (Chicago, 1918).
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
selves to the cultivation of large tracts of land and the raising of crops suited to the growing conditions of their new home. They valued fine domestic animals. C. H. Morris was particularly known as a sheepman. He won many prizes for his Oxford Down sheep. The community also became known as a raiser of excellent horses. Co-operatives were formed to purchase good animals for breeding purposes. People came from great distances to purchase Belgians and Percherons raised by the Welsh.22

The farms that were built by the first settlers were passed on to their children. Oftentimes these were lost by the second generation during the lean years of the two decades following World War I. With the advent of prosperous years much of the land was regained by the grandchildren of the early settlers.23

The town of Carroll was conceived in conjunction with the building of the Northeast Nebraska Railroad Company line from Wayne to Niobrara, Nebraska. The principal town on this route was to be located in the southwestern part of Cedar County.24 It was to be named Randolph. Another town was to be situated part way between the Cedar County town and Wayne.25 This town was Carroll. The origin of the town's name is not clear. It apparently was first named Manning in honor of one of the area's early settlers, but the name was later changed by the railroad after a dispute over the town site. The name Carroll was said to be in honor of Charles Carroll, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.26 The Wayne Gazette had reported that the name of the town would be Reynolds, but it gave no indication as to the source of this name.27

Surveying for the tracks was begun in April, 1886. The railroad encountered some difficulty in purchasing the

22 David Hamer, Interview, February 28, 1962.
23 Ibid.; Orvid Owens, Interview, January 24, 1962.
24 Wayne (Nebraska) Gazette, June 4, 1886.
25 Ibid.
27 Wayne Gazette, August 13, 1886.
necessary right-of-way. As early as May, 1886, there is a hint of disillusionment with the projected railroad because of the seeming lack of organization. It was necessary for the county court to hold condemnatory proceedings on the desired land because the farmers and the company were unable to agree on a price for it. The farmers were incensed because the road would run diagonally through their land and they wanted to be compensated for the amount of damage the tracks would cause instead of merely receiving a nominal fee for the amount of land actually used. The ultimate appraisal of the land used by the railroad came to some fifteen to eighteen thousand dollars. The actual grading of the road did not begin until the final week of June, 1886. This work was completed by the middle of September. Following the arrival of thirteen cars of steel, the laying of the track was begun under the direction of a Mr. Hanley who had gained some notoriety for laying six and one-half miles in one day on the Northern Pacific. Peavey Brothers announced in August that lots would go on sale in the first town (Carroll) northwest of Wayne on the Northeast Nebraska Railroad in early September, 1886, and that trains would be running to Randolph by October 1. The latter prediction did not come true; it was not until Monday, November 15, 1886, that regular trains began operating. A depot and water tank were completed in the preceding month, but by October 16 there was still no sign of any boom. By March of the following year a community formed as several families began to move into the neighborhood; section foreman Wendt's family were destined to become the town's first residents.\textsuperscript{28} Shortly thereafter a store was started by Frank Berry.

The settling of the first Welsh people in the community opened the way for more. Carroll folk often made return visits to Iowa where the new settlement was no doubt discussed. Through such conversations and through correspondence new immigrants were encouraged to set

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.}, May 7, 14, June 11, 18, July 2, August 11, September 10, October 16, November 19, 1886; March 11, 1887.
forth. There were also a number of newcomers who were former residents of Platte County, Nebraska. The forming of an homogenous settlement of people of Welsh descent had not been realized there, and so many turned northward to Wayne County where they could live among their own kind and where the possibilities of intra-marriage were greatly enhanced for their children. They formed a tightly knit community that tried to maintain an indigenous society. An outsider could feel unwelcome among them. The elders frowned on any of the young people who courted or were courted by persons from without.

To the Welsh one of the first tasks to be fulfilled in the new community was the organization of a church. In 1886 Sunday school and prayer services were being conducted in a school building which had been constructed four miles west and three miles south of Carroll. In that same year the partial organization of a Presbyterian Church was realized as an outgrowth of these services. In 1888 the organization was completed. The Reverend H. R. Williams and Elder Elias Hughes were responsible for much of the organizational work. Included among the first elders were John R. Morris and Thomas James, two Welsh pioneers of the locality, as well as Edward Davies, William Roberts, and Jenkin Davies. It was not until 1891 that a church building was erected. By this time a split had occurred in the membership and in this same year a Welsh Congregational Church was constructed. The following people were founders of this congregation: Mr. and Mrs. Howell Rees; Mr. and Mrs. William Jenkins; and Mr. and Mrs. Matthias Jones. Mr. John R. Hamer, one of the early members served faithfully thirty years as the clerk of the church. As membership in both churches expanded it was necessary to build larger edifices to the glorification of God. The Welsh Bethany Presbyterian Church did so in 1917, and the Congregational in 1904 and again in 1913.

29 Owens, op. cit.
30 Hamer, op. cit.
31 Carroll Index, June 16, 1927 and the Wayne (Nebraska) Herald, January 1, 1914.
It is interesting to us in an age when indebtedness for church buildings is common to take note of the examples furnished by these church members. When the Congregational structure was in the process of being completed in 1891, ample funds were already on hand. When this same congregation built in 1913, it raised at dedication services over fourteen hundred dollars. This was a hundred dollars above the amount needed to be free of debt. The Presbyterian Church had a like experience in 1917 when at the dedication service the deficit sum of $20,000 spent for construction costs was raised.\(^{32}\) This would seem to be a remarkable example of piety as well as generosity. It is well to note also that the donations of 1891 were made during a period when Nebraska farmers were experiencing lean years. One must speculate that either the Carroll Welsh were better off financially than other Nebraskans or that their faith compelled them to sacrifice.

The role of the church in the life of the people was prominent. It was not only the focal point of their religious life but also of their social life. Worship services did not begin until the afternoon, presumably this custom was the result of the importunities of farm work. A second service was held in the evening. At least one of the services was usually rendered in Welsh until as late as 1927. Christian Endeavor Society held Sunday evening meetings also. Sometimes following Christian Endeavor there was a singing school held for the members of the congregation. "It is unusual if a Welshman can't sing," and almost all participated.\(^{33}\) The singing school served an instructional as well as a participatory purpose. Some leaders of the singing school were Joe Jones, Enos Davis, and the latter's brother, Edward J. Davis. From this interest in music and from the singing school there arose various vocal groups including a Welsh Glee Club of twenty-five voices, a Welsh Chorus, and the Welsh Singers, which was a quartette composed in 1927 of Ivor Morris, John L. Davis, Harry Evans,

\(^{32}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{33}\) Hamer, *op. cit.*
and Dick Pinkham. These groups entertained at various social and political functions in the area. Singing school was held outside the church also as witnessed by the organization in 1896 of a class to be instructed in the "sol, fa, system of singing" by William J. James. This class met every Saturday night at the Morris school.34

The break between afternoon and evening sessions at church was often used as an opportunity to visit a friend's home for an evening repast and some longed-for social interchange. Return was then made to the church for services or Christian Endeavor. It was permissible for laymen to deliver prayers at Endeavor. Though these utterances were probably not long retained in the minds of the captive audience, former listeners do recall what seemed to be interminable beseechings.

The church sponsored the gala Fourth of July picnic. Built around a patriotic speech the affair usually consisted of a ball game, horse shoe pitching, races (perhaps even a horse race), and of course singing.35

Christmas Eve festivities were also held under the auspices of the church. What was perhaps a typical celebration of this holiday occurred in 1902. Those attending the program came from all over the community. The children presented a program that was followed by the giving of gifts to them by Santa Claus. Gifts were also given at that time to the singing leaders (Number One, Edward Davis and Number Two, Arthur Parry) as well as to the organists (Number One, Mrs. Enos Davis and Number Two, Miss Allie Williams). These gifts of appreciation were offered by Reverend Morris for the faithfulness of past service and for encouragement for the future.36

The sanctity of the Sabbath was strictly observed in the early days of Carroll area residents. The "Good Book" had ordered it a day of rest and people were prepared to

34 Wayne Republican, April 22, August 19, 1896.
35 Owens, op. cit.
36 Carroll Index, January 3, 1902.
see that it was used in such a fashion. The news that two
stock men had been branding on a Sunday in 1886 was
shocking and was so labeled in the paper with the warning
that, "The act had best not be repeated."\textsuperscript{37} Even as late as
1926 Carroll residents voted down Sunday baseball by a
large ninety-three to fifty margin.\textsuperscript{38}

While the church was the source of much of the social
life of the community, the school, as in most rural districts,
also played a prominent role. The schools were often the
meeting sites for the literary society and other functions
such as box suppers. Three country schools served most of
the Welsh children of elementary age, while the high school
students attended classes in Carroll.

The literary society met to debate subjects of great
importance to the nation, usually political. One such dis­
cussion in 1886 entertained this topic, "Resolved that money
issued directly from the government would be of more
benefit to the masses of the people than the National Bank
System."\textsuperscript{39} The report of the debate went on to say that
the subject was thoroughly discussed, but no one saw fit
to change his original thought on it. The literary society
was an important function for the Welsh, socially and
psychologically. It brought them together with their
friends and also gave them the opportunity to vent their
thoughts in argumentation. Being by nature argumenta­
tive, they enjoyed this.\textsuperscript{40}

The outdoors, too, offered popular entertainment for
leisure moments. In the winter sleighing and wolf hunting
(in the early years) were good. It was reported in 1887
that there were numerous wolves in the area; they some­
times congregated in packs of six or seven. The reporter
suggested a hunt be organized by residents of the precinct
(Deer Creek) to diminish the population of the predators\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{37} Wayne Gazette, June 4, 1886.
\textsuperscript{38} Carroll Index, April 8, 1926.
\textsuperscript{39} Wayne Gazette, February 26, 1886.
\textsuperscript{40} Hamer and Owens, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{41} Wayne Gazette, January 14, 1887.
In the summertime croquet was commonly played as was the ever popular baseball. The community fielded a representative team for competition with neighboring teams.

Movements for the prohibition of alcoholic beverages were common in the United States in the late years of the Nineteenth Century. Many residents of the Carroll area were among those advocating prohibition. There was some difficulty in the initiation of prohibitory measures in 1894. Candidates advocating prohibition were elected to the village board in that year, but they didn't prohibit. By 1897 prohibition was in effect, though some alcohol was still available. It was then that the counter revolution began. One Ed Zielke applied for a liquor license and according to the newspaper report, "...the war is on..." Apparently the drys mustered enough force to protect their community from the demon rum, because a few weeks later the application was withdrawn.

The Welsh were known to imbibe at times. One anonymous resident of the community was reported to have taken a car load of stock to Omaha for sale. After successfully disposing of his property he proceeded to get inebriated. This pleasant task accomplished, the stock man apparently could not stand the thought of no longer having his animals for which to care or else he was bamboozled into a sly deal by some city slickers; at any rate he bought them back. What the effect of such financial manipulations were on the spouse of this pecuniary wizard is left to speculation.

Nebraskans have quite generally exercised their right to vote by marking a Republican Party ballot. Because their social, psychological, and economic position was similar to that of the majority of Nebraskans, the Welsh at Carroll had like political leanings. Some of them were ac-

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42 Wayne Herald, op. cit., March 7, 1895.  
43 Wayne Democrat, May 28, 1897.  
44 Owens, op. cit.  
tive in local party functions. In 1896 for example, J. C. Davis, J. A. Jones, and C. E. James were elected to committees in the McKinley Club of Carroll, and the Welsh Glee Club sang at a McKinley ratification meeting in Carroll at which some six hundred persons were in attendance.46

Though ingrained Republicans, they experienced and participated in the political upheavals that have taken place on the American scene from time to time. When the prosperity of the early years of the 1880's collapsed, American (and thus Nebraska) farmers became concerned. This concern led many of them to join the Farmers' Alliance. This organization had been conceived in 1880 by Milton George, publisher of the *Western Rural* in Chicago. It combined some of the social and educational features of the Grange and laid particular stress on economic and political problems.47

Meetings of the Farmers' Alliance were held in Carroll as early as 1887 behind closed doors.48 On December 6, 1889, the Farmers' Alliance (Northwestern) adopted a political platform which advocated among other things the following items: (1) abolition of the national banking system and the issuance of full legal tender directly to the people; (2) a graduated income tax; (3) reduction of the tariff; and (4) the adoption of the Australian system of balloting.49

Such an organization helped the farmers to speak out collectively for a "people's government."50 Wayne County residents along with many others in the state had been very disappointed when the popular choice for United States Senator from Nebraska had been defeated by the State Legislature in his attempt for another term. The

46 *Wayne Republican*, August 5, 1896 and August 26, 1896.
48 *Wayne Gazette*, June 15, 1887.
49 Shannon, pp. 148-149.
50 *Wayne Gazette*, op. cit., March 11, 1887.
desertion of Republican Senator C. H. Van Wyck by representatives pledged to his support brought angry denunciations from Wayne County residents. The Carroll Literary Society voted to boycott State Representative A. B. Slater (who represented Wayne and Stanton Counties) and threatened to do the same to State Senator Fuller. Such condemnations arose from people who referred to themselves as common men and farmers.\textsuperscript{51} It was to take some time, but eventually such organizations contributed to the advancements made in the direction of a more democratic government.

The Welsh were aware of their civic duties and fulfilled these obligations. Such services as county jury duty and judges and clerks of elections were common functions for them. And in the early years of settlement at least one Welshman was a member of the Deer Creek Vigilance Committee which had been organized in the fall of 1883 to secure the co-operation of area farmers for the protection of their stock. This committee met behind closed doors for some time before they finally published the names on their rolls in 1887. At the same time they announced that the minutes of their meetings would be available for publication in the future. The name of J. R. Morris appeared on the published rolls.\textsuperscript{52}

The community was not organized as a political entity, but some men stood out above others as leaders in the formulation of opinion and in other civic and social functions. Among these were the Morrices, Enos Davis, Ed Davis, Joe Jones, the Evans, the Rees, and the Hamers.\textsuperscript{53}

It is impossible to fix a date when the ethnic barriers of the Welsh Community at Carroll began to crumble. The advent of superior transportation facilities, the turbulence caused by World War I, and increased industrialization probably all contributed to a gradual heterogeneity of the

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., February 4, March 4, 1887.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., September 17, 1886 and April 27, 1887.
\textsuperscript{53} Hamer, \textit{op. cit.}, and Owens, \textit{op. cit.}
community. The last time that items appeared in the Carroll Index, the local newspaper, under the heading of "Welsh Community" news was on April 22, 1926. The Congregational and Presbyterian Churches were still holding services in the Welsh language as late as 1927, however. There are still numerous Welsh names in the Carroll area, but the homogeneity of the old days is no longer present.

The Welsh became valued citizens of the region, and outstanding people from their small community became known outside it too. Exemplifying their respected status in the area was Howell Rees who was elected President of the Carroll State Bank. It was said of Rees at the time of his death in 1927 that he was "... highly respected for his sound judgment and business ability ... loved and admired by all who knew him, and possessed of a kindly disposition and unquestioned honesty and integrity."54

54 Carroll Index, June 16, 1927.