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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

NYLE H. MILLER, Managing Editor

KIRKE MECHEM, Editor

JAMES C. MALIN, Associate Editor



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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXI

Number 1—Spring, 1954

	PAGE
THE KANSAS TERRITORIAL CENTENNIAL	1
THE APPEARANCE AND PERSONALITY OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, <i>Robert Taft</i> , With 12 pages of portrait photographs of Stephen A. Douglas, dated about 1845-1861, <i>between</i> pp. 32, 33.	8
EMERGENCY HOUSING AT LAWRENCE, 1854..... <i>James C. Malin</i> , With the J. E. Rice pen sketches of Lawrence, 1854-1855, <i>between</i> pp. 48, 49.	34
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees; Election of Officers; List of Directors of the Society.....	50
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	67
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	68
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	76

Number 2—Summer, 1954

	PAGE
THE BISHOP EAST OF THE ROCKIES VIEWS HIS DIOCESANS, 1851-1853	<i>J. Neale Carman</i> , 81
<i>Juntata</i> : GATEWAY TO MID-KANSAS.....	<i>James C. Carey</i> , 87
HOUSING EXPERIMENTS IN THE LAWRENCE COMMUNITY, 1855	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 95
With an artist's sketch of Lawrence in May, 1856, and photographs of Lawrence in 1867 by Alexander Gardner, <i>between</i> pp. 112, 113.	
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY, Compiled by <i>Helen M. McFarland</i> , Librarian,	122
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	140
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	141
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	149

Number 3—Autumn, 1954

	PAGE
ATCHISON'S FIRST RAILROAD <i>The Rev. Peter Beckman, O. S. B.,</i>	153
With a reproduction of a broadside issued by the Atchison & St. Joseph Railroad, p. 156.	
LETTERS OF A FREE-STATE MAN IN KANSAS, 1856	Edited by <i>Nathan Smith</i> , 166
SUSANNA MADORA SALTER—FIRST WOMAN MAYOR <i>Monroe Billington,</i>	173
With a photographic reproduction of her 1887 notice of election, <i>facing</i> p. 176, and portraits of Mrs. Salter taken in 1887 and in 1954, <i>facing</i> p. 177.	
NOTES ON THE WRITING OF GENERAL HISTORIES OF KANSAS:	
Part One—The Setting of the Stage <i>James C. Malin,</i>	184
With sketches of "Front Street, Leavenworth, in May, 1856," and "Leavenworth When Six Years Old," <i>between</i> pp. 200, 201.	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	224
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	226
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	230

Number 4—Winter, 1954

	PAGE
HOW NATURAL GAS CAME TO KANSAS <i>Angelo Scott,</i>	233
With photographs of Lanyon Smelters Nos. 1 and 2 in 1908, and the same area in 1945, <i>facing</i> p. 240; and Gas, Kan., about 1908 and 1945, <i>facing</i> p. 241.	
AN INDIAN CAPTIVITY AND ITS LEGAL AFTERMATH <i>Alan W. Farley,</i>	247
With portraits of Mrs. Fanny Wiggins Kelly and Mrs. Sarah Luse Larimer, <i>facing</i> p. 248.	
JOSEPH BECKER'S SKETCH OF THE GETTYSBURG CEREMONY, NOVEMBER 19, 1863 <i>Robert Taft,</i>	257
With a reproduction of the drawing, <i>facing</i> p. 256.	
NOTES ON THE WRITING OF GENERAL HISTORIES OF KANSAS:	
Part Two—J. N. Holloway, <i>History of Kansas</i> (1868) . . . <i>James C. Malin,</i>	264
With portrait of John Nelson Holloway, <i>facing</i> p. 280.	
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees, Election of Officers, List of Directors of the Society, and Sen. Andrew F. Schoeppel's Address at the Dedication of the Kaw Mission Museum in Council Grove on May 12, 1954	288
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	312
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	313
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	317

Number 5—Spring, 1955

	PAGE
THE FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS	<i>Robert W. Richmond</i> , 321
BUILDING THE MAIN LINE OF THE MISSOURI PACIFIC THROUGH KANSAS	<i>A. Bower Sageser</i> , 326
With a map of Missouri Pacific railroads in Kansas in 1888, <i>facing</i> p. 328.	
NOTES ON THE WRITING OF GENERAL HISTORIES OF KANSAS:	
Part Three—The Historical and Philosophical Societies:	
Repositories of the Material of History and of Science ..	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 331
With portraits of William Walker, William Hutchinson, Lucian Johnson Eastin and William I. R. Blackman, <i>facing</i> p. 352, and Samuel Austin Kingman, Lawrence Dudley Bailey, Brinton Webb Woodward and George Addison Crawford, <i>facing</i> p. 353.	
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY,	
Compiled by <i>Helen M. McFarland</i> , Librarian, 379	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	394
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	395
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	398

Number 6—Summer, 1955

	PAGE
ORIGIN OF THE NAMES OF TRIBUTARIES OF THE KANSAS RIVER	<i>Aubrey Diller</i> , 401
NOTES ON THE WRITING OF GENERAL HISTORIES OF KANSAS:	
Part Four—The Kansas State Historical Society:	
Repository of the Material of History	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 407
With portraits of Franklin George Adams, Zu Adams, Richard Baxter Taylor and Floyd Perry Baker, <i>facing</i> p. 432, and Daniel Webster Wilder, Alfred Gray, George Washington Martin and Noble Lovely Prentis, <i>facing</i> p. 433.	
MARRIAGE NOTICES FROM KANSAS TERRITORIAL NEWSPAPERS, 1854-1861	Compiled by <i>Alberta Pantle</i> , 445
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	487
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	488
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	492

Number 7—Autumn, 1955

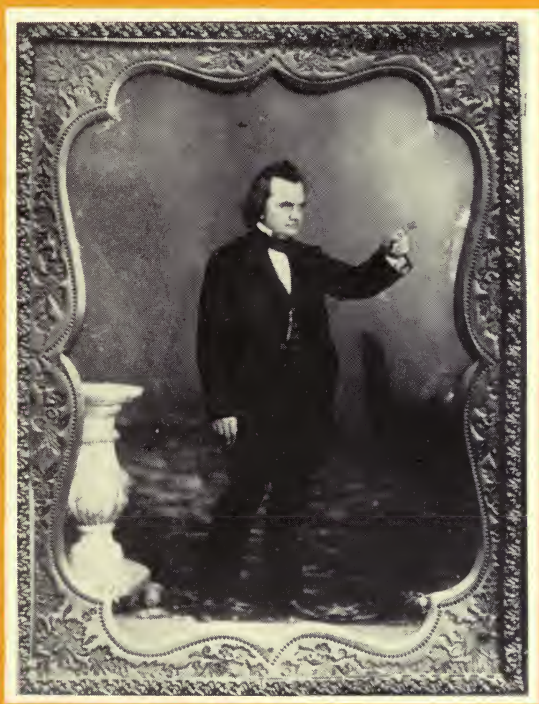
	PAGE
LETTERS OF THE REV. AND MRS. OLOF OLSSON, 1869-1873, PIONEER FOUNDERS OF LINDSBORG,	
Translated and Edited by <i>Emory Lindquist</i> ,	497
With photographs of the Rev. and Mrs. Olof Olsson, and of Main street in Lindsborg in the 1870's, <i>facing</i> p. 504; Sandzén's lithograph of the Olsson homestead, and Malm's etching of the first church at Lindsborg, <i>facing</i> p. 505.	
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TOWN AND COUNTY HISTORIES OF KANSAS	Compiled by <i>Lorene Anderson</i> and <i>Alan W. Farley</i> , 513
THE OLD GHOST TOWN OF LINDSEY IN THE SOLOMON VALLEY,	
Reproduction of C. E. Hollingsworth's sketch of Lindsey as it appeared in 1872, <i>facing</i> p. 552.	<i>Theo. H. Scheffer</i> , 552
A ROBBERY ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL, 1827,	
Edited by <i>James W. Covington</i> ,	560
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	564
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	565
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	568

Number 8—Winter, 1955

	PAGE
PATROLLING THE SANTA FE TRAIL: Reminiscences of John S. Kirwan, Introduction by <i>Merrill J. Mattes</i> ,	569
RANGE BALLADS	<i>John Clifford</i> , 588
NOTES ON THE WRITING OF GENERAL HISTORIES OF KANSAS: Part Five—The "Vanity" Histories (This is the concluding article of the series which began in the Autumn, 1954, number of the <i>Quarterly</i>)	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 598
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	644
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	646
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	647
ERRATA AND ADDENDA, VOLUME XXI	650
INDEX TO VOLUME XXI	651

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Spring 1954



Published by
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Topeka

KIRKE MECHEM
Editor

JAMES C. MALIN
Associate Editor

NYLE H. MILLER
Managing Editor

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE KANSAS TERRITORIAL CENTENNIAL.....	1
THE APPEARANCE AND PERSONALITY OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, <i>Robert Taft</i> , With 12 pages of portrait photographs of Stephen A. Douglas, dated about 1845-1861, <i>between</i> pp. 32, 33.	8
EMERGENCY HOUSING AT LAWRENCE, 1854..... <i>James C. Malin</i> ,	34
With the J. E. Rice pen sketches of Lawrence, 1854-1855, <i>between</i> pp. 48, 49.	
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees; Election of Officers; List of Directors of the Society..... <i>Nyle H. Miller, Secretary</i> ,	50
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	67
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	68
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.....	76

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THE COVER

A daguerreotype of Stephen A. Douglas, about 1854. It is a reproduction of a direct copy of daguerreotype (unreversed) in possession of F. H. Meserve, New York City. See, also, Plates 3 and 4 (*between* pp. 32, 33) which are enlargements.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXI

Spring, 1954

Number 1

The Kansas Territorial Centennial

ONE hundred years ago, on May 30, 1854, President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill which created the territories of Kansas and Nebraska and opened these areas to white settlement. The boundaries of Kansas were established on the north, south, and east as they are today: at the 40th and 37th parallels and the western border of Missouri. On the west the territory of Kansas extended to the summit of the Rocky Mountains.

Here were millions of acres of uncultivated prairie and plain. Grassland extended in every direction. In the eastern section there were trees along the streams. Farther west were the grazing grounds of vast herds of buffalo, deer, and other game.

The only inhabitants in May, 1854, were a few white missionaries, soldiers, traders, agents, squatters, and perhaps 25,000 Indians, representing eight native and 28 emigrant tribes. Many Indian tribes famous in the nation's history lived in Kansas, including the Kaw or Kansas, Osage, Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandot, Pawnee, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe.

One man more than any other, Sen. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, was responsible for the political organization of Kansas and Nebraska. His primary interest in the region, by making its fertile prairies and grazing lands available for white settlement, was to secure a north central route for a transcontinental railroad which would link California and the East, with Chicago as the hub of the system.

The original plan was to establish one gigantic territory of Nebraska. But to improve the chances for a railroad by one of the two central routes political pressures brought about the creation of two territories with the 40th parallel as the dividing line. The Kansas-Nebraska act also repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had prohibited slavery in the area of the Louisiana Purchase north of the line 36°30', with the exception of Missouri, and provided instead that the people of the territories might decide their own in-

stitutions for themselves. This was the principle of popular sovereignty which had been applied earlier to the territories of Utah and New Mexico in the Compromise of 1850.

For Kansas, this "squatter" sovereignty provision, in theory an entirely democratic way of resolving a controversy, resulted in a bitter competition between the antislavery North and the Proslavery South for control of the territorial government. "Border Ruffians" from the western counties of Missouri crossed the line and staked out claims in the extreme eastern portion of the territory, and Leavenworth and Atchison became their headquarters. "Abolitionists" from the North moved farther into the hinterland, and so it happened that Lawrence and Topeka, and other towns 40 miles and more west of the Missouri line, became the centers of Free-State activity. The settlers of a new country had to expect struggle and hardship, but here they were faced with the additional difficulties caused by the bitter struggle over slavery which earned for the territory the name of "Bleeding Kansas."

Public reaction to the Kansas-Nebraska act, both before and after its passage, was intense on both sides. Books, newspapers, and letters of the time are filled with strong language and intemperate thought. President Pierce, because he favored the bill, was denounced in the North as "a third-rate lawyer" who had been promoted to "the place formerly filled by the President of the United States."¹ Senator Douglas was called a Judas, and the "Benedict Arnold of 1854." Women of Alliance, Ohio, sent him 30 pieces of silver in the form of "bright new three cent pieces," and an Ohio newspaper suggested that he had only to "go out and hang himself, and the parallel between him and his prototype" would be complete.² On the other hand, Proslavery sentiment was expressed in such language as this: "We are in favor of making Kansas a Slave State, if it should require half the Citizens of Missouri; Musket in hand, to emigrate there, and even sacrifice their lives in accomplishing so desirable an end."³

Certain antislavery partisans in the North had determined, even before the Kansas-Nebraska bill became law, that Kansas should not become a slave state if it lay within their power to prevent it. Organizations were established to encourage Free-State sympathizers to settle in Kansas. These emigration societies obtained reduced

1. Utica (N. Y.) *Herald*, quoted in *The Liberator*, Boston, April 7, 1854.

2. *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, Salem, Ohio, quoted in *The Liberator*, Boston, March 17, 1854.

3. *The Democratic Platform*, Liberty, Mo., June 15, 1854.

fares on railroads and steamboats for groups of emigrants; they raised money to purchase and send sawmills to the territory; they subsidized territorial newspapers; they even purchased and operated hotels for emigrants in Kansas City and Lawrence.

Best known and most successful of these organizations was the New England Emigrant Aid Company, led by such men as Eli Thayer, Amos A. Lawrence, and Thomas H. Webb. Emigrants who came to Kansas through the efforts of this company were largely responsible for the founding of Lawrence and Topeka, and for the establishment of Free-State supremacy in the areas around those towns. Agents of the company in Kansas included several men prominent in the Free-State movement, among them Charles Robinson, later first governor of the state, and Samuel C. Pomeroy, who became one of the first pair of United States senators from Kansas. The company was not established purely for altruistic reasons. Its organizers intended to obtain capital from Eastern investors and with the money buy land and incorporate towns. Settlers under the company's sponsorship were to purchase town lots, and any profit accruing—none did—was to be paid as dividends to the investors. The settlers, of course, were to be antislavery in sentiment, and the cause of freedom in Kansas would gain from their presence.

The struggle between Free-State and Proslavery partisans was at its height during 1855 and 1856. In these years the "Bogus Laws," legalizing slavery in Kansas, were passed by the first territorial legislature; the Free-State party was organized at Big Springs; Lawrence was sacked by Border Ruffians; John Brown and his men committed the bloody Pottawatomie murders; the battles of Black Jack and Hickory Point were fought; Franklin and "Fort Titus" were attacked; and assorted acts of terrorism committed, sometimes with fatal results. By and large, during this time, the Proslavery faction was in the ascendancy and the outlook for the Free-State cause seemed dim.

However, by 1858 the tide had turned. Antislavery settlers outnumbered their opponents, and the adoption of the Wyandotte constitution in 1859 settled the issue. It is frequently said that the first shots against slavery in the United States were fired in Kansas. Undoubtedly the failure to extend slavery to Kansas was a factor in the decision of the Southern states to secede from the Union and organize a separate government. Events in Kansas during the territorial period were thus of fundamental importance in determining the course of United States history.

KANSAS in 1954 is officially observing the centennial of the territorial organization. Gov. Edward F. Arn appointed a centennial committee, headed by Prof. Robert Taft of the University of Kansas, to make recommendations and to coordinate plans for statewide observances. Perhaps its most important accomplishment to date has been to obtain from the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad an equipped display coach in which exhibits were installed by the Kansas State Historical Society. Through the courtesy of the Santa Fe and the cooperation of other railroads operating in Kansas, the exhibition car will reach every county in the state during 1954.

Since the actual signing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was on May 30, and this year that day comes on Sunday, it seems particularly fitting that the pioneers of Kansas should be honored by all the churches 100 years to the day that Kansas was opened to white settlement. The committee therefore respectfully encourages all denominations to include observances of this event on their programs for that day.

Professor Taft and a subcommittee, assisted by the Post Office Department and officials at Fort Leavenworth, are arranging a program for the first-day sale of the commemorative stamp for territorial Kansas, to be held at Fort Leavenworth on May 31. Sen. Frank Carlson and Governor Arn will participate in the initial sale and cancellation ceremonies. Fort Leavenworth was selected as the place of release because the first post office in present Kansas was established there in 1828. Members of the Kansas territorial centennial committee are also assisting local groups, wherever aid has been asked, in planning centennial observances.

On February 3, 1954, the Library of Congress formally opened an exhibition of rare books, maps, manuscripts, and photographs in commemoration of the centennial of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Sen. Andrew F. Schoeppel of Kansas delivered the principal address. The library has printed a 71-page illustrated catalogue of the exhibit which may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for \$1.25.

The University of Kansas, Lawrence, will be host to the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields on April 30 and May 1. The meeting is to be a conference on state and local history, and will include an address by Prof. Allan Nevins of Columbia University, New York.

The state historical societies of Kansas and Nebraska plan a joint luncheon meeting on May 9 at Falls City, Neb., which members of

both societies and other persons interested are invited to attend. Featured on the program will be addresses by Prof. Robert Taft, on "Stephen A. Douglas and the Kansas-Nebraska Act," and Dr. Roy F. Nichols, of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, on "The Territories, a Vital Source of American Democracy."

On May 11 a historical caravan will start from Mission, Kan., on a 460-mile trek along the route of the old Santa Fe trail across Kansas. Cities participating in this special celebration, and tentative dates, are: Mission, Olathe, Baldwin, and Burlingame, May 11; Osage City and Council Grove, May 12; Herington, Marion, Hillsboro, and Canton, May 13; McPherson, Lyons, and Ellinwood, May 14; Great Bend, Larned, and Garden City, May 15. Council Grove is having a three-day celebration May 10-12, culminating in the dedication of the state-owned Kaw Mission Museum on May 12.

Several other cities of Kansas plan special centennial observances. Those reporting include: Topeka, May 22-25; Junction City, May; Leavenworth, June 6-12; Atchison, June 21-26; Ogden, July 2-4; Perry, July 8-10; Marysville, August 17-19; Hays, late August; and Lawrence, September 15, 24-30. Visitors are welcome at all these celebrations, and widespread participation is desired.

IN connection with centennial observances within the state, mention of several books and articles dealing with Kansas territory may be helpful. The first book on Kansas was written by the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, a New England antislavery leader who is best known today as the author of *The Man Without a Country*. Hale's book, *Kansas and Nebraska* . . . , was published in Boston in 1854.⁴ Three books published in 1856 were: William A. Phillips, *The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and Her Allies* . . . ; Hannah A. Ropes, who wrote anonymously *Six Months in Kansas*; and Sara T. D. Robinson, wife of the first governor, author of *Kansas, Its Interior and Exterior Life*. In 1857, John H. Gihon, private secretary to Gov. John W. Geary, published *Geary and Kansas* A *Complete History of the Territory Until June, 1857*, and Thomas H. Gladstone wrote *The Englishman in Kansas, or, Squatter Life and Border Warfare*. The list of books published in this period could be extended, but they are out of print and available only occasionally through rare book dealers. All of them, of course, were written by people too close to the scene to be objective.

Important studies dealing with the Kansas territorial period have

4. See Cora Dolbee, "The First Book on Kansas: The Story of Edward Everett Hale's 'Kansas and Nebraska,'" in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2, pp. 139-181.

been published by several scholars in recent years. Some of these books and their prices, if known, are listed in answer to many requests received from individuals and institutions wishing to build up Kansas libraries. Two works by Roy F. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce* (Philadelphia, The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931, \$5.00), and *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1948, \$5.00), the latter a history of the Buchanan administration, are perhaps the most able treatments of that period in national history.

George Fort Milton's *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, \$5.00), although 20 years old is still the most recent and comprehensive biography of Douglas. Avery Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861 (A History of the South, v. 6*, Baton Rouge, The Louisiana State University Press, 1953, \$6.50), deals with the period from the Southern viewpoint. Allan Nevins has covered, in four substantial volumes, the history of the United States, 1847-1861, under the titles, *Ordeal of the Union* (1947), and *The Emergence of Lincoln* (1950, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 4 Vols., \$22.50).

On the local level, as contrasted with national and sectional treatments, G. R. Gaedert's *The Birth of Kansas* (State Printer, 1940), was developed from a doctoral dissertation presented to the University of Kansas. The newest and most complete study of the immediate background of the organization of Kansas and Nebraska territories is James C. Malin's *The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854* (Lawrence, Rowlands College Bookstore, 1401 Ohio Street, 1953, \$4.00). Professor Malin is well known to readers of the *Quarterly*. Two of his articles, in the November, 1951, and May, 1953, numbers, constitute a limited preview of his new book, which throws an entirely new light on the Kansas-Nebraska problem. Another of his books, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six* (Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1942, \$5.00), is a scholarly contribution of unusual merit in its field.

Other recent publications that deal in part with the territorial period are Charles M. Correll's *A Century of Congregationalism in Kansas* (Wichita, McCormick-Armstrong Company, 1953, \$2.50), and Paul W. Gates' *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1954, \$4.50).

Attention should also be called to Prof. Robert Taft's articles in *The Kansas Teacher*, Topeka, beginning in September, 1953, under

the general title, "A Century of Kansas History." Other articles by members of the University of Kansas faculty are appearing in *Your Government*, published monthly by the Governmental Research Center of the University, beginning September 15, 1953.

"Kansas—100 Years Ago," is the title of a series of weekly articles prepared by the Kansas State Historical Society for publication in Kansas newspapers. The articles, designed to be a week-by-week story of the development of Kansas territory, are being released to the newspapers beginning in April, 1954.

The Appearance and Personality of Stephen A. Douglas

ROBERT TAFT

THE motives that caused Stephen A. Douglas to include the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in the act organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska "have occasioned one of the great debates of American historians";¹ and constitute "one of the most arresting enigmas in all American history."² The problem has been discussed at some length by a number of leading historians; as we all know, this subject has been a favorite one of our own Prof. James C. Malin for some years. To my mind, the origin of human motives is so baffling, so elusive, so intricate a problem that I am more than willing to let these abler minds grapple with such an important but perplexing question.

Whatever were the motives of Douglas, whatever were the errors made, whatever were the moral indignations that swept the North, that convulsed the nation in 1854, the outstanding event of 1854 as far as it concerns most Kansans of today, was the fact that the territory of Kansas *was* organized, that the initial step in the beginning of a great commonwealth had been taken. As Prof. Frank H. Hodder so aptly stated over half a century ago

though we may not approve the mode and the motive of some of our territorial acquisitions, we must admit that our splendid territory and unprecedented national development are the result of the policy of which Douglas was the ardent supporter. We cannot accept the doctrine that evil may be done that good may come, but candor compels us to recognize the fact that good has come."³

To Stephen A. Douglas more than any other man must go credit for this initial event in Kansas history. The statement that has been credited to Douglas: "I passed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill myself"⁴

DR. ROBERT TAFT, of Lawrence, is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas and editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*. He was president of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1952-1953, and is chairman of the Kansas Territorial Centennial Committee.

This paper, "The Appearance and Personality of Stephen A. Douglas," was Dr. Taft's presidential address before the Kansas State Historical Society at the annual meeting on October 20, 1953. The address was prefaced by a short background paper, "Stephen A. Douglas: I Passed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill Myself," which was subsequently published in *The Kansas Teacher*, Topeka, November, 1953.

1. George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict* (Boston and New York, 1934), p. 144.

2. Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York, 1947), v. 2, p. 91. Milton, *op. cit.*, ch. 10, has discussed the problem at some length as have Nevins, pp. 91-109, and Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln* (Boston and New York), v. 3, pp. 176-217.

3. *The Chautauquan*, Cleveland, Ohio, August, 1899; see, also, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 8 (August, 1939), pp. 227-237.

4. J. Madison Cutts, *Constitutional and Party Questions* (New York, 1866), p. 122.

has not been challenged, as far as I know, by any historian in the years since the troublous question was debated with so much fury in congress and the nation.

It has seemed to me as we approach the centennial year of 1954 that it is fitting and proper that we pause for a moment in this brief hour and recall the "Little Giant" by inquiring:

What manner of man was he? What was his appearance?

To answer the first question, in part, there are a number of current estimates of his personality and what are more important, a number of contemporary descriptions of the man available. Several of these I shall quote. To answer the second question, there are many photographs of Douglas available and a number of these I shall show you. Possibly any originality which this address possesses lies in the fact that, as far as I know, no one has previously made a study of Douglas photographs.

It is true that historians who have written on Douglas have used photographs of Douglas extensively but seldom if ever have these picture records been treated with serious respect; and little study of source, authenticity, date, etc., has been attempted. Indeed, I strongly suspect that on several occasions there have appeared portraits, said to be Douglas, that are not Douglas at all. All of these factors make any attempt to study photographs of Douglas at this late date difficult, but, as a beginning, I shall list the photographs of Douglas known to me and the sources from which they have been obtained, as well as such other information as is available.

Let us return, however, to a brief review of descriptions of the personality of Douglas before we discuss his photographs. First, we shall quote several modern opinions of his personality.

Douglas, wrote Nevins in 1947:

was a leader of extroverted personality, of rapid decisions and headlong action, and of pronounced love of combat. He was never disposed to give prolonged meditation to the complexities of a situation, or to undertake a careful weighing of forces and futurities. He did not think before he acted; he thought while acting. . . . Relying upon a brain teeming with points and a marvelous memory, he was always quick to improvise.

Again Nevins wrote in referring to Douglas during the Kansas-Nebraska debate in congress in 1854:

Day after day Douglas was in his seat when the session began, and still there when it ended. Week in and week out, his quick, piercing eyes watched every move with tigerish intentness. Whenever a stroke was needed, he was on his feet, tossing his mass of dark hair like a lion's mane and scowling at his enemies. . . . He was doubtless the most formidable legislative pugilist in all our history. . . . When in the right, he could present a statement of surpassing

clarity; when in the wrong, he could skilfully twist logic or cloud the subject with irrelevancies; and at all times, he could rend an opponent with unscrupulous savagery. . . . His scornful visage, his insolent gestures, his insulting epithets, threw his opponents into hot but utterly helpless dudgeon.”⁵

It is well to remember in reading any modern estimate of the personality of Douglas that he must be judged by the times in which he lived and by the actions of his compeers. The senate of 1854 was no Sunday school. When one senator openly called another colleague a “hollow-hearted demagogue”; when a statement of one senator was called “an infamous falsehood” not once but four times in succession by a fellow senator; when one senator charged that another senator and his friends were “howling like fiends attempting to destroy the country”; the need of an extremely forceful personality in securing attention is only too evident.⁶

A more sympathetic opinion of the personality of Douglas than that expressed by Nevins is given by George Fort Milton. Milton, who has written the most extensive and scholarly of the biographies of Douglas, states

he was the sort of man any of us would delight to have had the opportunity to know. Able, courageous, captivating in company, he was staunchly loyal as a friend. Yet neither his opportunistic genius nor his ability as a public speaker, nor his persuasiveness in court or Congress, chiefly distinguished him from the other politicians of his day and generation. More than all these, Douglas illustrates again that most satisfying of all human capabilities, the capacity of a man to have an organic growth of character.

In his first decade in Illinois he was little more than a bright and pleasant fellow who had learned the trick of getting on in the world. In Washington he felt the impact of mighty issues, the engaging politician grew under pressure and became a far-seeing, patriotic statesman. In the end Douglas employed his matchless talents for the glory of the Nation which gave him birth and the preservation of the Union that he loved. This change from attractive smallness to real nobility of conduct chiefly interests one in the Little Giant. This quality gave him dominance in the twilight years, and still makes him memorable in our history.⁷

Of contemporary descriptions of Douglas, I should like to quote extracts from several sources. The first appears in a letter written in 1842 when Douglas was a member of the Supreme Court of Illinois:

The judge of our circuit is S. A. Douglass, a youth of 28, who was the democratic candidate for Congress in 1838, in opposition to Stuart, the late

5. Nevins, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 142.

6. The first of the above charges was made by Sen. John B. Weller, of California, against Sen. William H. Seward, of New York (*Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 784); the second by Sen. John Bell, of Tennessee, against Sen. Robert Toombs, of Georgia (*ibid.*, p. 756); the last by Sen. James M. Mason, of Virginia, against Sen. Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio (*ibid.*, p. 299).

7. Milton, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

member from this district. He is a Vermonter, a man of considerable talent, and, in the way of despatching business, is a perfect "steam engine in breeches." This dispatch is the only benefit our circuit will derive from the change. He is the most *democratic* judge I ever knew. While a case is going on, he leaves the bench and goes among the *people*, and among the members of the bar, takes his cigar and has a social smoke with them, or often sitting in their laps, being a person, say five feet *nothing*, or thereabouts and probably weighing about 100 pounds.⁸

The Rev. William H. Milburn was chaplain of congress in 1845 and 1846 and had also known Douglas in Illinois. Writing in 1859, Milburn has left us this account of Douglas:

It must be confessed that there was formerly a dash of the rowdy in Mr. Douglas, and that even now the blaze of the old Berserker fire will show itself at times. But it must be recollected that his is a vivid and electric nature, of redundant animal life and nervous energy; that he was bred, not in scholastic seclusion, nor amid the conventional routine of a settled population, but that his character has taken shape and color from that of the bold men of the border, where pluck was the highest virtue, and "back-bone," to use a phrase of the country, compensated for many a deficiency in elegance. . . .

In society, few men are more agreeable, provided you are willing to make allowance (which most people in this country are bound to do) for the defects of early breeding, which can never be entirely hidden. He is singularly magnetic in conversation, full of humor, spirit and information, and charms while he instructs. Of course, he has one habit which constitutes a Masonic bond of brotherhood among all western men—I mean that of chewing tobacco.⁹

Certainly the most celebrated writer to leave us a description of Douglas was Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of the history-making *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. To Mrs. Stowe, the names of Stephen A. Douglas and the "Evil One" must have been nearly synonymous terms. Yet after she saw Douglas in action in the senate one April day in 1856, she wrote the following surprisingly objective description:

This Douglas is the very idea of vitativeness. Short, broad, and thick set, every inch of him has its own alertness and motion. He has a good head and face, thick black hair, heavy black brows and a keen eye. His figure would be an unfortunate one were it not for the animation which constantly pervades it; as it is, it rather gives poignancy to his peculiar appearance; he has a small handsome hand, moreover, and a graceful as well as forcible mode of expressing it—a point speakers do not always understand.

Mrs. Stowe then turned her attention to another senator but Douglas again attracted her attention and she wrote:

Now Douglas has the floor. The first sentence shows you that he has two requisites of a debater—a melodious voice, and a clear, sharply-defined enunciation. The speech that followed was a perfect specimen of his kind of talent.

8. *Law Reporter* (Boston, 1842), v. 4, p. 127, reprinted by Frank E. Stevens, *Life of Stephen Arnold Douglas* (Springfield, Ill., 1924), p. 350. I have verified the quotation.

9. William H. Milburn, *Ten Years of Preacher-Life* (New York, 1859), p. 136.

His forte in debating is his power of mystifying the point. With the most off-hand assured airs in the world, and a certain appearance of honest superiority, like one who has a regard for you and wishes to set you right on one or two little matters, he proceeds to set up some point which is *not* that in question, but only a family connection of it, and this point he attacks with the very best of logic and language; he charges upon it horse and foot, runs it down, tramples it in the dust, and then turns upon you with—"Sir, there's your argument! didn't I tell you so? you see its all stuff!"¹⁰

Mary Jane Windle, like Mrs. Stowe, was a writer of this same period. Unknown at present, she has left some interesting sketches of life in Washington and the South, for her home was in South Carolina. She, too, observed Douglass in action (in February, 1857) and wrote her impressions of the senator as follows:

There are few men in the Chamber whose bodily and mental lineaments make so distinct and definite an impression upon the public mind as Judge Douglas. His figure—short, stout, and thick—would have been fatal to the divinity of the Apollo Belvidere, but is precisely such as befits a man of the people. His physiognomy, too, is rather stern and heavy, and if you ever had any hint that there was a vein of acrimony in his character, you fall to imagining what expression that keen eye will take, and that heavy eyebrow, and that firmly-set mouth, when he is belaboring the Republican party. But when he rises to speak, you listen but a few moments before you forget everything, except that a man of ability is before you. He is a bold and independent speaker, and has the power of thrilling his hearers through and through; indeed, rapidity and boldness of thought are his inseparable attributes. He strikes on all the hard, strong points of his subject, till they ring again. His language is always sharp, and clear, and strong, and knotty; never soft; seldom beautiful.

There has been, during the last two years, raised against him a storm of rebuke and misrepresentation. Public meetings have denounced his ambition. Northern speakers have held him up to scorn, as the very embodiment of national evil. Northern journals have poured an incessant hail of accusation against him, he sternly pursues his course, breasting the storm, combating the surge.¹¹

The Chicago *Tribune* was as outspoken in the 1850's and 1860's as it is today. Sen. Stephen A. Douglas was not the object of the *Tribune's* affections and the *Tribune* did not hesitate on many occasions to state bluntly its views on the senator and his activities. At the time of the death of Senator Douglas in 1861, the *Tribune* expressed itself at some length. To my mind, the statement of the *Tribune* is an unusual and important revelation of contemporary feeling and opinion, especially as it came from an avowed enemy of the senator. The *Tribune* account reads in part:

It is well known that the Chicago *Tribune* had no sympathy with the political movements of the late Senator since 1853. He was content to go his way, and

10. *The Independent*, New York, May 1, 1856, p. 1.

11. *Life in Washington, and Life Here and There* (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 65-67.

we ours. He had one line of policy, and we another. In all these years of difference, we shared with others the animosity that our prejudices or his acts provoked; and he even was not exempt from the infirmity which afflicts all partisans. . . .

There is no cabin in America to which his name has not gone. There is no man however humble or unfit, who from the praise of his friends, often indiscreet, or the abuse of his enemies, more frequently undeserved, has not made up an estimate of the man. He was undeniably great. He had a great brain in which size did not repress activity. He had a will which was as inflexible as iron. He had courage which bordered at times upon audacity. He had great affections; and by consequence great passions—he could hate as well as love. He had great vigor of constitution and, all men said, a firm hold upon the strings of life. . . . He had great ambition, which he sought to gratify by great events. Hence he was an orator and politician; and at both he greatly excelled. . . . Another decade, when the voice of war is forgotten, would have witnessed the gratification of the object of his later strifes. His country at peace in all its parts and with all the world, the arrogant slave power humiliated partly by his courageous efforts, would have seen his elevation to the position that he would have filled with conspicuous ability.¹²

Finally, we shall let Douglas speak for himself. I have chosen for this purpose, a few words from the speech of Douglas in the closing minutes of the Kansas-Nebraska debate. The hour must have been close to midnight on May 25, 1854. In his concluding speech on this question, Senator Douglas said:

“The great West is indissolubly connected with the South as well as with the North. The Northwest and the Southwest, from the source to the mouth of the Mississippi, with all its tributaries, are, and forever must remain, one and inseparable. We are indissolubly connected by all the ties that make men brethren and countrymen, and we should do no act, and permit no act, inconsistent with those fraternal and patriotic relations.”¹³

I believe these words were spoken in all sincerity and show Douglas, despite his obvious defects and mistakes, to be first and foremost a patriot. If any additional proof is needed, we may recall the conduct of Douglas during the presidential campaign of 1860. Nominated by Northern Democrats, Douglas made a vigorous campaign against Lincoln, Breckinridge (a Southern Democrat), and against Bell (old-party Whig). It seemed evident early in the campaign, because of the division of the Democratic party, that the cause of Douglas was hopeless. Yet Douglas traveled into the South, denounced secession in no uncertain terms, and flatly declared that the South's first duty was to the Union, even if Lincoln were elected. No other candidate ventured to make such statements in this field. The final popular vote (Lincoln, 1,858,000; Douglas, 1,366,000; the other two trailed far behind) is some measure of the

12. *Chicago Tribune*, June 4, 1861, p. 2.

13. *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 788.

esteem in which Douglas was held by his contemporaries, for it must be realized that much of this vote came from the North.¹⁴

The personal appearance of Douglas is given by many portraits. These portraits include oil paintings, crayons, lithographs, engravings, cartoons, and photographs.¹⁵ I am here concerned only with the photographs of Douglas, but I have examined many of the other types of illustrative material as they throw some light on the photographs themselves. It should be stated, however, that in general the hand-executed portraits of Douglas bear little resemblance to his photographs. Only in a few such portraits is there similarity between the two types of picturization.¹⁶

The earliest "photograph" of Douglas reproduced in any of the accounts of this man is that found in Milton with the legend "Douglas Before He Went West."¹⁷ In Milton's list of illustrations, this portrait is credited as follows: "From a copy of an old daguerreotype sent to the author by H. E. Barker, Los Angeles." According to Milton, Douglas went West in 1832.¹⁸ As I have shown elsewhere, the daguerreotype (the first form of photography) was not introduced into the United States until late in 1839.¹⁹

14. Milton, *op. cit.*, pp. 490-501.

15. The Chicago Historical Society has a photograph of an oil painting by George P. A. Healy, one of the more important of the paintings of Douglas. The original painting is now owned by the Gilcrease Foundation, Tulsa, Okla. T. R. Hay of Locust Valley, N. Y., who is making a study of Healy wrote me under date of September 27, 1953, that as far as he knew, there was only one Healy portrait of Douglas. The Gilcrease Foundation reports that the painting was made in 1857.

The Kansas State Historical Society has an oil portrait of Douglas with the signature "L" in the lower right-hand corner. The portrait was the gift to the Society many years ago of Mary E. Delahay, daughter of Mark Delahay. According to Miss Delahay the portrait was painted by Lasseur in Illinois "before the civil war."—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10, p. 641.

Little information is available on Lasseur (also spelled "Lassier" and "Lussier") but the portrait resembles very much one of the last photographs of Douglas (No. 23 or No. 25 as discussed later). Curiously enough, the Illinois State Historical Library of Springfield, also owns an oil portrait of Douglas by Lasseur which "belonged at one time to Mark W. Delahay." It was acquired by the Springfield institution in 1927. The Chicago Historical Society also owns an oil portrait credited to "P. Lussier." These three oils are all busts, and are essentially the same pose, but vary somewhat in dimensions as follows:

Chicago Historical Society	36" x 28"
Illinois State Historical Society Library	32" x 27½"
Kansas State Historical Society	27" x 22½"

It is my guess that all three portraits were painted after a Douglas photograph about the time of his death.

16. For example, in *Ballou's Pictorial*, Boston, January 8, 1859, p. 17, is a three quarter-length portrait of Douglas. The portrait is a wood engraving drawn for Ballou's by the celebrated artist, Winslow Homer. Homer was then at the beginning of his career so that not too much expertness might be expected. He did not, unfortunately, draw the portrait from life but from a lithograph published by C. H. Brainard of Boston. Homer's drawing was in turn engraved by a Mr. Damoreau, also of Boston. The combined result of all these efforts, as might be expected, was to produce a portrait that had little resemblance to the "Little Giant."

A number of such Douglas portraits, as well as reproductions of photographs, contained in printed books and periodicals, are listed in the *A. L. A. Portrait Index* (Library of Congress, Washington, 1906), p. 428. The *Portrait Index* is an extremely useful tool, as I have found through many years' experience, in beginning search for portrait or biographical information.

17. Milton, *op. cit.*, facing p. 20.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

19. Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), ch. 1.

Obviously, Milton's crediting is incorrect. Either the *original* portrait is not a daguerreotype or the subject is not Douglas. The youth of the face portrayed seems to preclude any possibility that the portrait, if Douglas, was a daguerreotype made after 1839. Since the facial features make it seem possible that the portrait is that of Douglas, it may be that the original portrait was a miniature (or larger painting) by some unknown artist.²⁰

It is entirely possible, of course, that a daguerreotype copy of this earliest portrait was made at some time and it was this copy daguerreotype which Barker furnished Milton. Stevens also reproduced this same portrait with the legend "Earliest Picture of Stephen A. Douglas." As in the case of all illustrations reproduced by Stevens no information at all, other than the legend, is given.²¹

The second portrait of Douglas, taken in chronological order, is another one reproduced by Milton with the legend "The Prairie Politician: Stephen A. Douglas. In his Early Years in Illinois Politics."²² In Milton's list, this portrait is credited "From a family daguerreotype now in possession of the Chicago Historical Society."

The Chicago Historical Society through Mrs. Mary Frances Rhymmer wrote me on September 7, 1953, that the original daguerreotype referred to by Milton "does not seem to be in the possession of the Society nor is there any record of its having been here." Neither is it among the collections of the Illinois State Historical Library. It seems probable therefore that Milton secured a copy of this portrait from some other source.

If this portrait is an original (*i. e.*, not a daguerreotype copy of a painting), it must have been made after 1839 and therefore fairly late in the Douglas career as a local politician, for Douglas was elected to congress in 1843.

Stevens reproduced a portrait with the legend "Stephen A. Douglas, 1842-43, When First Elected to Congress."²³ If this dating is correct (I believe it is too early) then the Milton portrait just described and the Stevens portrait are very nearly of the same time period. Comparison of the two portraits make it difficult to believe

20. The possibility that the portrait reproduced by Milton is not Douglas cannot be overlooked. The illustration may be a reproduction of an original daguerreotype of an unknown youngster. Some individual may have run across the daguerreotype and exclaimed "Why, that looks as if it might be Douglas in his youth," and have soon convinced himself that his assumption was correct. Passing it on to another person, the finder states "This is a daguerreotype of Douglas as a youth," and the chain of events is started that makes it almost impossible to prove the identity of the original.

21. Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

22. Milton, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

23. Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

that they are of the same person. The Milton portrait has the appearance of a copy of a miniature or other painting.²⁴

After these early portraits there appear to be none of Douglas until he reached Washington. He began his first term in the national congress in December, 1843, but did not become widely known until after his election to the U. S. senate in 1847. Indeed the earliest reproduction of a Douglas portrait found in a national periodical was one published in *Gleasons Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, v. 4, (February 5, 1853), p. 88, a very poor wood engraving after a photograph made in the Whitehurst Gallery of Washington, presumably in 1852. In fact, most of the known photographic portraits of Douglas are of the period 1854-1861, after Douglas had achieved nation-wide distinction.

Many of the Douglas photographs of this period are card photographs (*carte de visites*) and, when they are contemporary prints made from the original negatives, are reasonably well dated within the two-year period, 1859-1861. The first of these dates marks the year when this form of photograph became at all common in this country²⁵ and the later date, 1861 (June 3), marks the death of Douglas.²⁶

One portrait of Douglas is included in this study that is not a photograph. It is, however, based on an original photograph. This Douglas portrait is a woodcut appearing in *Harper's Weekly* for December 26, 1857, and is credited to an original photograph by Whitehurst. The portrait is unique among the Douglas photographs in that it shows him with a full beard. Although no other photographs of the bearded Douglas have been found, he is depicted

24. I seriously doubt if Douglas could have been daguerreotyped before 1841 or 1842. The daguerrian artists known to have visited St. Louis (less than 100 miles from Springfield, Ill., and much more readily accessible from the East than Springfield would be) did not arrive in that city until June, 1841.—See "The Pioneer Photographers of St. Louis," Charles van Ravenswaay, *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 10 (October, 1953), p. 48. The original advertisement of these "artists" appeared, Mr. van Ravenswaay wrote me, in the *Daily Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, June 2, 1841. Elizabeth Baughman has written me that the first advertisement of a daguerreotypist in Chicago that she has seen, appeared in the *Chicago American* for March 1, 1842, p. 2.

In this same connection, George M. Hall of the Library of Congress has examined their file of the *Sangamo Journal*, Springfield, Ill., from March 5, 1841, to the end of 1842. Although there are nine scattering issues of the *Journal* missing from this file, he was unable to find any mention or advertisement of a daguerreotypist in the issues that were available.

25. Taft, *op. cit.*, ch. 8.

26. The imprints on card photographs are of some use in tracing the origin of a photograph. So extensively were card photographs copied by one photographer from the works of another, however, that troublesome and puzzling problems arise when too great dependence is placed on this method of tracing, as will become evident in several cases discussed in the catalogue which follows. It should be borne in mind that it was the very common practice in the 1860's and 1870's for one firm, not necessarily photographers, to publish (*i. e.* print and distribute) card photographs, having secured by purchase or otherwise, the negatives from the maker of the original. Sometimes credit was given by the publishing firm to the actual photographer but more usually no such credit was given. The Anthony's did, however, give Brady credit for some of the card photographs that they "published."

in cartoons of the period in this fashion.²⁷ Milton dated one cartoon "1860"; Shaw dated it "1858." The later date seems the more probable. The Kansas State Historical Society also possesses a cartoon showing Douglas with a beard, "Liberty, the Fair Maid of Kansas in the Hands of the 'Border Ruffians.'"

Judging from the fact that photographs of the bearded Douglas are so few in number, he apparently wore the beard but for a short time. The personal description of Douglas which follows was written at the time of his second marriage on November 20, 1856, and indicates that at that time he was beardless. The account, written for the *Washington Evening Post* of November 20, 1856, was reprinted in the *New York Tribune*, for November 22, 1856, p. 5, and reads, in part, as follows:

In person he [Douglas] is short and stocky, a sort of truncated giant, whence his well known designation. He has a red, somewhat rowdyish face, large features, the nose being rather *retroussé*, but still with an expression indicating rather a rude, unrefined nature, and an imperious energy, than any settled meanness or malignity of disposition. In truth, I think him a very good-natured pleasant man, individually. He is perfectly willing, after abusing or being abused in the most violent manner, to extend the right hand of fellowship to his enemy though his political hostility is unrelenting.

Douglas apparently wore no beard in the well-known Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858. It seems probable, therefore, that Douglas wore the beard for about a year—1857—or less.

The fact that Douglas aged very rapidly is clearly seen in the two photographs listed in the catalogue as numbers 14 and 25. Number 14 was made early in 1860; number 25 probably in the last month of his life. Undoubtedly the great disappointment of Douglas in the presidential campaign of 1860 contributed both directly and indirectly to this rapid decline.

One further fact of importance emerges from a study of these photographs. From measurements made on the standing photographs of Douglas it becomes evident that the short height of Douglas was due primarily to his short legs. Indeed the height of the Douglas torso was only slightly over an inch shorter than the average of many "old Americans." As the height of Douglas is given as five feet four inches, as against a value of five feet eight and a half inches for the average American, the Douglas legs were some three inches shorter than the average value.²⁸

27. Milton, *op. cit.*, facing p. 488; Albert Shaw, *Abraham Lincoln—A Cartoon History* (New York, 1929), v. 1, p. 199.

28. The ratio of the average leg length (taken to slightly above the crotch) to height from photographs number 13 and 14 is 0.46. Although this factor cannot be determined with the precision of modern anthropometric measurements, it is, I believe, significant. Anthropologists point out that the "height sitting" relative to stature is one of the most

A Catalogue of Douglas Photographs

As the procedure for the study of portrait photographs, illustrated here by the case of Senator Douglas, is more or less unique in this field,²⁹ it seems well to state what is meant by an "original photograph," for I have been asked on several occasions to define the term. After some reflection, I would say: *An original negative* is the image secured on a photographic plate as the result of exposure in the camera to the person whose portrait is to be secured or to the actual incident or scene to be depicted. Once the original negative is secured, similar positive prints can be made as long as the unchanged negative exists. Prints made from the negative in the months immediately following the making of the negative are prints

useful of such measures.—Ales Hrdlicka, *The Old Americans* (Baltimore, 1925), p. 111. Hrdlicka (p. 117, Table 72) gives this average ratio of 727 "Old Americans" as 0.525. Assuming that the leg length to slightly above the crotch subtracted from the total height would give the sitting height, the Douglas ratio (sitting height to stature) would be 0.54. It may be said that, if anything, the figure 0.54 is too low for Douglas, as I am inclined to believe my measurements of leg length were probably too long. I am indebted to my colleague, Prof. James C. Malin, for suggesting that these measurements be made.

The sculptor, Leonard W. Volk, undoubtedly made physical measurements of Douglas for he reported that Douglas gave him many sittings for the modeling of a bust, and in 1858, Volk, a cousin by marriage of Douglas, modeled a full-length statue of Douglas which was afterward chiseled in marble.—See *History of the Douglas Monument at Chicago* (Chicago, 1880), by Volk, p. 61; and *Harper's Weekly*, January 8, 1859, p. 17. Volk also was responsible for the "colossal" statue of Douglas done in bronze in 1880; the statue proper being nine feet, nine inches in height.

29. The basic study in American photographic portraiture is F. H. Meserve's *The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln* (Privately printed, 1911). This work contained one hundred photographs of Lincoln in which the principle employed by Meserve was to arrange them in chronological order on the basis of existing records. Mr. Meserve subsequently published three supplements of eight portraits each. In 1944, the result of over 40 years study was published in *The Photographs of Abraham Lincoln* (New York), Frederick Hill Meserve and Carl Sandburg. This book contained reproductions of 120 Lincoln photographs. Meserve began the collection of Civil War and Lincoln photographs over 50 years ago and was able to secure perhaps eight to ten thousand negatives by Mathew B. Brady. In addition, he was able to talk personally to some Lincoln photographers or their direct descendants, to the son of Lincoln, and to others who were able to supply him with virtually first-hand information about Lincoln photographs. In addition, he drew on the amazing fund of information that has been collected on the day-by-day life of Lincoln. Such sources of information in 1953 are virtually lacking for Senator Douglas and I have endeavored to suggest and to use to some extent the possible sources of information that are available to the student of today where direct records are lacking.

In Stefan Lorant, *Lincoln—A Picture Story of His Life* (New York, 1952), much of the information acquired by Mr. Meserve on the photographs of Lincoln has been "borrowed" with only cursory acknowledgment (pp. 230, 231); in addition Mr. Lorant criticizes a considerable portion of Meserve's data. Some of the criticism may be justified but Lorant in turn lays himself open to criticism by the method employed in criticizing Meserve. On page 232, Lorant advances "a photographic method to determine whether or not Lincoln pictures are identical." The principle of the method is not new and has been long in use. I have used it for at least 25 years and it was old then. The method, superimposing negatives of two pictures made to identical size (copies of the two pictures to be compared), is sometimes useful and sometimes not. Slight differences in the pictures and variations in density of corresponding areas on the two pictures may lead to erroneous or futile results especially when the original negatives are lacking. For example, in the first group of pictures cited by Lorant (top set of pictures, p. 232), proof has not been made to my satisfaction that the two photographs are identical. In fact, if one may judge from the focus of the eyes in the portraits as reproduced by Lorant, the two portraits are different, although they may have been successive exposures made at the same sitting. In the second case cited by Lorant (lower set, p. 232) it is quite obvious, without going to the trouble of superimposing negatives, that the two portraits are not identical, for here the eyes in the two portraits are not focused in the same direction and there are, as well, other obvious dissimilarities. The study of Lincoln portraits, because of this confusion introduced by Lorant, needs reappraisal. Incidentally, it may be remarked, that the method of superimposing two pictures can be carried out with greater satisfaction if lantern slides of the two pictures are prepared and projected over each other. In this case any degree of enlargement can be made. Enlargement up to the maximum size possible which will still retain detail, greatly facilitates the detection of differences. Again this method has long been in use.

contemporary with the period in which the negative was made. Modern prints made from the Brady or other original negatives of the 1860's, however, are just as satisfactory as far as records go, as prints made in the 1860's. In fact, modern prints may be more satisfactory than contemporary prints because (1) contemporary prints are subject to fading, and (2) the range of contrasts available in modern photographic papers may make it possible to bring out detail not recorded in prints contemporary with the negative.

These prints contemporary with the period of the negative were copied extensively then and are copied extensively now. Each copying process usually results in a loss of detail although at times an early photographic print may be copied with modern materials and a somewhat more pleasing print obtained than that from which it was copied. (Photographic copying, of course, is implied.)

In the case of daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and tintypes, the *original* would be that secured in the camera by exposure to the actual person, incident or scene. In general, but one daguerreotype (or ambrotype or tintype) could be secured from one exposure. All three of these photographic processes, however, were used to make copies of photographs (generic sense), of engravings, lithographs, or occasionally of paintings.

The procedure illustrated here in the study of photographs of historic value, it is hoped, will be of value to the profession generally. Some such method, it seems to me, is absolutely essential if photographs are to be treated as historic documents of importance. Collectors of photographs, both public and private, have done invaluable work in assembling their collections. Seldom, however, do collectors have supplementary information on individual photographs that is of use. No records of acquisition, of origin, or of dating that might, in some cases, have been readily obtained, are available for the modern user. The comment on the tremendously important Brady collection in the National Archives quoted on page 32 is illustrative of the general situation. To take another illustration, the Keystone View Company of New York wrote me recently "Our library is very old, and unfortunately records were not kept very carefully in former years." The result is, that virtually no information—other than name—and even this must be accepted with caution, is many times available at the beginning of such investigations. The lack of such data makes the task of finding, collecting and synthesizing the widely scattered information tedious, but it does challenge the detective instinct which seems to be born within many of us.

Listed below are all the Douglas photographs (used in the generic sense) that I have examined either in the original or in photographic copies. I have compared them, arranged them in the order in which I thought Douglas aged, checked them with the published information and other data that I had available, and then rearranged them in what I believe is their chronological order, the order in which they appear here. No finality in this order is claimed. The accumulation of further information may make a rearrangement necessary but certainly there is more evidence and logic presented in the arrangement here than has heretofore been available for Douglas photographs. Part of the uncertainty in the sequence of Douglas photographs as here given arises from the fact that Douglas was frequently ill and at least once in his adult life was extremely careless of his personal appearance. The period was after the death of his first wife in January, 1853.³⁰

The period which these photographs cover, I believe, extends from about 1845 until the death of Douglas on June 3, 1861. All possible sources of information have by no means been exhausted in this study. A systematic examination, for example, of Washington, New York, and Chicago newspapers for the period 1845-1861 and of Douglas correspondence, might yield items of interest and value concerning the personal appearance of Douglas that would be useful in making a more precise order of portraits than here presented. It is possible, too, that in such an examination one might find occasionally a direct reference to a Douglas photograph or other type of portrait. Information of value might also be obtained by a more detailed examination of the work of the photographers who recorded Douglas; so our catalogue is by no means a closed one. Doubtless, too, other photographs of Douglas, now that some systematic approach to his portraiture has been made, will come to light. The writer would welcome such information.

As will be seen, precise dating of many of the portraits, even after extended study, has not been possible. Perhaps the difficulty outlined in the catalogue which follows may give pause to biographers, historians, and other writers, in their casual dating, without evidence, of any photographs used in the preparation of future work.

1. Copy of a daguerreotype by Brady (probably enlarged). Bust. L. C. Handy Studio, Washington. [Reproduced with this article *between* pp. 32, 33.] Possibly the original daguerreotype by Brady was made about 1845 as it was at this time that Brady

30. Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1908), pp. 208, 317.

began the collection of his famous portrait gallery.³¹ The vest and tie worn by Douglas in this photograph appear to be similar to those shown in the reproduction of the Douglas portrait given in Stevens, *facing* p. 360. Stevens dated his portrait "1842-43," which I am inclined to think is too early.

2. Probably a copy of a daguerreotype (bust) somewhat similar to No. 3. F. H. Meserve. Reproduced in Stevens, *facing* p. 393, where it has the legend "Stephen A. Douglas. 1846"; the same photograph is reproduced in *Century Magazine*, New York, n. s. v. 62, (1912) p. 898, with the legend, "From an unpublished photograph taken at Alton, Illinois, probably in 1854, for Douglas's friend Major Nathaniel Buckmaster." The *Century* also credits the ownership of the photograph to "Mr. Frank E. Stevens, Dixon, Illinois." Apparently, since Stevens was undoubtedly the source of the information published in *Century*, he had changed his opinion by the time he published the life of Douglas. I believe 1846 too early and 1854 too late for this portrait. The Illinois State Historical Library has a print that Stevens used (probably); an accompanying note states that the original daguerreotype was owned by Robert Douglas.

3. Copy of "daguerreotype owned by his son, Hon. Robert M. Douglas—never published." Bust, Chicago Historical Society, Neg. No. 31. Illinois State Historical Library has a copy bought from the Stevens estate.

4. Daguerreotype, bust, head slightly to right (actually to left). [Reproduced with this article *between* pp. 32, 33.] Original in the Library of Congress measures $3\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5" (oval). Virginia Daiker of the Prints and Photographs Division reported: "Mr. Paul Vanderbilt, our Consultant in Iconography, has done some research on these daguerreotypes, and from various bits of evidence has identified them as the work of Mathew B. Brady's studio somewhere in the period 1845 to 1853." Not knowing the "bits of evidence," I cannot, of course, confirm the above statement. The daguerreotypes referred to by Miss Daiker were a group acquired by the Library of Congress from the Army War College in 1920. This daguerreotype is said to be the basis of the engraved portrait of Douglas by T. Knight in Robert Tomes, *War With the South* (New York, 1862), v. 1, p. 17. I have compared a photograph of the daguerreotype with the Knight engraving and am willing to agree. The Knight engraving shows the head slightly to the left but, of course, the

31. Taft, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

daguerreotype itself was reversed from right to left. My guess on this daguerreotype is that it was taken in 1852 or 1853.

The daguerreotype, judging from the photograph first sent me by the Library of Congress, was badly in need of cleaning. At my suggestion it was cleaned and rephotographed.

5. Photographic copy of ambrotype or daguerreotype (more probably the latter). Full-length, standing, right hand pointing. [Reproduced on the cover and *between* pp. 32, 33.] On all the copies of this photograph I have seen, it is the *left* hand which apparently is pointing. In an original daguerreotype (or ambrotype) the image was reversed from right to left, a fact that users of daguerreotypes seldom understand, or so state if they do understand. The correct representation of such portraits is the mirror image of the original. Copies owned by F. H. Meserve, Keystone View Company, Library of Congress, and the Chicago Historical Society. The Meserve copy shows the metallic frame commonly used with ambrotypes or daguerreotypes very distinctly. This portrait is reproduced by Allan Nevins as the frontispiece of volume one, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York, 1950). Nevins uses the legend "(From a photograph circa 1858)." It is not a photograph save in the generic sense as is indicated by the border and, as suggested above, it is incorrectly reproduced. This portrait has also been reproduced (also incorrectly) in Stefan Lorant, *Lincoln—A Picture Story of His Life*, p. 66. Lorant, of course, gives no information upon the portrait, not even crediting the source from which he secured it. This portrait was copyrighted in 1914 by Henry H. Pierce of Boston. The copyright certificate gives no information on the original.

The Illinois State Historical Library has a photostatic copy of a clipping from part of a page of a publication which contains a coarse screen reproduction of this portrait. The text accompanying the copied illustration has the credit line "From a rare old daguerreotype of S. A. Douglas—at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates." No evidence is available on the source of the clipping and my efforts to trace it have been fruitless. The source itself might throw more light on the original portrait and the statement made. I am inclined to date this portrait "circa 1854" from the facial appearance (as compared to other photographic likenesses) and from the fact that it is probably a daguerreotype. Paper photography was well established by 1858 and although daguerreotypes were still being made, the wet plate process with its paper prints had pretty well displaced the daguerreotype. As a matter of fact the Quincy (Ill.) *Whig* for October 16, 1858 (reprinted in E. E. Sparks, *The Lincoln-Douglas*

Debates of 1858, printed in *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Springfield, Ill., v. 3 [1908], p. 394), reported that photographic likenesses of Douglas were being hawked to the crowd attending the Quincy debate for 75¢ each; the hawker, continued the *Whig*, would probably reduce the price to 25¢ by the time Lincoln was through with Douglas.

5a. The head and shoulders of No. 5 enlarged. Copyrighted by George Rockwood in 1909. Library of Congress copy. Rockwood was an early and well-known professional photographer.³² No information concerning the portrait is given on the copyright certificate.

6. Daguerreotype, original in Illinois State Historical Library. Bust, oval in case $4\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. This photograph in its original condition, is one of the most detailed of the face of Douglas ever made. [Reproduced with this article *between* pp. 32, 33.] I examined this daguerreotype at Springfield in the early fall of 1953 and found it in bad condition and offered to try its restoration. It was sent me on October 21, 1953, and I immediately set about the attempted restoration. Upon removal from its case, the back of the daguerreotype was found coated with a thin layer of dark, almost black varnish. After being washed in water, in a cyanide bath, and in alcohol, considerable improvement in appearance was made. One of the most important results produced by cleaning, however, was the removal of the dark varnish on the copper back of the daguerreotype, and there was then found scratched into the metal the legend, "Stephen A. Douglas.—July 21, 1855— [? ?] Kelsey." Douglas, according to Milton (p. 208, Footnote 34) was in Chicago on July 7, 1855, and, as nearly as can be determined from Milton's account, was either in Chicago, or in and out of it, during the summer of 1855. Douglas gave a speech at ceremonies celebrating the completion of the Illinois Central railroad on July 17 or 18, 1855, but was apparently in Chicago again by July 19; *see* letter dated "Dubuque, Iowa, July 18, 1855" in the *New York Tribune*, July 23, 1855, p. 5; the *Daily Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, July 23, 1855, p. 1, and July 25, 1855, p. 2. The last account is by a correspondent of the *Republican* who had seen Douglas at Dubuque and who commented that Douglas was getting fat, an interesting commentary in view of the round-faced portrait of July 21.

As this account gives another glimpse of the personality of Douglas, it is reprinted here. The portion describing Douglas reads:

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 355, 374, 477.

We trust the celebrated author of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, will pardon us if we make personal allusions, but having had the honor of conversing with him for some time, we must say something about him. Besides, a great many of our readers have never met him. Judge Douglas has been christened the "Little Giant," and a truer cognomen could not have been bestowed upon him: he is a man with a little body and a big head—his head is as it ought to be, the great feature to be observed—his body seems to have been bestowed upon, because nature found there was a necessity for an adjunct to assist the head. His face is very expressive when in conversation and he gives you at once the idea that he is a great man. He is head, all head, nothing but head, his head was made for a giant, and his body for a dwarf; his hat lies on the back of his head (fashionable, like ladies,) he does not cram it on as some orators do, covering up forehead, eyes, &c., but he merely wears one out of respect to custom; his hair is long and uncombed; his neck is not remarkable for its neat decoration, his cravat is twisted around like a rope; his coat is hung on him, and so are his white pants; in fact, he wears nothing except a cane, and that is all in all to him; he grasps it now and then as if he were taking hold of a friend's hand, then he places it on the ground on one end, then he pokes it against the walls and leans his body against it, then he whirls it round and round to the dismay of passersby. There was nothing fearful in his appearance, and I almost believe that HORACE GREELEY might look at him without seeing the Union tumble about his head. The fact is, the Little Giant has grown fat on his *bill*, and his enemies will find that he will give them many a rub at the next session that will prove his abilities are not gone, neither that he is frightened by the raving of mad fanatics. We had a pleasant party, and the Judge made a capital speech at Dubuque; there were also several other orators on the occasion, but their names we have forgotten.

Elizabeth Baughman of the Chicago Historical Society informs me that a C. C. Kelsey is included in a list of Chicago daguerreotype artists in 1855.³³ I have not been able to decipher the initials (preceding "Kelsey") engraved on the back of the daguerreotype. The first one, and possibly the second, looks as if the author of the inscription had started to scratch one thing and changed his mind; in any case the engraving of the legend is crude. There can be no doubt, however, about "Kelsey." These facts given above make it appear certain to me that the daguerreotype is correctly dated, "July 21, 1855."

This daguerreotype was copied photographically 20 or more years ago by a Springfield professional, Kessberger, who practiced there from about 1855 until the late 1930's, according to Margaret Flint of the Illinois State Historical Library. Three of these photographic copies are owned by the Springfield library (two 8 x 10 inch ones; the third measures 25 x 20½ inches) and are excellent copies although it is obvious that the prints have been retouched. Milton

33. E. H. Hall, comp., *The Chicago City Directory* (Chicago, 1855), pp. 173, 174.

reproduced one of these copies as the frontispiece of *The Eve of Conflict* and credits it "The Little Giant in His Prime—From a photograph made in 1859." The same retouched photograph of this daguerreotype appears as the frontispiece in the December, 1949, issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Springfield, with an article by Allan Nevins, "Stephen A. Douglas: His Weaknesses and His Greatness." The legend for the portrait here is "Stephen A. Douglas in 1859," obviously a repetition of Milton's error. Again it should be noted that since this is a daguerreotype, right and left are reversed; the apparent left side of Douglas in the portrait is actually his right side. Possibly the most important facial feature affected by this reversal is the fact that Douglas had a mole on his left cheek a few inches to the left of the left nostril (*see* reproduction of No. 20, *between* pp. 32, 33). In a daguerreotype or its unreversed copy this mole appears as if it were on the right side of his face (*see* reproduction of No. 4, *between* pp. 32, 33). The Chicago Historical Society purchased in April, 1953, the fourth replica of the Douglas life mask, presumably made by Volk. Miss Baughman of the Chicago Historical Society reported that the mole appears on the life mask as I have described it above. She further stated: "I would say that it is not very prominent, however."

6a. One of the modern photographic copies (retouched) of the daguerreotype described above in No. 6. [Reproduced with this article *between* pp. 32, 33.] The Illinois State Historical Library, which owns this copy, has no record when the copy photograph was made. Obviously it was made before 1934.

7. The bearded Douglas. Woodcut in *Harpers Weekly*, December 26, 1857, after photograph by Whitehurst.

8. Card photograph (three-quarter-length, standing, left hand on back of chair). Neither F. H. Meserve nor the Chicago Historical Society could furnish information about the photographer.

9. Card photograph, head and shoulders. Print in Chicago Historical Society. Photographer not designated. This may be a photograph of a lithograph as there is considerable artificiality about it. The Chicago Historical Society possesses a chromolithograph published by E. C. Middleton (Cincinnati, Ohio) in 1864 that is much the same as this card photograph save that the eyes are focused slightly different.

10. Photograph, oval, three-quarter-length, seated. Original in Chicago Historical Society. Size of print about 5½ x 7½ inches; this photograph may be an enlargement of No. 11.

11. Probably made at the same time as No. 10, seated but showing full-length. It appears to be a card photograph. F. H. Meserve. Illinois State Historical Library has a copy bought from the Stevens estate. The University of Chicago Library also has two copies of this photograph, each copy measuring 4 x 6 inches. No photographer is indicated on either copy.

Stevens (following p. 672) reproduced this photograph with the legend "Last Picture of Stephen A. Douglas, Taken at Aurora, Ill." As is usual, Stevens gives no other information about the photograph.

12. A small ambrotype, 2 x 2½ inches, owned by the Illinois State Historical Library. This portrait is nearly identical with Nos. 10 and 11, save that it is waist length. If Stevens is correct (*see* notes on Nos. 10 and 11) this ambrotype was probably made by a photographer at Aurora, Ill. As the image in the ambrotype faces in the same direction as do the images of Nos. 10 and 11, it is uncertain which of the three is to be regarded as the print from the original (in case No. 10 was enlarged from No. 11). The ambrotype image is not as distinct as No. 11 which makes it seem probable that the negative of No. 10 was the original negative.

13. Card photograph. Full-length, standing, top hat on chair to the right of Douglas, left hand resting on column. Photograph by Gurney and Son, 707 Broadway, New York. Library of Congress, Illinois State Historical Library, and F. H. Meserve. The carpet and the chair that appear in this photograph have the same designs as those appearing in Nos. 23 and 24 but the face of Douglas appears more youthful. There is the possibility that this card photograph may be based on a negative made at the same time as Nos. 23 and 24, an enlarged print made from this negative, the print retouched as described in Nos. 15-18, and rephotographed as a card photograph.

14. Card photograph, full-length, standing, top hat in left hand. [Reproduced with this article *between* pp. 32, 33.] A pleasing and revealing portrait, used by Carl Schurz, *McClure's Magazine*, New York, v. 28 (1906-1907), p. 253. Schurz dates it "1858"; from the fact that it is a card photograph, 1859 or 1860 seems more probable.

The Illinois State Historical Library possesses two copies of this card photograph. The imprint on the back of one is very simple, "Published by E. Anthony and Co., 501 Broadway, N. Y.," and is probably one of the earliest card prints made from the negative. The second Illinois library copy bears the same imprint as above (the typography is more elaborate) and in addition has a woodcut

of the Anthony establishment with the additional legend "Manufacturers of Photographic Albums," and was probably published in 1862 or after as the firm name became E. & H. T. Anthony, after 1862.³⁴ If the conjecture on the first of these card photographs is correct, 1859 seems to be well indicated as the proper dating of this portrait. Copies in the Illinois State Historical Library, the Chicago Historical Society, and F. H. Meserve. Mr. Meserve owns the original Brady negative of this card photograph and it is a copy enlarged directly from this negative that is reproduced here through the kindness of the owner.

15. Contact print from a contemporary Brady negative measuring 17 x 20 inches in the National Archives collection. Three-quarter-length, standing. [Reproduced with this article *between* pp. 32, 33.] The negative is presumably that from which "imperial" photographs of Douglas could be made. The imperial was introduced in 1856-1857 and prints from such negatives were almost always retouched (by India ink or colors) *on the print* (modern retouching is done on the negative).³⁵ The pose, dress, and accessories are similar to Nos. 16-18 and for this reason I believe all to be of the same date. The date, for reasons developed above and in the discussion of Nos. 16-18 I believe, is 1860. Probably all of this group were photographs made for use in the campaign of Douglas for the presidency in 1860. The Chicago Historical Society possesses a print, nearly the same as this one (No. 15), but measuring about 9 x 13. The figure is cut off just below the hips.

The eyes are directed in this photograph in a slightly different direction and the leg length is somewhat longer than in Nos. 17 and 18. A reduced version of this photograph appears in William Garrott Brown, *Stephen Arnold Douglas* (Boston and New York, 1904), where it is credited to "a photograph by Brady in the Library of the State Department at Washington." The same portrait (as in Brown) is reproduced as the frontispiece in *Stephen A. Douglas—A Memorial* (1914), by Edward S. Marsh, Brandon, Vt.

16. A Brady photograph, the original of which is owned by the Chicago Historical Society. The print, about 10 x 12 inches, is doubtless a *copy* of a *retouched* Brady imperial described in No. 15. The mount of No. 16 bears the imprint (in addition to the Douglas name) "Photograph by Brady, New York and Washington." Although Brady photographed in Washington before 1858, his per-

34. Taft, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 130, 324.

manent Washington branch was established that year.³⁶ Issues of *Harper's Weekly*, April 21, 1860, and June 15, 1861, reproduce a woodcut portrait of Douglas which seems to have been based on one of these photographs (i. e., Nos. 15-18) with the legend "Photographed by Brady 1860." The same portrait with the same legend is also reproduced as the frontispiece in James W. Sheahan, *The Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1860).

The face in this portrait (and in Nos. 17 and 18) is much smoother than in No. 15, thus giving a much more youthful appearance than the portrait printed from contact with the Brady negative of No. 15. This difference must arise from the fact that these photographs (Nos. 16-18) are copies probably of a retouched photograph. Not only would retouching produce a smoother face but the copying process itself would tend to lose detail in the copy as compared to the original print.

16a. The retouched Brady photograph of 1860. Print from the Brady copy negative in the L. C. Handy Studios, Washington. The copy furnished me was an enlargement from a Brady card negative.

17. Contact print made directly from a Brady negative in the National Archives. Four images appear on the single plate. [Reproduced with this article *between* pp. 32, 33.] These images, as suggested in the notes on No. 16, seem to have been secured by copying the Brady imperial of No. 15 (more exactly an imperial made at the time) with a four-tube camera or with a single or double-tube camera by movement of the plate holder.³⁷ The individual images are not card size but measure $3\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, approximately.

18. Card photographs almost identical with Nos. 15 and 18. Copies owned by the Illinois State Historical Library and F. H. Meserve. The Illinois Library copy has the imprint on the mount "E. & H. T. Anthony, 501 Broadway, New York, from photographic negative in Brady's National Portrait Gallery." The frontispiece in H. M. Flint, *Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (Chicago, 1860), is doubtlessly based on one of this group of photographs which have been used more extensively than any photographs of Douglas for the preparation of engravings and lithographs. See, for example, the portrait of Douglas reproduced by Woodrow Wilson, *A History of the American People* (New York and London, 1903), v. 4, facing p. 176.

36. See advertisement in the *National Intelligencer*, Washington, January 26, 1858.

37. Taft, *op. cit.*, pp. 144, 477.

19. Card photograph, half figure. Published by E. & H. T. Anthony, N. Y. Illinois State Historical Library has two copies.

20. Photograph, head and shoulders. [Reproduced with this article *between* pp. 32, 33.] This portrait appears to be an enlargement of No. 19—or a photograph made at the same sitting—and is credited in print on the mount to the Whitehurst Gallery of Washington. Illinois State Historical Library, the owner, stated that it is oval on a square mat, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The print itself measures about $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This photograph is reproduced (*facing* p. 4) in E. E. Sparks, *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Springfield, Ill., 1908), with the commendably cautious note "From a photograph in the collection of the Illinois Historical Library, supposed to have been made in 1858." My judgment, equally cautious, would be to date it "1860 plus or minus a year."

21. Card photograph, half figure, Chicago Historical Society, F. H. Meserve, Illinois State Historical Library. The copy belonging to the last institution bears the imprint "Published by J. O. Kane, 126 Nassau St., New York." The Illinois State Historical Library's copy came from the estate of Stevens.

22. Card photograph, half figure, vignetted. "Charles D. Fredricks and Co., 587 Broadway, New York" is imprinted on the Illinois State Historical Library copy. The Illinois State Historical Society also has a card photograph of Mrs. S. A. Douglas with the imprint below the photograph "Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1861 by C. D. Fredricks and Co. . . ." The imprint on the back is the same as on the Douglas card photograph above. This pair of photographs suggests that Senator and Mrs. Douglas visited the Fredricks gallery together in 1860 or 1861.

23. Card photograph, full figure standing, right hand on back of chair. Very prominent figures in carpet design. F. H. Meserve and Chicago Historical Society. The copy owned in Chicago has the imprint "Carte de Visite by Case and Getchell, Photographic Artists, 299½ Washington St., Boston." The Chicago Historical Society also possesses another card photograph very nearly the same as the Case and Getchell copy. The prominent figure in the carpet is the same as that in the Case and Getchell copy but it is much subdued in this copy as is the design in the upholstery of the chair. Book shelves appear on the left hand margin and the eyes are focused somewhat differently than in the Case and Getchell print. This card photograph bears the imprint "S. M. Fassett's New Gallery, 114 and 116 South Clark St., Chicago." It is my guess based on

the poorer print of the latter copy, that Fassett copied one of the Case and Getchell originals, as several "sittings" on such occasions were almost always made. This guess also has some support in the listing of Fassett in Chicago city directories. Halpin and Bailey's *Chicago City Directory* of 1861-1862 (Chicago, 1861), p. 434, lists "Fassett and Cook, 122 and 124 Clark" as photographers. The same directory for 1862-1863 (Chicago, 1862), p. 502, lists "Samuel M. Fassett, 122 and 124 Clark." The Chicago directories were published each year, "After removals of May first," which would make it appear that the Fassett firm's change of name occurred *after* May, 1861. Since this Douglas card photograph bears the imprint "S. M. Fassett's New Gallery," it seems possible that the photograph was prepared by Fassett for publication after the death of Douglas.

Douglas was in Boston during the presidential campaign of 1860,³⁸ so it would have been possible for Case and Getchell to have photographed him. To add further confusion to this matter there is the identity of chair and carpet design in the Case and Getchell card photograph with that of the Gurney card photograph listed as No. 13.

24. Either an enlargement of No. 23 or a photograph made at the same time (the Case and Getchell one), the print measuring $12\frac{1}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{16}$ inches. [Reproduced with this article *between* pp. 32, 33.] Chicago Historical Society. The Illinois State Historical Library also has an enlargement somewhat smaller than the one in the Chicago Historical Society.

25. Card photograph. Bust, one-half right. Library of Congress. No imprint appears on the photograph.

26. Card photograph, half-length, seated, oval. Imprint "Carte de Visite by J. Carbutt, Photographic artist, 131 Lake St., Chicago." Chicago Historical Society.

27. Card photograph, head and shoulders, vignetted. [Reproduced with this article *between* pp. 32, 33.] Same imprint as No. 26. Illinois State Historical Library. These photographs, Nos. 26 and 27, were probably taken at the same time and I believe are among the last, if not the last, of Douglas to be taken. My reasons are: (1) the portraits show an aging and tired Douglas (Douglas died in Chicago on June 3, 1861). He arrived in Chicago on May 1, 1861, and during the early part of his stay at least he was able to be about.³⁹ (2) John Carbutt is first listed in Chicago city directories

38. Milton, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

39. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 2, 1861, pp. 1, 4.

for the issue of 1861-1862 (published in 1861). Apparently his professional career in Chicago began in 1861; he is listed in Chicago city directories through 1870.⁴⁰

The Illinois State Historical Library possesses two large framed engravings of Douglas, one of which bears beneath the print the legend "Hon. Stephen A. Douglas Engraved by Doney from a Photograph by Hesler." The engraving is a very good reproduction of the Carbutt card photograph owned by the Illinois State Historical Library but it is obvious that the Carbutt photograph is not a copy of the engraving. Whether the engraving is incorrectly ascribed to Hesler or whether Carbutt copied a Hesler photograph it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide. Carbutt had an excellent reputation and it is difficult to believe that he would copy the work of a fellow photographer in Chicago and print it under his own name without permission. The engraving and printing were doubtless done in another establishment and some misunderstanding in crediting (in print) the engraving may have arisen. It is, of course, possible that Hesler made negatives (*see* paragraph 1 under "Douglas Photographs Not Seen") and sold some of them to Carbutt.

The Carbutt photograph of Douglas (No. 26) is also apparently the basis for the portrait of Douglas reproduced in Clark E. Carr, *Stephen A. Douglas* (Chicago, 1909), facing p. 134. Carr gives no information, other than the name, concerning the portrait.

DOUGLAS PHOTOGRAPHS NOT SEEN

I have found reference either directly or indirectly to a number of Douglas photographs, originals of which have not been found. The more important of these references are listed below.

1. After the death of Douglas in Chicago on June 3, 1861, an advertisement of Douglas photographs appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*, June 4, 1861, p. 1. The advertisement stated that the photographs were made by Alexander Hesler of Chicago.⁴¹ The photographs advertised were as follows:

No. 1	3 x 5	\$.15
No. 2	8 x 10	1.00
Carte Visite Size		.25
From Volk's Statuette		1.50
Imperial		10.00 ⁴²

40. Information from Elizabeth Baughman, Chicago Historical Society. For additional information on Carbutt, *see* Taft, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

41. For information on Hesler, *see ibid.*, pp. 349, 369, 471.

42. *See, also*, the notes on Nos. 26 and 27.

2. In *National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans* (New York, 1862), E. A. Duyckinck, v. 2, facing p. 273, there is a full-length portrait of Douglas standing (left hand in vest) credited to "Likeness from the latest Photograph taken from life." Possibly this photograph is one of the Hesler photographs referred to above.

3. I have made an attempt to find group photographs containing Douglas but so far without success. The National Archives furnished me two group photographs (B-1517 and B-1518) in which a figure identified as Stephen A. Douglas is included. Examination of the two photographs has satisfied me that the individual is *not* Douglas. The following information, from the National Archives, may be of value to other possible users of the Brady negatives in the archives collection:

The numbering of the negatives in the Brady collection was done by the War Department Library in 1880, several years after purchase of the negatives from Mr. Brady. At the time of the purchase, complaint was made that no identifications, lists, or file prints were obtained with the negatives in 1880 and they were indexed in two groups, one group alphabetically by name of person, and the second alphabetically by State and area. The subject catalog was published by the War Department in 1898. In 1928, the Signal Corps rejacketed the negatives and destroyed the old jackets which could perhaps have solved some of the questions of identification if they had been saved.

A second group photograph supposed to contain Douglas was furnished me by the Chicago Historical Society: "Third and Last Committee of Conference of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives on the Army Appropriation Bill, Sunday, August 17, 1856." An examination of this photograph shows the man identified as Douglas to be a most handsome individual—far more handsome than any photograph I have seen. The photograph may be a copy of a lithograph as even the craggy face of Senator Seward (who is identified in the group picture) appears benign and smooth.

Considering the widespread publicity and attention in Illinois on the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, it is astonishing that no photographs of the two together or of one or more debate scenes have come to light. I have seen none and Ralph G. Newman of Chicago has recently made a similar observation.⁴³

4. The Illinois State Historical Library possesses a large lithographic bust portrait of Douglas published by C. H. Brainard of Boston and dated with the imprint "1854." The lithograph is credited to a daguerreotype by Vannerson. Vannerson was a daguerreotypist of Washington, D. C. His establishment was advertised

43. *The Amateur Book Collector*, Chicago, v. 4 (September, 1953), pp. 1, 2.

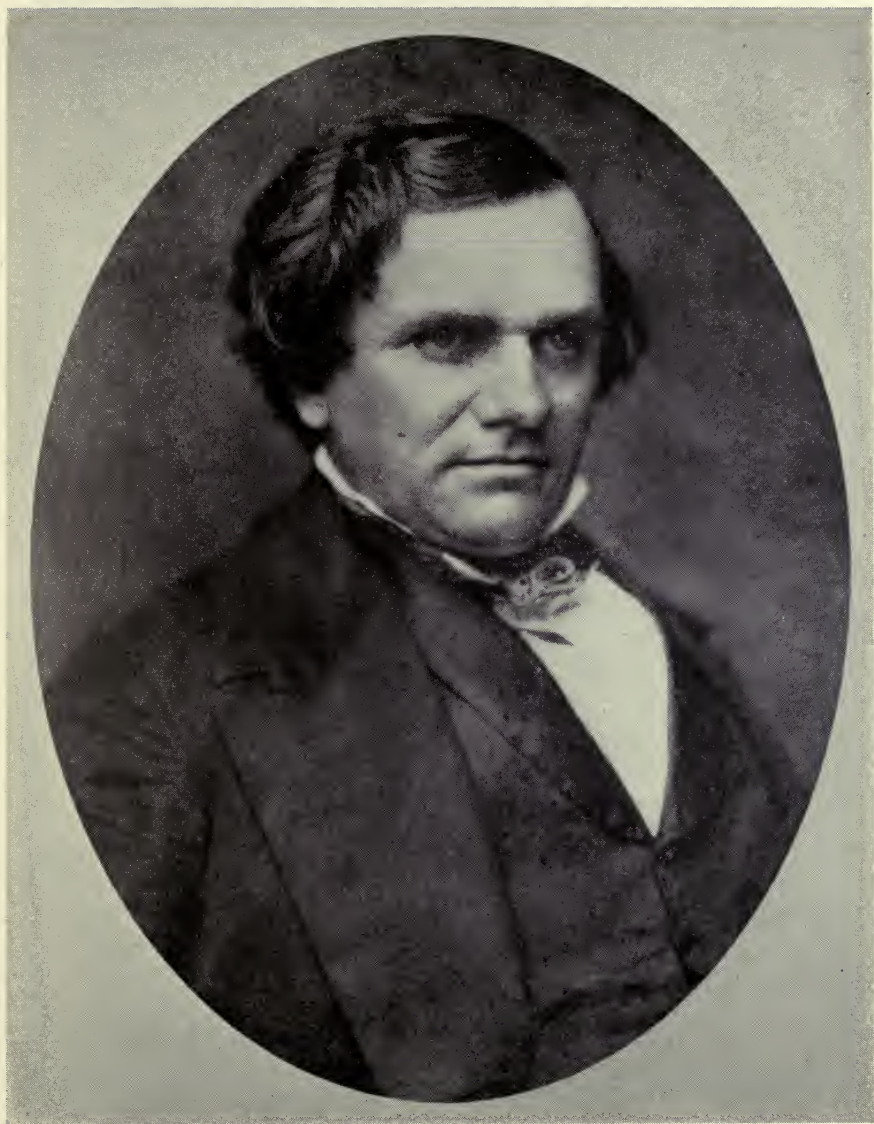


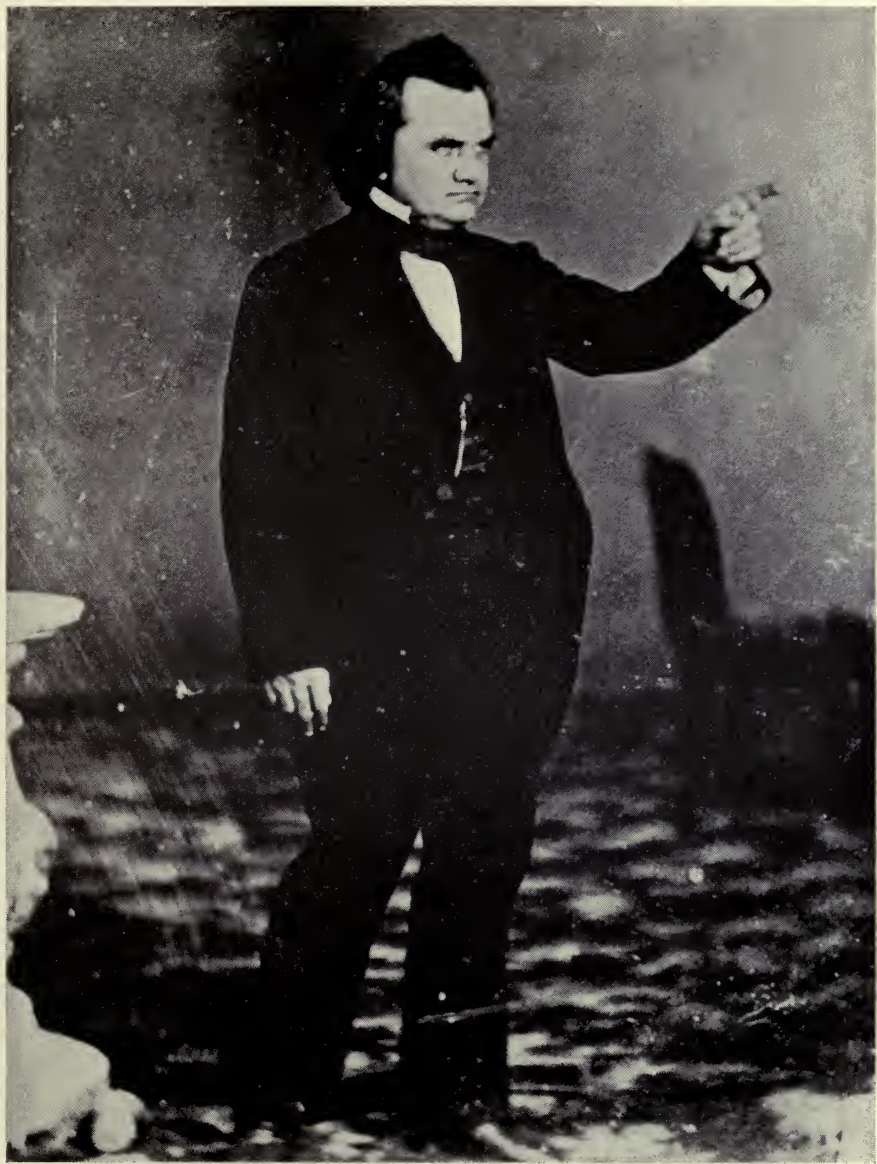
PLATE I. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. ABOUT 1845.

Reproduction of copy of daguerreotype in possession of the L. C. Handy Studio, Washington. Reversed, *i. e.*, correctly reproduced. (No. 1 in Catalogue.)



PLATE II. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. ABOUT 1852.

Reproduction of daguerreotype in possession of the Library of Congress. Reversed in reproduction. Note that in the original daguerreotype the mole on the face of Douglas would appear to be on the right side rather than on the left, as here seen correctly. (No. 4 in Catalogue.)



- PLATE III. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. ABOUT 1854.

Direct reproduction of copy of daguerreotype in possession of the Keystone View Co., New York City. Incorrectly reproduced; for correct reproduction *see* Plate IV which follows. (No. 5 in Catalogue.)

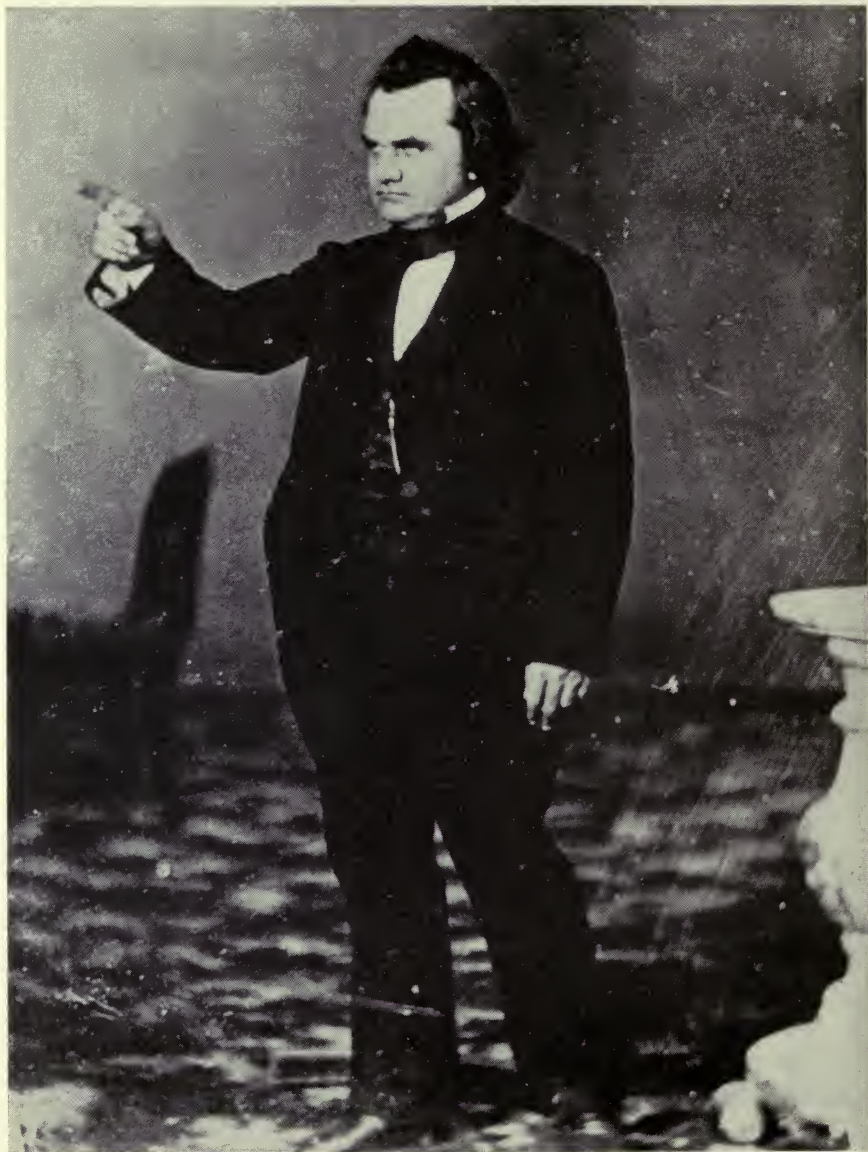


PLATE IV. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. ABOUT 1854.

Image of Plate III reversed and therefore correctly reproduced. (No. 5 in Catalogue.)

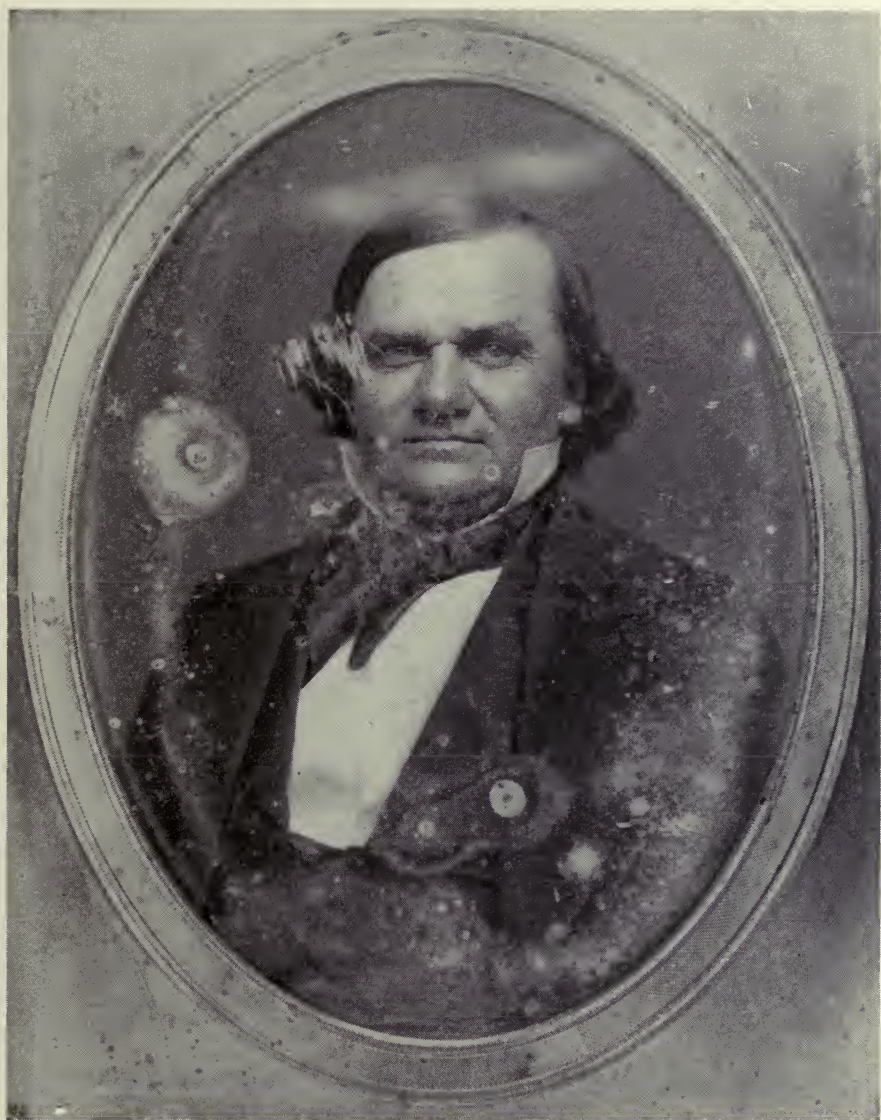


PLATE V. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. 1855.

Reproduction of daguerreotype (1954 copy) in possession of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield. Reversed in reproduction. (No. 6 in Catalogue.)

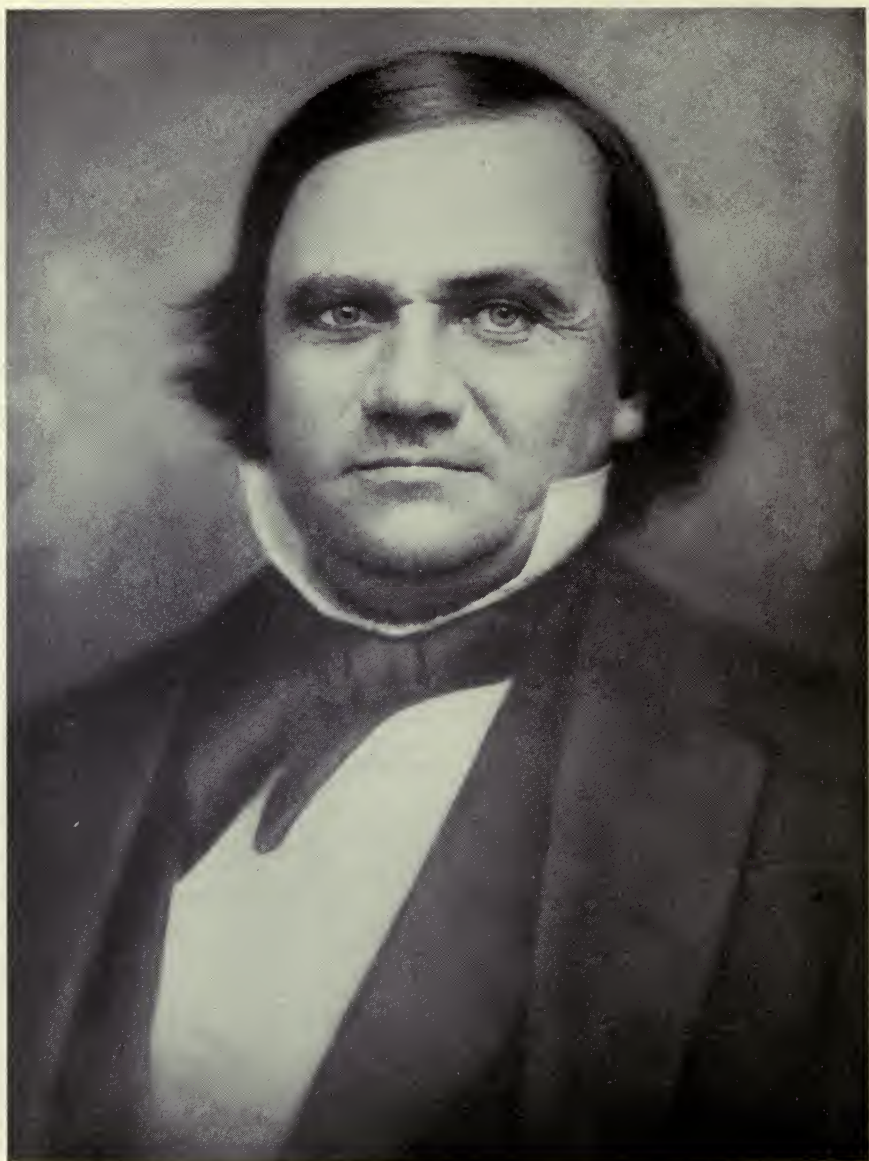


PLATE VI. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. 1855.

Reproduction of modern photographic and retouched copy (Kessberger) of the 1855 daguerreotype. In possession of the Illinois State Historical Library. Reversed in reproduction. (No. 6a in Catalogue.)



PLATE VII. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. ABOUT 1859.

Reproduction of enlargement from original card negative in possession of F. H. Meserve, New York City. (No. 14 in Catalogue.)



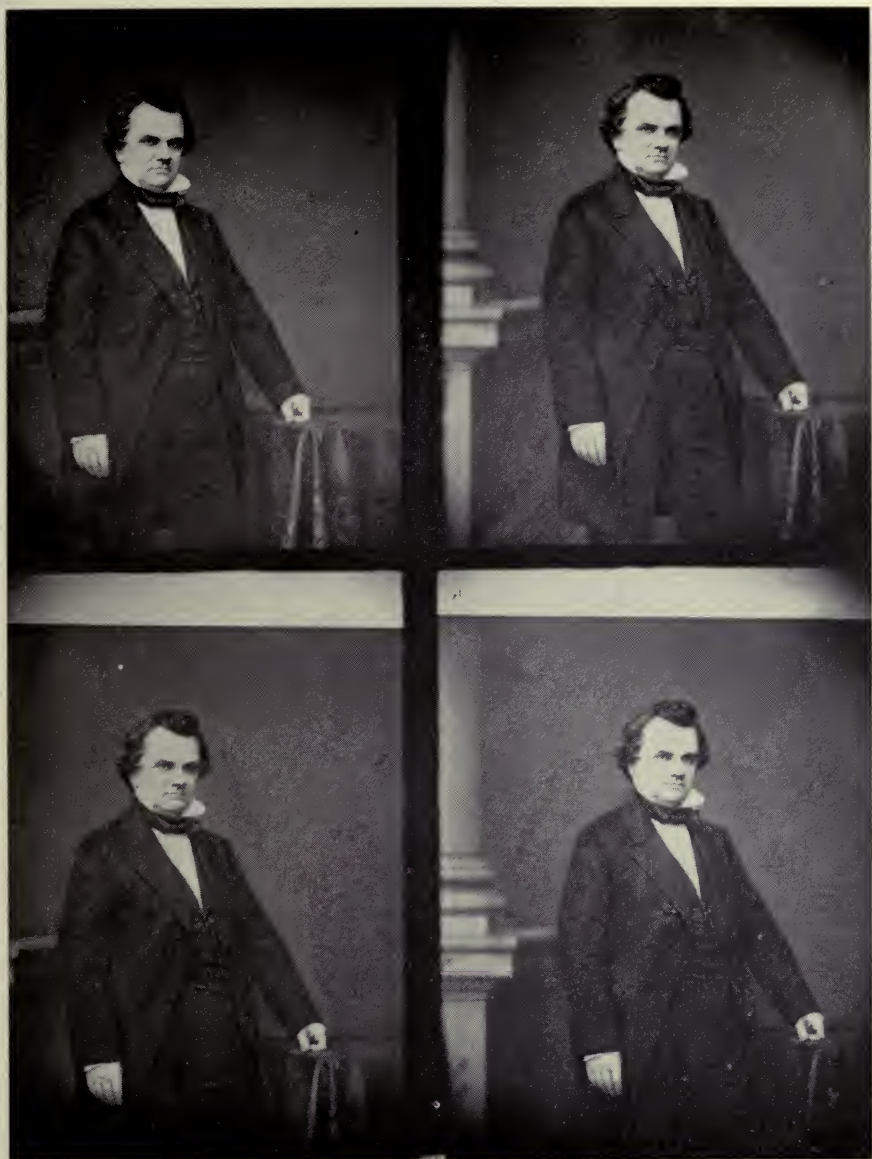


PLATE IX. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. 1860.

Reproduction of contact print from Brady negative in the National Archives. (No. 17 in Catalogue.)



PLATE VIII. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. 1860.

Reproduction of contact print from Brady negative in the National Archives. (No. 15 in Catalogue.)

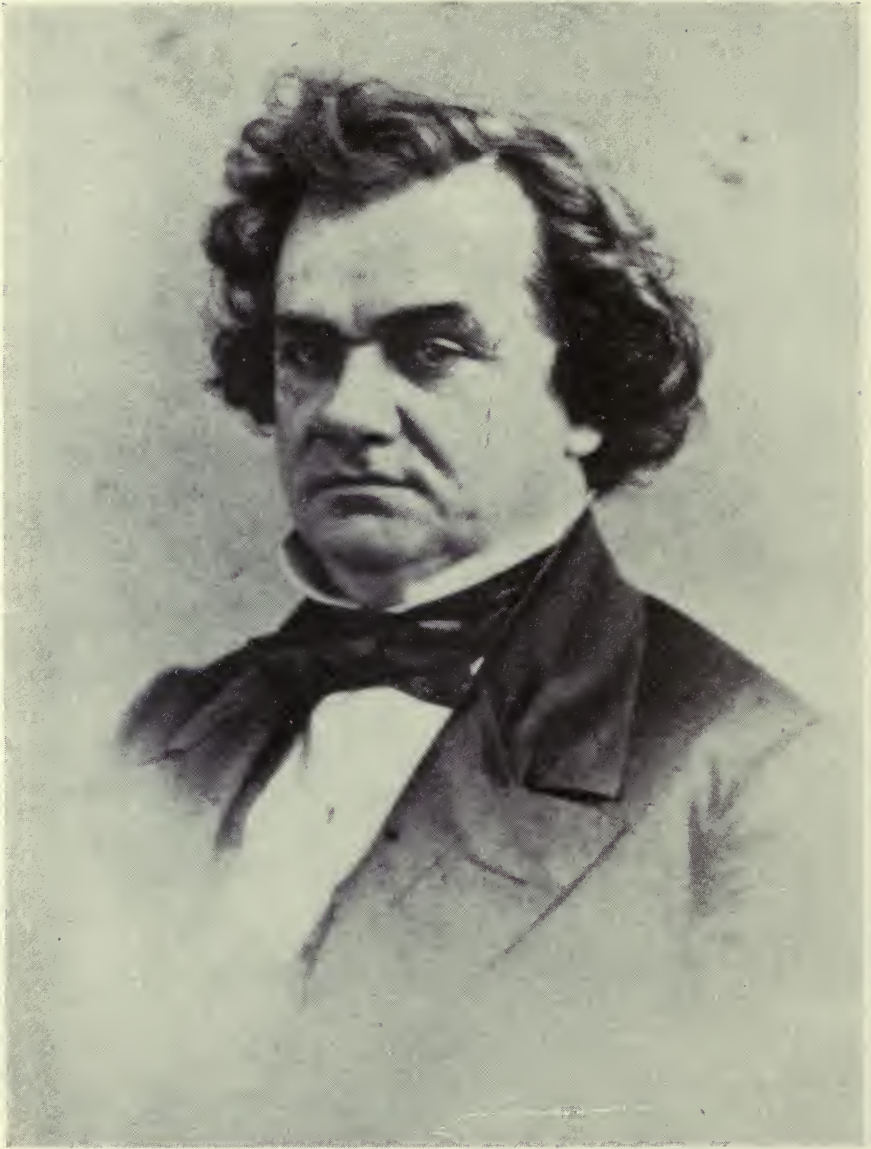


PLATE XII. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. 1861.

Reproduction of an enlargement made from a card photograph in possession of the Illinois State Historical Library. (No. 27 in Catalogue.)

in Ten Eyck's *Washington and Georgetown Directory* for 1855 (between pp. 23 and 29) at No. 426 and 428 Penn. Ave. "over Lane and Tuckers Building near 4½ St."

It seems probable that this daguerreotype was also the basis for a wood-engraved portrait of Douglas that appeared in *Gleason's Pictorial*, v. 4 (1853), p. 88, as a note on p. 93 credits the portrait to "J. Vannerson at Whitehurst's Gallery" and the biographical sketches are credited (p. 84) to C. H. Brainard.

5. The Illinois State Historical Library also possesses another large lithographic portrait of Douglas by F. d'Avignon and published by Charles H. Brainard, Boston, with the imprint "1858." The portrait is credited to a daguerreotype by Fassett and Cook of Chicago. This portrait resembles somewhat the card photograph of No. 19.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly indebted for very real aid in the preparation of the catalogue of Douglas photographs to Mrs. Mary Frances Rhymer and Elizabeth Baughman of the Chicago Historical Society; to Elizabeth Lorsy of the Keystone View Co.; to Virginia Daiker of the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress; to H. E. Pratt and Margaret Flint of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield; to Robert Rosenthal, curator of special collections, University of Chicago Library; and to my mother, Mrs. F. C. Ewart, who examined Douglas materials in Canandaigua, N. Y. (a boyhood home of Douglas), for me. Mrs. Rhymer, Miss Baughman, Dr. Pratt, and Miss Flint were also most helpful on my visits to their respective institutions. I must express my special appreciation to Josephine Cobb and F. H. Meserve. Miss Cobb, of the U. S. National Archives, Washington, not only gave me aid in her official capacity in the Audio-Visual Records Branch of the National Archives, but, I am sure, must have spent many hours of her own time seeking answers to some of my troublesome questions. Mr. Meserve of New York City, whose marvelous collection of American photographic portraits is without equal, not only supplied me with copies of all his Douglas photographs but generously gave information of real use during our extended correspondence.

The quotations from Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, are reprinted through the kind permission of the publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York City; the quotation from George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict*, through the courtesy of the copyright owner, Mrs. Alice Milton Dwight, New York City.

Lastly, a generous grant from the general research fund of the University of Kansas has made possible this extended study of the Douglas photographs and the co-operation of the University is here cheerfully and thankfully acknowledged.

Emergency Housing at Lawrence, 1854¹

JAMES C. MALIN

IN the spring of 1854, along the Missouri and Iowa border, organization and settlement of the Indian country, then called Nebraska, had been agitated for about a decade. Thus, when realization of the dream appeared imminent prior to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, the border men intensified their investigation of desirable locations in the promised land. The scarcity of timber focused attention upon the advantage of being first comers, especially the speculative advantage. Some activity of this sort antedated 1854, but the rush developed in earnest early in that year. Much of this activity began prior to the raising of the slavery issue in connection with the so-called repeal of the Missouri Compromise, but this perspective has been distorted by the later developments. Thus, in the northeastern part of what became Kansas, when the Indian agent took a delegation of Indians to Washington to make a treaty, a correspondent wrote, in May: ". . . Now there is not a grease spot left unclaimed. . . ." The writer was of the opinion that the territory would be free, and congress could not make it otherwise, but his interest was in speculation, as he thought his claim would be worth \$25 per acre as soon as entered at the land office. Cabins were already being built on these timbered claims—cabins of logs.² Another writer, dating his letter from the territory, July 25, was of the opinion that "the scarcity of timber (enough, however, for present wants, and that of the best kind) is in a general measure obviated by the abundance of most excellent rock and clay. . . ."³ Between the Kansas river and Fort Leavenworth, in June, 1854, an observer reported "tents and cabins are being erected."⁴

THE SITE OF LAWRENCE AND VICINITY, 1854

The site of Lawrence, between the Kansas river and its southern tributary, the Wakarusa, was about 40 miles inland from the Missouri river. By midsummer, 1854, a large part of the more desirable

DR. JAMES C. MALIN, associate editor of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, is professor of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

1. A paper, "Housing in the Prairie-Plains Region," was presented at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April, 1943, based upon a monograph of the same name, which has not been published. The present paper represents a part of that project, which has since been expanded and will be published as a part of *Grassland Historical Studies*, v. 3.

2. *New York Daily Tribune*, August 14, 1854, from Reading (Pa.) *Gazette*, August 12. The letter was dated Spring Hill Farm, Nebraska, alias Kansas, May 27, 1854.

3. *New York Daily Tribune*, August 3, 1854.

4. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1854, from Lexington (Ky.) *Observer and Reporter*, July 5. The letter from Kansas was dated June 15, 1854.

timbered claims had been marked for settlement, if not actually occupied. S. N. Wood, of Ohio, who was already on the ground, and later became identified with Lawrence, wrote, August 2, that timber was a little scarce, and some would return on that account, but "Log cabins are going up in every direction."⁵ This letter recorded the arrival the day before, that is, August 1, of the first party of settlers sent out by the Emigrant Aid Company of Massachusetts. Writing home on the seventh day, on the site which was to become Lawrence, one member of the party made the significant comment: Where our new city was to be found the log habitations of some four or five settlers of from four to six months standing. They were of that class which exists in the west, who are pioneers by profession, and who seek to be always in the advance guard of the army which invades the wilderness.⁶

The conflicts over priority of claims to the townsite were eventually settled by a compromise in which 100 of the 220 shares were assigned to the four prior claimants.⁷

THE COLONISTS; INTERNAL CONFLICT, AND UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT LAND TITLE

The Emigrant Aid Company's ideas about pioneer housing were brought out sharply when plans went wrong. The company had supplied tents, but only for temporary shelter:

We are somewhat surprised to find that *even those who first went out* are still living in tents—those tents were furnished . . . but temporarily only, until they [the colonists] could deliberately cast about, select their site & put up, for the time being a log hut, or other comfortable tenement, when they [the tents] were to be turned over to the next comers, for similar purposes, and afterwards to others, & so on, as long as they might be needed. It appears to me that they [the colonists] have committed some little oversight in waiting so long for lumber, with a full knowledge that winter was approaching in consequence that they must be subjected to some inconvenience, and the Parties that followed & are yet to go, may endure some hardships.⁸

This was the smug and self-righteous attitude taken by a company official, but the comforts of Boston were so remote from the realities of the Kansas situation. A letter writer at the site of Lawrence, August 17, reported that already "many" of the first New England

5. New York *Daily Tribune*, August 15, 1854.

6. "Charleston" letter No. 4 from Kansas, Boston *Journal*, August 29, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks" (in library of the Kansas State Historical Society), v. 1, p. 106. S. F. Tappan wrote, October 24, that there were two cabins "upon what is now considered the city site, two miles square," when the New England party arrived August 1.—Kansas City *Enterprise*, October 28, 1854, "Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, p. 208. J. Savage's "Recollections of 1854," reduced the rival cabins to one, *Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, July 14, 1870. The differences in figures may be explained in part by the fact that the townsite boundaries were not surveyed, or cabins may not have been completed by all claimants. Tappan's letter indicated a shifting concept of the size and location of the city site.

7. Kansas *Free State*, April 7, 1855.

8. Thomas H. Webb to S. C. Pomeroy, November 6, 1854.—New England Emigrant Aid Company "Papers," letter press book, Kansas State Historical Society.

party "had removed to their new estates, and, pitching tents, began in right good earnest their frontier life, by constructing log houses." The word "many" as used here was figurative rather than numerical, however, because the party consisted of not more than 29, and "several" of them had already returned to New England.⁹ Another letter, date lined St. Louis, August 12, said: "The pioneer party are generally dissatisfied, and about half of them have already left, and more would leave, in my opinion, very soon, had they the means to get away."¹⁰ Still another was more specific about the reasons alleged: "More than half of the Massachusetts company have returned and more will do so, unless the company make arrangements for their comfort, as they promised to do."¹¹ Thus, by any calculation the number was small who went out to their estates and built log houses; a total of 29, with less than half staying, meant possibly fewer than 10 or 12 men.

Before the historian can deal intelligently with the housing problems, it is necessary to describe certain facts that contribute toward a reconstruction of the situation under which individuals made their choices. The Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, August 11, 1854, reported the return of Charles H. Branscomb, the man who acted as conductor of the first party to Kansas, and the story that followed this announcement was apparently based upon an interview or upon his authority. In this context the following paragraph is important:

A meeting of the pioneer party of emigrants to Kansas, was held at their camping ground, seven miles beyond the Wakarusa river, on the 1st inst., at which, after a full discussion as to the advantages and capacities of the encampment for a future town site, it was voted to make a stand at that place, and to proceed to make claims upon the land, with the understanding that the emigrant company at home would make the spot thus selected the base of their future operations, and would forthwith, or at as early a day as possible, forward men and money to carry out their grand enterprise. The party was organized by the choice of the necessary officers, and it was voted to commence making claims to be distributed by lot on the morrow [August 2, 1854].¹²

This account did not specify exactly what units of land were being distributed by lot, whether town or farm land. An account of September 24, signed "J. B.," however, did throw further light upon the situation. Most of the second pioneer party, of about 135, including women and children, arrived at Kansas City, September 6,

9. *Boston Journal*, August 30, 1854, letter signed "Charleston."—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, p. 107. Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1854," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 12, pp. 115-155, is the most reliable study of the several parties.

10. *Boston Daily Bee*, August 19, 1854—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, p. 96.

11. *Boston Sunday News*, September 10, 1854—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, p. 123.

12. *Springfield Daily Republican*, August 11, 1854—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, p. 86.

and at the townsite of Lawrence between September 9 and 15. A controversy between the two pioneer parties had developed, in which the second challenged the monopoly over land claimed by the first. The first party was charged with holding claims, not only for themselves, but for their friends who were to follow. Being more numerous, the second party compelled the first party to disgorge under threat of setting up a rival town. The euphemistic account of the episode as reported for Eastern publicity follows:

A council of the two parties being called, a committee was appointed to devise some plan by which both parties might form one association, with equal advantages and privileges. This point on the Kansas river is undoubtedly the most favorable for a town or city location that can be found in this part of the territory, but was, together with adjoining lands, in the possession of, or claimed by members of the first party. The second party, having the population and funds to establish a town of some note, beside two steam saw mills to erect, could not consent to give all to this point, thus enriching the first party; themselves remaining as "outsiders" merely, but would sooner locate at some place less favorable even. But this difficulty was happily obviated, by the report of the Committee, which was unanimously agreed to, viz: The old party to throw up all claims, and to receive compensation for their time and improvements. Then, after reserving a city plot $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles on the river, east and west, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ from the river south, the company were to proceed in surveying farm lots one half mile square, equal to the number of claimants in both parties. The choice of these lots to be sold to the highest bidder; sufficient time being given for payment, to enable all to bid, whether rich or poor. Besides the farm lots, each person is to receive an equal share in the city property when surveyed. The bids for choice were from \$1, (the lowest,) to \$327, which was I believe the highest—the whole amounting to over \$5000. Meantime, the parties formed an Association, adopted a Constitution, and elected officers. . . .

The association mentioned above was the second squatters association, or, as it was now called, "The Lawrence Association," formed by the Emigrant Aid Company colonists. It had the appearance of a general squatters association rather than a town company. Charles Robinson was elected president of this Lawrence Association.¹³

The "Recollections of 1854" of Joseph Savage, published in 1870, described the formation of the Lawrence Association September 18, adding explanations that were not explicit in the constitution:

Seventy-nine members were that day enrolled on the books of the Lawrence association, as entitled to equal shares in the lots of the city. Anyone present that day could, by registering his name, have become a member of the association, and our titles to city lots still date back to this time.

After that time no one could become a member without buying his right, or being voted into the association as a member.

13. *Boston Journal*, October 6, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, p. 158.

Savage described also the auction of the choice farm claims on September 21, 56 of them being sold, after which there were no further bids. Some ignored the regulations and took possession of claims. Later it turned out that none of the bid money was ever collected. On the same day, September 21, A. D. Searl was elected surveyor, and work was begun under his direction the next day, surveying farm claim boundaries with Main street (Massachusetts street) as the base meridian.¹⁴

The manuscript minutes, kept by John Christie Archibald, of the Common Council of Lawrence, September 22 to October 21, 1854, have been preserved, with a title page "Record of the Pioneers of the City of Lawrence."¹⁵ On October 16 the decision was reached that persons who had left the territory were entitled to city lots only if they returned for the territorial election for delegate to congress. On the following day, October 17, the committee on drawing of lots was selected and the list of names of persons entitled to participate was approved. Twelve lots were awarded to the first pioneer party, and the committee on adjustments between the first and second pioneer parties made awards to 14 persons. From the context of the secretary's minutes, the impression is left that the proceedings applied only to city property. In any case, if any confirmation were needed, this record emphasizes the demoralizing effect of this situation upon construction of shelters against the winter which was already closing in upon the new settlement.

The third party of colonists, upward of 200, arrived in Kansas City, October 7, 1854. They were highly dissatisfied at difficulties encountered en route, at the lack of preparations to accommodate them at Kansas City, and at the news that they could not share equally with the first two parties in the Lawrence Association. Only about one third of this party established themselves in Kansas.¹⁶ S. F. Tappan wrote, October 14:

The city is designed to be two miles square, divided off into city lots of $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre each. After land has been reserved for public buildings, and other public purposes, something over 9000 lots will remain for distribution. The Emigrant Aid Co. are to have $\frac{1}{4}$ of the lots, $\frac{1}{4}$ are in the hands of a Board of Trustees, to be given away to persons that will build upon them within a year. Each member of the last party [third] is to receive two lots. Each member of the two first parties receives about thirty lots. Most if not all of the members of the three parties, have taken up farm claims containing 160 acres within ten miles of this city.¹⁷

14. Joseph Savage, "Recollections of 1854," *loc. cit.*, July 14, 21, 1870.

15. This material was acquired by the library of the University of Kansas, in 1953, from a granddaughter living at Benson, Vt.

16. Louise Barry, *loc. cit.*, pp. 137-139.

17. Boston *Atlas*, November 1, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 2, p. 1.

On the basis of this, the third agreement about distribution of land, the drawing of city lots was held October 17, 1854.¹⁸

The fourth party of some 230 selected a site on Rock creek, in present Pottawatomie county for a new settlement, but the project failed. The fifth party arrived in Kansas City, November 19, and were accommodated in Kansas City and Parkville while a committee undertook to find a location. Apparently the members dispersed widely. The sixth party of 30 persons arrived in Lawrence in installments early in December, where they constructed living quarters. Several of these participated in founding Topeka.¹⁹

Even at the expense of some duplication of information it may be profitable to narrate the land distribution story from the E. D. Ladd letters, because they provide continuity by one person, which is a variant from the others. The letter of September 19 described the adoption of the constitution and government of the "Lawrence Association of Kansas Territory," September 18, 19, and the merging of the first two companies:

The claims which had been made were to be surrendered, including a large number on fictitious names for the benefit of those who should follow, and the choice of them was to be sold at public auction, the proceeds to go into the city treasury. The members of the united party are to share equally in the city lots.

The city, extending two miles along the river, and one and one half miles deep, three square miles, was to be divided equally, in addition to their farm lots. The sale held that day, September 19, yielded \$5,043, according to Ladd's figures, the first choice selling for \$252.50; the second for \$180; the 11th for \$327, the highest bid of the sale; the 17th for \$165; but when the 57th was offered no bids were made and the sale was closed.²⁰

In his letter of October 4, Ladd explained the city lot distribution as provided by a meeting of the Lawrence Association the previous evening. The estimate had been made that of the three sections of land, 1,920 acres, divided into city blocks and streets, the streets would occupy 604 acres, leaving 1,316 acres of lots. If the lots were 50 x 125 feet, there would be 9,212 of them. One fourth of the lots were voted to the Emigrant Aid Company, which expected to sell them at an average price of \$50 per lot, or \$100,000. One tenth of the remaining lots, or 99 acres, were assigned for city purposes, such as schools and three parks, one of which was to include 43 acres.

18. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 315.

19. Louise Barry, *loc. cit.*, pp. 145-155.

20. *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, October 4, 1854. A microfilm copy of these letters was acquired by the Kansas Territorial Centennial Committee from the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Some other accounts give this sale date as September 21.

Six hundred lots were set aside for donations to those who would improve them as specified by the city council. The remainder, 5,621 lots, were to be divided equally among about 90 men, or an average of 62½ lots (nine acres) each. The distribution, including those to the Emigrant Aid Company, was to be made according to three or four grades of desirability. Dissatisfaction was expressed that the number of donation lots was too small, but individuals were understood to be willing to contribute additions to that class.²¹

Again on October 17 another change was made in the distribution plan: "Every alternate lot on the city plat is drawn for the members of the Association, leaving the balance alternately for the E. A. Co., and for gratuitous distribution. The first drawal, of one lot each in the first class took place a few days since [October 17], for the purpose of giving members a chance to build on their own lots."

The second drawing of lots occurred just prior to the territorial delegate election of November 29 and the exodus of the next day. Some 450 lots were then distributed to members, which, at the same time furnished for gratuitous distribution one half that number. Thus step by step distribution was to be effected as the survey of the city site progressed.²²

Thus far the controversies described have been those within the New England Company group. The controversy with the four original claimants to the townsite was settled in April, 1855, by dividing the townsite into 220 shares; 100 divided equally among the four claimants, 110 held by the Lawrence Town Association, and 10 held by the Emigrant Aid Company.²³ The *Kansas Free State* editorial, April 30, 1855, reported: "The shares have been made up and drawn so that all can see at once where their lots lie." Furthermore, the editor remarked anyone could now improve, sell, or give away his lot. Thus one of the blights of uncertainty of which Editor Miller had complained, March 17, was removed. Also, he urged lot holders to adopt a liberal policy in order to hasten the development of the town. Lest it appear that this may have been only a reflection of the Josiah Miller and R. G. Elliot dissonance, a *Herald of Freedom* report of two days earlier pointed out much the same interpretation of the new agreement that the one fourth of the lots originally set aside for distribution to persons who would agree to build within 18 months structures costing \$300 to \$3,000, had been eliminated; and also,

21. *Ibid.*, October 19, 1854.

22. E. D. Ladd letter, November 30, 1854, *ibid.*, December 17, 1854.

23. *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, April 7, 30, 1855.

that "for the future those wanting lots must buy them of the claimants. The site is owned by about one hundred and twenty persons, each holding from ten to two hundred lots."

EMERGENCY SHELTERS

As the present study is concerned with the history of housing rather than land tenure, only enough of the land question is included here as seemed essential to indicate clearly the atmosphere of uncertainty, and its duration, within which an individual settler found it necessary to decide where, when, and how, if at all, he would spend his limited fund of money and labor in providing shelter. Of course, a large portion, but the exact figures are not available, abandoned Kansas altogether.²⁴

The procedure of forcing the first party to disgorge must have disrupted housing plans, as well as have had a demoralizing effect upon those more self-reliant members of the first party who supposedly had built, or who were building, log cabins on their farm claims. Information is lacking, however, about who acquired such improvements, or about whether the original squatters were actually compensated. In view of the fact that bid money was not collected after the auction, there would seem to be a reasonable doubt about such payments. A letter writer, as of September 19, reported that "all here are still living in tents. . . ." In this quotation, the language is not clear whether the author meant "all here" of the party in Kansas, or "all here" on the townsite as distinct from those who might be living on farm claims. But, so far as housing on the townsite was concerned, E. D. Ladd described the next major makeshift resorted to by the company:

We have just finished [September 19] a large house which will be opened Monday next [September 25] as a boarding house; board for members is \$2.50 per week. It is constructed of poles, the roof thatched with prairie grass, and the sides [inside?] and ends covered with cotton cloth. We are constructing another similar to it for the occupation of the pioneer party, as they must surrender their tents on the arrival of the large party which is to leave Boston on the 26th inst.²⁵

These thatched tents or houses of the hen-coop type, were made by pinning together poles about 20 feet long, raised to make an "A," and along the sloping sides were nailed horizontal ribs. Tall grass was mowed for thatching and was held in place by wire.²⁶ The first of

24. Louise Barry's careful research affords the best information available.

25. *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, October 4, 1854; and *Boston Atlas*, October 14, 1854, from the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*. The letter was dated September 19, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, p. 162.

26. J. Savage, "Recollections of 1854," No. 4, *loc. cit.*, July 14, 1870.

these was known as the Pioneer Boarding House, and the second as the Church or Meeting House, 20 by 48 feet,²⁷ but both were used for general shelter and sleeping quarters. Other structures, not clearly described, were referred to in some narratives.

Ladd's description provides some basis for difference in interpretation of the form of the Pioneer Boarding House. The reference to the sides being covered with cloth, might appear to mean vertical sides, with the thatched roof set upon these walls. Two other accounts are quite explicit, that of Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols (contemporary) quoted later, and that of Savage written in 1870, that the structure was "A" shaped and formed by poles extending from the ground to the point of the roof. The suggestion is made above in brackets, therefore, that the word sides may have referred to an inside lining of cloth.

The species of trees available for building material in the vicinity of the proposed town, according to John Doy, were "chiefly oak, black-walnut and cotton wood."²⁸ To cut this timber for frame houses, the company had purchased a sawmill, to be shipped from Rochester, N. Y. One of the colonists wrote, September 17, that on Monday they would go to work on the sawmill and expected to have it running in 30 days.²⁹ On the basis of this program, settlers had been assured of lumber for cabins. On the day of the auction of farm claims, September 21, this pledge was repeated publicly by Pomeroy, and a price of \$10 per thousand feet was quoted as an assurance to prospective bidders.³⁰ Delivery of the sawmill was delayed, however, and the company bought an inferior used sawmill in Missouri. Early in October, Charles Robinson was quoted as expecting to have it in operation within three weeks. The Delaware Indians on the opposite side of the river had promised a supply of logs, and thus the settlers were supposed to have been assured of frame houses instead of log cabins. The informant doubted whether the sawmill would be in operation before winter set in.³¹ Incidentally, these reports represented developments just prior to the third agreement on land distribution and the drawing of lots October 17, which, as Ladd pointed out, made it possible, for the first time, for members to build shelters on their own lots. The three parties

27. *The Independent*, New York, November 16, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 2, p. 13.

28. *Boston Puritan Recorder*, September 14, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, p. 128.

29. *Boston Daily Evening Traveller*, October 24, 1854, from the Troy (N. Y.) *Daily Traveller*.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, p. 174.

30. J. Savage, *loc. cit.*, July 21, 1870.

31. *Boston Evening Traveller*, October 19, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, p. 167.

sent out to Lawrence by this time, if all had remained, would have numbered about 320 men, women, and children.

As of October 24, S. F. Tappan wrote that each member had drawn lots a short time since, and commenced the erection of dwellings: "The first frame house was erected a short time since. It is owned by Rev. S. Y. Lum. Several log cabins are springing into existence. People are busily employed on hewing timber for frame houses. . . ." Tappan thought that the sawmill, with a daily capacity of 4,000 feet of lumber would be in operation in about two weeks.³² The term frame house was used loosely in this instance and not in the professional architectural sense. Possibly, if not probably, some of the first of these frames had been hand hewn with the intention of covering the frame with rough sawed lumber, but the failure of the sawmill to materialize and the compulsion of cold weather forced the substitution of other material. In the Lum house, the framing timbers were hand hewn poles, to which horizontal cross pieces were nailed, and to them in turn, split oak shakes about four feet in length were nailed. The first cabins of shakes, but on the hen-coop plan similar to the thatched houses built by the company, only smaller, were erected supposedly about the time of the Lum house, or just a little earlier. Instead of being covered with thatch, the sloping walls were covered with shakes.³³ Doors were made of pole frames covered with cotton cloth. In some cases the roofs were made of cotton cloth, sometimes coated with tar.

As winter closed in, and temperatures dropped, protection against the wind and cold had to be made more effective. Apparently step by step with the increasing rigors of winter, but always short of adequacy, emergency experiments in weatherproofing were devised to meet the challenge. The two big company shelters, the Pioneer Boarding House, and the Meeting House, were protected at the gable ends by laying up sod, the only opening left being a door and a window, both covered with cloth. The sloping thatched roof (sides) of these "A" shaped structures were covered as a whole or in part (accounts differ) with sod; later with tarred cloth.

On November 2, Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, a woman's rights advocate of some prominence, wrote from Lawrence:

I will not paint you the thatched cottages mingled with white tents and log huts—for *framed* houses of the worthy *citizens* are yet to be built. I will not speak of the house of religious worship, thatched from ridge-pole to base with prairie grass, nor of the two "stores" where almost everything but ardent spirits

32. Kansas City *Enterprise*, October 28, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, p. 208.

33. *Ibid.*; J. Savage, "Recollections," *loc. cit.*, August 18, 1870.

is to be had. I might tell you of steam saw and grist mills nearly ready for use, and the large hotel, whose foundations are being laid; of streets staked out; of public squares, college and church grounds.⁸⁴

The fall and early winter of 1854-1855 had been dry and mild, but on November 11, a snow storm and cold wave hit Lawrence suddenly. In his letter of that date, Ladd criticized sharply the neglect of housing during the favorable weather. His little group had built a log cabin, 12 x 14 feet, and heated it with a stove brought from Wisconsin. But many lived in tents without heat:

Our city presents quite a gothic appearance in the style of its residences. Besides the tents, there are a number of houses of the same form, varying in size, covered with *boards*, as they are called here, that is, shingles, three to three and a half feet long, unshaved; then we have others of the same tent form, made of poles set in the ground, the tops meeting overhead and ribs nailed on horizontally, in the same manner as those covered with *boards*, and then thatched with prairie grass; then again we have some in the usual form of a house, thatched all over, with cotton cloth, door and window, or without window, as the door permits the admission of sufficient light for ordinary purposes to the single-storied, single-roomed edifice. Before my window is a tent, with poles set over it in the same form, thatched. [First baby born here.]

But to return to my description of tenements. There are some log houses roofed with cotton cloth, tarred and sprinkled with sand; and others again in the usual house form covered with the shingles or *boards* of which I spoke, put on in the usual form of siding. On the *gothic* houses they are put on "up and down."

All this variety illustrates the old adage that "Necessity is the mother of Invention." The only sawed board door in the city is in our house. We have as yet no lumber. Our Sawmill is not yet in operation, having been delayed by unforeseen difficulties. It will be running in about a week. This delay has been the occasion of a very great deal of inconvenience and suffering on the part of settlers.

Lumber cost, at Kansas City, \$55 per 1,000 feet, or delivered at \$75, but teams could not be spared to haul it, even if they were willing to pay the cost. The sawmill was to furnish lumber at \$15, or saw logs furnished privately at \$5 per 1,000 feet: "The boards will be used as they come from the saw. Timber is too scarce to build log houses of it."⁸⁵

On November 30, 1854, Ladd included a continuation of his architectural treatise: "The residences of our city, of which I gave you a partial description in my last, have, since that time, put on a new and strange appearance. Most of the tent-shaped buildings have a covering of turf, cut up in square pieces and laid on; the former con-

84. *Springfield Weekly Republican*, November 18, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 2, p. 14.

85. *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, November 27, 1854.

dition not being considered a sufficient protection against the cold of winter.”³⁶

Several descriptions of Lawrence about December 1, 1854, have been written. John Doy wrote on that date that 33 houses had recently been erected, and that the sawmill was “actually running”:

Our houses are built in all styles. We have some good houses built of framed sticks, covered with oak boards four feet long; some are grass covered. We also have sod houses and log houses; others are willow built and mud covered; again, canvass is used, covered and tarred. We have, too, very substantial stone buildings.³⁷

One reason for this date, December 1, being the basis of several descriptions was that many had determined to return to the East, some with the intention of bringing their families in the spring. But political considerations had intervened. The first election to be held in the territory was that of November 29, to elect a delegate to congress. The city of Lawrence put political pressure upon its members by enacting an ordinance declaring forfeit all interest in the city of anyone leaving prior to the election. November 30 became therefore the day of exodus, and with the arrival of these returned pioneers to their homes in the East, newspaper interviews and settlers’ stories filled the papers. Doy pointed out the reason for the ordinance and its relation to the exodus. Several of these descriptions ought to be printed, because each of them differs in describing the same thing, or aspects of the same thing, and apparently there were individual differences in the structures themselves as well as continuous changes in weatherproofing made in the hope of more effectively shutting out the cold.

A. O. Carpenter, a son of Mrs. Nichols, wrote home to Vermont:

Many build in a shape similar to hencoops; first by erecting poles like the rafters of a building, and then thatching them with prairie hay, or covering them with split oak shingles. But these are very cold tenements, for the wind blows straight through the thatch, and also through the cracks of the shingles, for they do not lay very even. We have a meeting-house, and eating tent, and two other buildings, built in the thatched fashion, by the Emigrant Aid Co., but they are all partly sodded up since the last cold snap.³⁸

About the time of Mrs. Nichols’ return to “civilization” with the December 1 exodus, she wrote a similar description, but included some rather significant variations:

36. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1854.

37. New York *Tribune*, December 14, 1854, letter dated December 1, 1854.—“Webb Scrapbooks,” v. 2, p. 52. This letter was printed in the second evening edition of the *Tribune* (University of Kansas file), but not in the morning edition (Kansas State Historical Society file).

38. Brattleboro (Vt.) *Eagle*, December 29, 1854.—“Webb Scrapbooks,” v. 2, p. 124.

When I arrived here, like all the new comers, I was taken to a lodging-house and supplied with plenty of prairie hay for a bed; and having come without bedding—in my ignorance of the customs of the country—it was kindly loaned me by a member of the city association. This lodging-house is made of poles or small timbers, and in form and size reminds one of the stray[w] roof of a huge warehouse. This pole-roof is thatched upon the outward side with prairie hay, and is all hay and poles to the view inside. Cotton cloth covers the gable ends, which have doors of the same material, nailed to pole frames. Since the weather has grown cooler, and the wind whistled uncomfortably through the hay roof, a laying of the dry, tough prairie sod has been put over the whole building, and windows introduced into one end as a substitute for the darkened cloth gables.

Later in her long story, Mrs. Nichols commented shrewdly:

Many have been sadly disappointed, not with the country, but in the means necessary to avail themselves of its advantages. Great improvement has been made in the appearance and the comforts of the place in the last two weeks. Some twenty tenements have been finished, or nearly so, in that time. Two thirds of these are of logs and frames, the clapboards and shingles being split, or riven oak—the others of sod, with thatched roofs, and lined to some extent with cotton cloth. The latter are the warmest and most comfortable to be had, till the saw-mill shall give boards that can be fitted and keep out the wind, as crooked split ones cannot. By the way, this saw-mill, whose long, though necessarily delayed operation has been the cause of more discomfort and vexation than anything else, has been fixed up and commenced regular work.

In this blunt comment on the sawmill, Mrs. Nichols was not indulging in damning the Emigrant Aid Company, because she closed with this tribute:

I have been very kindly treated by the people here, and found the company's agents sympathizing and ready to share their accommodations and extend them as far as possible with their sparse materials, for the comfort of the emigrants.³⁹

Furthermore, Mrs. Nichols vented her wrath upon those young men with

less power of self-protection than the prairie mouse, having spent a single night in the settlement, returned to 'print it in the papers.' There was no need of suffering to any on the ground when I left, the 1st December, and I learn from letters just received from my sons that buildings have rapidly multiplied since I left.⁴⁰

The Lawrence sod house needs a detailed description by a builder of that type of structure. A. O. Carpenter's letter of December 3, from which one quotation has already been made, wrote:

Oh men of the East! who have often looked with contempt upon the mud cabins of the Irish railroad laborers, what would you say if you were to see

39. *Boston Evening Telegraph*, January 9, 1855, reprinted in the *Herald of Freedom*, February 24, 1855.

40. Springfield (Mass.) *Daily Republican*, January 8, 1855, letter dated January 5, 1855.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 2, p. 138.

your friends who may have come to Kansas. I, my brother, and another young man and his wife, all live in a *sod* house, 12 feet by 15.—There are several such houses, or shanties, in the city, and about one half of the others have been banked up several feet with sods. They are built in the following manner: the ground is marked out to the size you wish your cabin, and then proceed to dig up all the sods inside the foundation, and lay them upon the walls; when all are dug inside then did[g] outside, till the walls are laid up about five feet high, and two feet thick, then poles are procured and a roof put up, either two or four sides, and ribs or small poles are nailed once in a foot, and the whole is covered, first with prairie hay, and then with sods, with a skylight of cotton cloth at the top. These houses are the warmest of any description yet built.⁴¹

A substantial variant in sod house building procedure is described in the following, but it is evident that the technique was of a make-shift order, a spade rather than a plow being used to turn the sod:

In this city there are a few houses built of sods and sticks, which are the warmest places we can find on a cold windy day. The mode of building these sod cabins is very simple and cheap.* First select a spot where good sod can be obtained easily; then with an ax cut the turf into blocks two feet square; then take a spade, put it under the surface about five inches, lift it up, and place it as you would a stone in building stone fences. When the walls are high enough lay on the rafters in the usual form; then lay sticks across from one rafter to another, about twelve inches apart; on top of these throw some hay, and on the hay lay the sods. Cut in a door and window, and a stove will make a comfortable house for the winter. A house of this kind all completed has been purchased for eight dollars. Families have lived, and are living in such houses here in Kansas.—Some of the cabins have nothing but cotton cloth for roofs; and the last snow storm was very severe. The snow blew through the roofs of several of the cabins; and when the inmates awoke in the morning every thing was covered with snow in the house—a rather hard time for the women and children.⁴²

As the editor of the *Herald of Freedom* observed, January 13, 1855, the volume of cotton cloth sold indicated that it was used for purposes other than those customary in the East. Some purchasers were said to buy ten pieces at a time. References to cotton cloth appeared in several descriptions of emergency housing, not only as canvas tents, but as muslin to cover the gable ends of the Pioneer Boarding House, the Meeting House, windows, doors, and roofs. The article noted above indicated three major uses: (1) roofing, (2) inside finishing of walls, (3) doors. Until quite recently, the editor said, covering for doors was its principal use. As roofing, the muslin was coated with tar and a sprinkling of lime. As interior finishing, the purpose was only partly to improve appearances, that is, interior decoration, because if papered it was said to make a warm and comfortable ceiling or wall. The Missouri river towns

41. Brattleboro (Vt.) *Eagle*, December 29, 1854.—“Webb Scrapbooks,” v. 2, p. 124.

42. *Herald of Freedom*, February 10, 1855, letter to the editor.

must have carried a large stock of such material because river navigation was closed during the winter, and no complaints of shortage of muslin have been noted.

THE PASSING OF EMERGENCY SHELTERS

The passing of the emergency shelters came about in part from the casualties incident to their very character, and generally through replacement by more adequate structures. After a period of mild weather following the two-inch snow and cold wave of November 11, another cold wave hit Lawrence, January 21 and 22, 1855, with three or four inches of snow and near zero weather. Apparently the heating facilities were overtaxed, and about noon Dr. Robinson's office caught fire and burned: "It was built of sod and thatch, the latter a very combustible substance, hence the fire. One end of the tent was used as a school room." Mr. Fitch's free school had been in operation only a few days, having opened on January 16.⁴³

The same day the cry of fire aroused the town again. This time, the Pioneer Boarding House was involved, the first of the Emigrant Aid Company hen-coop structures. Because of the vagueness of the language, and the difficulties of interpretation, the exact words of the report are given:

The roof was covered with tarred cloth, and the conflagration spread almost instantly over the entire building. . . . Notwithstanding all the efforts to the contrary, the roof and a portion of the interior was consumed. The cook-house was demolished, which prevented the flames from extending to that portion of the structure used as a dining saloon.⁴⁴

The *Herald of Freedom*, and the *Kansas Free State* had not been clear about the exact dating of the two fires, but Ladd's letter of January 22 stated explicitly that both occurred that day. The source of the Robinson fire was described specifically: "The fire originated in the thatch around the stove pipe." Likewise, in the case of the Pioneer Boarding House: "It was covered with tarred cloth and took [fire] from the stove pipe. The whole of the second story with its contents was destroyed." Saved was "the boarding hall, covered with thatch, connected with the burning building by a cook house with canvass roof, and only some 12 or 15 feet from it. . . . Had the hall taken fire, another building of equal size, occupied by families, a few feet from the opposite end of it, must have been destroyed with it."⁴⁵

43. *Ibid.*, January 27, 1855; *Kansas Free State*, January 24, 1855.

44. *Herald of Freedom*, January 27, 1855.

45. *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, February 16, 1855.

NOTES ON THE J. E. RICE PEN SKETCHES OF LAWRENCE, KANSAS

J. E. Rice, the artist who drew the two pen sketches of Lawrence, reproduced here, came to Kansas with the first New England Emigrant Aid Company party in the spring of 1855, arriving about April 1. Beyond the fact that he was credited to Roxbury, Mass., as his point of origin, Louise Barry in her study of Emigrant Aid Company parties of 1855 (*Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 12, p. 233) did not find anything about him.

The history of the original pen sketches is not known, nor whether they have survived. They are represented only in reproductions, those nearest the originals being albumin process prints, from which both of the present pictures are made. The general view, "Lawrence, Kansas, A. D. 1854-5" as reproduced here was made under the supervision of Prof. Robert Taft, by the Photographic Bureau of the University of Kansas from a copy, size 20½ by 13¾ inches, owned by the Lawrence Public Library. The sketch of "Part of Lawrence, Kansas, 1855" is made by Wolfe's Camera and Photo Shops, Topeka, from the better of two copies, size 13¾ by 8¾ inches, owned by the Kansas State Historical Society. So far as known to the present writer, the latter sketch has not before been printed. The general view of Lawrence, however, has been reproduced in half-tone, 8 by 4 inches, in Richard Cordley's *History of Lawrence, Kansas*, published by E. F. Caldwell, at Lawrence, 1895, and again, from the same plate, by E. F. Caldwell, compiler and publisher, *A Souvenir History of Lawrence, Kansas*, 1898. All of these reproductions of the general view, including the present one, from the Lawrence Public Library copy of the albumin print, are modified from the original by the fact that the ferry at the foot of New Hampshire street was drawn in with black ink. In the original there is no indication that the ferry was shown at all.

The dates essential to a satisfactory interpretation of these sketches are wanting. When were the pen sketches drawn? When were the albumin prints made? According to Professor Taft, the albumin print process was used between about 1860 and 1885. According to these limiting dates, the present writer suggests that the Quarter-Centennial celebration of 1879 would have afforded a suitable occasion for such reproductions, but thus far the positive evidence is wanting. The critical question about these pen sketches, however, is the date and circumstances of the original drawings. Obviously, they could not have been done prior to Rice's arrival in Kansas, about April 1, 1855. There is no reason to believe that Rice identified the buildings. The first identifications appear to have been supplied when the albumin prints were made, and the Caldwell labels did not agree altogether with the earlier naming. On the Lawrence Public Library copy of the general view, No. 8 was called Charles Robinson's office, and No. 9 the Pioneer Boarding House. On the Caldwell reproductions, the identification of No. 9 was dropped out, and No. 8 was called the Pioneer Boarding House. The same doubt about accuracy of identification applies to the sketch of a part of Lawrence as relates to the Pioneer Boarding House, and the vertical side wall, shown so clearly there, adds to the doubt about the label. However, in showing vertical sides the artist might have erred, because fire had destroyed all or part of it. But, both Robinson's Office and the Pioneer Boarding House, or one unit of connected

structures, had burned January 22, 1855. It is not unreasonable to suspect that old settlers disagreed about these identifications. No. 2 was labeled the *Kansas Free State* office, but on the earlier reproduction, No. 17 was described as the old printing office of Miller and Elliott. The location of the *Kansas Free State* at No. 12 Massachusetts street, near the post office, was recorded by that paper July 2, 1855, but no mention has been found of when the structure labeled No. 2 in the sketch was built and the move made. Also, Paul R. Brooks moved his store to the post-office building May 25, 1855, according to an advertisement in the *Kansas Free State*, May 28. Furthermore, according to the same newspaper, June 4, 1855, the ferry commenced business about that week. A sketch drawn in April or May, 1855, would not have included it.

The conclusion is inescapable that the general view of Lawrence in the Rice pen sketches does not represent exactly the appearance of the town at any particular time, but combines in the same sketch, buildings of 1854 which no longer existed, with structures built during 1855. Although it is important not to take these details too literally, or too seriously, the pen sketches do appear to visualize reasonably well the general appearance of Lawrence and its buildings about April or May, 1855. The position of the artist would have been at the New England Emigrant Aid Company Hotel, the present Eldridge Hotel, at Seventh and Massachusetts streets, and the three streets shown, from left to right, are Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, the Pioneer Boarding House location being near the present Robinson Park at the river bridgehead.

Identifications of structures shown in the J. E. Rice pen sketch, "Lawrence, Kansas, A. D. 1854-5," from the Lawrence Public Library copy of the albumin print:

"LAWRENCE, KANSAS, A. D. 1854-5"

1. First house built in Lawrence.—P. R. Brooks' store and Commission House.
2. *Kansas Free State* Office.
3. *Herald of Freedom* Office; the first newspaper, on the site of Simpson's Bank.
4. Emigrant Aid Office.
5. P. R. Brooks' Store occupied in part by the first Post Office.—C. W. Babcock, Postmaster.
6. S. N. Simpson's Land and Lumber Office; also used for Emigrant Aid Office, 1st Sabbath School, 2 Secret Societies, Prayer Meetings, etc.
7. Hoyt's Residence.
8. Dr. C. (ex-Gov.) Robinson's Office.
9. First Hotel (Pioneer House, Litchfield & Burson [Burleigh], Proprietors).
10. J. G. Sands, Harness and Saddle repair shop.
11. Charles Stearns eating house.
12. First Church.—S. Y. Lum, Pastor.
13. Emigrant Aid Mill.
14. T. Sampson's Meat Market.
15. S. N. Simpson's Residence.
16. St. Nicholas House.—S. Fry, Prop'r.
17. Miller & Elliot's Old Printing Office.
18. S. & F. Kimball's Residence.
0. Ferry. Baldwin Bros. Props.

This is a printed legend at the bottom of the picture and not a part of the original albumin print. It is pasted on separately.



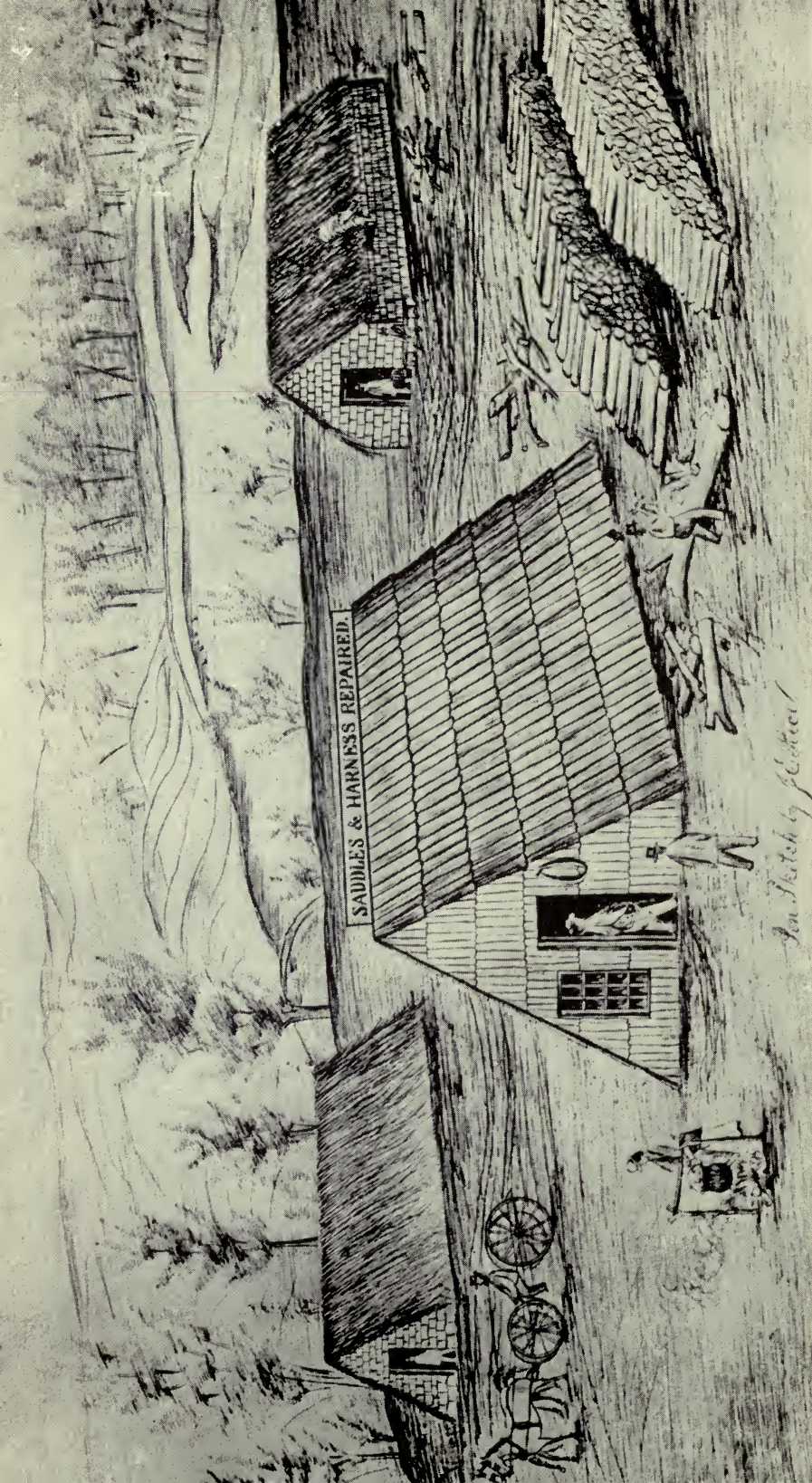
VERMONT ↗ STREET

LAWRENCE, KANSAS, 1854-1855

MASSACHUSETTS ↙ STREET

[The ferry is shown at the foot of New Hampshire Street, at the extreme right.]

*J.C. Allen
Coul. Saatchi*



THE FIRST CHURCH
S. Y. Lum, Pastor

PART OF LAWRENCE, KANSAS, 1855
Saddle and Harness Repair Shop
J. G. Sands, Proprietor

THE FIRST HOTEL (Pioneer House)
Litchfield & Burleigh, Props.

The *Herald of Freedom* thought the boarding house would be in operation again within a few days. This leaves some question about just how much was destroyed, but also it suggests that the structure had already undergone a transformation not entered into the previous record. First, it had been thatched, then sod covered, and now it was described as roofed with tarred cloth, which, like the thatch was "a very combustible substance." In any case, the structure does not appear to have been rebuilt.

On March 31, 1855, the *Herald of Freedom* expressed regrets at the poor accommodations that must be offered newcomers, but assured them that

Those who have just come among us, can form but an ill conception, from what they experience, of the discomforts experienced by the pioneers who arrived here late last autumn, without shelter of any kind, else in tents or huts of ruder construction than any now visible, with the severities of the prairie winter before them.

Obviously, there was an important truth in this effort at optimism, but also, there were still visible evidences of that original crudeness of shelters. The same paper recorded, April 7, that:

The large cabin, technically known as the "meeting house," in this place, has been lined in the inside with cloth, and put in a very good condition for the reception and lodging of those who come into the Territory with no other means of shelter. With blankets and buffalo robes, which must be supplied by the lodgers, a person can make himself very comfortable for a time. . . .

Two weeks later Editor Brown felt impelled to issue a warning about the original emergency shelters still visible. There had been no spring rains, and "none of any account has fallen in the Territory since May last," but he predicted that when the rain did come it would pour, and "Those occupying mud and straw-thatched cabins should take care to be out of them before a heavy rain falls." The following week another fire was reported, burning an unoccupied thatched cabin. September 15, the *Herald of Freedom* recorded the burning, two days earlier, of the Meeting House. This was the last of the major examples of the original emergency architecture. Editor Brown had hoped that some one would take a daguerreotype of this "singular structure," but it had not been done, and it was now too late:

We are conscious that many who shared the hospitality afforded by that tenement, cursed it and its originators, but it always looked to us like a child cursing its parent. Rude and uncouth as was that hay-thatched and partly-mud-covered hovel, it shut out the storm to a great extent when there was no other place to resort to for shelter. Houses, there were none.

The Annual Meeting

THE 78th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 20, 1953.

The meeting of the directors was called to order by President Robert Taft at 10 A. M. First business was the reading of the annual report by the secretary:

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 20, 1953

At the conclusion of last year's meeting, the newly elected president, Robert Taft, reappointed John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard to the executive committee. The members holding over were Charles M. Correll, Robert C. Rankin, and Wilford Riegle.

Five members of the Society's board of directors died during the past year: Dr. Edward Bumgardner, Lawrence; John Redmond, Burlington; W. E. Stanley, Wichita; W. F. Thompson, Topeka; and Miss Lorraine E. Wooster, Salina. Stanley served as president of the Society in 1943. All were long-time friends and members of the Society, and their passing is recorded with sincere regret.

Robert F. Beine, a member of the Society's staff for nearly ten years, died July 4, 1953, after an illness of several weeks. He was employed in the newspaper and census divisions during his entire period of service, and was a capable and conscientious worker.

On September 12 your secretary accepted for the State Historical Society a plaque placed near Fairport, in northwest Russell county, to commemorate the discovery of oil in the Russell area. The monument is located at the site of the Carrie Oswald Well No. 1. Oil was discovered there in 1923 and the well is still producing.

THE TERRITORIAL CENTENNIAL

Next year, 1954, marks the 100th anniversary of the opening of Kansas territory to white settlement. In order that Kansans might properly celebrate the occasion, Governor Arn appointed a Kansas Territorial Centennial Committee to make recommendations and to coordinate plans for state-wide observances. Dr. Robert Taft of Lawrence, president of the Historical Society, was named chairman of the committee, and Charles M. Correll of Manhattan, a former president and now a member of the Society's executive committee, was named vice-chairman. Twenty-five other Kansans, including your secretary, were also appointed. Of these nearly half are members of the Historical Society.

The Society will, of course, cooperate to the utmost to make the centennial year a success. All members of the staff will assist with research upon request of local groups, and will aid the governor's committee in any project it undertakes. The centennial committee's operating fund of \$10,000, appropriated by the 1953 Kansas legislature, is being administered through the Society as far as bookkeeping and other paper work are concerned. Other Society services will be offered as needed, and as time and other duties permit.

As a member of Governor Arn's special commission on scenic, historic, and

recreational points of interest, your secretary has participated in its discussions, and particularly in planning for additional historical markers in Kansas. The State Highway Commission, which bore the cost of the wooden markers erected in 1940-1941, is continuing its co-operation by gradually replacing them with more durable and attractive metal markers. Revision of text, when necessary, is done by the Historical Society.

Because this program is one of replacement only, and no additional markers can be erected at this time, it became necessary to devise a simple and speedy way to mark more of the state's historic sites in time for visitors during the centennial year. It was decided to mark sites of general interest by means of directional signs, also furnished by the Highway Commission, with texts by the Historical Society. The markers name the site and indicate its direction and distance from the highway. Sites thus marked must be on all-weather roads, and at the sites there must be something for travelers to see. Several directional signs of this type are already in place, and the program is expected to continue until all major accessible historic sites are adequately marked.

APPROPRIATIONS

For the biennium beginning July 1 the 1953 Kansas legislature granted annual increases of \$500 each in the Society's contingent fund, the fund for maintenance of the Memorial building, and the fund for book purchases. An appropriation of \$750 was received for roof repairs, and \$650 was added to a grant by the previous legislature for modernization of the main electrical switch-board.

Budget requests of \$26,000 for electrical repairs and \$48,000 for replacement of the old glass stack floors with steel were denied. As mentioned in last year's report, the glass floors have deteriorated to the danger point and should be replaced before a serious accident occurs. The same is true of the electrical wiring in the building. These requests must therefore be submitted again when the next legislature meets. In addition, it probably will be necessary to ask a substantial sum for plumbing repairs, since water lines in many places are badly corroded and leaks and broken joints are becoming more and more frequent.

No new appropriation was asked for continuing the *Annals of Kansas*, since funds on hand will be sufficient to complete the editorial work on this project. However, an appropriation of \$20,000 was received for publishing the first volume of a two-volume set.

By action of the newly created state finance council, salary increases for most of the staff amounting to about five per cent were granted.

At the Shawnee Mission in Kansas City, the contingent fund was increased \$500 a year and funds were allocated for waterproofing and interior painting of the East building and construction of a sewer line.

A contingent fund of \$1,500 a year was authorized for the Kaw Mission at Council Grove and a similar fund of \$750 per year was approved for the First Capitol, Fort Riley, in addition to the regular civil service salaries of the custodians. An appropriation of \$1,000 was also made for repairs and improvements to the First Capitol and the caretaker's cottage.

LIBRARY

During the year 3,217 persons did research in the library. This was about 250 more than the previous year. Of these, 1,259 worked on Kansas subjects, 1,212 on genealogy, and 846 on general subjects. Many inquiries were answered

by letter, and 144 packages on Kansas subjects were sent out from the loan file. A total of 5,331 clippings were mounted, and 1,504 pages from early clipping volumes were remounted. Seven daily newspapers were read and clipped regularly, and 2,200 other single issues of newspapers were read.

Gifts were received from the Children of American Colonists, Daughters of American Colonists, Daughters of the American Revolution, the Woman's Kansas Day Club, and the Topeka Public Library. A valuable collection of pictures, clippings, pamphlets, and letters relating to the activities of A. K. Longren, Topeka pioneer airplane builder, was given by E. J. Longren of Topeka. Several volumes of scrapbooks of Charles B. Driscoll were received from Bernard D. Blood of New York City, and from the Wichita Public Library. The Dolly Curtis Gann estate, through Mrs. Webster Knight, II, of Providence, R. I., gave 13 volumes of scrapbooks on Charles Curtis and his family. Emory Lindquist, now of Wichita, gave several books and pamphlets pertaining to Lindsborg and Bethany College. A file of *Peterson's Magazine* was given by Mrs. Henry Blake of Topeka. Several Kansas books and genealogies were also given by individuals.

Microfilm copies of the following are now available in the library: *The Smasher's Mail*, Topeka, March-December, 1901, a newspaper edited by Carry A. Nation; Crevecoeur, Ferdinand F., "Old Settlers' Tales—Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Early Settlement and Settlers of Northeastern Pottawatomie and Southwestern Nemaha Counties, Kansas, From Earliest Settlement to the Year 1877," and Emporia chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, "Tombstone Inscriptions of Lyon County, Vol. 2."

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the year 578 pictures were added to the picture collection. Among those received were an oil painting of Charles Curtis from the Dolly Curtis Gann estate; a painting of Col. Andrew S. Rowan, who carried the message to Garcia, from the Woman's Kansas Day Club; a collection of 87 picture post cards, largely scenes of Anthony, Kan., from Mrs. Neal D. Jordan; a collection of pictures of Lindsborg and Bethany College from Emory Lindquist, and copies of 45 pictures of early Sheridan county scenes, the originals lent by Jesse Pratt of Studley.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

The following public records were transferred during the year to the archives division:

Source	Title	Dates	Quantity
Agriculture, Board of...	Statistical Rolls of Counties	1946	1,545 vols.
	Statistical Rolls of Cities..	1952	1,565 vols.
Auditor's Office	Fiscal Reports from Directors and Wardens of State Penitentiary	1872-1878	6 vols.
	Correspondence: School		
	Indemnity Lands	1878-1889	1 vol.
	Correspondence: Surveyor General for Kansas and Nebraska	1855, 1856 1868, 1869	2 pkgs.

<i>Source</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Auditor's Office	Account Books: Surveyor General for Kansas and Nebraska	1854-1857	2 vols.
	Railroad Assessments (Counties)	1869, 1870	1 vol.
	Transcript of Proceedings on Improvement of Fort- to-Fort Highway, Leav- enworth and Wyandotte Counties	1922	1 vol.
Budget Director and Accountant	Correspondence	1897-1899	1 vol.
Fire Marshal	Correspondence Files	1926-1945	1 box
Governor's Office	Correspondence Files	1951	7 transfer cases
Insurance Department . .	* Annual Statements	1946	53 vols.
	* Admission Statements . .	1946	1 vol.
Penitentiary	Ledger Book	1878-1885	1 vol.
Traveling Libraries Commission	Correspondence: Library Rehabilitation Committee, 1951, 1952		1 box

Annual reports were received from the State Bank Commissioner, the Corporation Commission, the State Printer, and the Labor Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953. Copies of the Eisenhower "Inaugural Prayer" and of House Concurrent Resolution No. 5 were received from the legislature.

When Johnson county officials moved into a new courthouse last winter, the Society co-operated with them by removing many of the important older records for screening and inventorying. Ninety-five bound volumes and several boxes containing records of the probate court, district court, county clerk, county treasurer, and register of deeds were brought to Topeka. Present plans call for microfilming the bulk of these county archives and disposing of much of the original material.

The Topeka office of the United States Weather Bureau transferred 97 volumes of daily weather maps and forecasts, dating from 1900 to 1948.

All state records received by the Society during the year have been screened and arranged in the archives stacks.

In addition to work done on recent records, some progress has been made in organizing the tremendous backlog of material that has accumulated in past years. The letters and papers of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, 1880-1905, have been arranged chronologically, labeled and are ready for use. Correspondence and reports of the Labor Department, 1919-1942, are also arranged and labeled. Work is progressing on the files of the Insurance Department, which date from 1863 to the 1920's.

The U. S. census for 1860, Kansas territory, and the state census for 1875 have been rebound. As a precautionary measure, the 1860 census was micro-filmed before it was sent to the bindery, although the original volumes are still in regular use. The 1875 census was filmed two years ago.

* Microfilmed and originals destroyed.

dated January 10, 1855; Vol. 1, No. 1, of the *Weekly Bulletin*, Atchison, dated June 20, 1861; and Vol. 3, No. 17, of the *Atchison Union*, dated September 7, 1861. Miss E. E. Terry, Olathe, gave two issues of *The Highwayman*, published by the 23d Engineer regiment, A. E. F., October 11 and November 22, 1918, and 34 issues of the *Stars and Stripes*, published in France in 1918 and 1919.

Donors of miscellaneous newspapers during the year included Mrs. Sam Keating and Annie B. Sweet, Topeka; Mrs. Hale Houts, Kansas City, Mo.; Spirituelle Club, Kingsdon; J. C. Ruppenthal, Russell; Mrs. A. E. Ferguson, Puenti, Cal.; Mrs. Chas. R. Bell, Wellington; and Mrs. J. L. Simpson, Selma.

MUSEUM

Attendance in the museum for the year was 38,328. There were 35 accessions.

The Dolly Gann estate donated several items belonging to the late Charles Curtis, including a silver tray inscribed with the autographs of his associates in the United States senate, two gavels, a vice-presidential flag, and a portrait which is now hanging in the main lobby.

Two presses and other early-day printing equipment were received from C. A. Grinnell and son, Harold, of Americus, who used the articles for many years in the publication of their newspaper, the *Americus Greeting*.

Other objects of interest include a cane belonging to Abram Burnett, famous Pottawatomie Indian for whom Burnett's Mound was named, given by Lee Burnett and Miss Tawana Burnett, Shawnee, Okla., and Mrs. Kathryn Tully, Stillwater, Okla.; a splint-bottom chair used on the "underground railway" in Kansas, donated by Raymond T. Schaffer of Atchison through Will T. Beck, Holton; a Wells Fargo Express chest from the estate of Charles Elwell; and a set of doll dishes of the 1870's belonging to the late Mrs. H. A. Perry, Topeka, given by her daughters, Mrs. Eldon Sloan, Topeka, Miss Frances Perry, New York, and Mrs. Arthur Peine, Manhattan.

A portrait of Catherine H. Smith, wife of the Free-State governor-elect of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, was cleaned and relined by James Roth, an expert associated with the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City, Mo. This painting has been described by one authority as "the most charming early American portrait" he has ever seen. The artist is unknown. The State Historical Society received the painting in 1926 from Mrs. Wilder Metcalf.

Following the death in 1952 of Edith Smelser, for many years curator of the museum, Charles E. Holman, II, was employed as director. Mr. Holman, a Kansan, has a master's degree from Stanford University. He has had museum experience at Stanford and with the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City. Mrs. Joan B. Foth also has joined the staff as assistant director. She is a graduate of Barnard college, Columbia University, and has recently been employed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

Work is progressing on rearrangement of displays to increase their educational value, and new labels are being made for many of the exhibits.

ANNALS OF KANSAS

Twenty-five years of the new *Annals of Kansas*, which will eventually cover the period 1886 to 1925, inclusive, are ready for final reading before the manuscript goes to the printer. An appropriation to cover publication costs for one

volume, probably to include the years 1886 to 1910, was made by the 1953 legislature, but an additional appropriation will be necessary for publication of the second volume. The legislature stipulated that except for a few complimentary copies to state officials all volumes shall be sold. In this way it is expected that the publishing costs will be returned to the state. It is hoped, however, that members of the Kansas State Historical Society may buy copies at a reduction.

During the year an estimated 925,000 words have been read and revised, and much additional copy has been rechecked and made ready for final editing. In addition to the *Annals* staff, consisting of Kirke Mechem, editor, Miss Jennie Owen, chief annalist, and James Sallee, assistant annalist, three other members of the Society's staff have read the manuscript. It is expected that the book will be released for sale during the 1954 centennial year.

Compilation of the *Annals* was begun in 1945, when the legislature made the first appropriation for the work. The original *Annals* committee was composed of Fred Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg; the late Cecil Howes, Topeka; Dr. James C. Malin, University of Kansas; and Justice William A. Smith of the Kansas Supreme Court. Miss Owen has been chief annalist since the beginning of the project.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Extended research during the year included the following persons and subjects: James G. Blunt; Chester I. Long; E. H. Madison; Jotham Meeker; Samuel Reader; Oregon trail; Bent's Fort; Dalton gang; the Delaware, Ottawa, and Pawnee Indians; Kaw Indian agency; Kansas and Osage Indian villages; Pottawatomie Indian lands in Anderson county; problems of early Indian migration and missions; the first Baptist mission in Kansas; the First Congregational church in Topeka; histories of Fort Riley, Enterprise, Randolph community, Hillsboro, and Gadenau; histories of Atchison, Ness, and Pratt counties, Leavenworth and its school system, Ottawa University, Gunnison county, Colorado, and the Connecticut Kansas colony; economic history of south central Kansas; Kansas in 1868; interpretations of Kansas territorial history by Kansas writers; ranching in Kansas; football in Kansas; the Kansas Pacific railroad; the Democratic party in Kansas; anti-horse thief associations; Waconda Springs.

ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1952, to September 30, 1953

Library:	
Books	991
Pamphlets	1,388
Magazines (bound volumes)	216
Archives:	
Separate manuscripts	21,500
Manuscript volumes	3,272
Manuscript maps	None
Reels of microfilm	22
Private manuscripts:	
Separate manuscripts	450
Volumes	48
Reels of microfilm	11
Printed maps, atlases and charts	405

Newspapers (bound volumes)	664
Reels of microfilm	718
Pictures	578
Museum objects	35

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1953

Books, pamphlets, newspapers (bound and microfilm reels), and magazines	455,713
Separate manuscripts (archives)	1,815,311
Manuscript volumes (archives)	64,925
Manuscript maps (archives)	583
Microfilm reels (archives)	762
Printed maps, atlases, and charts	10,111
Pictures	26,541
Museum objects	33,572

THE QUARTERLY

The 20th bound volume of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, which is now in its 22d year, will be ready for distribution early in 1954. It will consist of the eight numbers of the *Quarterly* appearing in 1952 and 1953.

Insufficient printing appropriations made it necessary during the past biennium to reduce the number of pages in the *Quarterly* and to include eight numbers in a volume instead of the usual four. It was hoped that the 1953 legislature would remedy this situation, and an adequate amount was requested when the printing budget was made up. However, not only was the desired increase denied, but the fund was cut even further. It will therefore again be necessary to bind eight numbers in a single volume, and quite possibly the magazine will have fewer pages than at present.

Among the features published in 1953 are: "Dr. Samuel Grant Rodgers, Gentleman From Ness," by Mrs. Minnie Dubbs Millbrook; "Capt. L. C. Easton's Report: 'Fort Laramie to Fort Leavenworth Via Republican River in 1849,'" edited by Merrill J. Mattes; "Kansas Negro Regiments in the Civil War," by Dudley T. Cornish; "Early Years at St. Mary's Pottawatomie Mission," from the diary of Father Maurice Gailland, S. J., edited by the Rev. James M. Burke, S. J., and articles by Dr. James C. Malin, "Aspects of the Nebraska Question, 1852-1854," and "Judge Leconte and the 'Sack of Lawrence,' May 21, 1856," in two parts.

In observance of the centennial the *Quarterly* will continue in 1954 to feature articles which relate to the territorial history of Kansas.

Thanks are due, as usual, to Dr. James C. Malin, associate editor of the *Quarterly*, for his unselfish contribution of time, effort, and knowledge in reading and evaluating articles submitted for publication.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

Visitors to Shawnee Mission during the year registered from 18 states, the District of Columbia, and Alaska. Included in the list was Roy F. Bluejacket, Independence, a great-grandson of Charles Bluejacket, who was a missionary at the Mission and later became a chief of the Shawnees. Two art classes made several trips to the Mission grounds.

The interior of the East building has been repainted and needed repairs have been made. The exterior is now being waterproofed and the brickwork tuck-pointed. When this work is completed the building should be in good condition structurally.

Through the co-operation of the State Highway Commission, two directional signs have been placed at the intersection of Mission street and U. S. Highways 50 and 69, so that visitors no longer will have difficulty in finding the Mission.

The Society is indebted to the state departments of the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of American Colonists, the Daughters of 1812 and to the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society for their continued co-operation at the Mission.

THE KAW MISSION

Although the Kaw Mission at Council Grove was not officially opened as a museum until September, 1952, the register listed 1,320 visitors during the past year. Many were school children from Morris and the surrounding counties, but 30 states were represented in the total.

There are now more than 40 permanent exhibits in the museum, including 12 items partly relating to the Santa Fe trail on loan from the Museum of New Mexico, at Santa Fe, obtained through the assistance of Mrs. Frank Haucke. Another contributor has been Mrs. Lalla M. Brigham of Council Grove who has generously given of her historical collections.

The building is in such excellent condition structurally that a paragraph from a story in the *Topeka State Journal* of July 22 seems particularly appropriate: "The state, under authority of legislative act in 1951, paid \$23,500 for the old mission, and if you think the state got stuck with a bunch of beatup rocks, perish the thought. It's more than 100 years old but it'll be standing when some of today's construction is being bulldozed into the junkyard."

Much also has been accomplished in landscaping and rebuilding the lawn, which was damaged by the 1951 floods. Without doubt, when this property can be better marked and advertised it will soon take its place as one of the state's finest show places.

In the early 1860's a large number of stone houses were built by the federal government for the Kaw Indians in the Council Grove area. Several are still standing. The Council Grove Rotary Club, with the consent of the Society, has undertaken to reconstruct one of these buildings on the Mission grounds. The stone is being obtained from some of the original Indian houses near Council Grove. This ambitious project is now well advanced, and when completed will be an authentic and interesting outdoor addition to the museum exhibits.

THE FIRST CAPITOL

There were 3,169 visitors at the First Capitol during the past year. Interest in the building as a historic site is slowly increasing, after a slump during the war years.

Repairs to the roof of the Capitol have been completed, but the contractor warned that an entire new roof is needed before the sheathing rots away. The interior of the caretaker's cottage has been painted, and other minor improvements to the property have been made.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

As in the past, credit for many of the accomplishments mentioned in this report must be given to the Society's loyal and co-operative staff. Their work is responsible for such comments as this from a satisfied patron: "A very high type of service is being rendered by your office and I want to express my appreciation for your kind and thoughtful helpfulness. The people of Kansas can be proud of their Historical Society and of the service it is giving." Although it is impossible here to name every individual on the staff, the work of each is nevertheless sincerely appreciated.

Recognition is also due the custodians of the historic sites under the Society's management whose devotion to their work, seven days a week, is especially commendable.

Respectfully submitted,

NYLE H. MILLER, *Secretary.*

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, John S. Dawson moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by Mrs. W. D. Philip and the report was accepted.

President Taft then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes:

TREASURER'S REPORT

Based on the audit of the state accountant for the period
August 1, 1952, to September 11, 1953.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 1, 1952:

Cash	\$5,583.73
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	8,700.00

\$14,283.73

Receipts:

Memberships	\$792.00
Reimbursement for postage	837.25
Interest on bonds	307.50

1,936.75

\$16,220.48

Disbursements	\$1,618.53
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Balance, September 11, 1953:

Cash	\$5,901.95
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	8,700.00

14,601.95

\$16,220.48

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 1, 1952:		
Cash	\$62.36	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		<u>\$1,012.36</u>
Receipts:		
Bond interest	\$27.33	
Savings account interest	2.29	
		<u>29.62</u>
		<u><u>\$1,041.98</u></u>
Disbursements:		
Books		\$7.50
Balance, September 11, 1953:		
Cash	\$84.48	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		<u>1,034.48</u>
		<u><u>\$1,041.98</u></u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 1, 1952:		
Cash	\$96.19	
U. S. treasury bond	500.00	
		<u>\$596.19</u>
Receipts:		
Bond interest	\$14.38	
Savings account interest	1.15	
		<u>15.53</u>
		<u><u>\$611.72</u></u>
Balance, September 11, 1953:		
Cash	\$111.72	
U. S. treasury bond	500.00	
		<u>\$611.72</u>
		<u><u>\$611.72</u></u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

This donation is substantiated by a U. S. savings bond, Series G, in the amount of \$1,000. The interest is credited to the membership fee fund.

ELIZABETH READER BEQUEST

Balance, August 1, 1952:		
Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$763.69	
U. S. savings bonds (shown in total bonds, membership fee fund)	5,200.00	
		<u>\$5,963.69</u>

Receipts:

Interest (deposited in membership fee fund)	195.00
	<u>\$6,158.69</u>

Balance, September 11, 1953:

Cash	\$958.69
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	5,200.00
	<u>\$6,158.69</u>

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

This report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. It is not a statement of the appropriations made by the legislature for the maintenance of the Society. These disbursements were not made through the treasurer of the Society but through the state auditor. For the year ending June 30, 1953, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$104,570.00; Memorial Building, \$16,390.00; Old Shawnee Mission, \$6,724.00; Kaw Mission, \$2,500.00; First Capitol of Kansas, \$2,362.00.

Respectfully submitted,
MRS. LELA BARNES, *Treasurer.*

On motion by Wilford Riegle, seconded by John S. Dawson, the report of the treasurer was accepted.

The report of the executive committee on the audit by the state accountant of the funds of the Society was called for and read by John S. Dawson:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 16, 1953.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the state accountant has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the Old Shawnee Mission, the First Capitol of Kansas, and the Kaw Mission, from August 1, 1952, to September 11, 1953, and that they are hereby approved.

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman,*
ROBERT C. RANKIN,
WILFORD RIEGLE,
T. M. LILLARD,
C. M. CORRELL,
ROBERT TAFT.

On motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by James Malone, the report was accepted.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by John S. Dawson:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

October 16, 1953.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

For a one-year term: Angelo Scott, Iola, president; F. D. Farrell, Manhattan, first vice-president; Wilford Riegle, Emporia, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Nyle H. Miller, Topeka, secretary.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman*,
JAMES C. MALIN,
T. M. LILLARD,
ROBERT C. RANKIN,
R. TAFT,
C. M. CORRELL,
FRANK HAUCKE.

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board.

A report on the William I. Mitchell bequest to the Historical Society was made by the secretary. This bequest, as set forth in Mr. Mitchell's will, reads as follows:

To the Kansas State Historical Society of Topeka, Kans., I give and bequeath a thirty (30) acre tract of hill pasture located in the S. E. corner of the S. E. quarter of Section 28, Range 10, Township 10 in Wabaunsee county, Kansas, to be held by it or the state of Kansas as a public park.

This property comprises an outstanding hill now known, and always to be known, as Mount Mitchell, in memory of my father, Captain William Mitchell, who was a pioneer settler.

The purpose of this gift is to provide a suitable and permanent location for an historical marker to be placed upon the summit of said hill in memory of the Connecticut Colony, better known as the Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony, that settled in this locality in April, 1856.

I further give and bequeath to the said Historical Society the sum of Two hundred dollars (\$200.00) to be used toward the cost of such a marker.

The above gifts are made with the express stipulation that if they are not formally accepted by the said Society within one year from the date this will is probated, and said Society obligates itself to erect such a marker within five (5) years, both of these gifts will be forfeited and they will revert to my estate.

After a general discussion during which the secretary told of his recent examination of the site, James Malone moved that the gift be accepted. Clyde K. Rodkey seconded the motion, and the board voted to accept the bequest. The secretary was instructed to look into the best approach to the site from the highway.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society was called to order at 2 P. M. President Robert Taft delivered his address: *Stephen A. Douglas: "I Passed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill,"* which is printed in its entirety in this issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

Following his address, President Taft outlined the program so far developed by the Governor's committee which he heads, for the celebration of the Kansas Territorial Centennial in 1954. Plans include the sending of an exhibit car to all parts of the state, the car to be furnished by the Santa Fe railroad with other railroads co-operating. Exhibits are being designed to offer a glimpse of life in the territory, supplemented with maps, newspapers, documents, etc. Mr. Perce Harvey spoke briefly on a brochure being considered for printing and distribution as a centennial memento.

The report of the committee on nominations was called for:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 16, 1953.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending in October, 1956:

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
Anderson, George L., Lawrence.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.
Beck, Will T., Holton.
Blake, Henry S., Topeka.
Chambers, Lloyd, Clearwater.
Chandler, C. J., Wichita.
Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.
Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.
Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.
Dawson, John S., Topeka.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
Lose, Harry F., Topeka.

Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander,
Topeka.
Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
Montgomery, W. H., Salina.
Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Motz, Frank, Hays.
Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons.
Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Somers, John G., Newton.
Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman*.

On motion by Dr. Joseph C. Shaw, seconded by Mrs. W. D. Philip, the report of the committee was accepted and members of the board were declared elected for the term ending in October, 1956.

Reports of local and county historical societies were called for. Mrs. Homer Bair reported for the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society; and Mrs. F. L. Gilson for the Lyon county society.

There being no further business, the annual meeting of the Society adjourned. Refreshments were served to members and visitors in the Society's office.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by President Taft. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. The report was read by John S. Dawson, chairman, who moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by Charles M. Correll and the following were elected:

For a one-year term: Angelo Scott, Iola, president; F. D. Farrell, Manhattan, first vice-president; Wilford Riegler, Emporia, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Nyle H. Miller, Topeka, secretary.

President Scott spoke briefly.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1953

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1954

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
Beezley, George F., Girard.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.
Campbell, Mrs. Spurgeon B.,
Kansas City.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.
Farrell, F. D., Manhattan.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.
Hodges, Frank, Olathe.
Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison.
Long, Richard M., Wichita.
MacArthur, Mrs. Vernon E.,
Hutchinson.

McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
Malone, James, Topeka.
Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg.
Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
Murphy, Franklin D., Lawrence.
Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green.
Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Simons, Dolph, Lawrence.
Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Taft, Robert, Lawrence.
Templar, George, Arkansas City.
Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1955

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
 Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.
 Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Pratt.
 Brock, R. F., Goodland.
 Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan.
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
 Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.
 Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.
 Hall, Standish, Wichita.
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
 Jones, Horace, Lyons.
 Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
 Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita.
 Maranville, Lea, Ness City.
 Means, Hugh, Lawrence.

Norton, Gus S., Kalvesta.
 Owen, Arthur K., Topeka.
 Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
 Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
 Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
 Richards, Walter M., Emporia.
 Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
 Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
 Scott, Angelo, Iola.
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
 Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence.
 Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
 Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.
 Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
 Wark, George H., Caney.
 Williams, Charles A., Bentley.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1956

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
 Anderson, George L., Lawrence.
 Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
 Beck, Will T., Holton.
 Blake, Henry S., Topeka.
 Chambers, Lloyd, Clearwater.
 Chandler, C. J., Wichita.
 Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.
 Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.
 Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.
 Dawson, John S., Topeka.
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
 Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.
 Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
 Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
 Lose, Harry F., Topeka.

Malin, James C., Lawrence.
 Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander,
 Topeka.
 Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
 Montgomery, W. H., Salina.
 Moore, Russell, Wichita.
 Motz, Frank, Hays.
 Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
 Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons.
 Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
 Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
 Somers, John G., Newton.
 Stewart, Donald, Independence.
 Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
 von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.

Bypaths of Kansas History

LOVELY KANSAS

From *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, May 30, 1857.

The heavy emigration to Kansas this year was about one month too early. The season has been unusually backward everywhere, but in Kansas we have suffered most, because persons coming here were looking for verdure and beauty, and in place of it they found dust and blackened fields, and cold winds.

But spring has come at last, and the prairies and forests are redolent with beauty, and nature is rejoicing at the sunshine and the flowers. We regret that the thousands who came and have gone back disappointed with Kansas, could not be here *now*, and see our lovely country *as it is*, smiling in natural wealth, and contrasting favorably with any country the sun of heaven has ever shone upon.

Rev. Mr. Pierpont, the venerable poet, remarked the other evening that he had travelled all over the United States, and visited the ancient seats of empire in the old world, had visited sunny Italy and Greece, and the middle and northern countries of Europe, yet in all his journeyings his eyes had never rested on such loveliness as he was allowed to look upon in Kansas. Said the old man, his eyes sparkling with enthusiasm, "I believe God *might* have made a lovelier country than Kansas, but I am sure he has never done it."

Those who have returned back forgot that the East, too, was cold and backward almost beyond precedent.

MAIL DELIVERY IN 1870

From the *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, October 8, 1870.

EARLY MAIL TO BURLINGAME.—For some days past the Topeka postmaster has made up a mail and sent it to Burlingame on the early train. The postmaster at that place wrote him yesterday that they had no way to get the bag from the depot to the postoffice, and it will be sent no longer. If our Burlingame friends will contrive some plan to take the mail to and from the train, they can have two mails a day.

THE FORERUNNER OF THE TRAILER?

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, December 21, 1872.

A frame hotel building, 20 x 40 feet on the ground, and two stories high, was recently moved from Labette City to Parsons. The direct distance between the places is nine miles, but to secure favorable roads a circuit of fifteen miles was traversed. Twenty-four yoke of oxen were used to draw the building, and eight days were consumed in making the trip. A family occupied it and kept on with their regular house-keeping during the time.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Among historical articles in recent issues of *Your Government—Bulletin of the Governmental Research Center*, University of Kansas, Lawrence, were Dr. George Anderson's "The Territory of Kansas, 1854-1861," September, 1953, and "Beginnings of Federal Land Machinery in Territorial Kansas," January, 1954. In October, 1953, "Soldiering in the Kansas Territory," by Dr. W. Stitt Robinson, Jr., was featured.

In the September, 1953, issue of *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, a series of editorials on "Early Science in Kansas," was begun with a review of the work of Frederic Hawn by Dr. Robert Taft. Hawn contributed extensively to the early knowledge of Kansas geology. The life of Prof. Benjamin Franklin Mudge was reviewed by Dr. W. H. Schoewe in the December number. Mudge settled in Kansas in 1861 and became the first state geologist. In the same issue was an article, "Kansas Weather—1952," by Richard A. Garrett.

"Thomas Jefferson Sutherland, Nebraska Boomer, 1851-1852," by Dr. James C. Malin, University of Kansas, was published in *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, September, 1953. Early in the 1850's Sutherland was one of the principal agitators for the opening of Nebraska for settlement.

An article about the discovery of oil and the development of the oil industry in the Russell area, by Merlin Morphy, was printed in the *Wichita Beacon*, September 10, 1953. A historical marker at the discovery well, Carrie Oswald No. 1, was dedicated September 12. A history of the Wichita Historical Museum appeared in the *Beacon*, November 8. The museum was organized in January, 1939, and was dedicated by Gov. Payne Ratner on June 6, 1939. It is located in the Wichita Forum.

A letter from C. E. Hollingsworth, Denver, giving the location and description of the buildings of old Fort Solomon, was published in the *Minneapolis Messenger*, September 10, 1953. The fort was near Lindsey, now a "dead" town in Ottawa county, on land once owned by Mr. Hollingsworth's father.

Labette county Star school, District No. 50, was featured in a brief article in the *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, September 17, 1953. Portraits and biographical sketches of the men who were killed in Cof-

feyville by the Daltons in 1892 were published in the *Journal*, October 4. The story of the Cherokee strip run, September 16, 1893, as recalled by Andy Patchett, one of the participants, appeared in the *Journal*, October 25.

Among historical articles published in the Hays *Daily News* in recent months were: "Cowardly Killer [Jim Curry] Roamed Hays Streets in Early Days," September 20, 1953; "Heroic Rider of Mexican War [Charley Wentz] Lived and Died in Hays," September 27; "Two Notorious Bandits Cheat Sheriff and Posse Out of a 'Necktie Party' Here," Joe Collins and Bill Heffridge, train robbers, were shot attempting to escape from Sheriff Charley Bardsley, October 4; "Nicodemus Fading as Town With Loss of Its Post Office," November 8; "Mountain Lion Killed in Ellis County [1903]," and "Hard Work of German Girl Made Trees Grow in Hays," Anna Mueller King was the Hays version of Johnny Appleseed, November 15; "Greatest Showman in World [P. T. Barnum] Visits Hays and Loses a Fortune in Stud Poker Game [1869]," November 22; "Mrs. Mary Disney of Ellis Tells of Wagon Trip to Kansas [1878]," December 6; "Deer and Antelope Roamed in Large Numbers Along Saline River in Early Days," Mrs. J. H. O'Loughlin's story of life in Hays in the 1870's, December 13; "Hays Had Brutal Criminal Cases Even After Its Wildest Days; Many Murder Cases Were Dismissed," January 3, 1954; "Matt Clarkson Says Hays Had Worse Women Than Calamity [Jane], Poker Alice," January 10; "Custer May Have Made Bad Mistake [at Little Big Horn], But He Acquired Name for Himself," January 17; "Blizzard of '86 Makes Other Storms Seem Like Squalls," January 24; "Hays Had Something Worse Than Dust Storms When Big Fire of '95 Hit," and "Pioneer Hays Doctor J. H. Middlekauff Worked Without Hospital Aids," January 31. Articles in the *Ellis County News*, Hays, included a story on William "Buffalo Bill" Cody's boyhood home at Le Claire, Iowa, October 22, 1953; Mrs. Disney's story of the wagon trip to Kansas, December 10; and the article on Custer's mistake at the Little Big Horn, January 21, 1954.

Recent historical articles in the Clay Center *Dispatch* included L. F. Valentine's "Founders Thought City Would Grow to South," September 21, 1953, and "Town Had Many Hotels in Early Days; Tankersley, Bonham Built in 1885," November 24.

The Argonia *Argosy* in recent months has printed articles compiled by Frank Beals. Among them were: "Memories of Pioneer Life," September 24, 1953; "Living Quarters of Settlers," October 15; "Customs Began in Early Schools," November 19; "Eager Pupils

and Crowded Schools," December 3; "The Big Blizzard of 1886," December 10; "First Christmas in Argonia," December 24; "Early Day [Grain] Elevators," January 7, 1954; and "From Illinois to Kansas," the story of the journey to Kansas of Beals and others 75 years ago, January 28.

Several articles about the opening of the Cherokee strip have recently been printed in the Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*. On September 24, 1953, "Tales of Murder, Violence in Wake of Cherokee Strip Opening," appeared. The issue of October 27 contained two articles, "First Settlers Were in Arkansas City 24 Years Prior to 'Strip'," and "Life of Pawnee Bill [Maj. Gordon W. Lillie] Tied in With Cherokee Strip."

Some of the early history of Sheridan county by J. F. Morgan, whose father settled in the county in 1868, was printed in the *Hoxie Sentinel*, September 24, 1953.

Pierceville, described as the oldest white settlement in southwest Kansas, was the subject of two articles in the Garden City *Telegram*, September 26, 1953. Thayne Smith told of its establishment in 1872-1873 and something of its history. Ruby Basye described the Indian raid July 3, 1874, which destroyed the town. It was a "ghost town" until rebuilt in 1878.

Featured in the October, 1953, number of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, was a memorial to the late Paul Adams, more than anyone else the founder of the Shawnee County Historical Society. Two of his articles were included in the issue: "The Topeka Turn Verein" and "Some Early [Shawnee County] Bridge History." Other articles were: "Topeka's Fall Festivals Were Exciting" and "Some Topeka Firsts," by Euphemia Page; "The Dyche Museum [University of Kansas]," by John Cobb Landon; and another installment of George Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County." The entire December *Bulletin* of 96 pages was devoted to a history of Potwin by Charlotte McLellan. In 1869 Charles W. Potwin bought 70 acres of land northwest of Topeka. It wasn't platted until 1882, and home building began in 1885. The area was incorporated as the City of Potwin Place in 1887, and on April 17, 1899, became a part of Topeka.

Newspapers in Kansas was the subject of Elizabeth Barnes' column, "Historic Johnson County," in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, October 1, 1953.

A history of Belle Plaine, compiled by Pearl Wight, appeared in the *Belle Plaine News*, October 1, 1953. A town company was organized early in 1871, and the townsite was platted in November, 1873.

"Four Decades in Clearwater," the reminiscences of T. J. "Wad" McLaughlin, oldest living settler of Clearwater, as written by his niece, Mrs. Byrl Carter, was published in the *Clearwater News*, October 1, 1953, in conjunction with the annual home-coming day, October 2, sponsored by the Clearwater Lions Club. McLaughlin's father, Levi McLaughlin, brought his family to Sedgwick county in 1874.

Recent historical articles in the *Atchison Daily Globe* included Art Howe's story on Charles Metz, Border Ruffian leader just prior to the Civil War, October 8, 1953, and a history of the Lancaster Presbyterian church, November 20. The church was organized in November, 1878.

Included in John Watson's "See Kansas" series in the *Wichita Evening Eagle* recently were: "First Kansas Capitol Still Stands," October 8, 1953; "Nicodemus, Kansas Negro Oasis, Fading," December 3; and "Visitors to Capital May View State Constitution," January 29, 1954. An article by Watson entitled "Kansas Official Flag Adopted in 1927," appeared in the *Sunday Eagle*, January 24.

A history and description of the Chase county courthouse appeared in the *Chase County Leader-News*, Cottonwood Falls and Strong City, October 14, 1953. The building of native stone was completed in 1873 and an all-day housewarming was held October 17. Another celebration, October 17, 1953, marked its 80th anniversary.

A page-length article by C. M. Cooper, entitled "Old Spring River Academy Monument to Early Day Settlers," was published in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, October 17, 1953. The Quaker Valley area of Cherokee county along the Spring river was settled by Quakers around 1866. In 1880 the Spring River Academy was opened and served the community until 1912. A history of Bird school, Cherokee county, by Mrs. Jennie Broughton, was published in the *Headlight*, January 11, 1954. The first building, a log cabin, was erected about 1868. The present school was built in 1878 and later modernized.

"Old Castle," first building of Baker University, Baldwin, was the subject of short historical sketches by T. A. Evans and Homer K. Ebright, in the Baldwin *Ledger*, October 22, 29, and November 5, 12, 1953. School began in the building November 22, 1858. It has not been used for classes for many years and a project is under way to restore the building and convert it to a museum.

Reports about the Hope community, made to the Dickinson County Historical Society at its meeting in Hope, October 22, 1953, have been published in the Hope *Dispatch*. On October 29 the *Dispatch* printed an account of the meeting, including summaries of the reports. They appeared in more complete form in later issues, as follows: a history of Hope, by W. L. Boyd, November 5; pioneers of Hope and Hope township, by Elizabeth Lorson, November 12, 19 and 26; a history of schools of the Hope community, by John K. Lay, Jr., December 3, 17 and 31; and industries of Hope, by Elsie Koch, January 7, 1954.

William D. McVey spoke before the "Westerners" in Chicago, October 26, 1953, supporting the affirmative view of the controversial question on whether Wyatt Earp arrested Ben Thompson in Ellsworth in 1873. The address was printed in *The Westerners Brand Book*, Chicago, November, 1953. Comments by others at the meeting also were printed.

In observance of the 75th anniversary of the organization of St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran church in Ellsworth county, the Ellsworth *Messenger*, November 5, 1953, and the Ellsworth *Reporter*, November 12, printed histories of the church. The church history began in 1878 when the congregation was organized as the David's Star Lutheran church. However, Lutheran families had settled in the community as early as 1871, and services were held in the homes before 1878.

Salem Methodist church, near Bushton, celebrated its 75th anniversary November 1 and 2, 1953. On November 8 a history of the church appeared in the Hutchinson *News-Herald*. The church was organized in 1878 and the first building was begun in 1882.

A historical sketch of the Lyona Methodist church, near Herington, was printed in the Herington *Advertiser-Times*, November 12, 1953. The Rev. Charles Stuekmann began holding services in the community in 1858 and the church was established in 1859.

The Hill City *Times*, November 12, 1953, printed a biographical sketch of Mrs. Chas. Sperry, by her nephew, Elbert Severance. Mrs. Sperry has completed 75 years of continuous residence in Graham county. She came in November, 1878, with her father, Job DeHaven Shane, and his family from Illinois.

Brief historical sketches of towns and townships in Miami county began appearing in the *Western Spirit*, Paola, November 13, 1953. The sketches were originally deposited in the cornerstone of the Miami county courthouse, laid July 27, 1898.

The reminiscences of Mrs. Anna Hornecker began appearing in the Abilene *Reflector-Chronicle*, November 20, 1953. She was two years of age when her father, Watson A. Cleveland, brought his family to Abilene in 1871.

Early history of 12 Mitchell county towns was published in the Beloit *Call*, November 21, 1953: Cawker City, Beloit, West Hampton (now Glen Elder), Springfield, Pittsburg (now Tipton), Scottsville, Victor, Simpson, Waconda, Waconda Springs, Asherville, and Hunter. The first town plat recorded in Mitchell county was that of Cawker City, filed April 26, 1871. According to the article the towns of Springfield, Waconda Springs, and Waconda have disappeared, and Victor remains in name only. A biographical sketch of Jane Collins, Mitchell county teacher and superintendent of public instruction, by Henrietta Boyd, appeared in the *Call*, January 22, 1954. Miss Collins began teaching in 1885.

On November 1, 1887, Cooper Memorial College, Sterling, now Sterling College, opened with a student body of 13, according to a historical article by Martha Reefer in the Sterling *Bulletin*, November 26, 1953.

Eagle Springs, "dead" Doniphan county town, was the subject of J. H. Lusk's column, "Bits of History," in the Highland *Vidette*, November 26, 1953. The town was once a summer resort, complete with mineral water. The history of Sparks, also in Doniphan county, by Lusk, appeared in the January 28, 1954, issue. It was located in 1870 and was first called Highland Station.

Emporia's first church building [Christian], now being dismantled, was erected in 1859, according to an article in the Emporia *Gazette*, December 5, 1953. On January 28, 1954, the *Gazette* published a brief history of Americus, established in 1857.

A column-length history of the First Baptist church of Council Grove was printed in the Council Grove *Republican*, December 11, 1953. The church was organized in 1870, and reorganized in 1873. "The Adventures of Jim Kansan," by K. O. Esping, appeared in the *Republican*, January 28, 1954. Jim Kansan is a Paul Bunyan type of character, personifying the "Spirit of Kansas."

Watson Stewart, who homesteaded near Humboldt in 1856, was the subject of a biographical sketch by his grandson, Donald Stewart, published in the Humboldt *Union*, December 31, 1953.

Among articles published in the 1954 issue of *The Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, were: "Edgar Watson Howe, Born One Hundred Years Ago," by Clyde C. Hammers; "Jim [Ferguson] and Charles [Handy]—With Associated Memories," the story of two frontier stage drivers, by H. L. Chambers; "Samuel D. Bowker, Pioneer Educator," by Russell K. Hickman; "Early Years in Lawrence," by Clyde Hyder; and "Diary of a Pioneer Girl [Mary Peery]," by Mary Elsie Cunningham.

John S. Gilmore's diary, the first installment of which was printed in the *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, in January, 1953, has continued to appear regularly.

As a centennial feature, "This Day in Kansas History," a column by Milt Tabor, is scheduled to appear in the Topeka *Daily Capital* every day of 1954. Each installment discusses an event which occurred on the date of the article's publication.

Publication of historical information from "The Last One," a booklet by Rosie Clem Maxton, began January 13, 1954, in the Columbus *Daily Advocate*. The booklet, property of Frank Maxton, Columbus, is the story of Mrs. Maxton's pioneer life in the Crestline community of Cherokee county. In 1866, when she was five, Mrs. Maxton's father, Henry Groves Clem, brought his family to Kansas.

The origin of the names of towns in southern Kansas was the subject of articles by Wayne A. O'Connell in the January 21 and 28, 1954, issues of the Chetopa *Advance*. Among the towns were Labette City, Bartlett, Chetopa, Montana City, Edna, and Oswego.

Historical articles in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included: "Tribute to Abraham Lincoln," by Carl Sandburg, February 7, 1954, and "Highlights of History in First Century of Kansas," by Albert Earl Robinson, February 7, 14, and 21. Among articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Amos Lawrence Deplored

the Naming of Kansas College Town in His Honor," by Jonathan M. Dow, November 12, 1953; "Present Route of U. S. Highway 40 a Link in Western Trek of the Forty-Niners," by Hugh Pritchard Williamson, December 2; "Congress Made Last Futile Effort [Kansas-Nebraska Act] at Compromise on Slavery 100 Years Ago," by Clara Aiken Speer, January 29, 1954; and "George Catlin, Frontier Artist, Found His Red Subjects Embarrassing Critics," by Winifred Shields, February 2.

The Winfield *Daily Courier* published its ninth annual Achievement edition February 22, 1954. The 144-page paper was a survey of progress in Winfield and Cowley county during the year.

A 172-page progress edition was published by the Wichita *Sunday Beacon*, February 28, 1954. Numerous articles on Wichita industries and institutions were included. The *Beacon* recently moved its plant and offices to a new building.

The Coffeyville *Journal* published a 142-page progress edition February 28, 1954, the largest in its history. Progress of the Coffeyville area in education, religion, agriculture, construction, and industry was traced.

A 56-page diamond jubilee edition of the *Western Kansas World*, WaKeeney, was published March 4, 1954. It contained articles on the history of Trego county, WaKeeney, and other towns in the county. The *World* was established in 1879 by Col. W. S. Tilton. The special edition was dedicated to Fred Shaw who started with the newspaper in 1908 as a printer's devil and retired in 1952 as publisher.

Kansas Historical Notes

The following officers were elected at the annual meeting of the Chase County Historical Society in Cottonwood Falls, September 12, 1953: George M. Miller, president; Henry Rogler, vice-president; Clint Baldwin, secretary; George T. Dawson, treasurer; and W. P. Austin, chief historian. The executive committee is composed of Ida M. Vinson, Baldwin, T. R. Wells, Ida Schneider, and Minnie Norton.

Mrs. David M. Huber was elected president of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society September 28, 1953. Other officers are: Mrs. Arthur W. Wolf, first vice-president; Mrs. Kenneth Carbaugh, second vice-president; Mrs. James D. Wood, recording secretary; Lucile Larson, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Lee J. Smith, treasurer; Mrs. Mahlon Delp, historian; Mrs. R. L. Trotter, curator; and Mrs. K. S. Browne, member-in-waiting. Mrs. Homer Bair was the retiring president.

Kinsley observed its 80th anniversary with a three-day celebration September 30-October 2, 1953. High light of the event was a historical pageant written and directed by Judge Lorin T. Peters, Ness City, with assistance from members of the Edwards County Historical Society. Articles on the history of the community appeared in the *Kinsley Mercury* September 24.

All officers of the Ness County Historical Society were re-elected at the October, 1953, meeting. They include: Mrs. Mabel Raffington, president; Ted Copeland, vice-president; Eva Ferrell, secretary; and Mrs. Ada Young, treasurer.

Officers chosen by the Crawford County Historical Society at a meeting in Pittsburg, October 2, 1953, include: Oscar Anderson, Farlington, president; Clark Paris, Pittsburg, vice-president; Mrs. Carl Stroud, Pittsburg, secretary; and Mrs. A. N. Ligon, Pittsburg, treasurer. Paul Wilbert, Mrs. Ralph Shideler, and C. P. Kelso were elected to the executive committee. L. E. Curfman was the retiring president. Mrs. O. P. Dellinger spoke on the early history of the county.

Through the efforts of the Ness County Historical Society a marker honoring Dr. George Washington Carver has been placed at the site of the Carver homestead near Beeler. Dedication services were held October 11, 1953, with Lt. Gov. Fred Hall as speaker.

Also on the program was Mrs. Martha Robinson, Kansas City, Mo., who represented Tuskegee Institute. The inscription on the monument reads:

Dedicated to the memory of George Washington Carver, 1864-1943, citizen, scientist, benefactor; who rose from slavery to fame and gave to our country an everlasting heritage. Ness county is proud to honor him and claim him as a pioneer. This stone marks the northeast corner of the homestead on which he filed in 1886. By friends and the Ness County Historical Society.

A brief biographical sketch of Carver by O. L. Lennen appeared in the *Ness City News*, September 24.

Almost 300 persons registered at the 25th anniversary meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society at Hope, October 22, 1953. B. H. Oesterreich, Woodbine, was re-elected president of the society. Other officers are: Mrs. Viola Ehram, Enterprise, first vice-president; Mrs. Ed Rohrer, Elmo, second vice-president; and Elsie Koch, Hope, secretary.

Leslie Broadstreet, Marion, was named chairman of the Marion County Historical Museum Committee at a meeting of the committee October 26, 1953, in Marion. The committee was set up by the Marion Kiwanis club to plan for a county historical museum at Marion. Other officers are: Rosse B. Case, secretary; L. L. Hadsell, treasurer; and Wharton Hoch, historian.

A talk by Dr. James C. Carey on the "dead" town of Juniata highlighted the annual meeting of the Riley County Historical Association in Manhattan, October 30, 1953. C. W. Correll was elected president. Other new officers are: Ward Griffing, vice-president; Clyde Rodkey, secretary; Sam Charlson, treasurer; Ed Amos, historian; and Carl Pfuetze, curator. The following directors were elected: Mrs. C. W. Emmons, Mrs. C. M. Slagg, and Mrs. F. A. Marlatt. Dr. C. W. McCampbell was the retiring president. A committee is preparing a special program for the 1954 annual meeting to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the settlement of Riley county.

The Wyandotte County Historical Society heard Mrs. Harry Hanson claim the first post office in present Kansas, outside of military reservations, for Wyandotte county at a meeting of the society at the old Grinter House, November 3, 1953. According to Mrs. Hanson, records at the National Archives establish that the first Kansas post office was at Grinter's ferry landing, then known

as the Delaware station. Some of the history of Grinter House, Grinter's ferry, and the Wyandotte County Historical Society was given in May J. McGuire's column, "Just Lookin' Around," in the *Kansas City Kansan*, November 1 and 19, 1953. The society was organized in 1889. On November 22 a tour was made to John Brown's statue at old Western University and to the site of the town of Quindaro. Historical facts about these places appeared in the *Kansan*, November 23.

The annual meeting of the Comanche County Historical Society was held in Coldwater, November 5, 1953. Principal speaker was Jay Botts, Coldwater, who gave reminiscences of his early days in the county. Other speakers were Judge Karl Miller and Heinie Schmidt, Dodge City, and Mrs. Benjamin Weaver, Mullinville. Officers elected for the coming year include: Mrs. Nell Riner, Protection, president; Warren Morton, Coldwater, vice-president; Mrs. Ben Zane, Protection, secretary; and F. H. Moberly, Wilmore, treasurer. Morton was the retiring president.

After several months of painting, repairing, and restoration, the Fort Leavenworth Museum was reopened on November 11, 1953. Established in 1938, the museum includes in its collections almost 50 historic vehicles.

L. W. Hubbell was elected president of the Hodgeman County Historical Society at the annual business meeting, November 13, 1953, in Jetmore. Other officers are Mrs. O. W. Lynam, vice-president; E. W. Harlan, secretary; and Mrs. C. W. Teed, treasurer. Directors elected were: Mrs. Margaret Raser, Mrs. Lynam, and F. E. Ochs.

The "pioneer mixer" and annual meeting of the Clark County Historical Society was held in Ashland, November 14, 1953. Speakers included Heinie Schmidt and Judge Karl Miller of Dodge City. At the business session Paul Randall was re-elected president of the society. Other officers elected include: Mrs. Virgil Broadie, vice-president; Mrs. Sidney Dorsey, first honorary vice-president; Mrs. Chas. McCasland, second honorary vice-president; Mrs. J. C. Harper, recording secretary; Mrs. W. R. Nunemacher, assistant recording secretary; Rhea Gross, corresponding secretary; Wm. T. Moore, treasurer; Mrs. R. V. Shrewder, historian; Mrs. H. B. Gabbert, curator; and Myron G. Stevenson, auditor.

O. W. Mosher was re-elected president of the Lyon County Historical Society at the annual meeting in Emporia, December 8, 1953.

Other officers are: H. P. Trusler, first vice-president; Catherine Jones, second vice-president; Mrs. C. A. Moore, secretary; and Warren Morris, treasurer. Mosher also acts as curator of the society's museum. Notes on exhibits in the museum and short historical articles appear frequently in the *Emporia Gazette's* "Museum Notes" column.

The 36th annual meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas was held in Topeka, January 28, 1954. Rolla Clymer, El Dorado, and Mrs. Ethel Godin, Wamego, were elected presidents, succeeding Maurice E. Fager, Topeka, and Mrs. David McCreath, Lawrence. The Native Sons elected other officers as follows: Clay Baker, Topeka, vice-president; John Brookens, Westmoreland, secretary; and Jim Reed, Topeka, treasurer. Other new officers of the Native Daughters are: Mrs. Ivan Dayton Jones, Lyons, vice-president; Mrs. James B. McKay, El Dorado, secretary; and Mrs. George Marshall, Basehor, treasurer. Tom Collins, Kansas City, was the principal speaker at the dinner meeting. Howard Hill, Jr., Kansas State College student, was winner of the collegiate speech contest and received the Capper award from Henry S. Blake.

"Life One Hundred Years Ago in Kansas," was the theme carried out in story, song, talks, poetry, pageantry, and decorations at the 47th annual meeting of the Woman's Kansas Day Club in Topeka, January 29, 1954. Mrs. Douglas I. McCrum, Fort Scott, president, gave a tribute, "The Glory of Kansas," and presided at the meeting. Mrs. Earl C. Moses, Great Bend, was elected president at the business session. Other officers elected include: Mrs. Steadman Ball, Atchison, first vice-president; Mrs. James L. Jenson, Colby, second vice-president; Mrs. Emerson Hazlett, Topeka, recording secretary; Mrs. W. O. Wolfe, Lawrence, treasurer; Mrs. C. W. Spencer, Sedan, historian; Mrs. Paul Wedin, Wichita, auditor; and Mrs. Loleta Troup, Kansas City, registrar. District directors elected were: Mrs. Irwin Vincent, Topeka, first district; Mrs. John Morse, Mound City, second district; Mrs. Edna Peterson, Chanute, third district; Mrs. Jesse C. Fisher, Wichita, fourth district; Mrs. Lee Kemper, Garden City, fifth district; and Mrs. Karl Baumgartner, Goodland, sixth district. Reports given by district directors and historians, pictures, museum articles, pamphlets, and books were presented to the Kansas State Historical Society. Of particular interest was an ornamented jungle knife which Mrs. Osa Johnson sent to her father at Chanute 25 years ago from near Borneo. It was given by Mrs. Johnson's mother, Mrs. Belle Leighty of Chanute.

The conversion of the original Fort Hays guardhouse into a museum, and the collection of historical articles for it are under way. Charles V. Reed is chairman of a Hays Chamber of Commerce committee which is doing the work. A collection is to be given by Mrs. Jennie Philip of Hays. Plans are to dedicate and open the museum May 1, 1954.

A Kansas room has been set up in the Abilene public library. It was suggested by the gift of a cherrywood overmantel, brought to Kansas in 1874 for the home of T. C. Henry who became known as the "Wheat King" of Kansas.

Our Golden Heritage is the title of a 294-page, recently published history of the P. E. O. in Kansas. The first chapter in Kansas was formed at Meade in 1888; the state chapter was organized in 1903.

The journals kept by Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and other members of their party on their expedition up the Missouri river and to the Pacific Northwest in 1804-1806, were edited by Bernard DeVoto and published in 1953 in a 504-page volume entitled *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*.

Westward the Briton, by Robert G. Athearn, is a recently published study of British travelers in the American West following the Civil War and their reactions to Western life, as revealed in the reports on their journeys.

A biography of Jedediah Strong Smith, early Western explorer, hunter and trapper, by Dale L. Morgan, appeared in a 458-page volume entitled *Jedediah Smith*, published in 1953. The book also contains letters by Smith relating to his explorations and personal letters by him and his family. From 1822 until his death at the hands of the Comanches in 1831 he roamed from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean.

On the basis of research begun nearly 40 years ago, Dr. James C. Malin, University of Kansas, has re-examined the historical problems of 1852-1854 relating to the opening of Nebraska and Kansas territories, including the role of Stephen A. Douglas. His new analysis and new material were lithoprinted in a 455-page book, *The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854*, which appeared late in 1953.

A study of governmental Indian and land policies relative to the distribution and settlement of public lands in Kansas, by Dr. Paul Wallace Gates of Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., was recently published in a 311-page volume entitled *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890*.

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JAMES C. MALIN
Associate Editor

NYLE H. MILLER
Managing Editor

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE BISHOP EAST OF THE ROCKIES VIEWS HIS DIOCESANS, 1851-1853	J. Neale Carman, 81
<i>Juniata</i> : GATEWAY TO MID-KANSAS	James C. Carey, 87
HOUSING EXPERIMENTS IN THE LAWRENCE COMMUNITY, 1855	James C. Malin, 95
With an artist's sketch of Lawrence in May, 1856, and photographs of Lawrence in 1867 by Alexander Gardner, <i>between</i> pp. 112, 113.	
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY, Compiled by Helen M. McFarland, Librarian,	122
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	140
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	141
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	149

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THE COVER

"Lawrence When Six Years Old," from Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of the Great West* . . . (1873 edition).

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The Bishop East of the Rockies Views His Diocesans, 1851-1853

J. NEALE CARMAN

ON May 31, 1851, two Jesuits rode for the first time into St. Mary's Mission on the Kaw river. They had come to St. Louis some two years before from the southern slopes of the Alps. Jean-Baptiste Miège¹ was a Savoyard peasant of towering height; his companion, Paul Ponziglione, slight in build, was the son of a Piedmontese count, grandson of a marquis.

Father Ponziglione,² more usually known as Father Paul, was soon to establish himself among the Osages, and their mission, now St. Paul, was to be the focus of his humble and untiring endeavors for almost 40 years, all the rest of his active life, first among the Indians, later among white pioneers.

Father Miège had on March 25 been consecrated bishop *in partibus* of Messenia and vicar apostolic "for the territory lying to the east of the Rocky Mountains and not included within the limits of the states of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota," a new vicariate. To the end, fellow churchmen referred to him familiarly as the "Bishop East of the Rockies." After 1855 he was more usually known as the bishop of Leavenworth, when his see was established in that city, but here we are concerned with that period in his life

DR. J. NEALE CARMAN is professor of Romance languages and literature at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

1. On Miège see: Jas. A. McGonigle, "Right Reverend John B. Miège, S. J. . . ." *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 (1905-1906), pp. 153-159; Wm. J. Howlett and Thos. F. O'Connor, "An Early Episcopal Visitation of Colorado: 1860. Letters of the Rt. Rev. John Baptist Miège, S. J., D.D.," *Mid-America*, Chicago, n. s. v. 7 (October, 1936), pp. 266-271; J. Neale Carman, "The Unwilling Bishop," *Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, 1952, pp. 17-22; Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), 3 vols., *passim*, see index; Sr. Mary Paul Fitzgerald, *Beacon of the Plains* (Leavenworth, 1939), *passim*, see index; Peter Beckman, O. S. B., *The Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier, 1850-1877* (Washington, D. C., 1943), dissertation of the Catholic University of America, *passim*, see index; especially see Joseph Garin, *Notices Biographiques Sur Mgr J-B Miège, Premier Vicaire Apostolique du Kansas et Sur les Prêtres de la Paroisse de Chevron (Savoie)* (Moutiers, 1886). Garin quotes in extenso J. B. Miège's letters to his brother. The excerpts quoted in this article are translations from this work.

2. On Father Paul see particularly the works of W. W. Graves of St. Paul; also Sr. Mary Paul Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, and "A Jesuit Circuit-Rider," *Mid-America*, n. s. v. 7 (July, 1936), pp. 182-198; further, S. W. Brewster, "Reverend Father Paul M. Ponziglione," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 (1905-1906), pp. 19-32.

before the opening of Kansas in 1854 when his vicariate was strictly an area for mission work among the Indians.

Throughout his life Bishop Miège wrote letters home; in this article passages are given which reflect his opinions of the Pottawatomie and Osage Indians. His official reports are analyzed by Father Gilbert J. Garraghan in his *Jesuits of the Middle United States*.

The mission at St. Mary's of the Pottawatomie had been established three years before when the tribe was moved from its reservation on the Marais des Cygnes to the Kaw. With Osage Mission³ on the Neosho, it was the only Catholic establishment in the new vicariate, and Bishop Miège had chosen St. Mary's as his see.

On that May day in 1851 when the episcopal peasant and the aristocrat subordinate rode into St. Mary's, a formal welcome had been prepared, but the travelers came from a direction and at an hour totally unexpected,⁴ so that the celebration for the great Black Robe had to be put off until the next day.

The Jesuit missionaries, "Black Robes," at St. Mary's were Belgians—the starting point of the present small settlement of their countrymen at that place. In 1851 their mission and the Pottawatomies were prosperous.

Bishop Miège found the barbarous splendor of the celebration in honor of his coming most amusing. The chief's costume mimicked that of a marshal of France, but on much more majestic and solemn dimensions. The outfitting of the lesser militia was not quite so knightly, though it offered rich matter for contemplation. The military band, made up of a violinist and a drummer, was headed by a drum major whose shako was nothing less than a piece of buffalo hide, rather well shaped into a European drum major's shako for ceremonial occasions. Next came the infantry, all armed with carbines and equipped with all the pomp of the Indians. So there were coats of all ages, of all styles and all colors with shoes to match, motley shirts, halves of trousers rich with ribbons as well as years, finally a sort of turban partly covering those long strands of black hair which give quite a wild look to the deep eyes and coppery countenances of my good diocesans. Add to that a prodigious lot of red and yellow ribbons and handkerchiefs fastened or sewn haphazard at all points, and you will have some small idea of the interesting reality.

Then there was the procession. The people lined up from cathedral to episcopal palace (both shacks that were far from water proof).

3. On the two missions during preterritorial times see particularly Garraghan, Fitzgerald, and Beckman, cited above.

4. Miège is explicit on this point. Ponziglione in his memoirs written years later said the " . . . Indians were expecting us and had posted their sentries."—Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 644, 645.

When the poor man for whom all this pomp was displayed appeared, songs and rifle shots were heard. . . . Throughout the march to the cathedral, there was a continuous roll of songs, like a regimental band, cries from little children, repeated commands, horseback evolutions of all sorts, until the bishop and clergy entered the metropolitan church. Everything went off with a gravity and devoutness on the part of these good savages which struck straight to the newcomers' hearts, and I must confess that I should have shed a few tears if that blessed commander-in-chief and his drum major had not time and again by their presence compromised for me rather badly the seriousness which the occasion required. The church which might hold some 15 or 16 hundred persons was full; guns had been left at the door, and horses tied to the fences; and all these good people listened to mass with a piety and devotion I have not seen elsewhere. The reason is that here they believe very practically that only the Great Spirit can give good hunting, and deliver you from those wicked neighbors ever ready to come ask or steal your scalp from you. After mass, another parade and procession, more band music and gun firing till the order to withdraw was given. It was around a 600 pound beef, and large outlay of flour, sugar, and coffee provided by the Mission's Superior, that these good people went to rest from the morning's exertions. The tribe has what they call their cooks for days of public rejoicing. It is their duty to prepare the viands and distribute them to the guests. Everything took place in most perfect order and within the limits of the frankest and most cordial joy.⁵

Of some 3,500 Pottawatomies 1,500 were Catholic. Most of these were at St. Mary's where, until pestilence struck the next winter, life was idyllic. The bishop wrote:

It is really touching to see, on fine summer evenings, good people gather in great numbers in the center of the village to say their rosary together, and then sing in their own language hymns in honor of the Blessed Virgin. I think I have never in my life experienced more delightful emotions than those that made my heart beat as I listened for the first time in our wilderness to those dear savages singing so loudly and with such heartfelt devotion the praises of our Mother.⁶

In two other villages and in a settlement of half-breeds on Soldier creek things were not so well-ordered. He qualifies the half-breeds as "immoral, drunkards, liars all, deaf to all instruction."⁷ Among these people Bishop Miège lived a missionary's life himself. He described journeying on the prairie in terms which, though here better chosen, are familiar to all those who have read accounts of pioneers. He speaks of hard riding, of camp making, of mosquitoes,⁸ and of rattlesnakes,

5. Garin, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64. Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 647, quotes from an official report a description evidently of this same scene. In the report the bishop speaks of the affair as the Corpus Christi celebration; so it was, for June 1, 1851, the day after Miège's arrival, was Corpus Christi Sunday.

6. Garin, *op. cit.*, p. 65. This quotation is from a copy of an official report sent by Bishop Miège to his family. Father Garraghan printed the report practically in toto in v. 2, pp. 645, 646, but these sentences do not appear in his version. The bishop probably added it to the family version.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

8. Beckman, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19, quoted at length from Bishop Miège's letters (Garin pp. 69-71) on these hardships.

the most impudent creatures of their kind, so impudent that I remember once there were three of us on horseback around one of handsome size; it stopped and rose up against us sounding every rattle. . . . We left it master of the field. . . . The night after that day, a biting ant or an insect that lit on my head seemed so many rattlesnakes.⁹

The chance Canadian, Creole, or half-breed you find in a cabin is somewhat better:

The missionary finds there water, wood and fire. You talk a little with your new friend, for any thinking being that can understand you is your friend in the wilderness. You must hear the owner's whole story, you catechize him a bit, give him some medals, and hear his confession if you can get it. You put on a good countenance before the piece of squash that he has fried for you in return for the bread, coffee and tobacco with which you provide him.¹⁰

In the summer of 1852, the bishop made a trip to Osage mission, harried by fever, high water, flies, mosquitoes, and heat, but, "real days in the land Cockayne. I had a good carriage, two excellent horses, a prudent driver . . . a real Californian's outfit."¹¹ Though he considered himself no great shot, the bishop on such occasions went off with his guns when camp was made, and soon returned with small birds a plenty for a meal. "There is a great abundance of this kind of game because an Indian never stoops to kill such small stuff; he has to have a buffalo, an antelope, at the very least a turkey, duck, or pheasant." The bishop always did his part in the camp work; his traveling companions enjoyed him.

After this trip he wrote home general information and judgments concerning the Osages as well as an account of his visit to them. A translation of this portion of the letter follows without omissions:

The Osages were not long ago possessors of all the land now comprised within the two states of Missouri and Arkansas and of the territory extending indefinitely toward New Mexico. The government has succeeded in buying their finest lands for practically nothing, and they are now relegated to the banks of the Neosho and Verdigris, which they leave three times a year to go out into the plains to hunt buffalo or procure a few enemy scalps. Their return is celebrated by feasts and dances that last as long as their provisions. This year I visited them in their villages, and I should have very much liked for you to have been a witness to the curious scenes which took place then. As for me, I am getting so that I remain cold as stone in the presence of what interested me to the very highest degree in my first days here.

The villages are all built on heights within comfortable reach of wood and water. At a distance you would take them for small cities. And they do have something like streets and public squares—everything perfectly clean. They are guarded by seven or eight hundred ravenous dogs which make approach

9. Garin, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

difficult in the day time and dangerous at night. Their tents, usually 30 to 35 feet long and 9 or 10 high, are covered with matting and buffalo hides which protect them perfectly from the rigors of the winter, and easily admit the breeze in the summertime.

Among the Osages, as among all non-Catholic savages, the women do all the work, carry burdens, manufacture the tents, go after wood and water, etc. The men smoke, gamble, and dance; they held two big dances for me during my visit to them. The first took place at the village called Big Hill, the chief of which is called Great Man.¹² He is in fact a specimen about six feet six inches tall, who hides nothing nature gave him. It was at his place that we stopped, a necessary precaution if you want nothing stolen. Our reception was warm and cordial; all the authorities and notabilities were convened; the scene really lacked neither diversity nor pleasing features. After the customary ceremonies, that is, going all around the Lodge shaking hands with every reasonable being, we came back and sat down on a buffalo robe, placed for this purpose opposite Great Man and his court. After distributing tobacco and marbles, I explained to my audience the purpose of my visit: "to baptize the little children and send the bigger ones to school to teach them to *speak with their hands and eyes* (read and write)."

The chief replied that I had said some good things, and that his people were certainly of the same mind; then after an interminable eulogy of himself and his subjects he asked me if I knew many chiefs as skillful and as devoted to their people as he was. I answered by adding a few more plugs of tobacco to those I had already given out on my arrival. That was the best sign of approval and satisfaction that I could give him. Our conference, almost like one between diplomats, was followed by a banquet to which we contributed a most fortunate element—the keenest of appetites. So we did great honor to a broad wooden dish which was served to us filled with buffalo meat boiled in water. Fingers of course must do the office of knife and fork, and anyone wishing to drink broth quite simply picks up the common dish which he conveys to his mouth without spilling the liquid over his clothes if he is clever, or else he may use a big wooden spoon provided for the purpose. This latter method is not exactly handy either. When you have finished the dish or at least finished eating, what is left is put before the master of the house, who eats in his turn and then serves his friends. You cannot imagine what an enormous quantity of buffalo meat a person can eat without suffering a bit. I remember eating four meals one morning an hour apart, and having at each disposed of more meat than I eat in a day at home; after that, I felt admirably disposed to go on to others. But I am getting off my subject.

After our banquet we were invited to a ceremonial dance in our honor. It was certainly as fine as a savage dance can be; it would take me four pages to describe it. I will only say that the red, black, blue, green and white paint with which these poor people were bedaubed would have been enough to make rare spectacles out of them any place but at home. And if you add the

12. An Osage village named Big Hill by the whites was located on the site of Independence, Kan., according to Father Ponziglione.—Garraghan, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 501. Great Man may have been Gratomantze or Gretomonse though Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald (p. 85) said he was chief of Nántze-Waspe, 35 miles northeast of Big Hill. Great Man, the English rendering of Bishop Miège's l'Homme Grand, is acoustically similar to Gratomantze, and this man, recognized as chief by all the Osages would naturally have been the object of Miège's visit.

bear skins, the wolf skins, the antelope skins with which they partially cover their shoulders, their knives and their arrows, the little bells hanging at their knees and neck, their plumes of eagle feathers, their movements, shouts and music, you have a whole which perhaps has a name somewhere in heaven. This scene was followed by the awarding of prizes to the bravest in the village.

The Osages are the handsomest race of men there is perhaps in the Indian country, at least six feet tall, robust and well shaped. But that is all. Their soul seems to be the reservoir of every evil human passion; they are thieving, lazy, drunken, debauched, stinking with pride—add anything you like without fear of slandering them. That's enough for now, isn't it? I'll come back to the attack some other time.¹³

Other Jesuits were not so forthright in their condemnation of the Osages. They loved them—as did the Bishop for that matter—but found their mission to them difficult.

Bishop Miège saw no more of the Osages after this visit and very little of the Pottawatomies. A trip to Europe in 1853 kept him away until the beginning of 1854. The multitude of activities occasioned by the opening of the territory of Kansas pushed Indian problems into the background. He declared, however, that the law on Indian lands which was passed preliminarily to the opening was “the death sentence of the greater part of my poor diocese.” He was thinking of the fate of his redskins. “We fear that they are preparing some nasty trick. It makes one sick,” he wrote in December, 1854, “to think of the way these poor savages have been treated and will be to the end.”¹⁴

13. Garin, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-80.

14. The winter then beginning was very bad. At its end the bishop's last comment on the Pottawatomie Indians is one of commiseration for their sufferings, and of regret for their lack of foresight in preparing for disaster.—*Ibid.*, p. 105.

Juniata: Gateway to Mid-Kansas

JAMES C. CAREY

IN late 1853 the best-known wagon trail near what is now Manhattan was the Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley route. This army road cut through much virgin territory. The Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley road came out from Leavenworth to what later was the village of Winchester, to Osawkee village, to Half Dog creek, on to Indianola (which is where the Topeka Goodyear Tire and Rubber plant is now located). It then rolled on to Smith's ferry above the Kansas river—where a fork cut off south to the Santa Fe trail—and the other fork ran to what is now Silver Lake, on to Cross creek—the old Pottawatomie agency, now near Rossville—to St. Mary's Mission, on to the Vermillion river, crossing the stream at a point due east of present Louisville, then up to the Big Blue river about one mile below Rocky Ford, and from there cut off southwest toward the outpost, Fort Riley.

A century ago in this lovely but lonely land there were laughter, voices, the clink of money, the smell of white man's food, and Euro-American civilization at the spots where people collected. People usually gathered only at the points where trails crossed or where the trail traffic hesitated at the major streams and rivers.

Such a place was Juniata at the crossing on the Big Blue. Juniata was sometimes called Junietta, Juanita, and often Dyer's Town. It grew up about two and one half miles below a spot on the Big Blue where the Indians had constructed an earth lodge and cultivated fields as much as 400 years before white settlers arrived there.¹ This paper is centered on the Big Blue river crossing and vicinity.

This is the place where Samuel D. Dyer once operated a ferry, collected toll on the United States government bridge, and watched a small town come to life. By climbing up into the hills where the plow has not been used, one can find the main road, over which, a hundred years prior to this writing, the government wagons rumbled and rolled from fort to fort. One can still locate the old piling for the Big Blue bridge on the post road—that is, unless the river is up.²

DR. JAMES C. CAREY is associate professor in the history, government and philosophy department at Kansas State College, Manhattan.

1. Prof. Linwood L. Hodgdon of Kansas State College, Manhattan, has been doing anthropological work in the Big Blue river bottom. The Smithsonian Institution, with Hodgdon as field assistant, conducted three excavations in the general area. In July, 1953, Hodgdon was in charge of an excavation of the earth-lodge referred to above. He was assisted by Smithsonian people, the University of Nebraska, and Kansas State College.

2. If you wish to locate the crossing on the Big Blue, go east from the old Casement Juniata ranch buildings about three miles north of Manhattan, and cross the bridge near

In the year 1853, the first white settler, Samuel D. Dyer, came to this area, which reminded some people of the Blue-Juniata of Pennsylvania.³ It seems that Dyer had been in Kansas nine or ten years before 1853.⁴ And we know he had worked for the government at Fort Scott. Early correspondence refers to Dyer as coming from various places back East. At different times he is referred to as a Virginian, a South Carolinian, and a Tennessean. As if that is not confusing enough we find that the census of 1855 listed Samuel D. Dyer as a farmer, 50 years old, having emigrated from Missouri (wife, Pamela age 40 years). Most likely he was a Tennessean by birth, regardless of where he lived after that.⁵

There is a question as to the exact date when Samuel D. Dyer moved up from Fort Scott, for some think it was early 1853 and others place it along in midyear. His daughter, Sarah, later stated that it was in the "spring of 1853."⁶ In any event we find that it was not long before his good wife, Pamela, sons, Abraham, William, Enoch, and daughters, Jane, Lydia, and Sarah had come to the new home on the Big Blue. Other children mentioned are John, James, Mary, and Martha Ann. Probably all of the 11 children did not come to Juniata.

Dyer brought along with him a pony, two yoke of oxen, some cattle, sheep, hogs, and other items for his frontier home. The hogs were called "elmpeelers." We find that by fall, 1853, Dyer, with the aid of several sons, was helping the government teams with the crossing at the Big Blue.⁷

Several troublesome questions pose themselves: (1) Did Dyer, or did he not, operate a ferry in late 1853 and 1854? Some of the early correspondence refers to a pontoon bridge. When was the bridge built? (2) If he operated a ferry at this early date, what kind was

what is known as the Inskeep house, take the first two turns right and you will come to Cedar creek. Go about one quarter mile beyond the Cedar creek bridge and there on the east side of the Big Blue is the old piling.

Juniata ranch is on the west side of the river. Gen. John Stephen Casement acquired the ranch in 1878 and gave it to his son, Dan Dillon Casement, in 1889 on the latter's 21st birthday. Upon the death of Dan Dillon Casement in March, 1953, the property passed to the heirs, Jack S. Casement of Colorado, Mrs. Harold Furlong of Ohio, and Mrs. Donald Dorn of Mexico City. In December, 1953, the property was purchased by John J. Vanier of Salina.

3. Dan D. Casement and others have expressed the belief that this was the explanation of the name, Juniata.

4. Thomas C. Wells, "Letters of a Kansas Pioneer 1855-1860," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 5 (May, 1936), p. 150 (Footnote 4). The original letters are in the Ms. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

5. Mrs. John Flick of Manhattan has a letter in her possession written by S. H. Carnahan, Roseburg, Ore., dated October 22, 1948, which quotes information published by the American Bible Society, stating that Dyer was born in Tennessee on July 19, 1801. The letter also mentions that Dyer had been a major in the Black Hawk War.

6. *The Manhattan Republic*, March 22, 1906.

7. George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," pt. 3, in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 3 (May, 1934), pp. 120, 121.

it? Mrs. John Flick of Manhattan, whose grandfather, David Hays, was one of the first settlers up Cedar creek, thinks that a ferry never operated regularly for any length of time before the government bridge was destroyed in 1856.⁸ H. W. Soupene of Manhattan reports that his grandfather told him that he had worked as a stone mason on a bridge there in either 1852 or 1853.

By the time of the official opening of Kansas territory in May, 1854, it was quite evident that a town had emerged on the east side of the river. Under the territorial delineation this was Riley county and not Pottawatomie county as it is today. A number of families had located north of the crossing along Cedar creek on a bit higher ground.

Some of the inhabitants of the Juniata area were Proslavery in sympathy, but early election returns would indicate that there were as many or more antislavery people. Brief treatment of this point follows later in the paper. Families from New England also came into the area along with families from the Old South and border states. One New England group had stopped for a time back at Rock Creek. By November 29, 1854, it appears that they had left Rock Creek. Some returned to Lawrence, and some remained in present Pottawatomie county but moved westward to the Big Blue crossing.⁹

George O. Willard described the new town in his letter of January 7, 1855, which he headed, "Juniata, (on the 'Big Blue River')":

. . . A town site has been laid off here, and settlers are coming from nearly every State in the Union; about fifty families are here now. The town is on the "Blue River," about five miles from its mouth, and the same distance from the Kansas River, and about 125 miles from the mouth of that river. We are also about twenty miles from Fort Riley. Various tribes of roving Indians are scattered about us, but they are generally peaceable. . . . Provisions of all kinds are very dear here at this time. Potatoes and butter we do not get at all. Wages are pretty fair. Any kind of mechanic will make money here another spring.

Game is abundant—I have seen 8 deer in one herd. Turkeys and squirrels are also plenty; quails and prairie hens are abundant. The river is filled with fish weighing from one to one hundred pounds. I ate a portion of one caught in the Kansas, which weighed 76 pounds. There is no ice in the river at this place now. We have a bridge across the Blue river here 300 feet long, built

8. General information on the questions can be found in "Some of the Lost Towns of Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12 (1911-1912), p. 426. No author is listed, but the secretary of the Society and editor of the *Collections* at the time was George W. Martin.

William E. Smith, Wamego lawyer for many years, reported that when Fort Riley was established in May, 1853, that Dyer "built the government ferry across the Blue at a place called Juniatta."—*Ibid.*, v. 17 (1926-1928), p. 461.

9. Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1854," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 12 (May, 1943), pp. 147, 148.

by government. The military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley passes here.¹⁰

In the same year, 1855, Thomas C. Wells wrote that the cholera was raging at Fort Riley, where it had caused many deaths.¹¹

For a time the town showed promise of becoming one of the real cities of the area. Dyer opened a store and what was termed a free hotel—where all kinds of denominational preaching was permitted. Dyer, of the Methodist Church, South, was the leading man of the town. The settlement was often referred to as Dyer's Town. He was described in a contemporary account as an old six-foot man of the Methodist Church, South. His house was said to be "one story high and three stories long."¹² Dyer and his wife kept a "sort of free hotel and small store" going by hiring help from time to time. The house was a preaching place for all the denominations, and it was customary to invite everybody to dinner after preaching. This pair were a kindly, generous-hearted old couple, and "their free table and dishonest clerks soon got away with most of their property."¹³

The first election, that of electing a territorial delegate to the United States congress, was held in Samuel D. Dyer's house on November 29, 1854. This was district ten of the sixteen election districts first established by governor of the Kansas territory, Andrew H. Reeder. The minutes which authorized this, read as follows: "Place of election, the house of S. D. Dyer, at the crossing of the Big Blue river. Judges: S. D. Houston, Francis Burgereau, and S. D. Dyer."¹⁴

On December 23, 1854, a commission was issued to Samuel D. Dyer as justice of the peace for the tenth district. And his son, William Dyer, was commissioned constable for the tenth district on January 1, 1855.¹⁵

With all this activity, a saloon grew up on each side of the river. Before long some person had started a blacksmith shop. Mail came in every week or two via an ambulance and four mules. It stopped at the cabin of Seth J. Child, from which place it was delivered. It

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 149; the bridge referred to in this letter was washed away in February of 1856; see, also, p. 91 in this magazine.

11. Thomas C. Wells, "Letters of a Kansas Pioneer 1855-1860," *loc. cit.*, p. 154. This letter, written August 9, 1855, was addressed to his mother.

12. Isaac T. Goodnow, "Personal Reminiscences and Kansas Emigration, 1855," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4 (1886-1890), p. 247.

13. *Ibid.*

14. "Executive Minutes,—Minutes Recorded in the Governor's Office During the Administration of Governor Andrew H. Reeder," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 3 (1881-1884), p. 233.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 240, 242.

cost ten cents to send a letter and five cents for a newspaper. A post office was officially established at Juniata on July 25, 1855, and Seth J. Child was made postmaster.¹⁶

As early as November, 1854, the Rev. Charles E. Blood of New Hampshire had been laboring as a home missionary at a point about a mile west of Juniata.¹⁷ At least on one occasion he preached a sermon at Dyer's house. It was very likely that this happened more than once, as Blood, a Congregationalist, was active in Juniata affairs. For an interval after first coming to Juniata, the Bloods resided in a lean-to addition at the side of the Dyer cabin. According to Mrs. John Flick and Walter McKeen the first wedding on Cedar creek took place August 22, 1855, when William Dyer and Melissa Jane Hanna said, "I do." Later in the same year, Lydia Dyer married George Jamison.¹⁸

Juniata seemed to grow as long as the \$10,000 government bridge held. But ice flow and flood water destroyed the bridge in February, 1856. Mrs. Asahel G. Allen's diary tells that heavy rains had broken the ice and on February 26, 1856, she noted the results as follows: "The bridge was destroyed by the ice today; a great inconvenience to us as our claim is on the other side of the river from our house."¹⁹

The quartermaster at Fort Riley sent a new boat over and asked Dyer to operate it at the crossing where the bridge had formerly existed. Without first obtaining a license from the Riley county officials, Dyer started to operate a ferry. By June, 1856, there was a suit against him in the probate court. A fine of \$200 was fixed, but there is no evidence that it was ever paid. Friends of Dyer circulated two petitions in his favor and sent them to the governor of the territory. The first petition was signed by William Dyer, James Dyer, C. R. Mobly, A. A. Garrett, A. C. Allen, William F. Allen, C. N. Wilson, and possibly others. Another petition was also circulated which included a longer list of signatures. Some of the signers of the second one were people like S. D. Houston, David Hays, Robert Hays, John Pipher, Tunis I. Roosa, Iva Taylor, J. R. McClure, and others. No further mention of the matter of the suit

16. Letter, W. W. Howes, First assistant postmaster general, Washington, D. C., to F. G. Kimball of Manhattan, dated February 24, 1839. Mrs. John Flick of Manhattan has a copy of this letter.

17. J. T. Willard, "Blumont Central College, the Forerunner of Kansas State College," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 13 (1944-1945), p. 331.

18. Information concerning weddings and many other family affairs can be found in "A History of Cedar Creek." The data was secured from families of the Cedar creek community and compiled by Mrs. John Flick and Walter McKeen. McKeen typed several copies of this booklet. Mrs. Flick of Manhattan has one copy.

19. Mrs. Asahel G. Allen's diary is in the Ms. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

is made in the records of the governor's office which were turned over to the archives of the State Historical Society.²⁰

On August 5, 1856, the post office was moved across the Big Blue river and officially opened at a spot approximately one half mile west of the crossing on the Big Blue.²¹ This, the new post office, was called Tauromee (at times also spelled "Tauroma," "Tarromee," and "Tauroru").

A person born at the Tauromee post office on September 7, 1856, is living in Manhattan as of this writing. Mrs. Ella Child Carrol, past 97 years of age, remembers much of her early childhood. She is the daughter of that first postmaster, Seth J. Child. As she recalls this post office, it consisted of a pigeonhole, roll-top desk in the corner of their one-room log cabin. When Child wanted to close the post office, he merely pulled the top of the desk down and snapped a lock. Mrs. Carrol says that theirs was the first house on the west side of the river to have glass windows and real lime chinking between the logs. On March 26, 1858, the United States government discontinued this post office of Tauromee.²² There had never been a town there, since most of the people lived east of the river near Juniata.

The following disputed matter continues to crop up: Was Samuel D. Dyer Proslavery in sympathy? Numerous references are made to the matter—some contradictory. Usually Juniata was referred to as a Proslavery town, but this is not necessarily proof that it was. Probably the majority of people living in this general area at the time considered both Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley to be under Proslavery administration. The first election held in the Kansas territory, November 29, 1854, found 37 votes cast in the Big Blue district. The majority of voters failed to select a clear-cut candidate on the slave issue as the returns show: (1) Proslavery John W. Whitfield, two votes; (2) Free-State John A. Wakefield, six votes; (3) Administration Democrat R. P. Flenniken (not committed on slave issue) 29 votes.²³ Of course the Juniata population made up only a part of the Big Blue district electorate.

In January, 1888, Prof. Isaac T. Goodnow read a paper at the

20. George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," *loc. cit.*, pp. 121, 122.

21. Letter from the first assistant postmaster general, W. W. Howes, to F. G. Kimball, *see* Footnote 16.

In 1953, Mr. David Dallas of Manhattan placed a durable stone marker at a spot close to where the old Tauromee post office must have been. The Riley County Historical Society participated in the placement and dedication of the marker on May 6, 1953. The inscription of the marker does not mention Tauromee, but it does point out Juniata crossing to the east.

22. *Ibid.*

23. The original affidavits of the results of the November 29, 1854, election are in the Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

annual meeting of the State Historical Society. His paper told of a trip he made with Gen. Samuel C. Pomeroy through the Big Blue crossing in 1855. Goodnow's paper stated that on "the fifth day, on the Government road, five miles above where Manhattan is now situated, on the Big Blue, we struck Juniata, a little Pro-Slavery town, close by a Government bridge, built at an expense of \$10,000."²⁴

In 1853 and 1854 there is little mention of Samuel D. Dyer in connection with slavery. Dyer may have expressed more positive views on the matter as the slave issue "warmed up" in Kansas. Or it is possible that he kept most of his opinions to himself. Thomas C. Wells had a very definite opinion as to Dyer's stand. But there is no certainty that Wells had assessed the situation correctly. A letter written April 13, 1856, by Wells to his mother reads:

Mr. Dyer has turned strong proslavery and they have got a proslavery minister there of the Methodist Church South, who says "he would as leave sell a nigger as an ox." They have organized a church under proslavery influence and intend to do all they can to bring slaves into Kansas and drive out the yankees "for," they say, "they do not want eastern men to rule the territory."²⁵

Years later, in 1906, Dyer's daughter, Sarah, who married a Mr. Woodard and moved to the state of Washington, referred to her father and the slavery question in this way: "My father had southern principles but he did not believe in slavery. He had friends on both sides fighting during the war."²⁶ If Dyer supported the Southern cause it was almost a certainty that many people of Kansas territory would place him squarely in the Proslavery camp regardless of the merits of such a classification. The meaning of Sarah Dyer Woodard's words "southern principles" is not clear. Does she refer to state rights, white supremacy, both of these, or something else such as lower tariffs?

There are other references in the historical record to the effect that Samuel D. Dyer was Proslavery minded. But at the same time one can find some references stating that he was a "free-State Democrat," so the question is still unanswered. This much seems clear. Dyer was not aggressive nor was the town aggressive in any slave-minded way. The record also points out that Dyer and his family were respected and well liked in the community.

The slavery discussion would merit but little attention here if it were not for the fact that it affords one feeble measuring stick for

24. Isaac T. Goodnow, "Personal Reminiscences and Kansas Emigration, 1855," *loc. cit.*

25. Thomas C. Wells, "Letters of a Kansas Pioneer 1855-1860," *loc. cit.*, p. 165.

26. *Manhattan Republic*, March 22, 1906.

reassessing that "passionate" territorial period. If one influential family and a promising little town might possibly have been mistakenly labeled for one hundred years, what other similar but more significant errors are still being read into the record?

Isaac T. Goodnow has summarized the main reasons which were at play in the decline and death of Juniata town: "The destruction of the bridge, . . . and the changing of the Government road, with the rivalry of Manhattan, which followed, effectually wiped out the town." Goodnow also expressed the belief that in Kansas no Proslavery town could live by the side of a Free-State town.²⁷

In any event, Juniata could have had little hope left when in March, 1858, the post office of Tauromee was discontinued. The two factors which were the most important in bringing on the death of Juniata, were: (1) the military road was moved down the river closer to its mouth; and (2) the growth of rival Manhattan town with its definite antislavery atmosphere.

Almost a half century after Juniata's decease, Gen. John A. Halderman, talking of former-day possible Kansas capital sites, quoted Governor Reeder as having said: "I remember old Squire Dyer, at the 'Crossing of the Blue,' had hopes for his place."²⁸

Juniata soon passed out along with many lost towns. Yet, although it did not become the capital of Kansas, it is not forgotten either.

27. Isaac T. Goodnow, "Personal Reminiscences and Kansas Emigration, 1855," *loc. cit.*

28. Henry Shindler, "The First Capital of Kansas," published in the *Leavenworth Times* and included under heading of "Miscellaneous Papers" in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12 (1911-1912), p. 334.

Housing Experiments in the Lawrence Community, 1855

JAMES C. MALIN

AN article in the Spring issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* dealt with the initial problem of emergency in shelter for the Emigrant Aid Company colony at Lawrence. The next phase of the discussion, housing experiments, requires a broader base: (1) the people, Easterners and Westerners, and the recognition of their cultural differences; (2) the architectural traditions of these groups, the principles, forms, and practices in building; (3) the geographical setting, with its limitations and opportunities.

THE PEOPLE: EASTERNERS AND WESTERNERS

Again and again the issue was raised, by various writers who dealt with Kansas affairs, of the fundamental differences between Easterners and Westerners as they were usually designated. It is significant that except when slavery was the subject of discussion, the problems of the pioneering process were mostly discussed in terms of Easterners and Westerners, rather than Northerners and Southerners, or Southerners were linked with Westerners.

Among the first reports written from the site selected by the Emigrant Aid Company, "Charleston," August 7, 1854, referred to the settlers already established there as professional squatters, "that class which exists in the west."¹ In applying this label, only one type of Westerner was involved. A short time earlier a correspondent wrote that "They attempt to frighten persons from the free States, by show of revolvers and bowie knives."² That, also, was a limited usage of the idea. On October 7 another writer from the town of Lawrence reported that besides the New England emigrant parties, there were 40 or 50 settlers from the Western states in the neighborhood.³

DR. JAMES C. MALIN, associate editor of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, is professor of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

A paper, "Housing in the Prairie-Plains Region," was presented at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April, 1943, based upon a monograph of the same name, which has not been published. The present paper represents a part of that project, which has since been expanded and will be published as a part of *Grassland Historical Studies*, v. 3.

1. *Boston Journal*, August 29, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks" (in library of Kansas State Historical Society), v. 1, p. 106.

2. *New York Tribune*, August 3, 1854, letter dated Kansas territory, July 25, and signed "Pioneer."

3. *Boston Post*, October 18, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 1, pp. 166, 167.

Among Free-State people there was some recognition of the fact that persons unsuited to the requirements of a pioneer life had been among the first parties. Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols expressed a low opinion of some of them. The *Herald of Freedom*, January 13, 1855, which was established with the aid of the Emigrant Aid Company, discussed the question under the title "Stay East," idlers, persons unaccustomed to work, or accustomed only to sedentary occupations, as well as persons without capital—all of "those who wish to fall back upon Emigrant Aid Companies, or on private individuals for support. . . ."

Quite elaborately, January 27, 1855, the same paper described "The Professional Squatters" as follows: "They are migratory—passing from one region of country to another; and the whole country that constitutes the western States and Territories bear witness to their presence. . . . Squatting, with them, is a trade, profession, pursuit. They move on in advance of the permanent settler. . . .," who "must pay the squatter his price. . . ." The other aspect that irritated the writer was that "they secure, even before territorial organization, the fords and main gateways leading into new and unsettled regions, possess the most accessible points, and the most commanding and valuable localities. . . ." At the end of the article a distinction was recognized among Westerners: "We do not, of course, allude in these remarks about squatters to those pioneers who come westward seeking homes, and having found a suitable location, commence and perseveringly continue, to surround themselves with facilities for home and permanent residence."

The *Kansas Free State*, edited by Josiah Miller and R. G. Elliot, took up the defense of the Westerners and denied the accuracy of the "highly abusive article" charging "the West generally, as being speculators, robbers, pick-pockets, and swindlers." Editor Miller insisted that the Westerner did perform a positive and constructive service to the development of the country. The poor Westerner, Indiana and westward, according to the *Free State*, "unable to buy lands, . . . is compelled to go into new and sometimes unsurveyed regions, . . . and by hard toil makes a comfortable little farm. . . ." When the monied homeseeker arrives, he sells:

The squatter by thus selling his first choice, and giving it up to an individual who perhaps has more money than he, and can better improve it, selects another, and expends what money he has received for the first, in improving the second, &c. This every one can see is no robbery, but it is far more honorable than the conduct of some individuals not a thousand miles from here, and who perhaps

lived *east* of Indiana, who are acting as agents to sell claims belonging to persons who never intended making any improvement on any claim whatever.

Editor Miller expressed some positive impressions of Easterners:

We have no sympathy with that class of people who pin themselves to a small portion of God's footstool, and stick there, until by inter-marriages and hereditary transmissions their whole souls and minds become contracted into the narrowness of a nut-shell, and they know nothing of human nature, and the business of the world, outside their own selfish and contracted hearts. It is this migrating disposition of the American people that makes them pre-eminently superior to any other nation of the globe.

Miller accused *Herald of Freedom* Editor G. W. Brown, of the company organ, of branding as "pick-pockets and predatory speculators" all pioneers who did not give up their fords, gateways, claims, and their improvements for nothing to the "Eastern monied home-seeker."⁴

Josiah Miller's most comprehensive and effective editorial on the East-West contrast was entitled "Proscription of Class":

It is very seldom that we see the great principle of universal brotherhood acted out. Men may talk a great deal about natural rights, freedom, and universal equality, but their actions show quite a different thing. Every one has a natural self-respect, or pride about him that prompts him to prefer his own person to all others—but this principle expands, takes in the family, neighborhood, church, state, and finally the whole world; that is, when it operates naturally. But there are times and places when the affection for the neighborhood or clique absorbs all other affections, and will not enable one to regard any one outside of a certain sphere. This is a trait that characterizes a number of the Eastern emigration of this place. They come to Kansas for the purpose of instructing the western people how to build up a model New England State. They are advised, from head quarters, to avoid the use of all Western vulgarisms, and to cherish their New England habits and customs. They hear and conceive a great many tales about Western life and manners. They like the Emigrant Aid Company because it sends out a large body of New Englanders, so that they can have their own society, &c. They work themselves into a belief that Western men, and especially Missourians, are of an inferior order of people, unfit for social intercourse; and unless a man agrees with them in all of their peculiar notions about building up a model State, he is charged as a "Missourian"—as this is the worst epithet, in their opinion, they can apply to any one they dislike.

We would now sincerely advise these *wise* men of the East of the fact; that the great majority of the settlers of Kansas are now and will be Western men. We understand from C. W. Babcock, Esq., who is taking the census, that there are more Illinoisians settled in this district than there are New Englanders all together.

This being the case, these *refined* gentlemen may just as well make up their minds, at once, to consider Western men as human beings, and conclude

4. *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, February 7, 1855.

to associate with them; as it is utterly impossible for Massachusetts or New England to settle Kansas, though the Aid Company may have made them believe it. They will have but a small share in making it a model State, or in framing its free institutions. A great many who come out under the auspices of the Company are too selfish and clannish to effect anything in Kansas. Men setting out in such a noble enterprise, as they at first pretended, must have souls capable of appreciating the society and true merit of their fellow citizens, though it should appear outside of a clique of fifty men.

But in closing, Miller did for Easterners what G. W. Brown had done for Westerners, by pointing out that there were exceptions:

In these remarks, we, of course, do not refer to all of the Eastern emigration—only to a certain clique in Lawrence, who *seem* to have the control of things. We believe that a great number of the Eastern men are just as good and enterprising citizens as we can find any where. And we believe that the clique begins to see that they will incur the contempt of all honest, social and liberal minded men, if they do not soon change their demeanor.⁵

In anticipation of a great migration to Kansas in the spring, the *Kansas Free State* offered some advice:

Persons coming to Kansas with their families, by land, should start with good wagons and ox teams, and bring with them all the little implements and seeds necessary to go right to farming upon their arrival. As the individual, who takes up a farm this spring, can plant and cultivate a great many vegetables that will command a high price in the summer and fall. There is no danger of the market being glutted. Every person who knows anything about farming, can make money on a claim from the very day that he goes on it.⁶

Apparently by the time of the issue of May 12, the *Herald of Freedom* had seen the light. Although printing on its front page a spirited defense of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, on the inside editorial page an article on "Emigration" took almost the same position as the *Kansas Free State* on the Easterner-Westerner issue in relation to Kansas settlement.

He opened with the observation that "The heavy tide of eastern emigration appears to be somewhat checked at the present, to be resumed in the autumn." But the significant revelation came in the continuation:

We are glad to observe that the falling off from the eastern States is made up by the daily arrivals overland of large covered wagons from Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, &c., in which are packed all the paraphernalia of the farm and fire-side, ready for distribution in their proper places as soon as a claim is selected.

Our western people understand pioneer life, and know how to prepare for it.—They come to remain; and rarely are they seen beating an inglorious retreat. . . .

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

Brown cited a Westerner who would not be frightened by Missourians:

Such are the material who come from the West—single-handed, self-reliant, accustomed to toil, and the rough life; they do not shrink away when brought in direct competition with difficulties, but brace themselves for the shock, and triumph, as energy and perseverance will on all similar occasions.

The remainder of the editorial was focused directly upon the relation of these characteristics to housing and similar questions:

We shall soon pass through the forming stage of society, then the finished workmen of New England will be needed in the Kansas valley; but at present we want the "bone and sinew, the hard fisted yeomanry," who can prepare the soil, and fit it for the abode of refinement; who can grapple with life in its rudest form, and that without repining at the ways of Providence. We also want the hard-laboring mechanic—not the architect, who plans and directs—but he who wills and executes, surmounting every apparent impossibility, and without material, only as it is found in the quarry or the forest, can erect shelters and protection from the storm for those who command his labor.

Society in its rude state cannot afford to expend means in the erection of costly structures, or in ornamental furniture. Utility and necessity must be blended, and with economy they must struggle together, and together triumph. . . .

In the Osawatomie district, also somewhat influenced by the Emigrant Aid Company, a similar comment appeared in a private letter of John Everett, dated January 25, 1856:

The western people are far the most numerous in the territory. The country is so different from our Eastern country and the character of Eastern emigration is such (a majority as far as I have seen village mechanics with ideas enthusiastically excited) that I think one half at least of Eastern people return. Those who stay love the country as they get used to it. The Western people find much such a country as they left behind them, and settle right down, build their cabins, fence and break up their fields and drop their corn, before you hardly know they are here.⁷

There was no separate census for Lawrence as of January-February, 1855, but the first census district comprised eastern Douglas county, including the towns of Lawrence and Franklin and the country to the southward, while the second district was the western part of the county including what was later the town of Lecompton. Of the 369 voters listed in the first district, 105 came to Kansas from New England (Massachusetts 72), or 29 per cent; 143, or 39 per cent came from border states north of the Mason-Dixon line, and 86, or 23 per cent, came from border states south of that line. The individual states contributing most largely to these voters were Mas-

7. "Letters of John and Sarah Everett, 1854-1864," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 8 (1939), pp. 25, 26.

sachusetts 72; Missouri 59; Ohio 38; New York 34; Pennsylvania 34; Illinois 27; Iowa 19. The total from the Western border states (excluding Iowa) was 147, or 40 per cent, divided 74 and 73 between slave and free states.⁸ Thus it is clear that Lawrence and vicinity, taken together, were definitely not New England in character. The course of events during the year 1855 was to diminish rapidly such relative importance as New England still retained. In November, 1856, G. W. Brown argued in the columns of his revived *Herald of Freedom* that Lawrence was not a Yankee town; the business district was controlled by Westerners, especially Missourians.⁹

ARCHITECTURAL TRADITIONS

Among Western people, but not among Eastern people, especially not among New Englanders, the log cabin tradition for pioneer housing was firmly established. In a book, *The Log Cabin Myth*, Harold R. Shurtleff (1939), has traced to the Swedes and to some German groups, the architectural technique of building log cabins by laying up logs horizontally, and fastening them at the corners by notching. These people had settled in the Middle colonies, near the meeting place of the three colonies, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. English colonists had adapted this technique quite late, and it did not become widely used by them until the pioneers had crossed, or were crossing, the Appalachian ranges. New England had not adopted it. In the European countries of the origin of the log cabin technique, straight pine logs were available, but in the American environment where it was used, the trees were primarily deciduous hardwoods. In Missouri and Kansas, oak, hickory, and walnut were dominant. These were only relatively straight, and required a substantial amount of hewing with a broadax to provide a reasonably close fit between the faces of the logs. In any case, there was a substantial job of chinking to do, with mud, or mud and lime, and if the logs were carelessly or inexpertly prepared, weatherproofing was difficult. Furthermore, notching of logs was an art acquired only by experience. Easterners, especially town people, were likely to find themselves quite helpless to help themselves, under these circumstances, even in the midst of plenty of suitable trees.

The architectural techniques of the Easterners, especially of the

8. Figures computed from *Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas* (Washington, 1856), pp. 74-76. However, difficulty in the interpretation of the original census manuscript results in uncertainty as to the exact figures.

9. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, November 1, 1856.

New Englanders, were also rooted in the Old World, especially in 17th century England; the full frame construction, the spaces being filled in by several methods, wattle and daub, but especially covered with clapboards. Prior to the availability of sawmills, the frames were hand hewn and the clapboards hand rived. The frames of large timbers were prepared on the ground, for fastening together with mortises, tenons, and wooden pins. When the time came for a house raising, the timbers must fit exactly. In other words, the trade of the carpenter and joiner required great skill acquired only through a substantial experience. By the mid-19th century, however, a modified full-framing was practiced, a transition towards balloon framing which was already being adopted widely in the West. The use of iron nails became a feature in these newer techniques, but New England was fundamentally frame-house minded, in the older tradition, and for the most part yielded only partially to the newer practices. Within this background the housing techniques in Lawrence and vicinity in 1854 and 1855 must be examined.

Of the first Emigrant Aid Party of 29, the 13 from Worcester were said to be mechanics; but the contemporary accounts did not list the occupations of the Boston contingent of 16, whose origins were assigned to Boston three, Roxbury three, Lynn two, Vermont four, not accounted for, four. Miss Barry's list of 12 identified six as mechanics, two as farmers, and the others as town occupations.¹⁰ Of the second party, Miss Barry identified 107 for her list. The occupations of 66 were undetermined, but apparently 15 were housewives, 17 children, leaving about 34 men unassigned. Of the remainder, 20 belonged to trades and professions, only 21 being listed as farmers. Of the 162 of the third party, on Miss Barry's list, 39 wives and children may be eliminated, leaving 40 farmers and 83 assignable to city trades and professions, 14 of whom were carpenters. The first party had one carpenter, the second two, so the outside figures present were 17 carpenters, plus a few others in the wood-working trades. The only mason listed was one farmer-mason in the third party. Under these conditions much had to be left to the ingenuity and versatility of these men who probably knew a little of several trades.

10. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 20, 1854; *Boston Commonwealth*, July 18, 1854.—“Webb Scrapbooks,” v. 1, p. 62; Louise Barry, “The Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1854,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 12 (May, 1943), pp. 124-127.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING,
LIMITATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The prairie country, with its mixture of timber and grassland, released the pioneer from the necessity of clearing the ground of heavy forest for crops, and afforded livestock the best of grazing. This meant the saving of many years of hard work in the making of a farm, an inestimable asset, if the settler only knew how to capitalize upon his opportunities. The Westerner soon had a log cabin, small fields fenced with rails, and his livestock ran at large. The Easterner, without the art of notching, and of laying up hardwood logs, had no alternative but to depend upon the sawmill, because, without water and railroads, sawed lumber could not be shipped in. The hard wood was difficult to work. Somewhat later a settler wrote:

Good planing machinery are very much needed as most of the timber is hard wood, burr oak & walnut, and it is hard work for carpenters to plane it & dulls their tools so that a man would rather work at other employments where he can get it.¹¹

In much of eastern Kansas a weathered limestone rock was easily available, without skilled quarrying operations. Lime could be burned for mortar. All that was necessary was to learn some rather simple makeshifts in order to build stone houses, without benefit of the stonecutters skills. But for the Easterners, in the fall of 1854, all these resources availed little, and the several descriptions of Lawrence, as of December 1, 1854, reflected all these elements in the New England segment of the community.

The grass thatched temporary shelters constructed by the Emigrant Aid Company used the framing idea as the basis of the structure. Supervision of the thatching was undertaken by one Houghton, an Englishman, who had drifted about as a sailor and found himself now at Lawrence. Possibly, he had been familiar at sight, if not by experience, with this skill in the homeland. Lawrence is in the tall-grass country, the early settlers often referring to the grass as tall as a man on horseback. The taller species are Big Bluestem (*Andropogon furcatus*), Indian grass (*Sorghastrum nutans*), and others. These grasses grow in the lower lands, sending up seed stalks in the late summer four to seven feet or taller.

To provide wooden siding for cabins of similar design, S. N. Simpson and J. Savage cut off sections of oak logs and split shakes or clapboards. Mrs. Nichols called them clapboards. Probably

11. Horace L. Dunnell, "Kansas Experiences," December 7, 1856, prepared for Thaddeus Hyatt.—"Thaddeus Hyatt Papers," Kansas State Historical Society.

both had seen something of the sort in New England, where siding was laid up horizontally, or possibly they were following the Western process of riving shakes as roofing for log cabins, only applying them vertically, like shingles, to the sides of these cabins. In his recollections, Savage admitted that these were the first shakes either of them had split.¹² John Doy's reference to houses "willow built and mud covered,"¹³ suggests the "willow and daub" technique in use in Old England in the 17th century when the English colonists were emigrating to New England. No detailed description of the Lawrence practice has been found, but in England a lattice of willow was fastened into the spaces in the frame, and mud worked into the lattice like a plaster wall. Likewise no descriptions of the very first stone structures have survived. In banking up the several types of houses with sod to weatherproof them against the advancing winter, they were merely doing the obvious. In building sod houses outright, however, they were going further. Carpenter's letter describing them made an explicit comparison with the Irish railroad laborers' mud cabins, but did not indicate whether or not there was any deliberate imitation of the traditional earth house of Ireland. Thus, so far as Lawrence of 1854 was concerned, the log cabin, the Old World architectural skill which had been most completely Americanized in the West, was the one least recognized. For a settlement projected by a New England company, with a purpose of making it a new New England, this was particularly unfortunate, when taken in conjunction with the selection of a location without assured river navigation.

It was well to recognize the principle of compensation in relation to advantages and disadvantages of geographical factors, but it would have been good strategy in support of the object of promoting Free-State settlement to give nature as much encouragement as possible. The *Kansas Free State*, July 9, 1855, asked: "Why did not the Aid Company found a few towns on the Missouri river? The sites are eligible, the very thresholds of the Territory, and navigation almost constant." Sawed lumber and other materials adapted to New England's cultural techniques would have been more accessible. Within this context, a restudy of the history of Leavenworth and its relation to the history of territorial Kansas is in order.¹⁴

12. J. Savage, "Recollections of 1854," *Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, August 18, 1870.

13. See *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 21 (Spring, 1954), p. 45.

14. Aspects of the problem are recognized in the present author's articles on "Judge Lecompte and the Sack of Lawrence," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (August and November, 1953), and in his other studies as yet unpublished.

THE LOG CABIN PROBLEM

Not only was the log cabin the least recognized, in the New England Emigrant Aid Company colony, of the ancient architectural traditions, but in some quarters there was an active hostility toward them. The origins of this proscription of the log cabin were varied: difficulties in construction (for those without the necessary experience and skill), discomforts, lack of neatness, and waste of timber which was scarce in a prairie country. Referring to the Emigrant Aid Company's plans at Lawrence, C. B. Boynton and J. B. Mason, Cincinnati men who toured Kansas in September, 1854, wrote that there would be two sawmills:

The Company will be able to supply the emigrants with lumber, at about ten dollars per thousand, and it is hoped that the tents will be exchanged, not for log-cabins, but for comfortable framed dwellings, before the setting-in of winter. . . . The *present* promise of this spot, is far greater than any other in Kansas.

At another place the deficiency of forests was made the issue:

Again, God has provided three important and complete substitutes for timber and wood [stone, coal, and osage orange]. . . . In such a country, thus supplied, neither a log-cabin nor a rail fence should ever be built. . . . In the first place, a comfortable log house, if such a thing can be, is a costly structure, and secondly, the useless waste of timber, as compared with a light and suitable frame, "*balloon-frame*," is enormous.¹⁵

The above observations were made by outsiders visiting the territory only as travelers. On November 11, 1854, after several weeks' residence in Kansas, E. D. Ladd of Wisconsin wrote home from Lawrence that: "Timber is too scarce to build log houses of it."¹⁶

On March 31, 1855, the *Herald of Freedom* reprinted from the *Phrenological Journal*: "A Letter to Working People Who Propose Going West." For temporary shelter a tent was recommended, "especially should they be going so far out that lumber could not be had conveniently," and after it had served its original purpose the canvas would be available as a covering in many ways around the farm.

A good strong tent or canvas house would answer some time for a dwelling. I should prefer it in many respects to an ordinary log house, which, of all human habitations that I have ever seen or had anything to do with, is the least desirable, and about one of the hardest and most expensive in constructing, especially if made neat and comfortable. In short, I would try every conceivable way of building before I would use logs. The reasons are unanswerable and almost innumerable, why I would do it.

15. C. B. Boynton and T. B. Mason, *A Journey Through Kansas* (Cincinnati, 1855), pp. 67, 68, 98, 99; Cora Dolbee, "The Second Book on Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 4 (1935), pp. 115-148. For a discussion of the larger issues of the occupation of the Grassland of North America, see Malin, *Grassland Historical Studies*, v. 1, pt. 1.

16. Milwaukee *Daily Sentinel*, November 27, 1854.

I have had some experience in this manner of building, and perhaps, after all that I could say, you would not be satisfied but by learning the same way. If so, go ahead; you may be satisfied with the result. There are many, doubtless, who do like log cabins, but were I now going West, I would sooner take a canvas house. . . .

The writer warned, however, not to waterproof or fireproof the tent, because that would only add weight, make it crack, and shorten its life. A month later, April 28, another long article was printed, written to the New York *Tribune*, by a man from Grand Prairie, Ind. He claimed to have made a farm in the timber and on the prairie, and out of that experience was presenting his conclusions:

Poor people's houses in a new country are often of logs, without windows or door. They are often built without a nail, or a foot of sawed lumber. A company of emigrants who have sense enough to follow me thus far, have too much sense to put up a log house on the prairie. If they can get lumber, they may put up a balloon house, such as are common here, and was described in *The Tribune* a few weeks back—or they may put up one of gravel and lime—or entirely of clay and straw. . . .

In the final recommendation, the writer was referring to the earth houses of the Spanish Southwest. But in this recommendation as well as the others, few if any of the New Englanders at Lawrence would have had any experience.

Evidently some of the New England colonists went out on farm claims and built log cabins, and possibly most of them who actually settled on farms did so, but few accounts of these have been found thus far in print. Most of the letters to the press and news stories from the Lawrence area were descriptive of town controversies and town housing. It was the town residents, not the farmers, who were most vocal. One of the Ogden brothers from Chelsea, Mass., members of the third party, built six miles south of Lawrence. Wm. L. G. Soule, of the same place, a farmer, and a member of the fifth party, built two miles from town. He lived with Ogden during the construction period of his own log cabin, a 10 x 12-foot structure, with split shingles for a roof, a mud and sticks chimney, and the ground for a floor. The fifth party had arrived at Kansas City November 19, and Soule's letter written Christmas eve, reported that his cabin would be ready for occupancy within the week.¹⁷

The first reports of the cost of log cabins were quite low. One writer reported that they could be built for \$40 to \$60. John Doy wrote in one letter, that the cost was \$30 to \$50, and in another

17. Concord [Mass.?] *Independent Democrat*, January 25, 1855.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 2, p. 153. The identification of Soule and the Ogdens was made by Louise Barry, *loc. cit.*, pp. 134, 150.

letter, \$25 to \$30.¹⁸ Boynton and Mason had insisted that log houses were not only costly, but were unsatisfactory even if built.

In contrast with all the ferment over housing at Lawrence, it is well to enter into the record a Missouri report by G. S. Park on a tour of Kansas territory. In printing it, Editor L. J. Eastin of the Leavenworth *Herald* stated that few from the East understood pioneer life, expecting to find a country where they could live without work. Park thought too much time was devoted by them to organizing leagues, and making constitutions:

Specious plans, drawn with precision on paper, are not worth a straw on the ground. An actual settler needs a team that he may bring with him his provisions and necessary utensils; then he can go on to his claims, make camp, and commence cutting logs, notching and laying them up, and covering over his cabin with 3 or 4 feet boards rived out of some good oak tree near by. The outside has to be chinked and daubed with mud; the inside may be boarded up; while for a floor, some puncheons can be split up and laid down,—after which the family can “move in.” The next movement is to split rails, or lay up stone walls for fences, &c. It is useless to go away out from the settlements as many have done, without provisions and implements to work with, especially at this late season; all who are prepared to do as we have indicated should stay on the frontier till spring. . . . Money can’t purchase comfort and convenience.¹⁹

To the experienced Westerner, the process of settlement, including the log cabin, was just that simple. The conflict or rivalry of cultures exhibited throughout these discussions had nothing *per se* to do with slavery. Yet regardless of Eastern suspicions, there was little room for slavery in a pioneer society establishing itself by such procedures in a new country like Kansas. Writing July 14, 1854, Richard Mendenhall, the Quaker missionary to the Indians, and later associated with the Osawatomie community, estimated that “Three-fourths of those coming from Missouri are coming to get away from Slavery, and will, consequently, vote for Freedom.”²⁰ The question the Free-State historians have never even faced, is how and why so many of these Western settlers with Free-State sentiments were so soon alienated from the cause.

SPRING IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING

Partly because it was newspaper custom at the turn of the calendar year to take stock of the city’s status, the accomplishment of the past year, and the promise of the future, the Lawrence papers conformed

18. J. T. in Boston *Commonwealth*, September 4, 1854, the letter dated August 17.—“Webb Scrapbooks,” v. 1, p. 117; the Doy letters are in the Boston *Puritan Recorder*, September 14, 1854, and the Rochester *Daily Democrat* (n. d.).—“Webb Scrapbooks,” v. 1, pp. 97, 128.

19. Leavenworth *Weekly Kansas Herald*, December 22, 1854.

20. *National Era*, Washington, August, 1854.—“Webb Scrapbooks,” v. 1, p. 81.

with the tradition. But there was more involved in this instance; the spring immigration, if it was to come, would soon be arriving and in the East from which so much was expected by the New England contingent, prospective emigrants from that area should be making definite preparations. The *Kansas Free State*, January 3, 1855, pictured Lawrence as a town of 117 buildings completed or under construction, and insisted that city planning was geared to a goal of 50,000 to 100,000 population, therefore the streets were 80 feet in width, except Main street, which was 100 feet. The *Herald of Freedom*, January 13, recalled that "Three months ago there were no residences here other than tents; now there are over ninety in the city limits, and new ones added daily."

In comparing past and future immigration, the *Kansas Free State* deplored the exaggerated reports about Kansas, emanating from the aid societies, and the resulting disappointments, but did not regret the loss of those "unexperienced in pioneer life, and unwilling to endure the privations and hardships which they found connected with the settlement of a new country." The editors thought otherwise, however, about the many worthy settlers, who through "ignorance and mismanagement of these agents, were delayed until the dead of winter, and then thrown into the territory in such numbers that it was impossible for them to obtain shelter. . . . They were obliged to return or go elsewhere with their families. Out of this experience the *Kansas Free State* admonished that prospective settlers "come, as little dependent upon associations, or agents, as possible," and with a willingness "to sacrifice the superfluities of life. . . ." ²¹

The *Herald of Freedom* adopted substantially the Western point of view in its instructions to prospective emigrants; "Settlers invariably first select wood claims and springs" even "though it will be necessary to go further into the interior to find them." In emphasizing the timing of arrival, Editor Brown advised the earliest possible arrival: "Get in your spring crops as soon as possible, and then look after your dwellings, having in the mean time lived in tents." He told them also: "The first settlers generally put up hewed log houses, log stables, and set up low posts for sheds, roofed with prairie hay." For the log cabin "he must rive his boards for a roof, from the largest oak in the forest," and he must "with prairie mud and lime stop up the spaces between the logs, making his house

21. *Kansas Free State*, January 3, 1855.

tight and warm." The chimney and fireplace could be built of stone, and the door, and the window if he wanted one, covered with cloth.²²

To serve its spring emigration, the Emigrant Aid Company (trustee agreement of 1854) which had become the New England Emigrant Aid Company, under a charter, issued an information circular which reflected substantially the experience acquired over the previous few months. Much of the Western point of view was in evidence. Settlers were advised to purchase tents at St. Louis, on the way West, or build "a sod cabin, (Lawrence style of architecture) . . . at an expense of eight to twelve dollars." But they were referred also to the instructions printed in the *Herald of Freedom*. And furthermore, emigrants from the East were warned that only at Lawrence and Topeka were receiving houses to be available during 1855.²³

THE COMPANY, SAWMILLS, AND LUMBER

The firmness of the grip of the framing tradition in building techniques is ever in evidence during the first months of the history of Lawrence. The Kimball brothers were reported at the opening of the year of 1855 as preparing a three-story frame building, 30 x 50 feet, for a planing mill. And shortly after, the comment was made that "A large number of frame houses, ready for covering, scattered all over this city, suggests that *lumber* is indeed the great want of Lawrence." Then J. P. Wood was negotiating for a lot for a warehouse on the levee, but in the meantime, "He has the frame now nearly ready, which is 20 by 40 feet, two stories high." Two months later it was reported completed.²⁴ When the word frame was used in these connections, it is evident that the English form of construction with timbers, morticed, tenoned, and braced, was the basic system, although probably in the modified version then currently described in mid-century books on carpentry.

In this first issue, January 3, 1855, the *Kansas Free State*, owned and edited by Josiah Miller and R. G. Elliot, although airing a grievance, spoke candidly about a number of facts usually suppressed in connection with the Emigrant Aid Company's town and its operations. According to Miller's initial editorial article, they had decided, in April, 1854, to establish a newspaper in Kansas.

22. *Herald of Freedom*, January 20, February 3, 1855. Other descriptive articles appeared February 10, March 24, 1855.

23. The most of the circular was reprinted in *ibid.*, April 14, 1855, under the head "Information for Kansas Pioneers," and signed by Thomas H. Webb, secretary. The circular was not dated, but internal evidence indicates that it was composed between March 20 and March 27, 1855, or between the departure from Boston of the second and third parties of the spring migration.

24. *Herald of Freedom*, January 6, March 10, April 28, June 2, 1855.

They received a promise of lumber, which was confirmed by Charles Robinson, if they would locate at Lawrence. ". . . We went to work and prepared a frame house, all ready for the lumber." At that stage, they were informed there would be no lumber, and even the logs assembled, upon which Miller had advanced gold, were sawed into lumber and delivered by the Company mill to G. W. Brown for his *Herald of Freedom* office. Their own office was eventually located "in a building made of very ordinary split oak boards. It is not at all comfortable, having no floor, ceiling, or window sash." A second building was ready in April, 1855, and the *Free State*, April 30, announced that the "office has been recently moved from out of the ground, on Kentucky St., on to a floor, about eighteen inches above the surface of the earth, on [12] Massachusetts St." Within the year, still another move was contemplated—into the second floor of Duncan's stone building—before cold weather, according to the announcement in the *Free State*, October 22, but was not made at that time on account of delays in construction. This episode is important to the early history of Lawrence, because the Miller-Elliott paper provided an anticompany record of its early months.

When the company sawmill began operations about December 1, 1854, according to Carpenter, the Delaware Indians on the north side of the river contracted to deliver 600 logs at one dollar each and to take their pay in lumber.²⁵ On January 23, 1855, the company signed a one-year lease of its mill to the Kimball brothers, by which they were allowed five dollars per thousand feet for all lumber they sawed.²⁶ As reported in the *Herald of Freedom*, February 17, two-thirds of the lumber sawed, supposedly 4,000 feet per day, was delivered to the company for its hotel. Some complained because the lumber was to go to the hotel, and others because there was no adequate hotel.

The *Kansas Free State*, January 24, 1855, insisted that the town of Douglas, a Proslavery project five miles above Lawrence was operating on the proper plan by securing a good private sawmill, with a capacity of 8,000 feet per day. In the advertising column the owners offered lumber at three dollars per hundred feet, which could be rafted down to Lawrence.

The *Kansas Free State*, February 14, was incensed by a letter,

25. A. O. Carpenter, December 3, 1854, in Brattleboro (Vt.) *Eagle*, December 29, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 2, p. 124.

26. "New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers," letter press book, Kansas State Historical Society.

published in the Boston *Traveller*, as an example of exaggeration relative to Emigrant Aid Company activities at Lawrence:

We need only remark, that the machinery spoken of . . . consists of a very ordinary, worn out saw mill, a "Burrows grist mill," which has not even been geared, and the timber framed for a planing and sash mill; the *brick* hotel in process of construction is a frame, and the occupants of claims are about 300 to 400 voters in a district of 10 to 15 square miles.

Later the *Kansas Free State* of March 3 reported:

Various views exist as to this Company. While many of the Eastern papers regard the Company as the great death blow to slavery, nearly all here, except a few who are connected with it, consider it as productive of the greatest injury to the cause of Freedom in Kansas.

An Eastern newspaper article which stated that the company sawmill was delivering 3,000 to 4,000 feet of lumber per day was denounced as a falsehood; "As to the saw mill . . ., it has been a greater drawback to the settlement of this place than all other things together. It has not cut three thousand feet per week." The article insisted that but for the company and its claims, private capital would not have been scared off, and Lawrence would have had two sawmills at least. The charge was made that the company "exhibits a shallow insight into human nature"; it boasted of "civilization and refinement" that could be introduced only by itself: "Western and Southern men have become tired of hearing . . . that none of these things can come from any other quarter, except the East." And what had the company actually contributed?—About 300-400 people; one old sawmill that did not saw most of the time; the *Herald of Freedom*, which denied it was a company organ; these were the total of its accomplishments for "civilization and refinement."²⁷

A month later the *Herald of Freedom*, April 7, was demanding more sawmills, or Lawrence must remain unoccupied for years. Deitzler and Shimmons were reported to have decided to establish a sawmill and the latter had gone east to buy machinery. A week later the company sawmill was denounced again by the *Kansas Free State*: "The apology for one which encumbers a portion of the town site, has been absolutely an injury to the place, causing most persons to depend upon it, and at last disappointing them." Yet, the editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, April 7, had insisted, logs of the highest quality, one and one-half to three feet in diameter, were on hand at the mill yard.

27. *Kansas Free State*, March 3, 1855.

Even the favored few who received sawed lumber did not escape troubles. Unseasoned cottonwood, so largely cut for lumber, was notorious in its performance—assuming amazing shapes under the influence of rain and the Kansas sun. The *Herald of Freedom* office was built of that material, and the editor admitted it would be well ventilated by the time spring came. Likewise Charles Robinson, agent of the company, built on Massachusetts street a combined office and dwelling, 25 x 35 feet, covered with green cottonwood boards, and well ventilated in due time.²⁸

Emergency roofing practice has been described, but 1855 brought little betterment apparently unless shingles and composition roofing were hauled in by wagon, or after navigation of the Kansas was attempted, brought in occasionally by boat. The need of a shingle machine was emphasized, although "suitable lumber for shaved shingles is very scarce and all of it so difficult to work that they cannot be made for less than \$5.00 to \$6.00 per thousand."²⁹ The first local shingles advertised were offered through the *Herald of Freedom*, April 21, 1855. Shingle material was mostly black walnut, selling at five to six dollars per thousand, and young men were urged to engage in the business.³⁰

In June, 1855, three additional, or "private" sawmills, were assured for the near future. The Smith, Green and Company mill was being erected; the Hunt mill had arrived by river boat within the week; and the Deitzler and Shimmons mill was expected soon.³¹ On June 9, both the Smith-Green and the Hunt mills were advertised as beginning operations on the 11th, and customers were advised to bring their logs, first come first served, also logs would be purchased.³² The Deitzler and Shimmons mill had arrived in Kansas City late in July. Mill capacity had scarcely been built up, however, until the Hunt mill was eliminated by a boiler explosion.³³ Thus, not more than three sawmills were actually operating at the same time during that latter half of the year 1855. On November 5, 1855, the *Kansas Free State* asserted: "There are not less than one hundred buildings in the course of construction, at present, and many more would have been built had the lumber been easily obtained." Not until April, 1860, was the claim made that: "For the

28. *Herald of Freedom*, March 31, 1855.

29. *Kansas Free State*, March 17, 1855.

30. *Herald of Freedom*, December 13, 1856.

31. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1855.

32. *Ibid.*, June 9, 16, 1855.

33. *Kansas Free State*, November 26, 1855.

first time in the history of Lawrence we have an abundance of good lumber, and at reasonable rates.”³⁴

BALLOON FRAMING

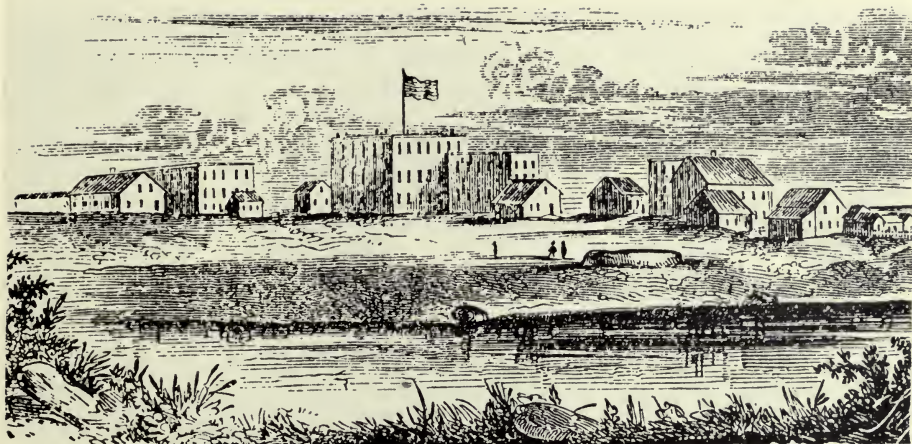
The *Herald of Freedom* of March 10, 1855, reprinted from the New York *Tribune* a description of balloon framing, a relatively new mode of building with lumber. It had been developed most fully to the west of the Appalachian mountains, the arguments for it being a saving of material, labor, and time, and furthermore, the carpenter work could be done by unskilled labor or by the owner, with a minimum of tools and experience. Instead of large timbers, often cut to specifications in each case, standardized sawed lumber, 2 x 4, 2 x 6, or 2 x 8 inches was used. Instead of mortise, tenon, and wooden pins fitted by master joiners, the balloon frame was put together with machine-cut iron nails: “If it had not been for the knowledge of balloon frames, Chicago and San Francisco could never have risen, as they did, from little villages to great cities in a single year.” Had Lawrence been built upon a navigable river, where lumber could have been shipped in by water, this innovation would have been more important immediately, but under the circumstances, balloon framing depended upon the local sawmills.

READY-MADE HOUSES

One significant aspect of the social ferment in the United States during the mid-19th century, was an aggressive interest in domestic architecture. An important facet of it concentrated on homes for the low income groups. In Cincinnati, Ohio, an answer was offered by the firm of Hinkle, Guild & Company in the form of ready-made houses, and in 1855, Kansas and Nebraska Portable Cottages. The argument for ready-made cottages in Kansas turned on scarcity of skilled labor and of suitable seasoned lumber on the frontier, and on the economies of factory production. These cottages were available in 1855, “containing two or more rooms, which can be put up and taken down in a few hours.” The saving was said to be 30 per cent. A one-story house, 16 x 32 feet, was quoted at \$230, plus freight, and from Cincinnati to Kansas City that was estimated at \$50. Assembled houses were on exhibit at Cincinnati, and one was promised at Kansas City in June, 1855.³⁵ A price range of \$150 to \$500 was quoted for different styles. The materials were avail-

34. Lawrence *Republican*, April 12, 1860.

35. *Kansas Free State*, April 14, 1855, carried the advertisement of Hinkle, Guild & Company, and an editorial paragraph, a disguised advertisement, called attention to it, giving further explanations; *Herald of Freedom*, June 2, 16, 1855.



(Upper) LAWRENCE, SUPPOSEDLY IN MAY, 1856, from an artist's sketch in Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of the Great West* . . . (early 1857 edition). The building under the flag in the center is the Free-State Hotel, now the Eldridge Hotel site.

(Lower) LAWRENCE BUSINESS DISTRICT IN 1867, seven hundred block; Massachusetts street. Extreme right, the Eldridge Hotel; next door south, Fraser Hall, the third floor of the building being used for public gatherings. An Alexander Gardner photograph, owned by the Kansas State Historical Society.



(Upper) LOOKING SOUTH INTO THE WAKARUSA VALLEY IN 1867 from the present site of the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

(Lower) LOOKING NORTHEAST OVER LAWRENCE IN 1867 from Mount Oread (Old North College), the present site of Corbin Hall. The Methodist church (right center) was at the corner of Tenth and Massachusetts Streets, site of the present Masonic Temple.

Note the uniformity of frame architecture, rectangular, with gable roofs. Gardner photographs, K. S. H. S.

able, ready to be assembled, at St. Louis, as well as at Cincinnati. In Lawrence, high rents were advanced as an argument to induce investors to bring many of them as an income proposition. "The meanest shanty brings one dollar per week, and rough houses, containing only a single room, without plastering or ceiling, rent readily at \$6 to \$25 per month. Generally, the rent per annum is from fifty to one hundred per cent on the cost of building." When E. Simmons advertised them in Kansas City, the notice listed as references, C. Robinson, and S. C. Pomeroy, agents of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and G. W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*.³⁶ The first one of these cottages to appear at Lawrence was credited to Hiram Hill, on Massachusetts street, south of the *Herald of Freedom* office, a two-story building, 16 x 34 feet, the material being shipped in on the steamboat Hartford, which arrived May 21:

The boards are of pine, one and an eight inch in thickness, running perpendicular, matched together, and must make a very warm and comfortable building. The whole cost, when completed; will not exceed eight hundred dollars. Mr. E. Jones of Wilberham, Mass., is master builder. We hope others wanting a good building will be induced to examine this and erect similar structures.³⁷

Lawrence was handicapped, however, by the lack of river service. The Hartford was grounded on a sandbar and never made the return trip. Other boats did reach Lawrence during the navigation season, but successful service was not established.³⁸ Leavenworth imported many Hinkle cottages, so many that one section of the town was nicknamed Cincinnati. Parenthetically, it may be stated here, that the housing problem in all its aspects, in relation to river navigation, afforded a basis for a telling accusation against the Emigrant Aid Company of 1854 which was made by the *Kansas Free State*, July 9, 1855, for bungling the whole Free-State cause by selecting an inland rather than a Missouri river site for a Free-State town. Later, the company tried to remedy the situation, but the damage had been done. It was not geography that determined the situation, but the bungling of the men who did the planning.

SUBSTITUTES FOR WOOD

The most conspicuous evidence that the New England Emigrant Aid Company group had benefited from experience appeared in the section of its "Information for Kansas Pioneers" (1855), dealing

36. *Herald of Freedom*, June 2, 1855; *Kansas Free State*, June 4, 1855.

37. *Herald of Freedom*, June 9, 1855.

38. *Kansas Free State*, May 28, July 2, August 27, 1855, April 7, 1856; *Herald of Freedom*, May 26, June 16, August 25, 1855.

with "Wood and timber." The limited supply of timber was represented as an advantage as well as a disadvantage, but the former was the greater: "The law of compensation is here found admirably exemplified. . . ." So far as building materials were concerned, the compensation was found in limestone, and clay, and in the potential tree growth after prairie fires were controlled. Also, the *Herald of Freedom* had made the acquaintance of a book by O. S. Fowler, *A Home for All, or the Gravel Wall and Octagon Mode of Building* (New York, Fowler and Wells, 1854), which took the ground that "nature's provisions are all *perfect*. . . . Of course what is objectionable is not hers."³⁹

BRICK

In the particular Lawrence situation, the possibilities of substitutes for wood, were made specific, although they had often been pointed out in general terms for the Kansas-Nebraska area over the months since the territory had been opened. When the pioneer parties began preparations in September for the sawmill at Lawrence, they had no brick for the arches and stack of the chimney, so they used stone.⁴⁰ Probably it was natural for New Englanders and other Easterners from the brick-using regions to turn to brick as the first substitute for wood, although stone was more readily available. Early in February, 1855, the announcement was made that the first kiln of brick would be burned in the spring: "From the difficulty of procuring timber, it is evident our city must be built up of brick and mortar. . . ." ⁴¹

Although the brick plant was slow in materializing, the discussions went on, and among the substitutes for wood, the conclusion was expressed that "as brick can probably be used most readily, it would be generally adopted in the city if they could be obtained." To attract capital to invest in Kansas brick making, a price of six dollars per thousand was named as a minimum.⁴² An advertisement asking for 200 cords of wood appeared April 28, and a hope was expressed to have any quantity of brick available in six weeks.⁴³ Evidently this first attempt failed. An article printed in May, 1857, described a new enterprise and explained that the sponsors thought

39. *Herald of Freedom*, April 14, 1855; *ibid.*, February 10, March 10, 31, 1855, referred to the book. The quotation is from p. 16 of the book.

40. *Herald of Freedom*, January 20, 1855.

41. *Ibid.*, February 3, 1855.

42. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1855.

43. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1855.

that the fault of the former attempt lay in improperly tempering the clay, which was different from Eastern clay.⁴⁴

STONE

The New Englanders did not appear to have a stonecutter's tradition—at any rate it did not seem to be represented among the New England contingent at Lawrence and vicinity during these months of beginnings. Limestone was plentiful both as building material and for burning for lime. Quarrying and dressing of stone to be laid up by line, was not only slow, but prohibitive in skilled labor costs on the frontier where all labor was scarce and capital available for investment in skilled labor was even more scarce. In the vicinity of Lawrence, and in much of eastern Kansas, a hard, relatively free, partly weathered limestone, was available in the outcroppings along the hillsides and bluffs. The shapes and sizes of the fragments were highly irregular. The pressure of necessity was strong, however, for utilization of the material available on the ground, and ingenuity was challenged to find a method suitable to the material and the circumstances.

A number of methods were considered for making walls with lime as the binding agent, the names used being grout, concrete, and composite. Although other sources contributed, the book, *A Home for All*, by Fowler, appears to have been the chief source of inspiration. By grout was meant the use of gravel as the aggregate, bound together by sand and lime, and poured into forms (boxes). By concrete was meant strictly a sand and lime wall poured into forms, but the term was used by Fowler to cover a wall of lime, sand, and any kind of aggregate. The composite wall, as the term was used in Lawrence, appears to have meant one in which the rocks were laid up in layers in mortar, without being dressed, thus becoming a form or box which was filled with broken rock and mortar. But in Lawrence the usage of these terms was not exact.

The *Herald of Freedom* developed the theme, insisting that there was no doubt that concrete houses "will come into general use. Several gentlemen have already combined to erect one which shall serve as a model for the Territory. . . ." Furthermore, the editor reprinted a prediction that the new material "will form a new era in the art of building, and be the means, we ardently hope, of providing 'homes for all'."⁴⁵ The next week the editor concluded

44. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1857.

45. *Ibid.*, February 10, March 3, 1855.

that, for city building, brick would probably be preferred but many concrete houses would be used, and for country building "concrete houses are to become the principal structures."⁴⁶ A local paragraph commented that the large piles of river sand in various places indicate "structures of concrete" to be built on the plan of Fowler and Wells.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, there is some question whether the term concrete was always used accurately or consistently. If poured into "boxes," lumber would be necessary. The most specific description of concrete in the strict sense is one written in December, 1856:

Almost any man of common ingenuity can lay up what we here call concrete houses which simply means laying up the stone in boxes as concrete houses are laid up, instead of by lines. Boxes are used by filling in mortar & small stones and laying up large stones regularly with the largest stones at the corners: the large stones are cemented together by this process more cheaply than in the ordinary way. 15 cts. pr foot is the price for such work: & 25 for line work. \$150 would put up a house of this sort for a small family, & this house would in after years serve for a granary or out house of any description when the parties were able to build a better.⁴⁸

This description did not specify board forms, as lumber was not mentioned. The language is open to the interpretation that the stone itself was so placed as to effect essentially that purpose.

Confusion in usage between the words concrete and composite become evident in the newspaper stories. The composite was not fully described, but one statement said "a mixture of stone and mortar, laid up after the order of concrete structures, with the exception that the stone will be put up in layers. . . ." ⁴⁹ Probably stones with one fairly regular surface were laid up by line in mortar so that the faces of the wall were not too rough and irregular, and then the spaces were filled with smaller rocks inbedded in mortar, using an occasional long rock extending the full width of the wall, or nearly so, to tie the faces together. Thus, instead of a wooden form or box, the stones themselves would be laid so that they served virtually that function. G. W. Hutchinson built the first major concrete building, 50 feet square and two stories, divided below for stores, the upper floor designed for a public hall. Later, when the walls were completed, the method of construction was called com-

46. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1855. Future articles on concrete and its cost were promised, but no formal article of that exact nature appeared, although related material was printed.

47. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1855.

48. Horace L. Dunnell, "Kansas Experiences," manuscript statement prepared for Thaddeus Hyatt, December 7, 1856, *loc. cit.*

49. *Herald of Freedom*, May 19, 1855.

posite.⁵⁰ In May, many were reported to be about to build concrete buildings, the abundance of stones and gravel making it the cheapest method.⁵¹

A discussion of walls in Wisconsin was used to introduce a description of an invention of concrete building blocks claimed by Ambrose Foster, Portland, Dodge county, Wis. The assertion was made that it "bids fair eventually to drive clay-made bricks entirely out of the market, and to supersede in many instances the use of stone," because lime and sand were more widely distributed than brick clay. In grout construction little care had been given to the proportions of lime to aggregate, but for the concrete blocks the formula of 12 parts of sand to one of lime must be observed strictly, the sand and dehydrated powdered lime being "mixed together in a nearly dry state," and compressed in a machine with 120 tons "on a single brick of the ordinary size." The bricks were then air cured. They could be moulded also with air spaces which would provide dead air spaces in the wall. An argument for this mode of operations was that skilled workmen were not required, and a farmer, with a machine, could work up his own brick out of material on the spot, on his own time, and build his home, barns, fences, etc., economically. By the judicious use of metallic oxides, it was said that attractive colorings could be provided.⁵² Probably this process is of more interest to the history of these building materials than to the practice of actual building in Lawrence, but these discussions are an important reflection of the ingenuity being exercised by the people in trying to solve their own problems with what was at hand, rather than waiting upon the company to saw lumber for them or return to the states defeated.

Each of the modes of construction just reviewed, brick, concrete, and composite, required the use of a binding agent. As of 1855, Portland cement was not available, and in the Lawrence area natural (hydraulic) cement had not been discovered although later a small deposit of the requisite material was found and exploited northwest of town. The burned limestone yielded common lime, and that was the material used exclusively in 1855. Estimates of the cost of production of lime were based upon limestone free of cost, hard wood fuel at two dollars per cord, common labor at \$1.25 per day, at which a price of 30 cents per bushel, was estimated, with 25 cents

50. *Ibid.*, March 31, June 16, 1855. The building was occupied, but still unfinished.—*Ibid.*, August 4, 11, 18, 1855.

51. *Kansas Free State*, May 21, 1855.

52. *Herald of Freedom*, April 14, 1855.

as a possible volume goal.⁵³ Evidently this discussion was based upon lime manufacture as a commercial enterprise. In actual practice lime was being burned by individual settlers, or groups of them, for their own use. Of these undertakings, however, there is little record, unless, as in the Coleman-Dow murder case at Hickory Point, other circumstances made it an issue.

EARTH CONSTRUCTION

The use of sod for housing at Lawrence, either as a supplementary or as a basic material, was treated frankly as an emergency makeshift to be discarded at the earliest possible moment, which meant within a few weeks or at the most a few months. There was no room in the point of view or the practices at Lawrence for founding a "sod house culture." Discussion did develop, however, looking to the utilization of earth for housing, but in all its forms these were inspired by special treatments of earth materials rather than natural sod, and had their origin in older civilizations and therefore involved a possible transit of culture rather than the creation of an indigenous culture. This was as true for the earth techniques as for lumber, brick, stone, and concrete or composite.

After reviewing the other materials for houses, Editor G. W. Brown commented on adobe houses of New Mexico and Utah built of "well-tempered clay" bricks, sun-dried, and argued that they would be durable in Kansas, with an Italian roof extending well over the sides and laid on a good stone foundation extending below the frost line and high enough to prevent the absorption of moisture,— "the clay here, mixed with sand, will furnish as good walls as those of Mexico and Utah." Again he cited *A Home for All*, which suggested that clay alone or clay and stones could be built into a wall tamped into boxes (forms) in the same manner as gravel walls.⁵⁴

Nearly two months later Brown was still convinced of the possibilities of clay and sand walls, properly mixed, and he announced that

. . . we have resolved on trying the experiment in the erection of an office, using the clay from the cellar, and the sand from the river. If the enterprise shall prove successful it will be a proud event for Kansas, and one which will add thousands to her population.

Probably additional inspiration for this decision was derived from a New York *Tribune* letter reprinted in the *Herald of Freedom* the same day. It was dated from Grande Prairie, Ind., and cited, be-

53. *Ibid.*, March 10, 24, 1855.

54. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1855.

sides the houses of the desert Southwest, examples in Ohio.⁵⁵ In spite of his apparent enthusiasm for the experiment, there is no evidence that Editor Brown acted upon his announcement. The idea recurred from time to time, however, in the housing history of the grassland region.

The building situation in Lawrence was evidently most unsatisfactory in 1855; lack of lumber, scarcity of capital and unemployed labor. Action was taken in May resulting in the organization, May 14, 15, of the "Lawrence Building Association" a combination of mechanics, laborers, and capitalists, to provide employment, good wages, residences, and business houses. They proposed using "composite material wholly," stone and mortar laid up in layers. The plan was designed to provide division of labor allowing each to work at his individual artisan skill, the form of organization being a sort of co-operative joint-stock company. A wage scale was agreed upon, May 17, for carpenters and joiners, stone masons, hewers, painters, and glaziers, and common labor, \$1.50 to \$3.00, the stone masons commanding the highest rate. Apparently the plan contemplated building on company account for sale as well as under contract. The officers were chosen from the substantial leaders of the community, but no evidence has been found thus far to determine whether the organization ever really functioned.⁵⁶

HOTEL

Because of the manner in which it became involved in the political controversies of territorial Kansas, the Emigrant Aid Company hotel became a symbol as well as a building. Yes, even more a symbol than an architectural achievement. Yet, from the standpoint of building construction, it stands as a sort of climax to the building program of the beginnings at Lawrence. As originally planned, the hotel was to have been a three-and-one-half story frame building, over a basement with stone footings and walls.⁵⁷ The term frame-building was used in this connection evidently in the strict architectural sense—large timbers fitted together by mortice, tenon, and pins. By the first of November, 1854, the foundations were being laid.⁵⁸ In February, 1855, the leasing of the sawmill was announced with the clause requiring that two-thirds of the output

55. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1855.

56. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1855. The text of the constitution and bylaws and the full complement of officers is published.

57. *Ibid.*, February 3, 1855.

58. Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, letter of November 2, 1854, Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, November 18, 1854.—"Webb Scrapbooks," v. 2, p. 14.

be delivered for the hotel.⁵⁹ Two weeks earlier a construction contract was announced by which S. N. Simpson pledged to complete the frame building 50 x 70 feet, three and one-half stories by May 1, 1856. At this time the statement was made that the basement was nearly ready for the frame. The fact should be pointed out that this time schedule would not insure a hotel in time for the third year of immigration which should have arrived prior to May 1, 1856. Late in April, 1855, the basement was ready for the timbers, but work was suspended, probably on account of scarcity of timbers. Editor Brown reported a rumor that the walls were to be of concrete. This was after he had experienced his first spring dust storms, so he approved with this comment, that concrete walls would not only be durable, but "dry and healthy" as well, "and impervious to wind and dust." But Brown was not fully satisfied, because he recommended that the hotel should be made fully fireproof; Warren's composition roofing, fireproof windows, iron doors, with inside walls of concrete. Subsequent developments suggest that this was somewhat too extreme for adoption by the company.⁶⁰

One becomes a little skeptical about the basement of the hotel, because in May it was again reported completed, and "the balance, it is said, will be of concrete," because of difficulties in building with lumber "which no person unacquainted with a new country can even dream of." The same account reported that grooved and matched flooring was to be shipped from St. Louis, as well as Warren's composition roofing, which was advertised in the same issue of the paper.⁶¹ Some weeks later a further explanation was made:

the very great scarcity, in fact the almost impossibility of procuring lumber sufficient for so large a building, induced them to change their plans somewhat, and composite walls, both for the exterior and for each side of the hall, extending the whole length of the building—seventy feet—as well as from the basement to the roof, was substituted.⁶²

This was not the fireproofing that Editor Brown had asked for, but it went farther in that direction than might have been expected in view of some of the adverse criticism leveled at the company.

The anticompany *Kansas Free State*, May 21, 1855, gave the hotel an unfavorable notice:

This famous building, about which there has been so much said in the papers for the last year, and the one so much looked for by emigrants upon their arrival, is now completed to the first floor, and the work has been stopped for some time. [Work was resumed Monday], and they have concluded

59. *Herald of Freedom*, February 17, 1855.

60. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1855.

61. *Ibid.*, May 12, 1855.

62. *Ibid.*, July 28, 1855.

to make a concrete building of it. . . . Lawrence has been injured no little for the want of a good hotel. Private enterprise would have had a hotel here long since.

The successive interruptions of work on the hotel are somewhat confusing. The *Herald of Freedom*, June 16, reported that work was resumed, the walls being built by B. Johnson, a member of a Pennsylvania colony—not a New Englander. On this occasion the term “composite” instead of “concrete” was used, the news story stating that the composite wall was going up rapidly.

Again the dissonant voice of the *Kansas Free State*, July 9, was raised in criticism of the Emigrant Aid Company on several scores: “Why did not the Aid Company found a few towns on the Missouri river? The sites are eligible, the very thresholds of the Territory, and navigation almost constant.” The editor went on, that the company’s claim of

eight centers of light, is all a humbug. The [saw] mill here has been a perfect nuisance. The Hotel, which has been building ever since the Company had an existence, still lingers. It is now up one story, the work having stopped, and the contractor has taken his hands off, not being able to get his pay, and of course cannot go on with the work.

The mill and the hotel are all they have attempted here, and they have done nothing at the other points. This hotel being delayed thus, has been more injury to the place than all other things combined.—Hundreds of persons have left our place for want of a comfortable hotel to stop at. Yet the Company will neither do anything itself, nor give up the work to individuals who would put it up immediately. We think that this powerful Company has scared the citizens of Lawrence into acquiescence, silence and submission long enough. If you have any regard for your own pecuniary interests, you will no longer submit to their tantalizing humbugging operations. Let us have a hotel ready for the reception of the immense emigration that will pour in here in the fall. It is suicidal for us to depend on the Aid Company doing anything for Lawrence, or for any other point in Kansas Territory.

The later history of the hotel need not be told here. It was not completed until 1856, when the *Herald of Freedom*, April 12, announced the event with a full description. And then, on May 21, following, it was burned by Sheriff Samuel Jones and his mob.⁶³ It had become the principal target of the Proslavery attack upon Lawrence as a center of Free-State agitation in Kansas. As a hotel for receiving Free-State immigration intent upon settling in Kansas, it had scarcely functioned. As a symbol, although destroyed, the Emigrant Aid Company hotel was the most important building in territorial Kansas. In its service to the cause as a symbol, it paid for itself several times over.

63. See the author’s previous articles, “Judge Lecompte and the Sack of Lawrence,” *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (August, November, 1953).

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. McFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified as general. The out-of-state city directories received by the Historical Society are not included in this compilation.

We also receive regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribe to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were added to the library from October 1, 1952, to September 30, 1953. Federal and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in the Spring issue of the *Quarterly*.

KANSAS

- ABBOTT, JOHN STEVENS CABOT, *Christopher Carson. Familiarly Known as Kit Carson*. New York, Dodd and Mead, 1873. 342p.
- ADAMS, RAMON F., *Come an' Get It; the Story of the Old Cowboy Cook*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press [c1952]. 170p.
- ALDERSON, NANNIE T., and HELENA HUNTINGTON SMITH, *A Bride Goes West*. New York, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. [c1942]. 273p.
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- BARBER, MARSHALL A., *The Schoolhouse at Prairie View*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1953. 84p.
- BRADY, HOBART C., *Real Estate . . . It's Wonderful*. [Chicago, R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company] c1952. 63p.
- BRANDI, C. F., *"High in the Sierra" '52*. [Nevada, R. Carlisle and Company] c1952. 96p.

- BRINSTOOL, EARL ALONZO, *Troopers With Custer, Historic Incidents of the Battle of the Little Big Horn*. Harrisburg, Pa., The Stackpole Company [c1952]. 343p.
- BURT, OLIVE, *Jedediah Smith, Fur Trapper of the Old West*. New York, Julian Messner, Inc. [c1951]. 187p.
- CARLSON, ANNA M., *Grassroots Senator*. New York, Vantage Press, Inc. [1952]. 201p.
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- COOPER, PAGE, *Pat's Harmony*. Cleveland, The World Publishing Company [c1952]. 212p.
- CORPORON, JOHN R., *The Political Writings of William G. Clugston*. A Thesis submitted to the Department of Political Science and the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts. Lawrence, Author, c1953. Typed. 54p.
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- CROFT-COOK, RUPERT, and W. S. MEADMORE, *Buffalo Bill, the Legend, the Man of Action, the Showman*. London, Sidgwick and Jackson Limited [1952]. 239p.
- DAVIS, KENNETH SYDNEY, *River on the Rampage*. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1953. 217p.
- DAY, JOHN WARREN, *A History and Guide to Grace Cathedral, Topeka, Kansas*. [Topeka, Capper Printing Company, 1952.] 116p.
- EMMETT, CHRIS, *Shanghai Pierce, a Fair Likeness*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press [c1953]. 326p.
- FERNALD, HELEN CLARK, *Plow the Dew Under*. New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1952. 300p.
- FISHER, AILEEN, *Homestead of the Free (the Kansas Story)*. New York, Aladdin Books, 1953. 192p.
- FLORA, SNOWDEN D., *Tornadoes of the United States*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press [c1953]. 194p.
- Forbes Air Force Base*. [Topeka, Myers and Company, Inc., 1953.] Unpaged.
- FORSTER, MINNIE JANE, *Lost Creek, an Ozark Novel of the Civil War*. New York, Exposition Press [c1952]. 259p.
- FULLING, KAY, *Mantillas and Silver Spurs*. New York, The North River Press, 1952. 140p.
- GARST, DORIS SHANNON, *Amelia Earhart, Heroine of the Skies*. New York, Julian Messner, Inc. [c1951]. 191p.
- , *Custer, Fighter of the Plains*. New York, Julian Messner, Inc. [c1944]. 174p.
- , *Kit Carson, Trail Blazer and Scout*. New York, Julian Messner, Inc. [c1942]. 241p.
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- GILPIN, WILLIAM, *Guide to the Kansas Gold Mines at Pike's Peak, Describing the Routes, Camping Places, Tools, Outfits, Etc., From Notes of Capt. J. W. Gunnison . . . Also, an Address on the New Gold Mines, Delivered at*

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- HALEY, J. EVETTS, *Life on the Texas Range*. Photographs by Erwin E. Smith. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1952. 111p.
- HANSON, PERRY O., *A Modern Book of Ruth*. [Iola, Iola Register, 1951.] 22p.
- HATCH, ALDEN, *Young Ike*. New York, Julian Messner, Inc. [c1953]. 147p.
- HENRY, JOHN M., *A Little Treasury of Main Street U. S. A., From the Wit and Wisdom of America's Country Editors*. New York, The Vanguard Press, Inc. [c1952]. 93p.
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- MEANS, FLORENCE (CRANNELL), *Carvers' George, a Biography of George Washington Carver*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952. 176p.
- MENNINGER, WILLIAM C., *Making and Keeping Friends*. Chicago, Science Research Associates, Inc., 1952. 49p.
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Bypaths of Kansas History

A SCARCITY OF FRONT GATES

From *The Sumner County Press*, Wellington, April 23, 1874.

Marriages have been so infrequent in Sumner county since its settlement, as to lead to the discussion of the cause of a state of affairs so deplorable, by parties deeply interested in the future welfare of our beautiful country. We have heard the subject discussed, but never have heard any satisfactory reason given, until a few days since we overheard a young lady—recently from one of the eastern states—suggest, that it was attributable to the great scarcity of *front gates*!

THE CALL OF THE WILD

From the *Newton Kansan*, November 5, 1874.

One day last week as the mail train west of Dodge City was coming east, a herd of buffalo made their appearance near the track, which so raised the nerves of our route agent friend J. C. Jones (of Osborne county) that he, gun in hand jumped off the train and started across the prairie after them, leaving his mail car wide open. The train continued on its way, and he was left behind and picked up by the western bound train.

AN EYE FOR BUSINESS

From the *Garden City Paper*, June 19, 1879.

A minister not living over a hundred miles from here and also keeps a store, who had just commenced his sermon, last Sunday when he spied some emigrant wagons coming up the road, and that one of them had stopped in front of his store, he immediately stopped in his discourse, blew his nose, coughed, walked down the aisle and whispered to his son: "Go out and sell those emigrants some goods, as it is necessary." He then walked back to the pulpit, winked with his off eye, and finished his sermon.

DEER IN WESTERN KANSAS

From the *Wallace County Register*, Wallace, December 11, 1886.

Mr. Spencer who has a claim in Sherman county is a successful "Nimrod." He has been stopping with Andy Phillips for a few weeks. Last week he took his fine old buffalo gun and crossed the Smoky to the south, where among the ravines he discovered a herd of blacktailed deer. He came home late in the evening very tired and reported that he had killed one doe, and brought the liver along as evidence. Taking a wagon next morning he went out for his game and returned about noon with four fine specimens, two does and two fawns. Ye editor is ready to testify as to how nice they were.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

A series, "Early Days of Towanda Area Are Graphically Re-counted," by Evalina Edmiston, has appeared frequently during the past several months in the *Butler Free-Lance*, El Dorado.

Hays and Ellis county history has continued to appear regularly in recent issues of the Hays *Daily News* and the *Ellis County News*, Hays.

With the issue of January 7, 1954, the *Gypsum Advocate* began the publication in weekly installments of a history of the Gypsum valley by Mildred Karber.

The January-February, 1954, issue of *To the Stars*, Topeka, publication of the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, was the annual tourist edition. The following number, April-May, was the Kansas centennial issue. Featured were Kansas historical articles, dealing particularly with the territorial period.

Wayne A. O'Connell's series on the origin of names in southern Kansas was continued in the *Chetopa Advance*, February 4, 1954, and the *Oswego Independent*, February 5. Included were the names Oswego, Hopefield, Old Cherokee, Jacksonville, Neola, Dayton, Kingston, Timber Hill, Deerton, and Big Hill.

An article entitled "Arkansas City This Year Reaches Its 85th Birthday Anniversary," by Walter Hutchison, was published in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, February 9, 1954. Settlers began arriving in 1869 and the town of Creswell was laid out in 1870, becoming Arkansas City in 1872.

A history of Americus, established in 1857, was printed in the *Emporia Weekly Gazette*, February 11, 1954. Recent articles in the daily *Gazette* were: "The Story of Old Madison County," by Lucina Jones, March 29-31; and "[Congregational] Church Is Celebrating Its Own Centennial in Kansas This Year," May 5. The *Gazette* has continued to print the historical column, "When Emporia Was Young."

Articles of historical note in recent issues of the *Coffeyville Daily Journal* included: a biographical sketch of Charley Auld, an old-time cowman in the Indian territory, now of Cedar Vale, by Jim Colegrove, February 14, 1954; biographical sketch of Samuel O. Witwer, West Coffeyville pioneer, by Oren "Bud" Wright, March 7; "Battle

for [Montgomery] County Seat Saw Rise and Fall of Communities." also by Wright, April 4; and a brief history of the Coffeyville First Presbyterian church, May 7.

John Watson's "See Kansas" series on historical spots in Kansas has continued to appear in the *Wichita Evening Eagle*. Some of the places included were: Shawnee Mission, February 18; old Oregon trail roadhouse, Atchison, March 4; Planters' House, Leavenworth, March 11; Lane University, March 18; Atchison, the scene of a speech by Abraham Lincoln in 1859, April 15; and the Chilocco Indian School, south of Arkansas City, May 20. Also appearing in the *Evening Eagle* were "Monument to 'Buffalo Bill' Mathewson Advocated," a letter from William H. Owen, Leavenworth, March 3; and "City's First Church [First Presbyterian] Organized in Dugout 84 Years Ago," March 20. The following stories were printed in the *Sunday Eagle*: "Wichita Century Ago Was Village of Indian Tribe," by Myra Lockwood Brown, February 28; "Council Grove Relives Colorful History," by John Watson, May 9; "49 Settlements Sought Honor as Capital of Kansas," by Jonathan M. Dow, May 23; and "Kansas Born in Tragedy 100 Years Ago," by Bob Tonsing, Sr., May 30.

A biographical sketch of Mrs. Margaret Haun Raser, Hodgeman county school teacher and daughter of the founder of Jetmore, T. S. Haun, by Ethel Watkins, was published in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, February 20, 1954. The *Globe* printed a story of the now "dead" town of Ravanna, March 16.

St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran church, near Cheney, observed its 70th anniversary in late February, 1954. A short history of the church appeared in the Cheney *Sentinel*, February 25. The congregation was organized February 24, 1884, in a school building under the guidance of the Rev. A. Luebkeermann.

Grellet Academy, organized in 1878 in the Solomon valley near Cawker City by the Friends church, was the subject of a brief historical article by Henrietta Boyd, in the Cawker City *Ledger*, February 25, 1954. The building burned in 1895 and the school was not rebuilt.

Two articles of historical note were published in the *Wichita Beacon*, February 28, 1954: "Kansas Indian Nations Are Dying," by H. E. Bruce, Horton, and a biographical sketch of John Bogart, 94, who came to Wichita in 1879 and later lived in Sumner and Greenwood counties.

Efforts to create Nebraska territory during the ten years prior to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, and the motives behind the efforts, are reviewed by Dr. James C. Malin in "The Nebraska Question: a Ten-Year Record, 1844-1854," published in *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, March, 1954.

Some early history of Burlingame appeared in the *Burlingame Enterprise-Chronicle*, March 4, 1954. Biographical notes on natives of Burlingame and long-time residents of that community were printed May 6. The information was gathered from registrations at the city's recent centennial celebration.

Histories of Paola, Osawatomie, and other parts of Miami county were included in an article by Mrs. Anna Krumsick in the *Paola Western Spirit*, March 5, 1954.

A six-column history of St. Patrick's Catholic parish in Florence, by the Rev. Francis J. Hughes, present pastor, was published in the *Florence Bulletin*, March 11, 1954. The first church building was completed late in 1878 but Catholic services were held in the community as early as the 1850's.

A biographical sketch of Fred V. Pargeter, 90-year-old painter of Pretty Prairie, by Jim Skinner, appeared in the *Hutchinson News-Herald*, March 20, 1954. Pargeter was born in England and came to Kansas in 1884. He began painting at the age of 68.

"Early Days in Ashland Were Colorful," an article by Ruth McMillion, was published in the *Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, March 25, 1954. Ashland was established in 1885.

Tom Finley, who came to Thomas county in 1885, has recorded some of his early experiences in an article in *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, March 25, 1954. Among the incidents recalled by Finley was the fight over land between the settlers and the ranchers.

Recent historical articles in the *Hope Dispatch* included: a history of the Hope Baptist church, March 25; an early history of Hope by the late Mrs. T. H. Palmer, April 1; and a letter from Dr. Frank J. Klingberg, professor of history at the University of California, who spent his youth in Dickinson county, April 8.

A column-length history of Winchester, from material collected by Mrs. Cora Copping Charles, was printed in the *Winchester Star*, March 26, 1954. The town's history began in 1854 when William M. Gardiner staked a claim in the vicinity, but the town-site was not surveyed until 1857.

"Cabin of Death," the story of the "Bloody" Benders of southeastern Kansas, by Warren Kuhn, was printed in the Spring, 1954, issue of *True West*, Austin, Tex.

Of interest to Kansans, particularly in this centennial year, are three articles by Floyd C. Shoemaker, "Missouri's Proslavery Fight for Kansas, 1854-1855," which began in the *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, April, 1954.

The front page of the Atchison *Daily Globe*, April 1, 1954, was dated April 1, 1854, and was made up of news that might have appeared on the front page of an Atchison newspaper of that date. Items concerning slavery, a new Missouri river bridge, the new Republican party, border ruffians, and a school teacher for Atchison were included. Also in the April 1 issue was an article entitled "Pro-Slavery Party Had Atchison Headquarters," by Elizabeth Wohlgemuth. The history of the Round Prairie church, south of Atchison, by Mrs. George Pennington, appeared in the *Globe*, April 11. Articles on the political, industrial, and educational history of Atchison were published in a centennial edition of the *Globe*, June 20. Atchison, named after Sen. David R. Atchison of Missouri, was founded July 27, 1854, by a group from Platte county, Missouri. The city was incorporated by the territorial legislature of 1858, and Samuel C. Pomeroy was the first mayor.

A historical essay contest was sponsored in the early months of 1954 by the Kansas Home Demonstration Council. A number of the contest stories were published in various newspapers. Among them were: experiences of early residents of Cunningham and Kingman county, by Mrs. Jessie Nossaman, in the *Cunningham Clipper*, April 1; "Early Day Herington," by B. L. Smith, and "An Indian Story," by Dianna Dolan, in the *Herington Advertiser-Times*, April 8 and 15; early Kansas history, by Arlene O'Dell, and early Sheridan county history, by Mrs. C. E. Toothaker, in the *Hoxie Sentinel*, April 15 and 22; a history of the Clark's creek settlement near White City, by Mrs. Phyllis Kohler, in the *White City Register*, April 22; a sketch of the Charles Peterson family who homesteaded near Bushton, by Mrs. Abbie I. Peterson, in the *Bushton News*, April 29; some history of Woodson county, by H. A. Mann, in the *Toronto Republican*, May 13; and the reminiscences of Mrs. Leon Cover, in the *Oskaloosa Independent*, May 27.

Appearing regularly in *The High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, for several years has been Heinie Schmidt's column, "It's Worth Re-

peating—Stories of Early Southwest [Kansas] History.” A few recent articles were: “Resident [H. N. Hildebrand] of Ghost City of Montezuma Recalls Birth and Death of the Town,” April 1, 1954; “Coldwater’s First Physician [Dr. J. S. Halliday] Battled Scourge; Stayed to Serve Area 24 Years,” by Genevieve Kimple, April 8; “The *Call*, Pearlette’s Newspaper, Tells of Organization of Meade’s Ghost City,” April 15; “Wilson Family Comes to Rush County in Early Days as Southwest Pioneers,” April 22; “Prairie Fire Was Worst Feared Enemy of Early Rush County Homesteaders,” by the late Andrew W. Wilson, April 29; “Founding Fathers Use[d] Varied Talents to Overcome Losses and Difficulties,” May 6; “Foresight, Faith, Courage and Integrity Characteristics of Dodge City Founders,” May 13; “Early Day Rural School Teacher [Mrs. Manny Taylor] Tells About Conditions in Sodville School,” May 20; “Pioneer Ford County Rural Teachers Make Names for Themselves in World,” May 27; “Whole Families Devoted Their Careers to Teaching in Ford Rural Schools,” June 3; “Nonchalanta, Early Ness County Town, Faded and Died as Hard Times Struck,” June 10; and “[O. L.] Lennen Recalls Stay in Nonchalanta, Once a Busy Ness County Community,” June 17.

H. B. Oesterreich’s story of his grandfather’s early experiences in Kansas was printed in the *Herington Advertiser-Times*, April 8, 1954. The grandfather, Herman Oesterreich, arrived in Dickinson county in 1857, walking from Fort Leavenworth. The ceremony attending an Indian chief’s funeral and the early life in the Clark’s creek area northeast of Herington were recalled by Jay Baxter in an article in the *Advertiser-Times*, April 15.

Articles of historical interest to Kansans in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* included: “Historic Days of Old Frontier Live in Journal [of William E. McIntyre] Now Owned by Topekans [Elsie Bronson and Dr. H. L. Kirkpatrick,” by Lucille Kohler, April 13, 1954; “The Kansan [Clyde Tombaugh] Who Found a Planet Looks Ahead to Space Travel,” by E. B. Garnett, April 18; “Out Come Bonnets and Beards for Big Days [Centennial Celebration] in Council Grove,” by Howard Turtle, April 25; and “The Santa Fe Trail Was Old When Wagon Wheels Started Rolling Over It in 1821,” by W. Thetford LeViness, June 7. Articles in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* were: “A Sensational Jail Delivery in St. Joseph Freed Dr. John Doy, an Abolitionist,” by Lelia Munsell, May 3; “High Drama of Ballots and Bullets in Settlement of Kansas Territory,” a review of Alice Nichols’ *Bleeding Kansas*, by W. W.

Barker, May 13; "The Lure of Land Ownership Was a Strong Factor in Early Settlement of Kansas," by Dr. Ina Hunter Unglesby, May 28; and "Travel to Colorado Was Different in Gold Rush 95 Years Ago This Summer," a review of the diary of John H. Ewing, by Myra Lockwood Brown, July 13.

Westmoreland's history was sketched briefly in the *Westmoreland Recorder*, April 22, 1954. The town was incorporated in April, 1884. A longer article on the history of Pottawatomie county was printed June 3.

A short history of Junction City was printed in the *Junction City Union*, May 1, 1954. About May 1, 1855, John Pipher, A. J. Mead, Hiram Palmer, and others settled at the site of present Junction City and called the place Manhattan, according to the article. A short time later that settlement moved down the river to present Manhattan. Other parties then undertook the development of Junction City. Two articles of historical note appeared in the special edition of the *Union* published June 11, 1954: "Men of Fort Riley Have Served Nation a Century," and "Junction City and Fort Riley History Linked for 100 Years." The special edition was published as a welcome to the 37th Division to Fort Riley. A history of the Brookside school, near Junction City, by Alfred P. Hotten, was published in the *Junction City Republic*, May 30.

Some early history of Coffey county is included in an article, "Memoirs of a Pioneer," by Landy Dison Carmean, published in *The Daily Republican*, Burlington, May 5, 1954, and in the *LeRoy Reporter*, May 14. Carmean came to Kansas with his father's family late in 1865 when he was five years of age.

"The History of Headquarters House of Fort Scott, Kan., National Historical Shrine," by Ralph Richards, began to run serially in the *Fort Scott Tribune-Monitor*, May 5, 1954. The building, completed early in 1843 as a part of the fort, still stands and is the home of the Fort Scott Historical Museum.

The history of Meeker School District, Sumner county, compiled by Howard Hunt, appeared in the *Belle Plaine News*, May 6, 1954. Efforts toward the organization of the district were begun March 10, 1873.

In 1880 the Butler county village of Keighley was platted by Moses Turpen, according to a history of the now "dead" town by Olive Eastin Payne, published in the *El Dorado Times*, May 12, 1954.

A 16-page historical section was published by the Garden City *Daily Telegram*, May 14, 1954. Included were a tracing of the Garden City area's early history, a history of Finney county newspapers, and an article entitled "An Empire [Southwest Kansas] Born on the Glory Road [Santa Fe Trail]," by F. L. Charlton. In the regular section of the *Telegram* were a sketch of Charles Crow, who came to Garden City in 1879, and "Indian Attacks Were Hideous," by Ruby Basye.

A 32-page 50th anniversary edition was published by the Great Bend *Herald-Press*, May 15, 1954. The newspaper began as the Pawnee Rock *Herald*, July 21, 1904. A section of the anniversary edition was devoted to Barton county golden wedding anniversaries, with pictures and biographical notes. Other features were: a history of the *Herald-Press*; "Slaughter by Quantrill," a prize-winning essay by 14-year-old John T. Rhoads of Heizer; another prize-winning essay on the state's early history, by Jean Otte; "An Old-Timer [Adam Krause] Recalls Life as a Gt. Bend Lad During 90's"; and "Life in Kansas Pioneer Days Was Rough, Uncompromising," by Velma Wells.

Daily installments of Prof. Allen Crafton's new work on the first decade in the history of Lawrence, "Free State Fortress," were published from May 18 to June 21, 1954, in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, as a special feature of the centennial year.

A story on the founding of Hill City by W. R. Hill and the county-seat fight in Graham county, by Lulu S. Craig, was published in the Hill City *Times*, May 27, 1954.

The first number of *Pride*, Pratt's annual progress publication, was issued in June, 1954, by the Pratt *Daily Tribune*. The following historical articles were included in the 128-page, magazine-type edition: "County, Then City Was Named for Young Civil War Hero," "Pratt Now 70 Years Old," "Indian Scare of 1885," "First County Move a Fraud," and "Violent County Seat Fight." Much of the historical material and many pictures were provided by J. Rufus Gray.

The plan of a Mullinville church to raise money for a new building was the subject of an article, "They Call It 'God's Acres,'" by Marietta Weaver, in *Coronet*, Chicago, June, 1954. Farmers set aside a portion of their crops and livestock and the townspeople likewise shared their income toward the project.

J. C. Ruppenthal's first article on the banks of Russell county, "Beginnings of Banking at Lucas," was published in the *Natoma-Luray Independent*, June 3, 1954. The first Lucas bank was organized in 1887.

To celebrate its 75th anniversary, the *Topeka Daily Capital* published a 220-page edition, June 6, 1954. Historical sections of the edition were: "Wholesale and Retail Trade"; "Society, Families and Fashions"; "Sports and Recreation"; "Topeka, the First 100 Years"; "Health, Education and Religion"; "Topeka Welcomes Industry"; "Topeka Living"; "Finance and Insurance"; "Growth of a Newspaper"; "Kansas Is America's Breadbasket"; "Topeka, Crossroads of the Nation"; and "Kansas, the First 100 Years."

A two-column history of the Banner church in Trego county appeared in the *Gove County Advocate*, Quinter, June 10, 1954. The first building was of sod, erected in 1879 about two miles north of the present church. In following years the church services were held in the schoolhouse. The present building was completed in 1904.

Kansas Historical Notes

The 79th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held in the rooms of the Society in the Memorial building at Topeka on October 19, 1954.

The Hollenberg Ranch Pony Express Station, near Hanover, is now open for visitors daily, except Sundays. Ben Walters, Hanover, is caretaker and guide. This is the only unaltered pony express station still standing where it was built—in 1857—in Kansas.

A historical museum was formed at Coffeyville early this year for the purpose of preserving the history of Coffeyville and the surrounding community. Historic items, particularly those relating to the Dalton raid, Walter Johnson of baseball fame, and Wendell Willkie, are being assembled by a committee headed by J. B. Kloehr.

Restoration of the Smith county cabin of Dr. Brewster Higley who wrote "Home on the Range," has been a project of the Smith Center Rotary Club. Dedication ceremonies were held July 25, with Gov. Edward F. Arn giving the address.

All officers of the Augusta Historical Society were re-elected at the annual meeting on February 22, 1954. They are: Stella B. Haines, president; Mrs. J. E. Mahannah, vice-president; Florence Hudson, secretary; and Mrs. Henry Bornholdt, treasurer.

Fred Brinkerhoff was the principal speaker at a meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society in Pittsburg, February 26, 1954. He reviewed events leading to the formation of Kansas territory and through the territorial period.

Officers elected by the Wichita Historical Museum Association at a meeting March 4, 1954, included: Owen McEwen, president; Eugene Coombs, first vice-president; Brace A. Helfrich, second vice-president; John Coultis, Jr., secretary; and Dr. Harold Scheer, treasurer. An article on the museum and the exhibits, by Joe Brewer, appeared in the *Wichita Eagle*, March 28, 1954. Mrs. Frank Slay is curator.

Dr. T. A. Kennedy was elected president of the Lawrence Historical Society at a meeting March 8, 1954. Other officers chosen were: Mary Clarke, vice-president; Ruth Dyche, secretary; and Riley Burcham, treasurer. Lathrop B. Read, Jr., was the retiring president.

The museum housing President Dwight D. Eisenhower's mementoes of war and peace was officially opened in Abilene, April 3, 1954, when Dr. Milton Eisenhower, representing the five Eisenhower brothers, cut the ribbon, climaxing the opening ceremonies. One wing of the building has been completed to date. A second wing is expected to be ready in the early autumn.

Dr. Allan Nevins' address, "Kansas and the Stream of American Destiny," high-lighted the Kansas Centennial History Conference at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, April 30 and May 1, 1954. The conference was sponsored jointly by the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields, the Kansas Library Association, the Kansas State Historical Society, and the centennial committee and four departments of the University of Kansas. Another feature of the program was a symposium on the collection and use of materials of local history, moderated by Fred Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg. Papers were given as follows: "Juniata, Gateway to Mid-Kansas," by James C. Carey, Kansas State College, Manhattan; "The Transportation Problem in Early Atchison," by the Rev. Peter Beckman, St. Benedict's College, Atchison; "Archeological Excavations in the Blue River Valley," by Linwood L. Hodgdon, Kansas State College, Manhattan; and "The Rump Legislature of 1893," Edwin J. Walbourn, El Dorado Junior College. Officers were elected by the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields as follows: John Rydjord, University of Wichita, president; William H. Seiler, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, vice-president; Walbourn, secretary-treasurer. Beckman and J. W. Vanderhoff, Kansas Wesleyan University, Salina, were elected to the executive council.

A Pioneer Day celebration held at Rexford, May 2, 1954, was attended by 160 persons. Following the dinner an election of officers was held. Mrs. Chester Connelly was re-elected president; Mrs. Lawrence Claar, secretary; and Mrs. Bertha Wilson was chosen treasurer.

Home Demonstration meetings in Kansas during the week of May 3-7, 1954, heard special speakers in observance of the territorial centennial. Mrs. Ben Page of Kansas City spoke at meetings in Pittsburg, Arkansas City, Council Grove, Bonner Springs, and Topeka, on "One Hundred Years of Trousseaus." "Kansas' Last Indian Raid" was the subject of Edward M. Beougher's talks at La Crosse, Meade, Pratt, Newton, and Wichita. Beougher, an attorney, lives

at Grinnell. Speaking at Washington, Salina, Osborne, Syracuse, and Oberlin, was R. F. Brock, Goodland banker. Brock used subjects appropriate to the area in which he was speaking. Beougher's talk was summarized in *The Harvey County News*, Newton, May 6.

The dedication of the Kaw Mission at Council Grove as a state museum took place May 12, 1954, with Sen. Andrew F. Schoepel as the principal speaker. Erected in 1850 by the Methodist church as a mission and school, the building was purchased by the state in 1951 and is maintained as a historic site and museum by the Kansas State Historical Society.

Sen. Frank Carlson gave the principal address and Gov. Edward F. Arn presided at the initial sale and cancellation ceremonies of the commemorative stamp honoring the Kansas territorial centennial at Fort Leavenworth, May 31, 1954.

Two historical observances recently took place near Baldwin. On June 5, 1954, a re-enactment of the preaching of what is thought to be the first sermon to white settlers in Kansas was held. In early July, 1854, the Rev. William Goode, a Methodist, preached at Hickory Point, north of Baldwin. The Baldwin City Cemetery, where many of the area's pioneers are buried was the scene of a dedication June 6 of new stone gates. The speaker was Dr. H. K. Ebright whose address, recalling some of the pioneers and the history of the community, was printed in the *Baldwin Ledger*, June 10. The leader in the preservation of the historic cemetery was Dr. W. C. Markham.

The autobiography of the late Mrs. Lizzie Kunkel Robinson was recently published in a 32-page pamphlet called *The Story of My Life*. Settling in Kansas in 1885, Mrs. Robinson was active in local and state-wide women's affairs and politics.

A 32-page pamphlet entitled *The Waconda Story—The First History of Waconda Spring*, by Ava B. Gentleman, was recently printed by the *Beloit Daily Call*. Waconda Spring, a mineral pool in Mitchell county, was a sacred place to the Plains Indians and has become steeped in legend. Efforts are being made to have the spring designated a national monument.

A 19-page pamphlet compiled by Lola Hennessey was issued by Tecumseh at the time of its centennial celebration, May 8, 1954. Col. Thomas N. Stinson was one of the first settlers and the principal founder of Tecumseh. He moved to the area early in 1854, and in August of that year the townsite was located.

Several articles on the history of Beloit and Mitchell county appeared in a 52-page, illustrated souvenir booklet of the national midwest tour of the Horseless Carriage Club at Beloit, May 21-23, 1954.

A 28-page illustrated pamphlet was published as part of Topeka's centennial observance. Entitled *Topeka's 100 Years of Inspired Leadership*, the pamphlet depicts Topeka's growth and advancement by periods. The city had its beginning December 5, 1854, when the town company was organized with Cyrus K. Holliday as president.

Emporia published a 20-page, mimeographed, historical pamphlet in connection with the city's celebration of the Kansas territorial centennial, May 28, 1954.

Leavenworth's 100-year history is summarized in a well-illustrated, 55-page program booklet entitled *Centennial Leavenworth, 1854-1954*, published in connection with the city's celebration, June 6-12, 1954. On June 13, 1854, 32 men met in Weston, Mo., and drew up the articles of incorporation for the town. The first election was held in 1855, Thomas Slocum being chosen the first mayor.

A feature of Atchison's centennial celebration, June 20-26, 1954, was the distribution of a 64-page historical booklet, compiled and edited by Catherine and Bill Roe. In addition to the city's history, the booklet includes stories on the schools, churches, businesses, and civic organizations of Atchison.

The story of the J. B. Brown family, Wilson county pioneers, has been told by Mrs. Winifred Jane Burtis, daughter of the family, in a 156-page mimeographed volume called "Growing Up With Kansas." Mrs. Burtis was less than a year old when the Browns came to Kansas in 1869.

A picture of Kansas territory as torn by the struggle over the slavery issue is given by Alice Nichols in her newly published book, *Bleeding Kansas*. The narrative attempts to give the South its due, yet points out some of the excesses of both the North and the South.

Wayne Gard of Dallas, Tex., is the author of a new 296-page book, *The Chisholm Trail*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press. For over a dozen years, beginning in 1867, the trail was an important part of the life of Kansas, Indian territory (now Oklahoma), and Texas.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Autumn 1954



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Topeka

KIRKE MECHEM
Editor

JAMES C. MALIN
Associate Editor

NYLE H. MILLER
Managing Editor

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ATCHISON'S FIRST RAILROAD..... <i>The Rev. Peter Beckman, O. S. B.,</i>	153
With a reproduction of a broadside issued by the Atchison & St. Joseph Railroad, p. 156.	
LETTERS OF A FREE-STATE MAN IN KANSAS, 1856	Edited by <i>Nathan Smith,</i> 166
SUSANNA MADORA SALTER—FIRST WOMAN MAYOR..... <i>Monroe Billington,</i>	173
With a photographic reproduction of her 1887 notice of election, <i>facing</i> p. 176, and portraits of Mrs. Salter taken in 1887 and in 1954, <i>facing</i> p. 177.	
NOTES ON THE WRITING OF GENERAL HISTORIES OF KANSAS:	
Part One, The Setting of the Stage..... <i>James C. Malin,</i>	184
With sketches of "Front Street, Leavenworth, in May, 1856," and "Leavenworth When Six Years Old," <i>between</i> pp. 200, 201.	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	224
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	226
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	230

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THE COVER

Fifth Street, Leavenworth, in 1867. An Alexander Gardner photograph from the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society.

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Atchison's First Railroad

THE REV. PETER BECKMAN, O. S. B.

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The official celebration was held June 13. The Atchison *Champion* reported that ten thousand people attended. Stores were decorated and banners spanned the streets. A salute of a hundred guns fired from the bluffs above town opened the day's observance and this demonstration was repeated at frequent intervals throughout the day. Three bands accompanied the gigantic parade. The big feature of the parade was a large government freight wagon drawn by 29 yoke of oxen. The government contract freighter, Irwin, was decked out in Plains costume for the benefit of visiting Easterners. Decorated wagons carried pretty girls representing the various states of the Union. The parade marched out of town, practically, to 12th Street, where ground was broken for the Atchison and Pike's Peak railroad and for the Atchison, Fort Riley, and Fort Union railroad. Not another spadeful of earth was turned for a few years because of the war.

The crowd then proceeded to the high ground south of White Clay creek overlooking the town, where speeches were delivered. Col. P. T. Abell was president of the day, S. C. Pomeroy was master of ceremonies, and Gen. B. F. Stringfellow gave the principal address

THE REV. PETER BECKMAN, O. S. B., is professor of American history at St. Benedict's College, Atchison.

1. *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, February 25, 1860.

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With a reproduction of a broadside issued by the Atchison & St. Joseph Railroad, p. 156.	
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1. *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, February 25, 1860.

—on the present and future greatness of Atchison. There were 12 speakers, including the governor of Michigan and other dignitaries from Detroit, Chicago, Quincy, and Keokuk, not to mention the representatives from the towns around Atchison. After the speeches came the barbecue served up at six tables, each said to be 50 yards long. The gentlemen then retired to Holbert and Davis' warehouse where a wine supper was served and 13 toasts were proposed and responded to at fashionable length. The unlucky number was no doubt avoided by a few informal additions. The day closed with a grand ball at A. S. Parker's, probably Atchison's largest warehouse at the time. If the world did not know that Atchison had a railroad, it was not the fault of the town's promoters.²

The founding of Atchison, like that of other towns in the new territory of Kansas, was first of all a speculative venture. Organized by Missourians like Peter Abell and the Stringfellows from the neighboring counties across the river, it was at first a Proslavery town. But the site also happened to be the westernmost point on the great bend of the Missouri—the place where men and goods transferred from steamboats for the journey across the Plains either by ox or mule train, or by stagecoach. Atchison was only a few miles from the great military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Kearney and the West, and from the beginning the town vigorously advertised that immigrants and freighters could save days of travel by starting from Atchison.

A small but significant Utah trade gave Atchison its first real growth in 1855, but this was nipped almost immediately by the political disturbances in the territory and by Atchison's reputation as the home of the most violent Proslavery men. Forced to choose between business and political uniformity, the shareholders in the town company (most of them nonresidents) and the town's business men were quick to soft-pedal politics and in 1857 were happy to sell controlling interest in the town as well as its newspaper to a group represented by S. C. Pomeroy, the shrewd agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company.³ Atchison was politically divided, but both groups were united in concentrating on the main business of "puffing the town" and increasing the value of their real estate.

The overland trade to Utah was revived and to it was soon added the trade to the Pike's Peak region and the other mining areas as

2. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1860.

3. Edgar Langsdorf, "S. C. Pomeroy and the New England Emigrant Aid Company, 1854-1858," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 7 (November, 1938), p. 394.

they were developed. The outbreak of the Civil War momentarily halted the growth of this trade, but it grew enormously in the last years of the war. Most of the freight by that time was brought to Atchison not by steamboat but by railroad. The board of trade claimed that between March 1, 1863, and November 1, of the same year, the railroad had brought 5,438,456 pounds of freight to Atchison, and by 1864 this figure had increased to 16,639,399 pounds.⁴ Overland stage traffic and ox-train freighting reached their peak in 1865 when the picturesque wagon trains hauled over ten thousand tons of goods out of Atchison to various Western markets from Santa Fe to Idaho.⁵ In the following year, when the Pacific railroads began to build seriously, this great trade disappeared from Atchison as suddenly and as completely as though it had been a bubble. By that time Atchison was ardently wooing railroads.

Everyone had realized from the beginning that the answer to the needs of the West was railroads. Even as the exciting overland trade grew, every promoter was working for railroads. In the Kansas politics of the time every complexity had at root a simple explanation—the scramble for political control, patronage, and land. Railroads were the chief means of getting large areas of land, and only railroads would make the land increase in value. The development of railroads was soon a story of big speculators and big politics, but Atchison's first railroad has a peculiar interest because it is a story of little speculators and little politicians. If there were a girl in it the story of the Atchison and St. Joseph railroad would make a passable soap opera.

The founders of Atchison, and particularly the Missouri shareholders in the town company, secured the charter from the Missouri legislature on December 11, 1855.⁶ At the time the purpose of the charter was merely to help sell town lots, but when S. C. Pomeroy bought control of Atchison, the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad was being built, and what better way to boost his town than by extending the railroad to Atchison? A new city charter was obtained February 12, 1858, and with considerable foresight it permitted Atchison to issue up to \$200,000 worth of bonds for just such a railroad.⁷ At first an attempt was made to seek the co-operation of the Platte Valley railroad, but nothing came of the endeavor and Atchison decided to build its own railroad.⁸

4. *Freedom's Champion*, November 17, 1864.

5. *Atchison Daily Champion*, January 3, 1866.

6. *Freedom's Champion*, January 8, 1859; January 26, 1865.

7. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1858.

8. *Ibid.*, March 6, April 24, 1858.

Atchison & St. Joseph



RAIL ROAD!

THERE will be a Meeting of the Stockholders of the Atchison & St. Joseph Railroad Company at Atchison, on SATURDAY,

THE 8TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1857.

A new Board of Directors and Officers will be elected. All who feel an interest in the Road are invited to attend.

S. C. POMEROY, Pres.

P. T. ABELL, Sec'ry.

Atchison, July 28, 1857.

A REPRODUCTION OF ONE OF THE BROADSIDES ISSUED BY THE
ATCHISON & ST. JOE RAILROAD

The original, preserved by the Kansas State Historical Society, is 13" x 14½".

In the *Champion's* version of the story, as soon as little Atchison's noble ambition became known, numerous villains in St. Joseph began to hatch plots. Mayor M. Jeff Thompson and other rascals were alleged to have held an indignation meeting in which abusive words were hurled at Atchison.⁹ St. Joseph next pretended that Missouri law would not permit Atchison's road to use the same gauge of track as that used by the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad.¹⁰ When this canard was exposed, St. Joseph tried to throttle Atchison by building

9. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1865.

10. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1859.

a road of its own, the Palmetto and Roseport (later known as the Marysville and Elwood), but after laying a few miles of track it ran out of money.¹¹ A St. Joseph editor attempted to explain the situation by stating that the opposition was caused by the baseless fear that the road would make St. Joseph a way station and by the "*Champion's* reckless abuse of persons on this side of the river."¹²

Meanwhile plucky little Atchison voted 109 to 5 to issue \$100,000 worth of bonds to subscribe to the stock of the Atchison and St. Joseph railroad.¹³ The city council elected Mayor Pomeroy (who was also President Pomeroy of the railroad) as the city's agent and authorized him to unload the city's ten per cent bonds at no less than 75 cents on the dollar.¹⁴ In a period of depression the council was being outrageously optimistic.

A contract to start building was awarded to local contractors, and work was said to have started in May over near Rushville.¹⁵ The formal commencement of the Atchison and St. Joseph railroad was celebrated on June 23, 1858, with a barbecue, and a ball at the new hotel with music by the St. Joseph brass and string band. (In the columns of the *Champion* St. Joseph had only two classes of citizens: villains and musicians.) The occasion was improved by a special sale of lots, and in proof of good faith there was a graded mile of right of way on the Missouri side of the river opposite Atchison, complete with wheelbarrows, shovels, and Irishmen.¹⁶ A short time later Mayor Pomeroy, Thaddeus Hyatt, and others laid out the town of Winthrop on the six hundred acres across the river from Atchison.¹⁷ By 1860 it boasted three hotels, six steam saw-mills, a number of saloons, stores, and houses.¹⁸

Atchison's bonds, however, seemed to move even more slowly than the railroad. In January, 1859, the *Champion* stated that \$20,000 worth of the city's bonds had been sold to some "heavy capitalists" for 75 cents, but there was no truth to the story.¹⁹ The bonds had been sent to New York, but somehow bonds with little more than one voter behind each thousand dollars seemed to find no market, even with ten per cent interest, and at 75 cents on the dollar. Finally,

11. *The History of Buchanan County, Missouri* (Union Historical Co., St. Joseph, Mo., 1881), p. 579.

12. *The Weekly West*, St. Joseph, Mo., May 8, June 5, 1859.

13. *Freedom's Champion*, March 20, 1858; September 7, 1861; August 8, 1863. The number of voters was not publicized in 1858.

14. *Ibid.*, September 7, 1861.

15. *Ibid.*, May 8, 15, 1858.

16. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1858.

17. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1858.

18. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1860.

19. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1859.

in February, 1859, the city's agent Pomeroy, who had been authorized to dispose of the bonds at no less than 75 cents, arranged with President Pomeroy of the Atchison and St. Joseph for the railroad to accept the bonds at 70 cents. So Atchison received a certificate for \$70,000 worth of stock in its railroad. To pay its bills and raise a little cash the railroad disposed of the bonds at 50 cents (except for \$10,000 worth, for which it got 60 cents). Over half of the bonds went to a Colonel Fauntleroy of Virginia, a third went to the contractors, a few bonds paid official salaries, and the remainder found local buyers.²⁰

In April the railroad called a special meeting for the purpose of raising funds. The *Champion* reported that as a result of the meeting \$10,000 more had been subscribed.²¹ It seems that at most about \$36,000 of outside money had been added to the \$51,000 realized on Atchison's bonds.²² In short, Atchison had only about \$4,300 per mile, and railroads could not be built that cheaply.

Luckily, a group in Missouri, headed by Col. William Osborne and Davis Carpenter, Jr., possessed a charter, the Platte County railroad, to which the legislature of Missouri had promised \$350,000 in bonds for a road from Kansas City to St. Joseph, and a similar sum for a road from St. Joseph to the Iowa line.²³ By taking over the graded right of way of the Atchison and St. Joseph railroad, the gentlemen could collect their bonds so much sooner.

On July 19, 1859, Pomeroy sold the Atchison and St. Joseph line to the Platte County railroad for five dollars and the promise to complete the road. The details of the agreement were arranged in a contract of July 15, 1859, by which the Atchison and St. Joseph agreed to finish the roadbed including the furnishing of ties, chairs, and spikes; while the Platte County was to furnish everything else and was to pay the shareholders of the Atchison and St. Joseph share for share in stock.²⁴ Despite delays and obstructions, the last spike was finally driven in 1860.²⁵ Meanwhile the Weston and Atchison railroad had also come under the same benign influence and was completed in May, 1861; in effect serving Fort Leavenworth during the war.²⁶

Even before the road was completed to St. Joseph the governor of

20. *Ibid.*, September 7, 1861.

21. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1859.

22. *Atchison Daily Champion*, October 5, 1865.

23. *Freedom's Champion*, February 23, 1865.

24. *Ibid.*, September 7, 1861. The deed is recorded in "Buchanan County Deeds, Book V," p. 66.

25. *Ibid.*, February 4, 18, 1860.

26. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1861.

Missouri delivered the promised bonds to the Platte County railroad in spite of scattered cries of fraud.²⁷ The name of the combined railroads was originally the Platte County railroad, but since this was altogether too unimpressive for "town puffing," the local papers gave what grandeur they could to the unfortunate name by referring to it as the Platte Country railroad.²⁸ The Missouri legislature finally made the change legal.²⁹

If the citizens of Atchison depended on the *Champion* for information, they knew nothing of the affairs of their pet railroad up to this point. But during the first year of the Civil War, before Missouri was finally secured, both railroad and river communications with the East were disrupted and business in Atchison seems to have been rather bad. The tax on the city's railroad bonds was two-thirds delinquent and the citizens began to ask questions and to look for a way out of the difficulty.

The city hoped that Colonel Fauntleroy of Virginia, who held over half of the bonds, could be declared disloyal and that he need not be paid—but he was unfortunately adjudged loyal.³⁰ It was argued that Pomeroy's sale of the bonds at 70 cents had been illegal, or if that would not relieve the city of its debt, perhaps the territorial legislature had had no right to give the city a charter permitting such generous bond issues. A committee was appointed by the city council to investigate what had actually taken place in the building of the Atchison and St. Joseph railroad and to determine whether or not the city's bonds were legal. The committee suggested leaving the latter question to the courts.³¹

The district court, upheld by the state supreme court, decided that the bonds were Atchison's legal obligation. The court stated that although Pomeroy's sale of the bonds at 70 cents was a clear violation of the city's charter, the fact that the city had raised taxes for the bonds had ratified the acts of its agent.³² So Atchison was responsible for its bonded indebtedness, its railroad had been mysteriously swallowed by another, and the committee reported that although Colonel Abell had \$70,000 worth of stock of the Platte Country railroad ready to deliver to the city's agent, it was "in market valueless."³³

27. *The Weekly West*, September 3, December 10, 1859.

28. *Freedom's Champion*, December 1, 1860 (advertisement).

29. Act of March 23, 1863, *Laws of the State of Missouri*, 1862, Regular Session, 22d General Assembly, p. 107.

30. *Freedom's Champion*, September 14, 1861; *Daily Champion*, October 25, 1865.

31. *Freedom's Champion*, September 7, 1861.

32. *Ibid.*, November 24, 1864; February 2, 1865.

33. *Ibid.*, September 7, 1861.

All was quiet until 1864 when the legislature of Missouri decided that the Platte Country's failure to pay interest on its loan demanded drastic action. There were even rumors that the bonds had, in effect, been stolen.³⁴ The legislature ordered the governor to sell the Platte Country railroad in order to recover the state's loan.³⁵ Atchison's hero, General Stringfellow, informed his fellow citizens that this was merely a plot of "unscrupulous citizens of that played-out town, St. Joseph," who schemed to get the Platte Country in order to build an airline road to Kansas City and cut off Atchison and Weston.³⁶

To hear the general tell it, the Missouri villains were no match for him. He claimed that the Platte Country stock had never been delivered to Atchison; that he, in fact, had prevented delivery, thus enabling Atchison to recover its railroad. When the schemers in St. Joseph began their move in the Missouri legislature, General Stringfellow informed Colonel Osborne, president of the Platte Country, that the sale of 1859 had been illegal, and demanded surrender of the road before the state's sale, or he would sue. Stringfellow admitted that Atchison owed somebody for the rails and the rest of the railroad above the roadbed. Facts of a kind not immediately apparent, and logic other than legal persuaded him that the debt was due not to the Platte Country railroad, nor to the state of Missouri, but to his friend, Davis Carpenter, Jr., the superintendent of the Platte Country railroad.³⁷ The old directors of the Atchison and St. Joseph railroad authorized Stringfellow to give Carpenter stock "not to exceed that owned by the then stockholders" if this would secure the return of the road. Stringfellow gave Carpenter one share more than that and control of the road,³⁸ and then claimed ten per cent of the city's stock as his fee. Colonel Osborne surrendered the road on August 10, 1864.³⁹ There was a reorganization meeting of the stockholders of the Atchison and St. Joseph railroad, and General Stringfellow was elected president.⁴⁰ Carpenter continued as superintendent of the Atchison and St. Joseph and the Weston and Atchison railroads. Colonel Osborne moved to Atchison and was made an official of the Atchison and Pike's Peak railroad.

It was a glorious victory. Carpenter had been repaid for building

34. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1865.

35. Act of February 12, 1864, *Laws of the State of Missouri, 1863*, Adjourned Session, 22d General Assembly, p. 58.

36. *Freedom's Champion*, January 26, 1865.

37. *Atchison Daily Champion*, October 12, 1865.

38. *Ibid.*, October 5, 1865.

39. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1865. Although the index indicates a recording in 1864 in "Buchanan County Deeds, Book X," p. 424, no record of the transfer could be found.

40. *Freedom's Champion*, September 1, 1864.

a railroad with Missouri's money, Stringfellow had been rewarded for saving it from its enemies, and, although it had really lost control, Atchison in a sense could call its railroad its own again—if there had been no sale in 1859. Only the state of Missouri seemed unimpressed. Whatever kind of title Osborne had given Stringfellow, it did not prevent the sale of the Platte Country railroad in St. Joseph on September 5, 1864. The state of Missouri was the only bidder.⁴¹ However, as Governor Hall recounted the events in his biennial message, the Platte Country turned over to the state only that part of the railroad north of St. Joseph—a miserable short line to Savannah that barely made expenses. The line south of St. Joseph, whose earnings, the governor insisted, were large, had been surrendered to the Atchison and St. Joseph and the Weston and Atchison railroads. The governor considered the conduct of the directors “most extraordinary,” and “not being able to appreciate either the justice or the legality of this position,” he brought suit for the recovery of the roads.⁴²

General Stringfellow later assured his fellow citizens that in spite of a prejudiced judge and the threats of the mob in St. Joseph, he had won the freedom of the Atchison and St. Joseph railroad, but in defiance of law, the governor of Missouri then seized “our property” by military force.⁴³ The facts were somewhat less gaudy than General Stringfellow painted them. The circuit court of Buchanan county granted the state's petition for the appointment of a receiver, but only to receive the net earnings of the roads. The control of the railroads was left in the hands of Carpenter and his friends.⁴⁴ Governor Hall explained that the state had been unable to get writs of injunction and attachment because bond had to be filed in order to obtain such writs, but Missouri law made no provision for anyone to execute a bond for the state. Meanwhile, the little railroads coolly submitted to the receiver accounts in which the receipts were always just shaded by the expenditures. If the governor needed further evidence, the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad's informal offer to rent the roads for some \$46,000 a year convinced him that the state was being robbed.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, Governor Hall, who as a St. Joseph man was easily portrayed as a villain by General Stringfellow, was succeeded by

41. *The Morning Herald*, St. Joseph, Mo., September 6, 1864.

42. G. G. Avery and F. C. Shoemaker, eds., *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, v. 4, pp. 20, 21.

43. *Atchison Daily Champion*, October 13, 1865.

44. “Order Book No. 7,” pp. 532-534, circuit clerk's office, Buchanan county courthouse, St. Joseph, Mo.

45. Avery and Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23.

Governor Fletcher whose disinterestedness was less easily impugned. The new governor showing little respect for the things sacred to lawyers, promptly set aside the receiver appointed by the court, and took over all three railroads or the entire Platte Country from Weston north in the interest of the public welfare.⁴⁶ The *St. Joseph Herald and Tribune* commented that this made "a rich thing for lawyers."⁴⁷ The legislature added what legality it could to the proceedings by ordering the governor to seize the Platte Country railroad a month after he had already done so.⁴⁸

The real reason for the seizure, General Stringfellow hastened to assure his Atchison audience, was that Governor Fletcher had been misled by ex-Governor Hall, who had pledged the people of St. Joseph that he would sell Atchison's railroad so that it could be torn up, thus preventing the construction of the Atchison and Pike's Peak railroad and clearing the way for St. Joseph to receive a Pacific railroad grant from congress. As proof the general pointed out that the excuse of the Missouri legislature for the sale was nonpayment of the interest on \$700,000, whereas other roads had paid no interest on nearly \$20,000,000 but no sale had been threatened.⁴⁹ While General Stringfellow was throwing dust in the eyes of his fellow citizens at Atchison by portraying some prominent men of St. Joseph as utter villains, the council of that city in solemn session passed a set of resolutions in which General Stringfellow and his companions were referred to as "those cormorants who are revelling in their ill-gotten gains."⁵⁰

In spite of the unfair tactics of the governor of Missouri, General Stringfellow carried on as Atchison's champion. He offered to compromise. At first he had hoped to pay less than a hundred thousand dollars, which, he claimed, was all that had been spent on the two little railroads. This offer was rejected and the general was hurt to think that Atchison's railroad, which had had nothing to do with the use or misuse of Missouri's bonds, should, nevertheless, be held responsible for them. He next offered to buy the roads south of St. Joseph for the \$350,000 plus interest that was due to Missouri, if he could pay off any time before 1880 in depreciated Missouri bonds

46. *Ibid.*, p. 187, message of January 12, 1865.

47. *The Morning Herald and Tribune*, St. Joseph, January 11, 1865.

48. Act of February 10, 1865, *Laws of the State of Missouri, 1864*, 23d General Assembly, pp. 97, 98.

49. *Atchison Daily Champion*, October 12, 1865. Cf. Governor Fletcher's inaugural address, January 2, 1865, Avery and Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, p. 62. An act for the sale of other defaulting railroads was passed February 19, 1866, *Laws of the State of Missouri, 1865*, Adjourned Session, 23d General Assembly, p. 108.

50. *The Morning Herald and Tribune*, January 28, 1865.

worth about 56 cents on the dollar at that time.⁵¹ This would leave Missouri with the other half of the debt and practically no railroad. The *Herald & Tribune* claimed that this bill almost passed the legislature except for carelessness on the part of Stringfellow's managers, who consented to a brief postponement. In the meantime a substitute bill was prepared, which would permit John Corby and the St. Joseph group to buy the Platte Country railroad. This bill, however, did not offer Missouri any better prospect of recovering its loans.⁵²

These maneuvers are practically unrecognizable in General Stringfellow's account of them to his fellow citizens of Atchison. The general's story was that he was on the verge of getting a compromise on terms easy to pay from revenue, when he was stabbed in the back by a report that Atchison was not 100 percent behind him. A telegram from Atchison reassured the legislature, "but folly and treachery had had its [*sic*] effect."⁵³ The general had to accept the entire road, the whole debt of \$868,000 to Missouri, and an obligation to build to Kansas City and to the Iowa line within a specified time.⁵⁴ And this was to be done by a railroad that needed new rolling stock, was in urgent need of repairs, and at the same time had to produce a large sum of money quickly for its first payment to Missouri.

Talk of the onerous conditions of the compromise act of February 18, 1865, caused Atchison's city council to appoint George Fairchild to get the facts and to explain to the city what had happened to its railroad. Fairchild's report of October 2 was critical of General Stringfellow's procedure and particularly of his peculiar stock deal with Carpenter.⁵⁵ The general resented this and used up most of the available space in the *Champion* for four days in presenting his colorful and frequently imaginative tale of how he had bled in the defense of Atchison's interests, while ungrateful Atchisonians accused him of selling out to Osborne and Carpenter.⁵⁶ It was quite a dust storm and more legal comedy was to follow.

January 1, 1866, came and no payment was made to Missouri. The governor seized the road on January 3, and advertised that the railroad would be sold again.⁵⁷ In a message to the legislature the

51. *Ibid.*, January 24, 1865.

52. *Ibid.*, February 3, 1865.

53. Atchison *Daily Champion*, October 13, 14, 1865.

54. Act of February 18, 1865, *Laws of the State of Missouri*, 1864, 23d General Assembly, pp. 98-103.

55. Atchison *Daily Champion*, October 5, 1865.

56. *Ibid.*, October 11-14, 1865.

57. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1866.

governor claimed that General Stringfellow and his group did not represent bona fide stockholders and consequently had no equity which need be respected. By a new sale the governor hoped finally to settle the question of title to the roads.⁵⁸ On April 21, the day of the sale, Atchison's defenders with sly smiles were on hand in St. Joseph. The hour of the sale approached, our heroes performed various feats of legal magic, the governor called off the sale and went home.⁵⁹

The governor had thought that the state had a mortgage on the railroads, but in this he was mistaken. The state could buy the entangled roads as a unit, but only by paying the full sum Missouri claimed, thus benefiting only the stockholders. The several roads could be sold separately, but the titles were hopelessly confused. The compromise act had failed to provide a mode of foreclosure so that resort to the courts was necessary to enforce collection. And when Stringfellow had offered \$100,000 in greenbacks, plus interest and costs (which the governor had rejected because it was only a fraction of the sum due), he had legally prevented sale of the roads. All this the attorney general of Missouri, who had been ill at the time of the sale, gave as his belated opinion to the discomfited governor.⁶⁰ After the event, in his first biennial message, the governor claimed that the railroads had made a part payment and had begun to extend the roads so that the state's loans seemed sufficiently secure to make the sale unnecessary, though he also admitted that legal entanglements had prevented the sale.⁶¹

Missouri's real complaint was that the conglomerate confusion of the Atchison and St. Joseph, Weston and Atchison, and Platte Country railroads was preventing the building of a railroad from Kansas City up the Missouri river. Headway was finally made in 1867. The roads were mortgaged for two and a half million dollars of New York money,⁶² and another compromise act in the Missouri legislature consolidated them into the Missouri Valley railroad on March 8, 1867.⁶³ A year later another act permitted the road to retire its debt to Missouri through a generous credit given for each five miles of new construction.⁶⁴ In 1870 the road was consolidated with the

58. Message of January 15, 1866, Avery and Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 200.

59. *The Morning Herald*, April 22, 1866.

60. *Atchison Daily Champion*, June 1, 1866.

61. January 4, 1867, Avery and Shoemaker, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

62. *Atchison Daily Champion*, February 6, 1867.

63. *Laws of the State of Missouri, 1867*, 24th General Assembly, pp. 135-139.

64. Act of March 17, 1868, *ibid.*, 1868, Adjourned Session, 24th General Assembly, pp. 107-111.

St. Joseph and Council Bluffs, becoming the Kansas City, St. Joseph and Council Bluffs railroad.⁶⁵

By that time the stock owned by Atchison, what with reorganizations, Carpenter, Stringfellow, and what not, was down to \$23,333.33 book value. After advertising for bids, the city had rejected an offer of 60 cents on the dollar in city bonds—an offer that represented about 30 cents on the dollar in cash. There were suggestions that the stock be given to anyone willing to extend the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe to Atchison.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Acting Mayor B. P. Waggener was sharply criticized when, after a hurried meeting of the council, the stock was sold for 40 cents to John Price, agent for Pickering Clark, an official of the Kansas City, St. Joseph and Council Bluffs railroad. Everyone concluded that the stock must be due for a rise.⁶⁷

Atchison really had no ground for complaint. She was extraordinarily fortunate to have had a railroad before the Civil War, and the wonder was that the road had been built at all. She had spent future taxes for an important bit of transportation; it had given her a real advantage over neighboring towns for a few years, and besides it had been built mostly with Missouri's money.

65. *The History of Buchanan County, Missouri*, p. 580.

66. *Atchison Daily Champion and Press*, September 28, 1870.

67. *Ibid.*, September 23, 28, 1870.

Letters of a Free-State Man in Kansas, 1856

Edited by NATHAN SMITH

INTRODUCTION

MUCH attention has been given to the political and ideological aspects of the struggle in Kansas between the Proslavery and Free-State forces in 1855-1856. Several letters written by a Free-State settler¹ interned in an army camp in Kansas, together with what is known of his activities there prior to his imprisonment, indicate that there was another aspect to the relationship between Proslavery and Free-State men.

On May 27, 1856, at a bipartisan meeting of landholders on Pottawatomie creek, called as a result of the slaughter three days earlier of five people by John Brown and his friends, Henry H. Williams, a Free-State settler, was elected secretary of a committee to take action against recurrence of such an event. The committee expressed its disapprobation of the John Brown atrocities and resolved that the settlers would "from this time lay aside all sectional and political feelings and act together as men of reason and common sense, determined to oppose all men who are so ultra in their views as to denounce men of opposite opinions."²

On that same day, Williams was indicted in Lykins county, together with John Brown, Jr., charged with "conspiracy to resist the collection of taxes."³ A few days later he was arrested⁴ and after detention in various prisons was transferred, on June 23, 1856, to the army camp near Lecompton.⁵ There the men who had been indicted for treason by Judge Lecompte's grand jury in the first week of May, 1856, were also imprisoned.

The arrest of Williams was a direct result of the conflict between the Proslavery legislature elected on March 30, 1855, and the Topeka legislature, which was organized on December 15, 1855, by the Free-State forces.⁶ Governor Robinson of Lawrence, who was among the treason prisoners, testified that on Williams' arrival at the camp near Lecompton he exonerated the men killed by John Brown and

NATHAN SMITH, a native of Chicago, is a fellow in history at the University of Illinois, Urbana and Chicago.

1. The original letters are in the possession of Prof. Richard Hooker, Roosevelt College, Chicago, Ill.

2. Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict* (New York, 1892), p. 275.

3. G. W. Brown, *Reminiscences of Old John Brown* (Rockford, 1880), p. 30.

4. D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 119.

5. Sara T. L. Robinson, *Kansas* . . . (Boston, 1856), p. 304. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 30, gives an earlier date for his arrival but inasmuch as he wrote 20 years later and Robinson wrote the same year the later date is possibly the more accurate.

6. William Phillips, *The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and Her Allies* (Boston, 1856), p. 350.

company of any provocation for the attack.⁷ Evidently, for Williams, some considerations were beyond partisan definition.

That feeling was not limited to Free-State men. On July 31, 1856, Williams wrote that in the face of a common danger (ruffian raids), "the proslavery men in Lecompton . . . are trying to compromise [and] get up vigilance committees &c with the free state men."

Williams' letters and activities are an indication that there was a common ground between Proslavery and Free-State men. It was not more extensive partly because the settlers had come to the territory already labeled. Incidents which normally would have been considered a product of frontier conditions were therefore magnified out of all proportion to their importance. The killing of Dow by Coleman, referred to by Williams, for example, had its roots in a complicated boundary dispute.⁸ The attack on Perkins seems to have been due as much to a desire to rob him as to an antagonism over slavery.⁹ In many of the other incidents—stealing cattle and horses from Free-State men; confiscating property of Free-State settlers on Stranger creek; stealing teams sent from Lawrence to Leavenworth for provisions—gain seems to have been a strong motive.

THE LETTERS

CAMP SACKETT near Lecompton July 31 1856

I sent a letter yesterday to Gerry by a man on his way to Boston & also a letter to Sarah Wilks but directed it in my haste to Sarah Aldrich it makes but little difference however I would write to all my friends if I did not dislike to write so much. A proslavery man and daughter from North Carolina called to see us last week came up from Lawrence in a wagon belonging to a Mr Chapman a member of the bogus legislature upon their return an altercation took place between Wilson (Carolinian) and Chapman about price of carriage hire & Chapman struck Wilson over the head with a club & Wilson died same day Wilson [*sic*] is under arrest at Lecompton but will probably get clear as he is "all right on the goose" A Dagurreian in Lawrence named Perkins taking a walk one evening last week was acosted by three Ruffians half mile from town & asked "where he lived" he replied in Lawrence the Ruff presented a pistol & fired Perkins knocked the pistol in the air &

7. Charles Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

8. O. N. Merrill, "A True History of the Kansas Wars," *The Magazine of History*, Cincinnati, v. 45 (1856, No. 178, reprinted 1932), pp. 15-23; Frank W. Blackmar, *The Life of Charles Robinson* (Topeka, 1902), pp. 137, 138.

9. See, also, Sara Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

returned the fire but was immediately knocked down with a pistol & robbed of \$40, in cash watch &c & stamped & kicked untill nearly dead & lies in a very precarious situation yet The bogus laws are not feared by the proslavery men or regarded by the free state men

The proslavery men in Lecompton are frightened to death keep guard around their town every night for fear of an attack & are trying to compromise get up vigilance committees &c with the free state men Marshall Fain¹⁰ from Lecompton arested a man near Lawrence for horse stealing before he got to Lecompton with his prisenor he was rescued by two of his friends but the man wanted the matter investigated and went on with the marshall Fain went to Lawrence for witnesses they were busy & could not come up so the marshall came to our camp for soldiers to help him a doz went down with him but could *not find* any of the witnesses although Fain at one time when at a distance from the soldiers saw one of the men that he wanted & conversed with him but when he bro't the soldiers he wasn't *thar* One of the men that the marshall suppoeneied came into camp after the Marshall left with his posse & staid two or three hours

The last I heard from Potowatomie there was a company of United States troops camped about six miles from my claim near Partridges Some of the most obnoxious proslavery settlers had left & dare not come back others had moved together in companies and were in a continual state of alarm (the wicked flee when no man pursueth) The imprisonment of Gov Robinson¹¹ and others here is making political capital for Fremont so mote it be, you can send or deliver a copy of the account of my arrest and imprisonment which I sent to you; to the Fredonia Censor and please state that I am from or rather bro't up in Chantangne (for political effect)

5 buggies one two horse wagon and one saddle horse hitched in front of our tents just now they bro't us green corn grapes apples beets cucumbers squashes &c We have glorious news from the house of representatives to day but we have nothing to expect from the senate or administration untill the 4th of March next when we do expect everything How does Hank Dunbar & father vote or all the old fogies of my acquaintance & uncle John Mott I have a great notion to write to Jon Mott jr Had a heavy rain night be-

10. W. P. Fain was a United States deputy marshal assigned to Kansas: On May 21, 1856, he led a posse into Lawrence and arrested some of the Free-State men indicted for treason.

11. Charles Robinson, a Free-State leader, held the title of governor in the Topeka government. Early in May, 1855, indictments for treason were issued against all its members. As a result Robinson was imprisoned at the camp near Lecompton until September 10, 1856, when he was freed on bail.

fore last which was needed and will do a great deal of good Shannon ¹² begins to curry favor of the free state men 10 days since he tried to cut us off from all communication from our friends

Judge Scuylers popularity is hurt in Kansas on account of his timidity in times of danger or rather his conservatism or prudence, men that in the earlier days of Kansas were considered rash and imprudent are now the most popular. The stirring times that we have had the past few weeks has shown who are the men to be relied upon in every emergency and they will be remembered I think

When the General assembly convened at Topeka on the 4th of July there was a quorum present but only 17 in the lower house answered to their names & the senate did not call the roll I laid my plans to escape the night of the 3d so as to be there on the 4th but Mr Brown the editor ¹³ remonstrated against my going he said that it would only be harder for those that remained as they would be closer confined none of the rest of the priseners objected to my going but I believe that Brown is a coward notwithstanding all his boasting what he would do if his press was mobbed for it was only the week before that he talked of escaping himself and going to Alton and starting his paper & none of the priseners objected to his going but rather wished that he would We could escape any night now, if we chose but we have such a kind captain now that we do not want to get him into trouble

CAMP SACKETT, Co. B. US Cavalry near Lecompton Aug 2d 1856

Hurrah! a letter from Highland Eagle Peekskill April 1st fathers journals with a line from Emily May 31st fathers letter to Shermanville July 3d & to Lecompton July 4th all rec'd this morn the first I have recd since I have been a prisoner I took them into my tent & lay down on my blanket & read them rolled over on my face & shed tears copiously better to relieve nature in this way than to have the blues for a week Hiram is dead Delia recovering from her burns what does this mean I have heard nothing poor Hipe he might better have come to Kansas Geo in Cleveland Ri in Delanti well well I hope that I shall hear from you oftener

12. Wilson Shannon was appointed governor of Kansas territory in September, 1855. He recognized the Shawnee Mission legislature and supported Judge Lecompte's efforts to disband the Topeka government.

13. George W. Brown was the editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, a Free-Soil paper published in Lawrence and circulated in the North. He was arrested for treason and interned in the camp near Lecompton along with the other treason prisoners.

now dont sent to Lecompton we have to get an order from Jones ¹⁴ or Darn-old son ¹⁵ to get them & that is humiliating

I have not paid much for counsel & do not intend to pay any more for a very good reason that I have not got it to pay I understand that there is a large amount of money being raised in the States for the relief of Kansas sufferers this is well & is much needed but I am afraid that those that most deserve the relief will be less likely to recive assistance than those that are less deserving there are those here that have always been ready to sacrifice anything & everything for the good of Kansas & have had to bear the brunt of the battle often sacrificeing property always time & often life they are generally unassuming & diffident about putting themselves forward as objects of charity even in so just a cause I am owing about \$15 or \$16 which I borrowed & expended in the war or for counsel fees but I look forward for a brighter day a comeing & If John Mott or Langworthy or Dunbar are friends of mine they will come to my assistance by voting for Fremont and Freedom I tell them that the administration is as corrupt as the Bottomless pit & all our appressors are working scheeming & fighting for its continuance in power with Buchanan for a leader & slavery for a motto they are trying to ride rough shod over the freemen of Kansas

It is now raining furiously & I cannot find a dry place to write in the tent Dietzler ¹⁶ was writing too but has stopped on account of the rain Judge Smith ¹⁷ who occupies the tent with D & I is dodging the drops as they come through the tent he has had the ague since he has been a prisoner but he is nearly well at present "Deizler says d—n the scoundrels, Pierce at the head of them for attempting to enforce those *infernal laws*" By the by Commissioner Hangland [Hoagland?] who committed me to prison has fled the country between the light of two days the storm has ceased & D has resumed his writing he is a good fellow has had the blues once, did not speak for nearly a week but is cheerful now We are to have preaching here tomorrow the Rev Mr Nute from Lawrence is to speak and a choir will come up it will be a relief to the monotony of our prison life Some of the prisoners have recd cheering letters from Reeder Holloday Klotz & others of our friends that are in the east some of them stumping for Fremont

Chapman who killed Wilson (Carolinian) spoke of in a former

14. Samuel J. Jones was the sheriff of Douglas county who, on May 21, 1856, with a posse destroyed books, local newspaper offices, and important buildings in Lawrence.

15. Israel B. Donaldson was the first United States marshal of Kansas territory.

16. G. W. Deitzler was a general in the Free-State militia who was arrested on May 21, 1856, for treason.

17. G. W. Smith was a member of the Topeka government also arrested on May 21 for treason.

letter is out of prison on \$3000, straw bail while a free state man arrested for horse stealing will not be admitted to bail by the bogus authorities so it goes One of the tents in camp occupied by Editor Brown has rents in it made with a bowy knife in the hands of Coleman the murder of Dow¹⁸ I have just examined the tent it has 8 cuts in it from the top nearly to the bottom since sewed up the tents belongs to the father in law of Brown who lives near Hickory Point near where Coleman lived Coleman is hanging about Westport and comes up into the territory with a gang of maurauders occasionally & drives off cattle and horses only week before last he drove off two horses for Browns father in law and 11 others were missing from that vicinity at the same time Coleman sent up word to Gleason (Brown relative) that he could have his horses by comeing to Westport & *taking* them No doubt that there has exaggerated accounts of affairs in Kansas been published but have not seen anything that would exceed the reality I have not met with any personal violence since I have been in the territory but I have seen the time when my life would not have been considered worth much by many in my situation

I understand that quite a large number of Alabamians have settled on the Potowatomie since I have been a prisoner but a number have died & the others discouraged If there can anything be gleaned from the above worthy of insertion in the Censor put it in by all means let there be light I would direct this to Geo but I do not know what office he is in Do write to Aunt Eliza nearly all the facts of the case in the murder of Brown Dow Barber Stewart Jones Cantrell & H—— are true & if she wants a faithfull account of our troubles let her read the report of the Investigating committee

CAMP SACKETT. Sunday Aug. 24th

250 dragoons arrived at Lecompton this morning from Fort Riley there is one company of artillery there and all of the first regiment of Cavalry Colonel Jonson is in command and has orders to keep his force together what they intend to do is more than I can surmise I hear it rumored that 4000 missourians are prepared to come up and sweep every abolitionist out of the territory 25th 200 Topeka boys went down last night, the free state men will march for the Stranger creek today headed by Gen Lane¹⁹ 400 Missourians camped on the Stranger All the regular force in the territory

18. Franklin N. Coleman was a Proslavery man who killed Charles W. Dow, a Free-Stater, on November 21, 1855, after difficulties which arose over a land claim. The killing began a series of disputes which led to the Wakarusa War.

19. James H. Lane, who was in command of the Free-State militia, was indicted for treason but never arrested.

is here now 500 or 600 under the command of Col Cook²⁰ what they are all concentrating here for I can't conceive The mob on the Stranger has drove all the free state settlers off and confiscated their property

26th Mirable Dictu I've got a letter at last fathers and sisters of Aug 16th arrived last eve it seems that the Border Ruffians are not to blame for my not receiving any before why the dickens dont you write more I want you to keep the Censors that you say have published my letters and when I get out please foreward them or you can send them right along now to Lawrence because if I am not here when they arrive I can get them Letters papers and visits of a few friends is all we have to relieve the tedium of our confinement now the usual restrictions of Military prisoners is put upon us now we can't stir without a guard at our heels & the free state men are so busily engaged with the affairs of the territory that we have but few visitors Havn't heard from the telegraph operator yet

I see that Pierce has called an extra session of Congress but I don't believe that Pierce or the Senate will do anything for Kansas the most that I can hope for is that the House will "stand up to the rack fodder or no fodder" Amos Lawrence²¹ had donated \$50 to each of the prisoners and Simpson of Lawrence²² advanced me \$20 this morning for him 27th I understand that the Missourians will not be disturbed for the present on the Stranger though it is impossible for me to tell what will or may take place any hour the free state forces continue under arms for the present 28th 6 teams that went from Lawrence to Leavenworth for provisions were taken by the borderers yesterday in Leavenworth and one of the teamsters shot

Three companies of dragoon just gone towards Lawrence I expect that it is to arest Lane a committee just waited on Col Cook to see if he would send a force to Leavenworth to recover the teams says that he has no authority to act unless called upon by the civil authorities I got letters from Westchester and papers but nothing from home or Clev

20. Brev. Col. Phillip St. George Cooke commanded the federal troops at Fort Riley.

21. Amos A. Lawrence of Boston was a strong supporter and treasurer of the New England Emigrant Aid Company.

22. S. N. Simpson was one of the delegates to the Free-State territorial convention held in Lawrence on June 25, 1855.

Susanna Madora Salter—First Woman Mayor

MONROE BILLINGTON

THE town of Argonia in Sumner county, Kansas, became nationally and internationally known in 1887 when the voters of that little Quaker village, with a population of less than five hundred, elected the first woman mayor in America. Mrs. Susanna Salter, who received this honor, was one of a number of women mayors elected during the years after the Civil War when women were renewing their demands for more political rights.¹

Mrs. Salter was born Susanna Madora "Dora" Kinsey, near Lamira in Belmont county, Ohio, March 2, 1860. Her parents, Oliver Kinsey and Terissa Ann White, were both of Quaker parentage, their ancestors having come to America from England with William Penn's colonists on the ship *Welcome*. The Kinsey family in successive generations moved from Pennsylvania to Ohio to Kansas, settling in 1872 on an 80-acre farm in the Kaw valley near Silver Lake. There Dora attended district schools until 1878, when she entered Kansas State Agricultural College as a sophomore.² She left college because of illness only six weeks before time to graduate. While at Manhattan she had met Lewis Allison Salter, son of former Lt. Gov. Melville J. Salter. Salter was graduated in 1879, and Dora was married to him on September 1, 1880, at Silver Lake.³

The young couple moved to Argonia in 1882, where Salter managed a hardware store. The following spring Mrs. Salter gave birth to her second child, the first born in Argonia. A year later Mrs. Salter's parents moved to Argonia and bought the store, which was operated under the firm name of Kinsey & Salter. In the meantime Salter read law with a local attorney and prepared himself for the bar.

The town of Argonia was incorporated in 1885. Mrs. Salter's father, Oliver Kinsey, was its first mayor and her husband was city clerk. In this capacity Salter wrote the ordinances of the town. Two years later the Kansas legislature enacted a law giving the

MONROE BILLINGTON, a native of Oklahoma, is a graduate assistant at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, where he is writing his doctor's dissertation in history. His wife is a granddaughter of Susanna Madora Salter.

1. The author has spent several hours with Mrs. Salter gathering information for this article. He has had free access to her newspaper clippings, letters, and mementos. From these interviews and papers, the political life of this interesting person has been reconstructed.

2. Mrs. Salter entered college as a sophomore because she had taken several high school subjects which in those days could be counted as college credits. After taking an examination on these subjects, she was permitted to skip the freshman year.

3. Alfred H. Mitchell, "America's First Woman Mayor," *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Columbus, v. 53 (January-March, 1944), pp. 52-54.

franchise to women in first, second, and third class cities. Since Argonia was a third class city, the women there became eligible to vote.

A Woman's Christian Temperance Union had been organized in Argonia in 1883, and with the right to vote, its members made enforcement of the state prohibition law a prime issue of the city election.⁴ They called a caucus and selected a ticket of men whom they considered to be worthy of the town's offices, regardless of political labels. In the absence of their president Mrs. Salter presided at this caucus.

A certain group of men in Argonia felt that the field of politics was their exclusive domain and resented the intrusion of women into their affairs. Two of these men had attended the W. C. T. U. caucus and heckled the proceedings. They were "wets," trying to intimidate the W. C. T. U., but when they attempted to nominate a candidate they were voted down.

A secret caucus was called by this faction. Twenty of them met in the back room of a local restaurant and decided to teach these females a lesson. They drew up a slate of candidates identical with that of the W. C. T. U., except that for the office of mayor they substituted Mrs. Salter's name. They assumed that the women would vote for the W. C. T. U. slate and that the men would not vote for a woman. They thought if Mrs. Salter got only their 20 votes it would embarrass the W. C. T. U. as a political organization. They also felt that such a move would curb some of the W. C. T. U.'s political activities. Mrs. Salter was chosen to be the butt of the prank because she was the only officer of the W. C. T. U. who was eligible for office, the others living outside the town limits.

This could be done as a surprise because candidates did not have to file before election day. The faction simply had the ballots printed with Mrs. Salter's name on them; of course without her knowledge or consent. Early voters on the morning of the election were shocked, therefore, to find that she was a candidate. The chairman of the Republican party in Argonia immediately sent a delegation to see her. They found her doing the family washing. They explained the trick and then asked if she would accept the office if elected.⁵ When Mrs. Salter agreed, they said, "All right, we will elect you and just show those fellows who framed up this deal a thing or two."

All day long they explained the situation and campaigned to get

4. Alva (Okla.) *Review Courier*, January 4, 1944.

5. Wellington *Daily News*, November 9, 1933.

out the vote. Mr. Salter, an early voter, was angered when he discovered his wife's name on the ballot. He was even more perturbed when he returned home and found that his wife had consented to serve if elected. Mrs. Salter was undeterred. At 4 P. M. she went to the polls with her parents and voted. It was not considered proper to vote for oneself in those days, so Mrs. Salter left the ballot for mayor unmarked.

By forsaking their own caucus nominee, the members of the W. C. T. U. voted for Mrs. Salter in such numbers that she received a two-thirds majority. Instead of the 20 votes intended for her, the faction had given her the election. Instead of humiliating the women, they had elected the first woman mayor in the country. When the results were known, Mrs. Salter's husband adjusted himself to the situation, and, with a certain amount of pride, made jokes about being the "husband of the mayor."

Two days after the election was held, the following message was sent to Mrs. Salter:

ARGONIA 4/6/87

DORA SALTER,
Argonia
Madam

You are hereby notified that at an election held in the city of Argonia on Monday April 4/87, for the purpose of electing city officers, you were duly elected to the office of Mayor of said city. You will take due notice thereof and govern yourself accordingly.

WM H WATSON Mayor
F. A. RUSE Clerk Pro. tem.

Five members of the town council were also elected. It was learned years later that three of them had been in the group of 20 pranksters. Nevertheless, the new mayor had no trouble with these men during her year in office. When she called the first council meeting to order, she said, "Gentlemen, what is your pleasure? You are the duly elected officials of this town, I am merely your presiding officer." This indicated to the surprised and skeptical councilmen that, contrary to predictions, they were not under "petticoat rule." She let the men take the lead in the council; the council and mayor worked harmoniously throughout the year. Actually the council did little. Two draymen were arrested for refusing to buy licenses, some boys were warned about throwing rocks at a vacant house, but otherwise the term was politically uneventful. No new ordinances were passed, although some of the ordinances which Mrs. Salter's husband had drawn up were tested for their effectiveness.

Notwithstanding this uneventful term of office, Mrs. Salter immediately became one of the most talked about and written about political figures in America. Newspapers sent correspondents to Argonia to visit her council meetings and to see how she conducted the town's business. Argonians were interviewed as to their reactions to a woman mayor. Newspapers debated over the advisability of other towns electing women mayors. Many objected to a possible "petticoat rule," while others took a "wait and see" attitude. Those who deferred judgment felt that if her term of office were a success women in politics might not be such a world-shaking change in American political life after all. Other newspapers made the mayor the object of many editorial jokes and sly remarks.⁶

One of the first council meetings over which Mrs. Salter presided was attended by a correspondent of the *New York Sun*. She knew that her every act would be publicized over the nation. She was determined to handle the council meeting with a firm hand, showing the world that a woman could hold her own in the realm of politics. The correspondent was impressed. When he wrote his story, he described the mayor's dress and hat, and pointed out that she presided with great decorum. He noted that several times she checked discussion which she deemed irrelevant, showing that she was a good parliamentarian. The councilmen, though respectful, bore the air of protesting pupils of a not over-popular school mistress. No official action was taken on any subject at this particular meeting, though an order of business was carried out and several matters discussed.

A councilman thought the license on billiard tables should be reduced from \$25 to \$12.50 a year, since the existing license—in his opinion—was almost prohibitive. Mrs. Salter thought that the town did not need billiard parlors badly enough to offer any premiums and expressed this opinion. When one of the other councilmen agreed with her, the matter was dropped. When the councilmen were asked if they knew of any violations of ordinances which demanded attention, they did not respond. The mayor pointed out that she knew of two small boys who had been throwing stones at a vacant house, and she thought they should be arrested and punished. The reporter added, "This was about all the business transacted, and it is little else that the Council is ever asked to do."

The mayor was regarded as a curiosity by even the townspeople,

6. From unidentified newspaper clippings. Many of Mrs. Salter's newspaper clippings are impossible to identify or to date since often only the brief articles have been clipped. When the dates and names of the newspapers are known, they are included.

Dona Salter.

Argonia 4/6. 1897

Argonia

Madam

You are hereby notified that at an election held in the city of Argonia on Monday April 1/87, for the purpose of electing city officers, you were duly elected to the office of Mayor of said city, you were taken due notice thereof and sworn yourself accordingly.

West Station May 11

G. A. Reese Clerk Pro Tem.

A PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION OF THE OFFICIAL NOTICE OF ELECTION
SENT TO MRS. LEWIS ALLISON SALTER IN APRIL, 1897



Mrs. LEWIS ALLISON SALTER, born Susanna Madora Kinsey, was elected mayor of Argonia on April 4, 1887. She was the first woman to be so honored in the United States. At left, Mrs. Salter in 1887, at the age of 27. At right, Mrs. Salter in 1954, on her 94th birthday. She now lives in Norman, Okla. Photos courtesy of Mrs. Salter and Mr. Billington.

always being pointed out to strangers visiting the town. The *Sun* reporter noted that "the mischievous small boys appear to regard her much as a New York gamin does a 'cop,' and 'There's the Mayor' is often the signal for a general scattering of urchins as she approaches." This Eastern observer concluded his column in this way:

I asked Mrs. Salter if her ambition to act as a female politician or leader in woman suffrage circles had been aroused by her election. She quickly replied, "No, indeed, I shall be very glad when my term of office expires, and shall be only too happy to thereafter devote myself entirely, as I always have done heretofore, to the care of my family." And in conversation with a number of business men in Argonia I found a very general disposition to rest on the laurels now won as the only American town which ever tried the experiment of a woman Mayor.

The Leavenworth *Times*, quoting the *Sun* article, pointed out that the correspondent expressed the opinion that she made "an intelligent, capable and conscientious officer, fully equal to all the requirements of her position." The *Times* went on to defend Mrs. Salter when it stated that "this evidence is corroborated by every individual who has had an opportunity to base his judgment on a personal observation of the conduct of her administration." The Rushville (Ind.) *Republican*, August 18, 1887, carried a brief article on Mrs. Salter stating that she "is said to discharge the duties of her office in the most acceptable manner." Another paper wrote that she "is having a very successful administration. When she was elected to her present office, her enemies predicted that she would make a failure of her effort to run the municipal affairs of Argonia. Up to the present time she has made no great blunders."

New England's reaction to the events in Kansas were expressed in a Massachusetts newspaper:

The Kansas women have done it. Susanna Madora Salter, mayor of Argonia, a little town of 500 inhabitants, is the first woman ever elected to that office. And she is not an "unsexed female" either, but the wife of a lawyer and the mother of four children. There is no more likelihood of her neglecting her babies—she is only 27 and the children cannot be much beyond babyhood—than that her husband would neglect his practice if he had been elected to the same office. There is also a poetic fitness in Mrs. Salter's election. Her father was the first mayor of the town, and she can continue the work he began.⁷

The Manhattan *Nationalist* remarked that it was fortunate for those who favored woman suffrage to be first represented in official life by one like Mrs. Salter. "There are many others in Kansas just as capable as she, but as among men, there are some incapable. It

7. Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, May 1, 1887.

cannot be said now that the very beginning [of women in office] was a failure," concluded the *Nationalist*.

Not all of the editorial comments were as favorable as the ones quoted above. One paper, when it heard that Mrs. Salter was not going to run for re-election, stated, "She is tired of the burdens of office. [She plans to] return to private life and leave the government of Argonia to the care of the sterner sex. Mayor Salter's experience proves that woman suffrage is its own cure." Another newspaper took issue with the statement that Mrs. Salter was tired of the responsibilities of office. On the contrary, it declared that she "finds . . . [official duties] less troublesome than household duties, which she also attends to and does not complain of either."

Laura M. Johns, president of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, capitalized on Mrs. Salter's election. For a Salina newspaper she wrote on April 28, 1887:

Argonia is a pretty little city . . . with a population of 500 . . . incorporated two years ago. . . . It has attracted the attention of suffragists by electing, this spring, a lady to the mayoralty. This is the first time a woman has held that office in Kansas, and we are glad that the "innovation" is made in the person of one who will fill that office with credit to herself and sex, and satisfaction to her townspeople. [The mayor] . . . does not fear [her opposition] in the least, and is determined, by the help of God, so to conduct her office as to make it serve the best interests of the city. She is an officer in the Argonia W. C. T. U., much interested in the enforcement of the prohibitory law, and in the study of the best means of suppressing and eradicating the vices that beset our cities.

Newspapers pointed out that a short time after the election the billiard hall was closed and the sale of hard cider was stopped in Argonia. The morals of the little Quaker town became stricter than ever. Men thought that it was necessary to put on a clean shirt and to black their boots before they consulted the mayor about the enforcement of the hog law. This was gall and wormwood to their souls, so some of those who originated the scheme which backfired left town, if one newspaper report is to be trusted.

Argonia received additional publicity when newspapers discovered that the mayor had given birth to a child while holding office.⁸ As one newspaper put it:

When Mayor Salter of Argonia had a baby, that village received such a boom and such gratuitous advertizing that all the other villages in the State

8. Edward Easter, who died 11 days after birth. Mrs. Salter was the mother of four children at the time of her election. Two more, in addition to this one who died in infancy, were born in Argonia, and two more were born after the family moved to Oklahoma. The Salter children in order of their births are: Clarence, Francis Argonia, Winfred, Melva, Edward, Bertha, Lewis, Leslie, and William.

almost went wild with envy. From an unknown country crossroads hamlet, Argonia has jumped into a prominence that is wonderful, and is today probably the best known, or at least the widest known town in the State.

Other Kansas towns elected woman officials the following year, much to the chagrin of many newspaper editors. Here are some headlines reflecting their attitudes: "Women as Mayors and City Councillors Not a Success in Kansas," "Pretty Campaigners—Indulging in Kissing to Change the View of Stony-Hearted Partisans," "How Women Lose Self-Respect—Argonia, Syracuse and Oskaloosa Under Female Government." An article under a Kansas City, Mo., dateline, and telegraphed to the New York *Herald*, may have been serious, but it probably was making fun of the towns under feminist rule:

There is reason to believe that billiards will soon become a lost art in all the smaller towns in Kansas, for the women have entered politics for the purposes of reforming the men, and it is a well-known fact that their principal objection to the modes of male recreation is to billiards. As the Mayor and Council of Oskaloosa all wear petticoats there will soon be such a revolution in that burg that the male sex will be compelled to go back to the days of their youth when they played "hookey" for devices to escape the lynx eyed rulers of the town. Quiet games of "draw" or "old sledge" will be played in the corners or behind the hedge fences, while such a pleasure as "sitting up with a sick friend" will become obsolete.⁹

Mrs. Salter's publicity was not confined to America. Many foreign papers carried notices, articles, and pictures about her. The official organ of the Grand Lodge of Western South Africa, *Temperance News*, carried an article about the mayor on June 16, 1888, and *Idun*, a women's magazine published in Stockholm, Sweden, carried her picture and an article about her on June 27, 1890. Other foreign newspapers and magazines carried similar stories.

The publicity which the American and foreign papers gave Mrs. Salter brought a deluge of mail to her office. One skeptical yet sympathetic preacher wrote:

STEAMBOAT ROCK
Hardin Co. Iowa

MRS. S. M. SALTER

Dear Madam

Is it possible [*sic*] that you have been elected Mayor of Argonia or is it a newspaper falshood [*sic*]. I am glad if it is true But thought I would ask for information. I saw it in the State Register And would like to hear from you While I remain

Yours fraternally

S. G. A. FIELDS
Pastor of M. E. Church

9. Issue of April 18, 1888.

The opposite reaction was manifested by an anonymous person who sent the following poem to Mrs. Salter with a pair of men's pants drawn on the card:

When a woman leaves her natural sphere,
And without her sex's modesty or fear
Assays the part of man,
She, in her weak attempts to rule,
But makes herself a mark for ridicule,
A laughing-stock and sham.
Article of greatest use is to her then
Something worn distinctively by men—
A pair of pants will do.
Thus she will plainly demonstrate
That Nature made a great mistake
In sexing such a shrew.

Letters of congratulations—some from nobility—were sent from France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and other European countries. Most of the foreign letters were written in the native tongue of the writer and were untranslatable by any of the citizens of Argonia. The following letter with misspellings and a misconception is typical except that it was written in English:

VIENNA, 27 July 87

My lady!

I thank an american friend your adress and he assure me that you are particularly amiable against strangers. Trusting of this, I pray you, to mark me a dealer, ingeneer or other person in your city or county, from which I could draw beautiful minerals for scientific purposes. Specially there cause before in Arizona [obviously the European is confusing Argonia with Arizona] excellent Mulfeurtes, Vanaduit, Desclorrit, Opals, ect. ect. _____. _____.

Thanking you before hand, I am allways to your disposition and remain as

Your obedient servant

JULIUS BOHM

Feminists and leaders of the women's rights movement from all over the world wrote letters of congratulations and encouragement to the new mayor. An enthusiastic admirer sent this effusion:

FULTON OSWEGO CO. N. Y. October 25th, 1887

MRS. SUSANNA MADORA SALTER, Argonia, Kansas,

Dear Madam, I write you this letter to you feeling interested in the equality of man and woman, and as your state Kansas, stands first to open the double door for a higher civilization to the whole world.

The dreams of my childhood have bloomed, and ripened, into a rich fruitage, in the person of Mrs. Salter. Allow me to congratulate you; as I feel proud of My Sister Woman in her manifest ability as Mayor of Argonia.

Most Respectfully,

MRS. MARY C. KNIGHT

A Lecturer on popular science

Perhaps the most famous person writing a letter to the new mayor was Frances E. Willard, the vigorous advocate of woman's rights and outstanding national leader of the W. C. T. U. The following letter Mrs. Salter cherishes as one of her prized possessions:

EVANSTON, ILL. Aug. 18, 1887

HON. MRS. S. SALTER,
Mayor of Argonia Kansas,
Dear Friend,

I am sending you some of our documents and publications and I wish you would write me (on your official heading) a note that I can read to audiences, showing the good of woman's ballot as a *temperance weapon* and the advantage of *women in office*.

With best wishes to the "Best Mayor," I am

Yours sincerely,
FRANCES E. WILLARD

Mrs. Salter, of course, had no money allotted to her for official stationery. In fact, her salary for the year was only one dollar. She spent many times her salary in just answering part of her "fan mail" while she was in office.

Equal suffrage was no small or inconsequential movement, but one in which its advocates worked militantly and tirelessly. Except for financial limits, their enthusiasm knew no bounds. The following letter from the president of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association shows the enthusiasm of the suffrage movement in America at the time Mrs. Salter was elected mayor:

SALINA KAN. 7/23 1887

DEAR MRS. SALTER

. . . How big is Argonia? If I were to bring speakers there, do you think collections could be taken sufficient to pay expenses? I would like to see an Equal Suffrage organization in Argonia. We are going into work for an amendment to our State Constitution, and *we must be organized*. To raise money to pay the expenses of organizing where the suffragists are not strong enough to do it all, we are taking part in the Boston Bazaar and it is suggested that you send as many of your Photos as you can afford to that Bazaar. We think they will sell readily and net us quite a handsome little sum. And if your lady photographer is a good suffragist (and I hope she is) she ought to "go halves" with you, as the boys say, and that would be yours and hers—a joint contribution. What do you think . . .? Why, my dear, you don't know what a prominent figure you are in history, and I just hope you are getting along as well as you can wish to.

I am coming down there to speak as soon as I can arrange my awful load of other business. . . .

Yours very cordially
LAURA M. JOHNS.

In the fall of 1887 Mrs. Johns invited Mrs. Salter to speak at the Kansas Women's Equal Suffrage Association's convention to be

held at Newton. Appearing on the platform with the mayor were Susan B. Anthony, Rachael Foster Avery, the Rev. Anna Shaw, and Henry Blackwell, husband of Lucy Stone.¹⁰ When Mrs. Salter was introduced to Susan B. Anthony before the program began, Miss Anthony—instead of shaking the mayor's hand—slapped her on the shoulder and exclaimed, "Why, you look just like any other woman, don't you?"¹¹

The newspapers made much of the fact that Mrs. Salter was only 27 years old when she was elected mayor. The Salem (Mass.) *Register* pointed out that she was only five feet, three inches tall, and that she never had domestic help until her election. The Western newspapers paid little attention to her domestic help problem. They noted that she was a strong woman, even though weighing only 128 pounds. One paper wrote, "She is a frontiersman's wife, possessed of brawn and sinew, rather than pleasing plumpness of form. She talks in an easy, confident style, in fairly good English, in which the Western mixture of tenses becomes prominent. She is always properly dignified, and in all the experience of Argonia has never been known to crack a joke in the Council chamber."

As has already been pointed out, Mrs. Salter did not choose to run for re-election. One year of political life was all that she desired.

The Salters continued to live in Argonia until the Cherokee strip was opened in present Oklahoma in 1893. In that year Salter filed on a claim one mile south of Alva, Okla., and soon he moved his family to the new territory. Ten years later he sold his farm and moved to Augusta, where he practiced law and established a newspaper, *The Headlight*, which he edited and published with the assistance of his older sons. A few years later many Augustans moved to the new townsite of Carmen. The Salters were a part of this movement, with *The Headlight* and the law office also being moved. After her husband's death on August 2, 1916, Mrs. Salter moved her family to Norman, Okla., in order that her younger children might attend the state university there. She has been living in Norman ever since.

On November 10, 1933, Mrs. Salter was honored by the citizens of Argonia. In her presence and with a great deal of ceremony, a bronze plaque mounted on a stone base was unveiled on the public square. The plaque was donated by the Woman's Kansas Day Club

10. Lewis S. Salter, "Susanna Madora Salter," *Kansas Library Bulletin*, Topeka, v. 4 (June, 1935), pp. 13, 14.

11. Mrs. Salter was also acquainted with Carry Nation. She tells the story of Mrs. Nation reprimanding her one time for attending a football game. Mrs. Salter was not one to yield to such a reprimand. She replied, "Not go to the game? Why, I have a son on the team!"

and its unveiling and presentation was the culmination of a project conceived by the president of the club, Stella B. Haines of Augusta. The words on the plaque read:

IN HONOR
OF
MRS. SUSANNA MADORA SALTER,
FIRST WOMAN MAYOR IN THE
UNITED STATES.
SHE SERVED AS MAYOR OF ARGONIA, KANSAS,
1887.
BORN, MARCH 2, 1860.
Marker Placed by
Woman's Kansas Day Club,
1933.

At the age of 94, Mrs. Salter still [October, 1954] takes an active interest in political and religious affairs. Since turning 90 this unusual woman has vowed that she will walk a mile every birthday for the remainder of her life. She prides herself on her independence, living in an apartment where she keeps house and cooks meals for herself. Unaccompanied, she makes regular trips to Oklahoma City and occasional ones to Wichita and Chicago. Although she is forced to wear a hearing aid, she is still keenly alert to her surroundings and her guests.

Notes on the Writing of General Histories of Kansas

JAMES C. MALIN

PART ONE: THE SETTING OF THE STAGE

INTRODUCTION: DEFINITIONS

WHEN one refers to a history of Kansas, or of any other subject, the term "a history" suggests to most people a historical work in the form of a book. But for such purposes, as well as for the present article, a definition of the two terms, "book" and "general history" is necessary, and some consideration must be given to their relations to each other. Many books were written about Kansas that do not qualify, properly, as histories, even though their titles offered them to the public as histories, and they contained historical material. In order to qualify as a general history of Kansas, the primary purpose of the work must be a history of the territory and of the state as a whole, or of some substantial period of time. In that sense the history of a particular aspect or institution would not qualify as a general history of Kansas. The question may be raised also whether a history must necessarily be in book form. The answer is no.

The last question suggests other problems of definition. What is a book? What determines whether or not a publication is a book? The number of pages, or the binding, or both? Books may be bound in boards or in paper, according to the custom of the country, or as a matter of cost or convenience. The United States post office defines a book as any publication "containing 24 pages or more, at least 22 of which are printed and consisting wholly of reading matter . . . and containing no advertising matter other than incidental announcements of books." Obviously, any definition is arbitrary, but the important thing is that it must have meaning that enables people to understand each other. For present purposes, a book is any publication "containing 24 pages or more, at least 22 of which are printed . . ." regardless of the binding.

BOOKS ABOUT KANSAS, 1854-1860

A large number of early books about Kansas, as distinct from histories of Kansas, were published during the territorial period, and are necessary to any study of the beginnings of the writing of the history of Kansas. Without any pretense of absolute completeness,

DR. JAMES C. MALIN, associate editor of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, is professor of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

a list of these for the territorial years is given here, grouped alphabetically according to the year of publication.¹

BOOKS ABOUT KANSAS, IN YEAR GROUPS,
ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY BY AUTHOR, 1854-1860

1854

EDWARD EVERETT HALE, *Kansas and Nebraska: The History, Geographical and Physical Characteristics* . . . With an Original Map (Boston, 1854).

MASSACHUSETTS EMIGRANT AID COMPANY, *Nebraska and Kansas. Report of a Committee of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, With an Act of Incorporation*, . . . (Boston, 1854).

MASSACHUSETTS EMIGRANT AID COMPANY, *Organization, Objects, and Plan of Operations, of the Emigrant Aid Company: Also a Description of Kansas. For the Information of Emigrants*. 2d edition, with additions (Boston, 1854). [This publication contains only 24 pages, 22 of which are reading matter, plus a title page and its reverse, the minimum necessary to qualify as a book. The same material set in type a little differently might have fallen short of 22 pages of reading matter. This illustration demonstrates vividly how arbitrary any definition of a book must necessarily be.]

GEORGE WALTER, *History of Kansas, Also Information Regarding Routes, Laws, etc., etc.*, by George Walter, Agent and Master of Emigration of the New York Kansas League (New York, 1854).

1855

C. B. BOYNTON AND T. B. MASON, *A Journey Through Kansas; With Sketches of Nebraska* (Cincinnati, 1855). [The authors were members of a committee acting for The American Reform Tract and Book Society, and The Kansas League of Cincinnati.]

J. BUTLER CHAPMAN, *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide. A Description* . . . Compiled From Three Months Travel Through the Territory in 1854. By . . . a resident since the settlement . . . with map (Akron, Ohio, 1855).

JOSEPH F. MOFFETTE, *The Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, Being an Account of Their Geography, Resources, and Settlements*, accompanied by

1. No attempt is made to assign chronological priorities within the year of publication. Some came so close together as to render sequences a matter of doubt, and to rob a priority, if established, of any significance except possibly to collectors.

Cora Dolbee undertook to establish the ordinal sequence of books about Kansas, but her assignment of positions is an example of the difficulties involved, and of a doubtful value of the effort expended.

Only where the influence of one book upon another, or upon the course of events is at issue, do some of these fine points of mere priority have any real importance.

Cora Dolbee, "The First Book on Kansas: The Story of Edward Everett Hale's *Kansas and Nebraska*," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2 (May, 1933), pp. 139-181; "The Second Book on Kansas: An Account of C. B. Boynton and T. B. Mason's *A Journey Through Kansas; With Sketches of Nebraska*," *ibid.*, v. 4 (May, 1935), pp. 115-148; "The Third Book on Kansas: An Interpretation of J. Butler Chapman's *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide*," *ibid.*, v. 8 (August, 1939), pp. 238-278.

According to the listing here, the rank of Boynton and Mason's book might be fifth, and Chapman's sixth or seventh. Colton's successive new editions, with some changes of text, might be listed separately as different books, or merely as different editions of a single book. The ordinal ranking of books would be substantially modified by the answer given to that question. Mrs. Robinson's successive printings, without change of text, would probably be dealt with more reasonably as a single book.

elaborate maps (New York, J. H. Colton and company, 1855). [Another edition appeared in 1856.]

Unsigned [WALTER B. SLOAN, Publisher], *History and Map of Kansas & Nebraska Describing Soil, Climate, Rivers, Prairies, . . . Politics Excepted* (Chicago, Walter B. Sloan, 1855). [Two editions, the first of 112 pages, and the second of 144 pages. A publisher's apology in the second edition explained that the additional material had been printed in *Sloan's Garden City of the West*, March and April, 1855. The Sloan family made patent medicines, "Sloan's Liniment," etc., and in its first issues, the magazine had some resemblance to a literary house organ. The authorship of the history has not been established.]

1856

G. D. BREWERTON, *The War in Kansas. A Rough Trip to the Border, Among New Homes and Strange People* (New York, 1856). [Brewerton was sent out by the New York Herald. The book was reissued at least twice, 1859 and 1860, but under a different title: *Wars of the Western Border; or, New Homes and Strange People*, but apparently from the same plates.]

C. W. BRIGGS, *The Reign of Terror in Kansas: as Encouraged by President Pierce and Carried Out by the Slave Power* (Boston, 1856).

MAX GREENE, *The Kansas Region: Forest, Prairie, Desert, Mountain, Vale, and River. Descriptions . . . Interspersed With Incidents of Travel . . .* (New York, 1856).

WILLIAM A. HOWARD, Chairman, JOHN SHERMAN, and MORDECAI OLIVER, House Select Committee, *Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas; With the Views of the Minority of Said Committee*, House of Representatives Report No. 200, 34 Congress, 1 session (Washington, D. C., 1856). vii, 132 + 1206 pp.

[JOHN McNAMARA], *In Perils of Mine Own Countrymen. Three Years on the Kansas Border*, by a clergyman of the Episcopal Church (New York and Auburn, 1856). [This book was published anonymously, but the Kansas State Historical Society has a copy signed by the author.]

O. N. MERRILL, *True History of the Kansas Wars, Their Origin, Progress and Incidents* (Cincinnati, 1856). Reprinted in *The Magazine of History, With Notes and Queries*, Extra number 178, v. 45 (1932), No. 2, pp. 67-124. (Tarrytown, N. Y., reprinted by William Abbatt, 1932.) [Two of his six chapters were little more than reprints of F. M. Coleman's and Robert F. Barber's narratives from Brewerton, *The War in Kansas*. Much of the remainder of the book was reprints of other documents. Mildly Proslavery, the author blamed both sides and appealed to common sense and mutual tolerance.]

WILLIAM A. PHILLIPS, *The Conquest of Kansas, by Missouri and Her Allies. A History of the Troubles in Kansas, From the Passage of the Organic Act Until the Close of July, 1856* (Boston, 1856).

SARA T. L. ROBINSON [MRS. CHARLES ROBINSON], *Kansas; Its Interior and Exterior Life . . .* (Boston, 1856). [The present author has identified five editions (in reality, printings) dated 1856, and two, the seventh and eighth, dated 1857. The sixth and the ninth have not been verified as to dating. The tenth edition came in 1899, with additional matter.]

[HANNAH ANDERSON ROPES], *Six Months in Kansas. By a Lady* (Boston, Cleveland, New York, 1856). [Apparently there were several printings. The University of Kansas Library copy is labelled, "Fourth thousand."]

PHILO TOWER, *Slavery Unmasked: Being a Truthful Narrative of a Three Years' Residence and Journeying in the Eleven Southern States: to Which Is Added the Invasion of Kansas, Including the Last Chapter of Her Wrongs*, by Rev. Philo Tower (Rochester, New York, 1856).

Unsigned, *Western Border Life; or, What Fanny Hunter Saw and Heard in Kansas and Missouri* (New York, 1856). [The Kansas struggle according to historical fiction; possibly the first novel in which Kansas was made the setting.]

1857

JOHN H. GIHON, *Geary and Kansas, Governor Geary's Administration in Kansas. With a Complete History of the Territory Until June, 1857* . . . (Philadelphia, J. H. C. Whiting, 1857). [Another edition, with same title, except punctuation and "July, 1857" instead of "June, 1857," was published also in Philadelphia, C. C. Rhodes, 1857. A third edition, without date or place, was published by Cone.]

THOMAS H. GLADSTONE, *Kansas; or, Squatter Life and Border Warfare in the Far West* . . . *With Additions and Corrections* (London, 1857). [Gladstone was an Englishman and printed the first version in the *London Times*. The United States edition was printed under the title: *The Englishman in Kansas; or, Squatter Life and Border Warfare*. Also, there were two German translations.]

NATHAN HOWE PARKER, *The Kansas and Nebraska Hand-Book. For 1857-8. With a New and Accurate Map* (Boston and Cleveland, 1857).

1858

No important book was published on Kansas.

1859

WILLIAM P. TOMLINSON, *Kansas in Eighteen Fifty-eight. Being Chiefly of the Recent Troubles in the Territory* (New York, 1859).

S. G. FISHER, *The Law of the Territories* (Philadelphia, 1859).

The great book production stimulus of 1859 was the Pike's Peak Gold Rush. Eleven books, mostly "guide books," of more than 24 pages, were issued, and several smaller ones. For titles see the Wagner-Camp bibliography, *The Plains and the Rockies, 1800-1865* (1937).

1860

The only important Kansas books were again the Pike's Peak guides, three of them in excess of 24 pages.

JOHN DOY, *The narrative of John Doy, of Lawrence, Kansas* (New York, Printed for the author by Thomas Holman, 1860).

In the foregoing list, the year 1854 contains only four titles that qualify under the definition as books. The year 1855, with four, represents a continuity of interest, really an increase, beyond the

number of titles, because of the more substantial character of the publications, and the fact that they were the product of more independent origins. The year 1856 was the peak of activity in Kansas book making, with 11 titles, and most of them issued by commercial presses. Nothing could make clearer than this record of the number of publications the significance of the year 1856 in Kansas history; the presidential campaign, the Republican party organized, and Kansas—Bleeding Kansas—as the indispensable issue for holding together in a semblance of unity the diverse elements of the new party. Only the Merrill book and the Oliver *Minority Report* of the Howard committee were not antislavery in outlook. Without a presidential campaign in the states that year, it is a moot question whether serious trouble would have occurred in Kansas. Unfortunately for the historian, the experiment cannot be rerun in a laboratory, like a chemistry or physics problem, and a determination made of what would happen if any of several factors were removed from the operation.

Only three important titles appeared in 1857, the critical year during which the Free-State party gained control of the territorial legislature. In 1858 no important book appeared, although that was the year of mid-term elections in the states, and of the Lecompton constitutional controversy in congress, while Kansas and Missouri suffered under the excitement of the southeastern Kansas border war. Only one important book, Tomlinson, *Kansas in Eighteen Fifty-eight*, published in 1859, came out of that disgraceful episode. The Fisher book, *The Law of the Territories*, was a general theoretical study, and a warning against the extremists, in which Kansas really appeared only as the horrible example. A question might be raised legitimately whether it should be classified as a Kansas book. In any case, the inclusion here is imperative, if for no other reason, to document the difficulties met in deciding what should be considered a Kansas book. For reasons that will appear later, the present writer would place it in two categories of books; those applicable to Kansas and to the United States.

The year 1859, notable for the Pike's Peak Gold Rush to western Kansas territory, was a complete change of scene as well as form of excitement. Books about Kansas again became best sellers, and in a bigger way than ever, but the focus of interest was gold not Kansas. However potent the gold fever, it must not be permitted to detour attention from the main problem. Book-wise, Kansas was not really a best-seller subject after 1857, and even the Gihon and the Glad-

stone books of that year were only delayed fifty-sixers. This collapse in the production of new slavery-inspired books on Kansas is a fact that was remarkable in itself, and has not been the subject of explicit comment by historians. This trend ran counter to rising tension in the states which culminated in 1861. It suggests that some re-examination is in order of the assumptions that have become traditional about the relation of Kansas to the crisis of 1861.

In addition to the types of books already listed, two other classes must be mentioned, briefly. The general subject of the American West was already a topic of recognized reader interest in the book trade. "The Great West" had come into its own when the upper Ohio valley was the Great West. As the population filled into other areas within the Mississippi valley the names of new places were included in the books. Emigrant and traveler guide books multiplied and some of the more important houses, such as J. H. Colton and Company, issued their several series of guides. Colton's *The Western Tourist and Emigrant Guide*, first published in 1839, underwent successive expansions until the 1850 edition listed Nebraska territory, the 1852 edition was similar, and the 1855 edition included Kansas, but only incidentally on the map.

Histories of the Great West expanded their coverage likewise. Thus Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of the Great West* . . . , copyrighted originally in 1851, included the far Western country, Texas, New Mexico, Oregon, California, Utah, and Minnesota. The edition of 1854 added Washington, Nebraska, and Kansas. By 1856, if not before, the book included the Pacific railroad (pp. 440-448), and a page of Kansas views with an 1856 copyright notice and a caption stating they were taken in May, 1856. Of particular interest are views of Lawrence and Leavenworth, facing p. 370, in the California section. Two editions of the book were issued during 1857. Early in that year an edition was prepared, that of 1856 unchanged except for the addition of an "Appendix Containing History of Kansas," pp. 449-527, and the page of views as of May, 1856, facing p. 449. In this Kansas appendix, Howe leaned heavily upon the Howard committee *Report on the Troubles in Kansas*, and upon Oliver's *Minority Report*, as well as upon Phillips' *Conquest of Kansas*. As did most of the other books on Kansas, the Kansas-Nebraska act was represented as a sudden decision, forced through congress by the slavocracy in indecent haste. But that aspect was offset somewhat by the most candid presentation of the facts and allegations brought out in the Oliver *Minority Report*, revealing the

details of the Pottawatomie massacre. John Brown was identified explicitly by Howe as the responsible leader in that episode. Probably this was the first candid presentation of the Pottawatomie massacre to the reading public in book form, other than the public document upon which it was based. That fact has thus far escaped notice in the writing about the John Brown theme.

During the same year, however, Howe issued a new edition, the second of the two editions of 1857, with a new title, *The Great West . . . Enlarged Edition* (576 pages). The preface reported that 80,000 copies of the successive printings of the basic 1851 edition had been issued, and "As in the interval many important changes have taken place in the West, the book has been remodeled and the current of events brought down to the present time." Nebraska now had a separate chapter (pp. 501-512), and Kansas another (pp. 512-554), and a new area, the Lake Superior had been added. For present purposes, however, the most significant change in the Kansas chapter was the elimination of most of the Oliver *Minority Report*, and all of the John Brown documents. The realistic description of the Pottawatomie massacre gave way to a version that falsified the affair and dealt with it in one sentence: "On the 26th [25] of May, a skirmish occurred at the settlement of Osawattamie, in which three Free State and five pro-Slavery men were killed." Thus far no clue has been found to the pressures that brought about this concession to antislavery-abolition propaganda, but the record of the change itself is damning. In 1873 came still another major rewriting of *The Great West*, but the legend about John Brown stood unchanged from the form given it in the late 1857 edition.² Another book in the same class, but purely perfunctory in its handling of Kansas material, is Jacob Ferris, *The States and Territories of the Great West . . .* (New York, and Buffalo, 1856).

A different type of general treatment of a historical subject is represented in a book on the history of slavery. In this class, prior to the Civil War, the book of W. O. Blake, *History of Slavery and the Slave Trade . . .* (Columbus, Ohio, 1860), is of some importance. It was an extreme antislavery production and devoted the final five chapters to the Kansas question, opening the polemic

2. The present author has located 11 printings of the several versions of *The Great West* (1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, two in 1855, 1856, two in 1857, 1859, 1873). There were three substantially different versions of the book as a whole; the basic original text of 1851; and the rewritings of late 1857 and 1873. There were three major additions, apparently, to the basic text of 1851, prior to the rewriting of 1857. The present author has examined only the printings of 1852, 1853, two of 1857, and 1873. The other data are taken from Sabin, Roorbach, and the Library of Congress *Catalog of Printed Cards*. Information now at hand indicates that there were two variant title pages of the earlier edition of 1857, but a fuller description must be deferred.

discussion with the Compromise measures of 1850 (pp. 563-825). It was more to the liking of the antislavery north than Howe's book, which was unsympathetic to John Brown, and therefore had a greater survival odds in Kansas after the Civil War, until the 1873 edition of Howe appeared.

ORGANIZATION AND ISSUES OF KANSAS HISTORY

In studying the manner in which Kansas history has been written, two widely contrasting views are in evidence; the slavery interpretation, the tradition growing out of the territorial controversy; and a cultural approach, a larger conception which deals with the occupancy of the area by European culture as it had been modified in America. This latter view requires a description of the world and continental setting of the area that came to be called Kansas at the mid-point in the 19th century. The men who were engaged in establishing occupancy in the North American grassland were men whose outlook had been shaped largely by a forest experience. Their most difficult task was to reshape their outlook and to accept the grassland environment on its own terms. Instead of bemoaning the differences between forest and grassland environment as evidence of deficiencies of the latter, they had to learn to deal with them as normal characteristics and to capitalize upon them as advantages.

Only one book, during the territorial period, approached the area in a manner that suggested anything of a sound and comprehensive approach to its history, and one that would relegate the slavery issue to something like its proper proportions. It was the work of William Gilpin, a Pennsylvania-born Missourian, of Independence, and was miscalled *The Central Gold Region* . . . (Philadelphia, 1860). The content of the book was primarily a series of papers he had prepared prior to the gold discovery, and dealt with his geographical interpretation of history, and with the relation of the interior of North America west of Independence to this larger context of human history. In doing this, Gilpin gave the Trans-Mississippi West a meaningful setting in World history. His thinking was not altogether sound, but nevertheless was provocative and significant. Of much lesser import, yet important, was the work of another Missourian by adoption, C. C. Spaulding, *Annals of the City of Kansas: Embracing . . . the Trade and Commerce of the Great Western Plains* . . . (Kansas City, 1858; Reprint: Kansas City, Mo., Frank Glenn, 1950). Kansans

of 1858 were too much dominated by their prejudices to appreciate that this book explained quite accurately the enduring position of Kansas in relation to what was then called officially, the City of Kansas, Missouri, as a "Metropolitan center."³

The structure of Kansas history, as it was being shaped in the myopia of the dominant antislavery present of the 1850's, was quite different from the larger view of these Missouri neighbors, Gilpin and Spaulding, or of that remarkable newspaper editor of the City of Kansas, R. T. Van Horn of the *Enterprise*, renamed the *Journal of Commerce*, whose ideas are in the files of his paper instead of in a formal book.

The traditional view of Kansas territorial history makes slavery the single issue. The fragmented aspect of Kansas territorial history embraced in that narrow frame of reference falls naturally into three periods: (1) the single issue of Free-State versus Proslavery control, 1854-1859; (2) the single issue of Republican party control, 1859 and later; (3) the battle for honors and credits in Kansas history—who and what policy made Kansas free?—1870's and later.

Within this single issue frame of reference, a limited list of topics is compiled for somewhat systematic comparative treatment as they appeared in the histories under review. The criterion for selection is primarily the importance they were assigned because of the battle for honors and credits. Who was responsible for the Kansas-Nebraska act: Sen. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the slaveryocracy, or the Missourians? Who was the aggressor, Proslavery or Free-State forces? Did leadership in the Free-State resistance movement center in Leavenworth or in Lawrence? What was the role of the New England Emigrant Aid Company? The Robinson-Lane rivalry? The Wood-Abbott rivalry? Of Jones and Lecompte in the "Sack of Lawrence?" Of John Brown in the Wakarusa War, the Pottawatomie Massacre, and the southeastern Kansas war? Was the issue of prairie environment recognized?

PHILLIPS, *Conquest of Kansas by Missouri*

A discussion of the historical aspects of all of these books about Kansas is not practicable in this article, but William A. Phillips' *The Conquest of Kansas, by Missouri and Her Allies. A History of the Troubles in Kansas, From the Passage of the Organic Act Until the*

3. James C. Malin, *The Grassland of North America: Prolegomena to Its History* (Lawrence, 1947), especially pp. 177-192; *Grassland Historical Studies*, v. 1, *Geology and Geography*, (Lawrence, 1950), especially pt. 2, "Early History of the Town of Kansas. . . ."

Close of July, 1856 is of such importance to the problem that it must be considered in some detail. William Addison Phillips (1824-1893), a Scot by birth, arrived in the United States at the age of 12. In 1855, at the age of 31, he was sent to Kansas by the New York *Tribune* as "Our Special Correspondent in Kansas." His persistence in gathering facts, even though they were highly colored by his radical position on the slavery question, soon resulted in securing recognition for him as the ablest letter writer in the Kansas field. The year 1856, a presidential campaign year, saw Phillips committed to the newly organized Republican party, and in the late summer his letters to the *Tribune* afforded the basis for this partisan campaign book which was announced in *The Daily Tribune*, October 11, 1856. The title claimed that the book was a history, but if so, it was "current history," or more properly "current events." The book was important, however, in providing a formula or mold for those which were to follow, both in polemic literature and in history. Because of his far-reaching influence, the structure of his thought and the organization of material must be analyzed.

His preface poses a question that is critical to any historian: Are truth and impartiality attainable and compatible? His answer was in the negative, that they were not necessarily the same thing or even compatible. He confessed that he made no "elaborate assertion of impartiality," yet he offered his book "as the simple truth." In this case, he did not consider impartiality "as very creditable"—in fact he insisted that he could not conscientiously "purchase a doubtful reputation for impartiality at the sacrifice of a truthful record." Having made this abstract commitment, as governing his concept of the historian's function, it is important to relate it to his view of the nature of the Kansas question.

Phillips' discussion of the theory and practice of territorial government (pp. 65-69) was fundamental to his book as history. This fact has never been recognized in the use made of the book in the writing either of the general history of the United States or of Kansas. It provided the theoretical framework for his interpretation of Republican party political philosophy, as he understood it, as well as for his attack upon the Douglas theory of popular or squatter sovereignty. Thus, in stating in positive terms the working theory of territorial status Phillips asserted that: "Our general government is one of *conceded* rights; our state governments rest on *reserved* rights. . . . A territory has conceded nothing and reserved nothing. It has no right to the advantage of a compact, for it is a party to no compact." He postulated: (1) that a territory cannot

set itself up independently of the Union; (2) that it cannot thrust itself upon the Union as a state; (3) that congress has the right to fix the terms of its admission. Without naming them as background, these propositions referred back to the Northwest ordinance of 1787 and the constitution, drafted in the same year, but they may be viewed as corollaries drawn from his premise, that the authority over the territories was acquired by the sword, and would be maintained in the same manner. Relinquishment of authority, by the same token, could come only by consent or by conquest. The Kansas-Nebraska act did not relinquish authority: "As a nation we claim to have authority over the national domain, and we suppose we mean to exercise it."

This was a grim view of the problem, but Phillips thought of himself as a realist: "Governments are not theories, but facts." He had admitted earlier in his exposition, that:

A territorial government is something contradictory in our history. It is unknown to our constitution, and foreign to the spirit of our institutions. The system has grown up and been tolerated by necessity. The theory of our government is simply that it shall be formed by the people among whom it obtains; shall be dependent upon them, and thus express the popular sentiment. A territorial government is something very different from this, and it is so of necessity. The blunder, if there was any, lay in the acquirement of the territory at first. This has been done, however; and, judging from the popular feeling, it will be done again.

In Phillips' exposition the recurrence of the word "necessity" is significant; also the fact that he did not attempt to show how it was necessary. In his whole discussion of theory, he used the word "constitution" only once, and that was in the context just quoted. In view of the legalistic character of most of the argument of the 1850's over the issues at stake, Phillips' form of argument is worthy of note—a parade of the theoretical, tailored to the requirements of practical politics—as he put it: "Governments are not theories, but facts." The body of philosophical and ethical ideas known as pragmatism supposedly had not been formulated until the 20th century, but Phillips' insistence that he was facing facts, in reality a rationalized opportunism in political and ethical theory and practice, with its parade, nevertheless, of moral idealism, bears many resemblances. He called it eclecticism. Certainly, his thought was not characterized by the absolutes that the 20th century subjective relativists attributed to the 19th century. As in the case of most *ad hoc* justifications of any age, emotional commitments supplied the absolutes.

In the territories, Phillips asserted, civil rights, but not political

rights were guaranteed; the rights "of preservation of life and property" assured to all citizens of the United States anywhere "throughout the world." Of course, Phillips evaded the fact that no constitutional definition of citizenship existed prior to the 14th amendment, and differences over this very matter were at the heart of the whole issue of slavery and the status of the Negro as a race.

Again, in describing the power of congress over the territories, Phillips asserted that "as a nation *we own* them," and the authority might be expressed in the term "national sovereignty" or any other equivalent. On this basis, the territories had "no political power but such as Congress concedes to them."

So much for the power. Phillips appealed to the people not to abuse that power: "Having introduced a feature foreign to our republican institutions, it is our duty, as the next best thing we can do, to make it conform to republicanism as much as possible." By this he did not mean republicanism as a political party faith, but as a form of popular government. In the 1850's the word democracy was little used for that purpose.

Again and again, in this dissertation upon the nature of government in the United States, Phillips used the terms nation and national and not the terms federation and federal. Even in differentiating "conceded" and "reserved" rights, he coupled it in the next sentence with a reference to "the national compact," meaning the constitution. But after using such terminology, Phillips denied the right of a majority of the nation to determine the territorial institutions, because the people of the states were no more residents of the territories than the reverse.

How could republicanism be best preserved in the territories? Phillips insisted that: "The moment that Congress is satisfied that a majority of these people have decided in favor of such an unobjectionable form of state government, it will be conceded, by every honorable and correct mind, that it is their duty to restore them to their rights as American citizens"—that is, admit them into the Union as states.

The Phillips formula contained several jokers, particularly the words "majority" and "unobjectionable." He admitted that the decision upon the word "majority" must be arbitrary; not "three or four irresponsible buccaneers," federal appointees under squatter sovereignty, but: "We cannot escape the dilemma by fixing any *number* of settlers as a point where principle interferes in favor of their rights. At what point of aggregation do men become capable

of, and entitled to, self-government? We can neither escape the point nor its responsibility." Phillips himself, however, did evade the responsibility, and provided no solution. The answer to the question raised by the second word appeared to have been given in the denial of the right of a territory to "thrust itself into the Union with all the evils and impolicy of slavery, or polygamy, or cannibalism, . . . [or] Russian autocracy. . . ." The logic of the argument on this point would seem to be a denial of the right of congress to admit any slave state, or any state cursed with any of the evils enumerated, regardless of the will of a "majority" of its people.

Phillips denied the right of national majorities to determine the institutions of a territory, but accepted the claim of right of congressional majorities to determine whether the territory, in offering itself as a state, be accepted or rejected on the ground of objectionability of its constitution as voted by its own people. But the Missouri Compromise was a congressional determination of the institutions of territories and of the states to be formed from them. Republican denunciation of the repeal of this restriction was a reassertion of that alleged right, and was the cornerstone of the new Republican party in behalf of which his book was written. How could these contradictions be reconciled legislatively, theoretically, or practically? Phillips did not attempt to reconcile them, unless his dictum be accepted in that light, when he wrote:

Governments are not theories, but facts. We *have* territories. . . . We assume their governments; having it, it is our duty to take care of them. Having introduced a feature foreign to our republican institutions, it is our duty, as the next best thing we can do, to make it conform to republicanism as much as possible.

Phillips' argument has been analyzed at some length because he was the ablest journalist present on the scene in Kansas, wielding great influence and unlike the other letter-writers, remained in Kansas not only through the whole territorial period, but made it his permanent home. He was particularly clever at the art of propaganda, and therefore the form of presentation of his argument must be broken down and restated. Only by breaking the mold and re-assembling the parts in a different sequence can the implications, logical inconsistencies, and omissions of his rationalizations be exposed. He was a master in the practice of using language as a device to conceal thought, yet to influence people, effectively, through their emotions.

Having described the Republican party view of territorial government as Phillips interpreted it, the next task is to restate his version of the Douglas or National Democratic theory of popular sovereignty. Phillips referred to squatter sovereignty as merely a "dodge": Douglas pretended this [squatter sovereignty] was the design of the bill; but Douglas knew better. Had he been sincere, he would not have dared to frame a bill by which the executive of the territory and the judiciary were simply the appointees of the President, and, it might be, the tools of a faction. Taking the position he pretended to take, he would have known that this was a gross imposition on men's rights.

Phillips charged specifically that the provisions "allowing the President to appoint corrupt officers [to enforce the laws], have prevented the people from having any means of remedy against the abuse of power on them, except in revolution." His conclusion was that: "It should require no logic to show that there was not much sovereignty of the people in this."

Phillips' argument was a curious mixture of facts and falsehood. The form of the Kansas territorial government was traditional in all respects. The same provisions for redress of grievances prevailed as in other territories, together with a procedure expressly prescribed under the squatter sovereignty principles, for judicial determination of constitutional questions that might arise out of the issue of slave property. Phillips' charge that there was no remedy for abuse of power, "except in revolution," was false. One of the most peculiar aspects of the whole Kansas controversy, and one that has never received direct attention from historians, is the fact that appeal to judicial determination of any of the controversies arising out of the Kansas question was never resorted to by the Free-State forces. For reasons best known to themselves, the Free-State men in Kansas, and the Republican party on the federal level, chose to pretend that they had no remedy but the right of revolution. In defending Judge Samuel D. Lecompte, James A. Stewart, in congress, challenged them point blank to bring a test case in the courts, but they ignored him. They merely continued their campaign of villification. Stewart and Lecompte reminded them also of another unused remedy which was available—impeachment proceedings.⁴

It was the fashion of the day to accuse Douglas of insincerity, duplicity, and worse. Constant repetition had conditioned the anti-slavery public to accept such charges at face value without proof.

4. James C. Malin, "Judge Lecompte and the 'Sack of Lawrence,' May 21, 1856," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (August, November, 1953), pp. 465-494, 553-597, at 488, 491.

That the Republicans were hostile to the Douglas version of popular sovereignty, Phillips made amply clear, but he was sufficiently skillful as a controversialist to divert attention successfully from the fact that the Republican position was even more hostile to territorial self-government in principle as well as practice. The emotional force of the moral issue of slavery, associated with the Missouri Compromise restriction and opposition to its repeal, was used effectively to make that opposition appear to be a virtue. Or, to word the dilemma differently, in order to sharpen its point, Phillips' task was to denounce the Douglas doctrine as an intolerable abuse of self-government without revealing the fact that the Republican doctrine permitted much less freedom for self-government. And in accomplishing this objective the more effectively he was obliged to make this restriction upon self-government appear as a moral asset. The issue of national power to which the Republican party was dedicated—centralized national power—meant that it could not make a commitment to self-government in the territories in any form, popular sovereignty or otherwise. The party's antecedents were antislaveryism, abolitionism, and nativism. Each of these isms, for its effective realization in action, meant centralized national power—a denial of the freedom of local self-government. The logic of nationalism, in contrast with federated power, meant power wielded on the basis of national majorities. The general principle was little understood, if at all, in its full implications when implemented for action, but its character was fundamental to the whole situation developing during the 1850's. The peculiar sectional character of slavery, together with the emotional impact of the moral issue, paralyzed intellectual processes and reasoning from facts. Abhorrence of one form of slavery delivered the whole federation to another form of slavery. The issue was made to appear to be one in which freedom from chattel slavery could be achieved only through the sacrifice of freedom or local self-government. That was a phoney issue. The mere assertion that this was the only alternative to freedom from chattel slavery did not make it true.

That any appearance of any subjective rationalization in this matter, by the present author, may be removed, attention is directed to the transitional paragraph which Phillips employed (p. 69) in passing from the several pages of theoretical discussion to the more strictly historical narrative of the action taken by Governor Reeder early in 1855: "We have been thus particular in placing the matter in what we deem its true light, in order that what follows may be more clearly understood."

In his introductory chapter Phillips set the stage for proving the validity of his book title: "In the fall of 1853 the plot for the conquest of Kansas matured." He then identified the plotters as western Missouri men and cited Dr. J. H. Stringfellow. According to Phillips, Stringfellow admitted that the "Eastern Emigrant Aid Societies" threw the first doubt upon the success of the scheme. Following this pattern, Douglas was not given the title role; the Missourians were the first invaders, and the objects of their concern were the "Yankee settlements" in the valley of the Kaw. Thus, he argued, slavery was established in Kansas by Missourians organized through secret societies and by federally appointed judges. After the March, 1855, election, Kansas was to be "kept conquered." The result, a reign of terror.

The initiation of the Free-State movement was treated with remarkable brevity. The Big Springs convention of September 5, 1855, which launched the Free-State party and the delegate elections received five pages, the most of which was absorbed in printing the resolutions. The Topeka state government movement was assigned a chapter. Possibly the most remarkable fact about these narratives was that the story was told without any reference to personal leadership in the proceedings. At the end were a group of character sketches, and an introduction to James H. Lane, president of the convention, and Charles Robinson—"they have been the two most prominent men in the territory." Phillips assigned Lane the role of Democratic, and Robinson of Republican leadership in the constitutional convention, and described them as sharply contrasting personalities: "Robinson is cool-headed, cautious, and calculating; just the man to plan and direct. Lane is hot-headed, rash, regardless of consequences, but not wanting in bravery; just the man to carry out the plans and directions." There was much more to the word pictures, but nothing to suggest that the men were bitter rivals for dominance in Free-State affairs. The word pictures seemed designed to convey the impression that the differences in talent served to compensate and render their combined efforts the more effective.

The rescue of Branson was an episode preliminary to the Wakarusa war. Phillips handed out the honors with an even hand among S. F. Tappan, J. B. Abbott, and S. N. Wood. There was no intimation of the quarrel over honors which was to develop later. The Wakarusa war itself was treated as the second invasion of Kansas by Missouri, the first, according to his formula had been the challenge issued to the first Emigrant Aid Party at Lawrence, August 10, 1854. Of course, this formula made Lawrence, rather than Leavenworth,

the heart and center of Free-State resistance. Furthermore it was planting in Kansas history the basis of the myth that Kansas was the child of New England.

In describing the "Sack of Lawrence" May 21, 1856, he declared flatly that "Jones told them [his alleged posse] that he had orders, from the First District Court of the United States for Kansas (Judge Lecompte), to demolish the hotel and destroy the printing offices [p. 296]." ⁵ This allegation was false, but it served as effective campaign propaganda.

John Brown appeared unheralded in the pages of Phillips' book at the time of the Wakarusa war. The role assigned to him was that of a questioner about the terms of the peace treaty and a protestant against any concession concerning the bogus laws. Without explaining the reason, Phillips indicated that "a desire was manifested to prevent his speaking."

After the "Sack of Lawrence," John Brown again is found in Phillips' pages, the references to him being elliptic. The Pottawatomie massacre was described as "stern and remorseless," and as "wrapped in profound mystery," but the victims were "violent, bad men." Allegedly, Free-State men were ordered to leave the community, etc.: "Such was the provocation,—how the rest happened God in heaven only knows." John Brown was not mentioned in this connection, but 16 pages later he was described as

stern-looking, hard-featured and resolute, . . . not to be trifled with . . . practical . . . inexorably inflexible . . . fanatic . . . Christian . . . stern disciplinarian . . . a regular martinet. . . . He is a strange, resolute, repulsive, iron-willed, inexorable old man. He is like a solitary rock in a more mobile society, a fiery nature, and a cold temper, a cool head,—a volcano beneath a covering of snow, . . . but he was regarded as a participator, if not leader, in the Pottawatomie affair. . . . [p. 332].

Subsequent knowledge about the evidence concerning John Brown's guilt and that the proofs came from Free-State men and were fully known at the time to Free-State men, puts Phillips in a most embarrassing position. Knowing his diligence in collecting facts, any assumption that he was unaware of the facts is scarcely credible.⁶ Without laying himself open to the charge of deliberate falsehood, he was remarkably successful in conveying the conclusion, without saying so explicitly, that John Brown was innocent.

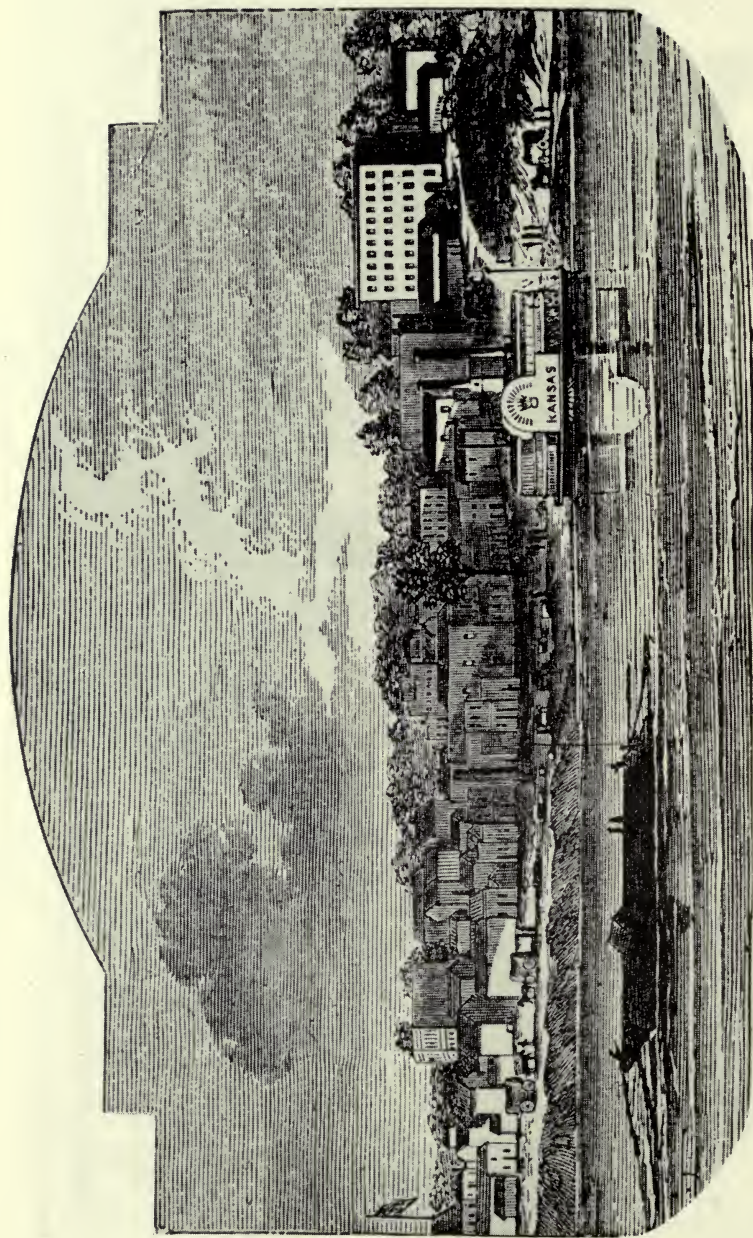
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 589-592.

6. James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1942); "The Hoogland Examination: The United States v. John Brown, Jr.," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 7 (May, 1938), pp. 133-153; "Identification of the Stranger at the Pottawatomie Massacre," *ibid.*, v. 9 (February, 1940), pp. 3-12.



FRONT STREET, LEAVENWORTH, IN MAY, 1856

From Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of the Great West* . . . (early 1857 edition).



LEAVENWORTH WHEN SIX YEARS OLD

From Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of the Great West* (1873 edition).

As time passed, Phillips' sympathies were more clearly identified with the Lane and the Brown elements of the ultras who opposed each step proposed for abandonment of the Free-State "do-nothing" policy of refusing recognition to the "bogus" territorial government, and of refusing to vote. Robinson and G. W. Brown were among the promoters of the voting policy, taking this position in the spring of 1857. The territorial legislature was captured in October, 1857, and the office of the Lecompton state government on January 4, 1858. Under these circumstances, a G. W. Brown editorial in the *Herald of Freedom*, February 6, 1858, is particularly applicable. The name of the editorial, "An Unfortunate Title," referred to the name of Phillips' book *The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri*. . . . After writing this book, Brown charged, "all of Phillips' subsequent letters to the N. Y. *Tribune* seem to have been influenced by that position, and the critical reader readily discovers that he is laboring to make the title to his book truthful; to make it appear that Kansas is indeed a *conquered* province. . . ." In this title Phillips had acquired a precious grievance which he capitalized upon by "constant repetition that we were overcome by border ruffians, that all hopes of redress for our grievances were cut off. . . ." But Brown contended, "What nation ever regained lost rights by continually harping upon its defeat, and telling that it was a conquered province?" Instead, do something positive, "to ensure a speedy triumph of the right." Brown's contention was that Phillips had a vested interest in perpetuating the title to his book, to sacrifice his most precious grievance would deprive him of his principal stock-in-trade. He had spent two years trying "to make his title page a *reality*" by his "masterly inactivity" policy.

In conclusion of this commentary upon the Phillips book, the reader should recognize that Brown's indictment of Phillips and his book is appropriate also if applied to most of the writing of the first century about Kansas history. The abolition of this form of slavery is long overdue. Other themes are more important and meaningful to the general history of Kansas.

But even within the framework of the slavery emphasis in Kansas history, the "conquered province" formula was in reality only an unfortunate consequence of the presidential campaign of 1856. The spirit of the fifty-fiver had not permitted the defeatism attributed by Phillips to the fifty-sixer. In his *Herald of Freedom* of August 18, 1855, G. W. Brown had insisted that "We are an outraged, but not a subjugated people." And on the Fourth of July, 1855,

S. N. Wood shouted his defiance: "We have been oppressed, but not conquered."⁷

AUGUSTUS WATTLES, "Complete History of Kansas"

Augustus Wattles' "A Complete History of Kansas" was never published in book form, but was printed as installments in the *Herald of Freedom* between January 17, and November 21, 1857. The "complete history" covered the period from the French explorations to May, 1856, when further writing was interrupted by the explosive effects of contemporary events during the winter of 1857-1858. The author was born in Connecticut, August 7, 1807, and had been at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati where he was interested in Negro education. He did not move to Oberlin with the other seceders, the radicals who broke with the Lyman Beecher regime at Lane, but devoted himself to activities in behalf of the Negro. In 1855 Wattles came to Kansas, arriving at Lawrence, May 7, and settling in Douglas county. On May 22 he was "elected" to the legislature on the Free-State ticket at the special election called by Governor Reeder.

During the spring of 1857, he and other members of the Wattles family removed to the Moneka community.⁸ During the winter of 1856-1857, he was associated with G. W. Brown's revived *Herald of Freedom*. In January, 1857, when the printing of his history began, he was listed on the masthead as assistant editor, but August 22, Brown and Wattles were represented as coeditors. Near the end of November, Wattles went to Moneka, supposedly for a short stay, but did not return. This left the history unfinished. Sharp differences between the editors developed during the crisis of December, 1857, over the issue of voting in the LeCompton officers election of January 4, 1858, along with those associated with the early stages of the southeastern Kansas war. In the *Herald of Freedom*, January 16, 1858, an announcement was made that Wattles was no longer connected with the paper.

In retrospect, the teaming up of these two men appears unusual and predestined to failure, but too little is known for certain about the state of Wattles' mind at that time to warrant generalizations. During the year 1857 the Free-State party reversed itself on the

7. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 7, 1855.

8. Mrs. O. E. Morse [Emma Wattles, a daughter], "Sketch of the Life and Work of Augustus Wattles," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. 17 (1926-1928), pp. 290-299. This sketch is particularly weak on the aspects of Wattles' career most critical to the present study of his "Complete History of Kansas." On the removal to Linn county, see the *Herald of Freedom*, April 11, 25, May 16, July 11, 1857. The town of Moneka was established in the spring of 1857. An advertisement announcing its merits appeared in the *Herald of Freedom*, April 11, 1857, among them, that it was on Little Sugar creek, near the center of Linn county.

voting policy, with Robinson and G. W. Brown in the vanguard. Brown's challenging editorial of July 4, 1857, was printed prior to the advancement of Wattles, August 22, to the status of coeditor. The inference to be drawn, reasonably, from those facts would be that whatever differences existed between them over this fundamental reversal of policy, they were not considered irreconcilable. The available facts do not prepare the reader for the violence of the break that occurred the following midwinter.⁹ The history was written and printed, however, prior to this disastrous controversy, and when the relations between the two men were apparently friendly. But on the other hand, the composition occurred during the first phase of the revolution in Free-State policy. Although not clearly apparent in all its implications in 1857, this reversal was to lead to the abandonment of both the Topeka state government, and the Free-State party as political organizations, and in that sequence. The quarrel between the two men came in part over the issue of abandoning the Topeka movement.

Wattles spent the first five of his 22 completed chapters on background, mostly on matter relating to the Indians of the region. This fact in itself is worth recording as a feature of the work even though he made no really significant contribution in either subject matter or interpretation. In chapter six, he arrived at the creation of the territory of Kansas by the Kansas-Nebraska act, along with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, "that ancient land-mark of freedom. . . ." This was "the work of slaveholders," operating in congress, done "with the indecent haste of crime. . . ." According to this secret conspiracy theory, Missouri fitted into the plot merely as the tool. Wattles' allegation of "the indecent haste of crime" was repeated for emphasis in different language—"suddenly thrown open to settlement by the slave-holding party for their own aggrandisement. . . ." But "after the passage of the bill, the party of freedom immediately organized," and he sketched the beginnings of organization to promote emigration to Kansas, giving particular attention to the Emigrant Aid Company that founded Lawrence, the first party arriving August 1. Ignoring Leavenworth's or other claims to priority, he asserted that Lawrence "was the first town in Kansas." At Lawrence, on August 10, he related, the Missourians immediately challenged Free-State continuance in the territory—the first invasion of Kansas, according to the Phillips formula. For

9. The external record of the steps leading to the public break may be followed in the *Herald of Freedom*, November 21, 28, December 5, 26, 1857, January 9, 16, 1858. A Wattles letter, probably in the *Lawrence Republican*, January 14, 1858, missing from the file, gave his side.

the convenience of this theory, all activity in Kansas between April and August 1 in the way of settlement and town-site promotion was ignored.

The only reference Wattles made to peculiarities incident to prairie settlement was the allegation that as soon as it became known that a company of Eastern emigrants had arrived, the Missourians marked the timber claims along the streams, and then sold them to Easterners and later harassed them: "It was this violence to isolated persons which induced people to form companies and seek safety in numbers. . . ." This was the occasion for his introduction to the Emigrant Aid Company and its six parties sent out in 1854. That the chronology did not fit the sequence of his narrative, and was a violation of historical reality, seems to have escaped Wattles' attention.

In his criticism of squatter sovereignty, Wattles adopted a line of attack similar to that of Phillips, but used material from the congressional debates: ". . . the new doctrine of *Squatter Sovereignty* was promulgated as a popular catchword. By this, a few settlers who might first inhabit a territory, could establish its present and future domestic and political institutions." Thus, "leading men in Missouri passed over into the Territory early in June [1854], held squatter meetings, passed resolutions, and then returned home. . . . During the summer and fall, many Free State emigrants arrived, who supposed the vote of the squatters would determine the question of slavery at some future day."

Wattles used William E. Seward's senate speech, challenging the slave-holding South: "Is it a privilege, then, to establish slavery? If so, what a mockery are all our constitutions, which prevent the inhabitants from capriciously subverting free institutions. . . ." Wattles then summarized Salmon P. Chase's maneuver, who, in order to test the sincerity of the majority in their new-born zeal for individual rights, and Squatter Sovereignty, introduced an amendment to the bill that the inhabitants of the Territory should be permitted to choose their own Governor and other officers. This was voted down. Every fair arrangement for a free government was rejected, and all was left in the hands of those who expected to make it a slave State.

Wattles then quoted from N. P. Banks' speech in congress in which the latter insisted that the "pretended doctrine of popular sovereignty" was not

really established there. . . . The American idea of popular sovereignty is, that a people should have, and has, the right to *institute* government, to alter it, and to abolish it. Have the people of Nebraska or Kansas this power under

this act? Can they institute government? Can they alter it? Can they abolish it? Not at all.

Instead, the people have

no rights, no power, but that which Congress confers. . . .

I grant what is claimed, that there is an extension of political rights compared with earlier territorial governments. But have the people here power to govern? I deny it. My reading of the theory of politics is not extensive, but I have imagined that the American doctrine at least was, that a *majority* of the people should have the attributes of government.

I ask any gentleman upon this floor to point me to one single solitary power that is here conferred upon a *majority of the people!*

Can they elect a Governor, or an executive officer? Can they appoint their judges? Can they pass a legislative act, or obtain a judgment in the territorial courts, without the supervision and assent of the National Government, acting through its own appointees, who are forever irresponsible to the people there? Never! . . . And this is called "non-intervention"! . . . You admit theoretically a right, but practically you deny all power. And this is called "sovereignty"—not American, but "squatter sovereignty."

It would seem that if there was any logic in Wattles' procedure, he would have undertaken to show how the Republican party theory of territorial status was sincere in offering a larger measure of self-government than Democratic squatter sovereignty. But such a Republican substitute for squatter sovereignty was not and could not be forthcoming. His was the technique of making a sweeping charge against the opponent and then repeating it again and again.

Wattles gave special attention to Governor Reeder's arrival in the territory, the attempt of the Proslavery element from Missouri to take control of him and his defiance of them in refusing to call an early election of the legislature. The governor's letter was printed in full, and Wattles' evaluation of the episode is important: "Gov. Reeder's reply is worthy to be preserved as it is characteristic of the man, and the key to all his subsequent difficulties." Then Wattles condemned Reeder's next step, his failure to repudiate outright the delegate election of November 29, a fatal resort to expediency. Wattles made loyalty to principle the acid test of a man!!! But what principle?

The organization of the opposition to the legislature elected March 30, 1855, was traced in much more detail than by Phillips. Charles Robinson did not appear in this account of the first steps. Instead, the men named in connection with the Free-State convention at Lawrence, June 8, were John Speer, M. F. Conway, J. Hutchinson, S. N. Wood, E. D. Ladd, R. G. Elliott. Special attention was given to Conway, who came to Kansas a National Democrat, pledged to

squatter sovereignty, who after seeing it in action, repudiated it "as an outrage upon popular rights. . . ."

Other episodes given emphasis, which later historians passed over lightly or omitted altogether, were the altercation between Gen. B. F. Stringfellow and Reeder at Shawnee Mission, where Stringfellow was alleged to have knocked Reeder down with a chair; and the proposal in the legislature of 1855 by Dr. J. H. Stringfellow of a bill to authorize a state government and application for admission into the Union. This was the first Kansas move for statehood. The committee to which the bill was referred reported adversely on the grounds: (1) that it was premature without calling an election to test the desires of the people for statehood; (2) that it was premature because of the excitement that would be aroused, aggravated by the charge which would be made of insufficient population, "—a charge which cannot be statistically and officially refuted." The substitute proposed by the committee, that the sentiment of the people be tested on the matter of statehood, was passed.¹⁰

In telling the story of the Big Springs and the Topeka conventions of September 5 and 19 respectively, Wattles began by crediting the preparatory Lawrence convention of August 14, 15 to the initiative of the expelled members of the legislature. At this Lawrence convention, Charles Robinson was chairman of the business committee, and the report of that body came under sharp fire. It had rejected resolutions endorsing military companies and a state government which were then championed on the floor by C. K. Holliday and G. W. Smith respectively. Conway and Lane objected to the state government and Lane took a conservative position expressing confidence in the good intentions of President Pierce. Charles Foster reviewed Lane's allegedly shifting position over a period of ten days, charging that Lane had declared that "on certain conditions he was in favor of making Kansas a slave State." Lane objected, insisting that all that he had said was "that he would rather see Kansas a slave state, in preference to seeing it an abolition State." The language quoted here is Wattles' language as he summarized what each was supposed to have said. Space does not permit discussion of the implications of this summary except to point out that it was substantially different from the version that later became traditional. Wattles did contribute to the making of a myth, however, in assign-

10. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Kansas, 1855*, pp. 213, 218, 238, 244, 262, 280, Appendix 26; Atchison *Squatter Sovereign*, August 28, 1855; *Statutes of the Territory of Kansas; passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-five*. (Shawnee Manual Labor School, 1855), ch. 25, pp. 172, 173.

ing to the Lawrence convention the credit of calling the Big Springs convention for the purpose of declaring a Free-State platform.

Wattles emphasized the division over the race question, at Big Springs, because "on the great question of resistance to Missouri aggression, there was but one sentiment. . . ." His view of the geographical basis of the division over race equality was too sweeping in its generalization, yet is important in emphasizing that the outcome was not dictated by one man, or even by a few individuals: The people from New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, were in favor of recommending a State Constitution which should not discriminate in the application of the great principles of justice and equity, to the different classes and races of the human family. Those from the more Western and Southern States were in favor of a stringent "black law." The Convention finally adopted a platform, very unsatisfactory to those who had enlarged views of human rights . . . ; but to a large majority it was considered a grand platform, on which all could unite. . . .

In view of the actual wording of the Big Springs platform, this is a remarkable statement of the case, but so far as Wattles was concerned, he revealed clearly his personal position as an ultra on the Negro question. In fact, both the Big Springs platform, of September 5, 6, and the Topeka state government resolutions, of September 19, 20, were substantially anti-Negro as well as antislavery. This conflict between his personal position and his evaluation of the Big Springs platform indicates that Wattles was somewhat less than candid in his history.

The Wattles treatment of the Topeka statehood movement is of particular importance to several aspects of the writing of Kansas history. The business committee of the Big Springs convention reported unfavorably, but was overruled by the convention, thus committing the Free-State party to the statehood proposition. Wattles was explicit in saying that the majority of the settlers "preferred trying another election, before experimenting with a State Constitution." In private this was the position of Reeder, also. Once the commitment was made at Big Springs and at Topeka, however, Wattles emphasized the subordination of private views to the general decision, although there was little expectation of success in terms of admission into the Union.¹¹ In this Wattles was remarkably candid. Would that the same could be said about some other aspects of this part of his history.

In telling the story of the Topeka convention of September 19,

11. Wattles, "Complete History of Kansas," chs. 13, 14, *Herald of Freedom*, August 29, September 5, 1855. Wattles told substantially the same story on this point in both chs. 13 and 14.

20, 1855, Wattles did not make clear the fact that the statehood movement was being launched as a People's movement, without respect to party. To be sure, it had been endorsed by the Free-State party at Big Springs, which was a party convention. That battle over nonpartisan sponsorship of the statehood movement had been fought to a finish at the Lawrence conventions of August 14, 15. To make it a Free-State party measure would have damned it at its birth, and would have forfeited all possibility of favorable action of congress upon admission under a Topeka constitution. But whatever the inner motive in launching the movement might have been, the publicly announced procedure required a spontaneous outpouring of the people as a whole. In that frame of reference, the Topeka movement could not be represented to the public even as having the object of making Kansas a free state. In theory, the Topeka movement might result in Kansas being a slave state. The verdict must rest with the people.

But a further defect in the Wattles history was his suppression of all mention of the origins of the Topeka statehood plan. The original promoter of the statehood idea was Dr. John H. Stringfellow, Proslavery editor of the Atchison *Squatter Sovereign*, and speaker of the house of representatives of the bogus legislature of 1855. He had started writing about it in the first issue of his paper dated February 3, 1855, and his statehood bill, which Wattles had recorded, was enacted into law. In the referendum election, October 6, 1856, statehood was endorsed, and the Lecompton constitution movement of 1857 was the direct product of that mandate. Also, an attempt had been made by Proslavery men, under the principles of popular sovereignty, to elect a governor March 30, 1855, to replace Reeder, under the assumption that the President would accept the mandate and appoint him. The movement led to a canvass of the pros and cons of such proceedings in all their bearings of success or of failure.¹² In these two movements, the fact stands out clearly, that the Proslavery men had done the original thinking in both political theory and in practice as applied to the novel aspects of the situation presented by the territory of Kansas. The Free-State men who took over the statehood idea in the series of conventions from July 11 to September 19, 1855, were following paths already rather extensively explored.

This conclusion is reinforced quite explicitly by specifying the concrete origin of the Topeka statehood plan in June, 1855. It did

12. See especially *Kansas Free State*, May 7, 1855, Miller editorial on the Kickapoo *Pioneer* warning.

not originate at Lawrence or with the Lawrence group. The plan was written out by John Butler Chapman, at that time of Leavenworth county,¹³ and submitted to Josiah Miller, one of the editors of the *Kansas Free State* at Lawrence, in June, 1855. Chapman had been a candidate for delegate to congress in November, 1854, as a National Democrat, had cultivated both Proslavery and Free-State connections, and each accused him of belonging to the other party. Miller gave Chapman's plan to Charles Robinson. Both men, as well as others consulted, disapproved the plan. Robinson presented it in part to a convention in Lawrence, probably the one of June 25, and it was referred to the Free-State executive committee of which Robinson was chairman. It appeared next at the convention of July 11. Between July 11 and August 14, the idea took hold, with the results already related. On August 14, Stringfellow introduced his bill into the legislature.

In the meantime, on July 14, G. W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, published an article alleging a Proslavery plan to annex the Platte Purchase of Missouri to Kansas. The argument was that this would secure for Kansas a population adequate for statehood, and that it would guarantee a Proslavery majority. Whether or not this report had any validity is probably beside the point for present purposes, as well as Brown's motive in publishing the story at this particular time and in perpetuating the controversy about it over the next few months. In any case, the wrangle stimulated rivalry between Free-State and Proslavery proponents of statehood for priority of action.

As intermediaries, between Proslavery and Free-State men of the more extreme persuasion, as well as originators of ideas in their own right, a particular tribute is due Josiah Miller and his partner in the *Kansas Free State*, Robert G. Elliott, both men of 26 years of youth. They were among the originators of the idea of the Free-State party, and were the particular promoters of the Sand Bank convention of July 17, 1855, which called the Big Springs convention, as well as the channel through which Chapman's concrete plan for the Topeka statehood movement was introduced to the Lawrence-Topeka group of Free-State men.

In conclusion of this brief discussion, certain points must be made in explicit form. There is reason to believe that Wattles knew the main facts of the origin of both the Big Springs Free-State party convention, and of the Topeka statehood convention, but that he chose to suppress those facts. Also, he was depending too much,

13. Josiah Miller in the *Kansas Free State*, August 20, 1855, and February 18, 1856.

for refreshment of memory of the events of 1855, upon the biased record contained in the *Herald of Freedom*. Miller warned through the *Kansas Free State*, September 24, 1855, that the statehood movement was "Stringfellow's favorite bill," although he was under the erroneous impression that it had not passed the legislature. Wattles made the explicit admission twice in his history that the Topeka statehood movement was considered, not as an end, but only as a means to the end of making Kansas eventually a free state. These chapters of his history were written and printed in August and September, 1857, but by December, 1857, and January, 1858, when he discontinued his history after his quarrel with G. W. Brown over the Topeka and Lecompton statehood movements, and became involved deeply in the southeastern Kansas war of 1857-1859, apparently he had become captive to the idea that the Topeka constitution was the "Blood-stained Banner" that could not be lowered without dishonor—that it was not merely a means, but that it was itself the primary end of the whole Free-State movement.¹⁴ Thus the Lecompton movement and the southeastern Kansas war of 1857-1859 were of major importance in their contribution to the fastening upon Kansas historical tradition of an interpretation of the Topeka statehood movement that was historically false.

The intense heat generated over the Lecompton constitution in congress is impossible to explain except in terms of this confusion of means and ends as an introduction. Why could not the Free-State party of 1858, after capturing the Lecompton constitution movement in the election of January 15, 1858, accept it as a substitute for the Topeka state government? The Big Springs platform of September, 1855, upon which the Topeka plan was launched, agreed to protect masters against loss for slaves already in the territory, to exclude free Negroes, and to prohibit slavery in the territory. The Lecompton constitution with the promised amendment abolishing slavery was very nearly the equivalent. The major difference was in the origins of the two constitutions, not in their substance as bearing upon the issues of the Negro.

The murder of Charles W. Dow, by F. M. Coleman, in November, 1855, was represented by Wattles as a link in the execution of a preconceived secret Missouri plot, not as the result of a claim quarrel, nor as an act of passion. Allegedly other Free-State men would have been treated likewise upon some convenient pretext. The leaders in the rescue of Branson were given, in the order of

14. A more comprehensive study, by the present author, of these problems of the Free-State party and the Topeka statehood movement will be presented elsewhere.

their appearance, as S. F. Tappan, S. N. Wood, and J. B. Abbott. The deliverance scene at Abbott's house dramatized Wood and Abbott. At Lawrence, the following day, Wood was featured: "S. N. Wood was chosen chairman. He then gave a full account of the transaction, and declared his complicity in the rescue of Branson. The meeting was unanimous in approving of his course, as it was the position assumed by the Free State party at the Big Springs." Wood was reported by Wattles as saying that if arrested on a warrant of the United States court he would go into court and test the right of Missouri to make the laws for Kansas, and was anxious to have the issue carried to the supreme court. Wattles did not explain that Wood left the territory, thus evading the dramatic opportunity then, and that later, on April 19, 1856, when he returned, Jones did attempt to arrest him.

Wattles did not explain the source of his story, but it was a letter written to him by S. N. Wood himself for the history, and dated August 29, 1857. Charles Robinson printed the letter in full in his book *The Kansas Conflict* (New York, 1892, Reprint 1898), pp. 184-186. In the letter, Wood made himself appear as the leader in the rescue by relating that upon Wood's inquiry how they should proceed, Abbott replied "you are the leader; just what you say." In his own version in later years, Abbott, and others, gave a different account of the responsibility for leadership.¹⁵

The above story was told in chapter 15 of the "complete history," but the next week, in chapter 16, Wattles retold a part of the story, and with different effect:

The day after his rescue he [Branson] appeared at a public meeting in Lawrence, and spoke calmly, yet feelingly, of his friend Mr. Dow . . . he [Branson] knew he was singled out for destruction, for he had received threatening letters advising him to leave the country . . . if the safety of Lawrence demands it, I will go home and die in my own defense. . . .

If a process had issued from a Court which the people could recognize as having a legal existence they would have advised Mr. Branson to have delivered himself up, or to have given bail for his good behavior; but they felt that they could not consistently with their oft repeated resolves sanction any movement coming from that body, any more than the fathers of the revolution could consent to pay a trivial tax on tea. It was the principle involved, not the extent of personal injury, which would accrue.

15. The original of the Wood letter to Wattles is in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society; Cf. Charles Howard Dickson, "The True History of the Branson Rescue," *Collections*, K. S. H. S., v. 13 (1913-1914), pp. 280-298, at p. 288, footnote 5. J. R. Kennedy and S. F. Tappan gave statements in 1880 and 1890, referred to in footnotes 10 and 11 of Dickson, pp. 292 and 293. Wattles did not credit Tappan by name, but S. F. Tappan's and S. C. Smith's accounts are the sources for the identification of Tappan as the man who discovered the Jones party at Blanton's bridge on their mission to arrest Branson, and reported that fact to Abbott, Wood, Smith, and others assembled at Abbott's house.

However, Mr. Branson and his rescuers left Lawrence, so that no prejudice might be created, or excuse made for harassing that town.

Wattles then proceeded to denounce Sheriff Jones for not securing a warrant for the arrest of Wood, and thus following proper legal procedure, but instead, Jones appealed to Governor Shannon for militia aid in executing processes already procured. Wattles thus confused the issue. A warrant for Wood, secured by Jones, as sheriff of Douglas county, would have issued from a justice of the peace court, and would have occupied the same legal status as the justice warrant he already had for Branson, who had been rescued by force from his custody. A warrant from the U. S. District Court would have been served by the U. S. marshal, not by the sheriff of Douglas county. An appeal from the justice court, either by Branson or by Wood, would have gone to the U. S. District Court, Justice Lecompte presiding, and if decided adversely, would have gone eventually to the U. S. Supreme Court. A united Free-State effort could have forced the issue to the embarrassment of the Pierce administration and of the federal judicial system. For reasons best known to himself and Free-State leaders, Wattles confused the issue at this point and later.

The events of the Wakarusa war were related by Wattles in some detail; and casually, among the military companies that rallied to the aid of Lawrence, a mention was made that "old Capt. John Brown and his four sons came with arms and ammunition." In chapter 18, dealing with the peace treaty of Saturday, December 8, the public announcement was recounted, along with Shannon's and Lane's speeches, then:

Old Capt. Brown made a short address, hoping the people would listen to no concessions to the bogus laws.

General Robinson assured the people that no concessions had been made.—With his assurance the people retired, but were dissatisfied that they could not know the terms of the treaty, which for prudential reasons were for a time withheld.

During the night a rumor spread that the Missourians had broken the truce and were going to attack Lawrence. Governor Shannon was induced to authorize Robinson and Lane to take measures to defend themselves. Wattles told the story without any hint about the ugly charge made, that the whole threat of attack was a hoax perpetrated upon the governor to secure the military authorization. But Wattles related in some detail, and in another setting, the unexplained issue of a test case at court: "On Sunday [December 9], by agreement of the parties, Samuel C. Smith, and Samuel F. Tap-

pan, Jr., were arrested by 'Sheriff Jones,' and taken to Lecompton." These particular men were not rescuers of Branson, but joined the rescue party afterwards, which Wattles said made them of secondary importance. The purpose was "to carry the whole of the ruffian proceedings in Kansas before the United States [Supreme] Court. . . ." The prisoners were examined Monday before a justice of the peace, but did not give bail. Instead they

insisted on an immediate trial. This was during the regular term of Court. Judge Lecompte being indisposed, did not make his appearance, and the Court was adjourned over. Hugh Hutchinson, Jones and two others of the rescuers were arrested and examined and admitted to bail. . . . Smith and Tappan were retained until 22d of Dec., when they were released on parole of honor for three months. At the expiration of that time, all the prisoners appeared before Lecompte, and their cases were postponed until the next term of Court, since which nothing has been done about it.

As the laws were not valid, according to Free-State theory, Wattles concluded that "Judge Lecompte by suffering the cases to go by, and hundreds of others like them, performed the most commendable deed of his life. In fact the only one in Kansas which can be looked upon with approbation."

Wattles' commentary is confusing. If the arrests were made by consent of the parties in order to provide test cases, then prompt prosecution of the cases would further that end, while indefinite postponement served to defeat that Free-State purpose. Was not Wattles' personal view of policy confusing his writing of history? The verdict just recorded appeared in chapter 19 of Wattles' history, and was printed October 17, 1857, after the Free-State men had voted for the territorial legislature and captured it. With this success to their credit, the debate was in progress over the next step. The course Wattles took in writing about December, 1855, has the appearance at least of reflecting his ultra Free-State position of non-co-operation, in other words, refusing to vote or otherwise recognize the territorial government October-December, 1857. It was upon this issue as applied to the Lecompton officer election of January 4, 1858, that Wattles and G. W. Brown quarreled, in December, 1857, and in consequence of which Wattles abandoned the completion of the history.

The chapter on the "Sack of Lawrence" was the last one printed, but in this Wattles continued his formula that its destruction was determined upon in secret Missouri conclave. In order to save themselves from harm, however, the method decided upon by the plotters, according to Wattles, was for the United States officers to institute

legal proceedings. "In harmony with this arrangement the Grand Jury of the U. S. Court at Leecompton found bills of indictment against the *Free-State Hotel*, the *Herald of Freedom*, and the *Kansas Free State*, published at Lawrence."¹⁶

The next chapter of the "complete history" should have told the story of the Pottawatomie massacre. The manner of telling of that crime would have revealed more fully Wattles' personal views on the policy conflicts within the Free-State party. But the Wattles answer was not given in that manner. He was committed to the ultra position and to making southeastern Kansas history of 1858, along with James Montgomery and John Brown, and writing it in blood, rather than writing in ink, the history of 1856.

FICTION

One of the books of 1856 was a novel by an unidentified author, *Western Border Life; or What Fanny Hunter Saw and Heard in Kansas and Missouri*. In 1859 the *Herald of Freedom* printed another work that pretended to be fiction, "The Jay-Hawker; a Tale of Southern Kansas," by P. P. Fowler. If the first book is called historical fiction, without much history, the latter may be labeled fictionized history with very little fiction. The leading characters, Gerrit Smith, of New York, John Brown, Jim Lane, James Montgomery, William A. Phillips, Richard J. Hinton, and others, were thinly disguised. These men were charged with plotting the southeastern Kansas border war, and with designs to involve the whole country. This was written and published prior to the Harpers Ferry affair. Although overdrawn, the main lines of the story were remarkably suggestive as a forewarning of events to come.¹⁷ A book edition of "The Jay-Hawker" was promised but was not forthcoming. Also, the author promised another tale, "The Forest Flower," to cover the first part of Kansas history. This also failed to materialize. Among other things, financial difficulties overtook G. W. Brown, and his *Herald of Freedom* expired at the end of the year 1859, and with it, any possibility of these publications appearing as books.

THE CONSPIRACY FORMULA

These early attempts at the history of Kansas had much in common. Both Phillips and Wattles used the formula of a secret conspiracy, but differed in emphasis upon the origin. Phillips preferred

16. For a critical discussion of this false charge, see James C. Malin, "Judge Leecompte and the 'Sack of Lawrence,' May 21, 1856," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (August, November, 1953), pp. 465-494, 553-597.

17. The present author has prepared an annotated edition of "The Jay-Hawker" for publication, along with essays related to the theme.

charges against Missouri, while Wattles assigned to the slave-holding states the first responsibility. Neither gave much attention to Douglas, except to charge insincerity. The secret-plot formula is a well-known stereotype of resistance movements and whether or not they had convinced themselves of its truth, it was an effective propaganda device. That it was completely out of character did not seem to concern these writers. The history of the slave states, including Missouri, is a vivid revelation of the inability of those states, or of their people, to unite upon any plan of action and execute it according to a schedule. The unanimity, the precision of planning and execution attributed by the antislavery writers just could not have happened, secret or otherwise. The undisciplined individualism of the people concerned had become almost proverbial. An intimate knowledge of western Missouri people amply documents the conflict of opinion and action, as well as inaction. The composition and cultural outlook of western Missouri people were little different from the rank and file of those who settled in Kansas from the Ohio valley both north and south of the Ohio river—antislavery and anti-Negro so long as the two could be linked together. If these two features were separated, then differences appeared; some would become Proslavery as the next best alternative, and only with reluctance would any but the more ultra antislavery men accept the free Negro among them.¹⁸

The Free-State writers made another tactical blunder of major proportions in picturing Missourians and Proslavery men generally as stupid, whisky-soaked ruffians and illiterates. In the first place the quantity of whisky allegedly drunk could not have been available to so many, nor transported under the conditions described. The people in question included a fair share of men of ability as well as of education. Secondly, in this caricature, the Free-State writers did antislavery men a disservice, because there was no honor or evidence of superiority in victory over such debauched and degraded opponents as they were represented to be. Excesses in the use of liquor were altogether too prevalent among Free-State men as well as among Proslavery men. A larger number of men on both sides than has been generally admitted were men of talents whose careers were blighted by the fact that they were alcoholics. That was a type of slavery that was not peculiar to one party alone. Neither would it be safe to generalize that the proportion was larger in one party than in the other.

18. James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1942), ch. 25; *The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854* (Lawrence, 1954), chs. 14-16.

Irresponsible name calling was a conspicuous characteristic of the people of the 1850's, as well as of the 1950's, especially where controversial questions were concerned. Slavery aroused emotions more violently than any other aspect of the Kansas question. Any difference of opinion was likely to be expressed by classifying and labeling the opponent with the offensive names, Abolitionist or Proslavery, regardless of the truth of the matter. Not all Northerners were Abolitionists, nor all Southerners Proslavery Fire-eaters. In fact, the great majority occupied some one of a variety of positions between those extremes. Many were not concerned one way or the other about slavery, and were interested only in being left alone to pursue their own interests.

Another very large group, possibly if not probably the largest, occupied different shades of opinion best described as free white state—antislavery and anti-Negro. To extremists of the proslavery end of the spectrum all who were not Proslavery Fire-eaters were Abolitionists. Likewise, to extremists at the antislavery-abolitionist end of the spectrum, all who did not share their ultra antislavery and pro-Negro sentiments were convicted of guilt by association and name calling as Proslavery. Quantitatively the Northerners were more guilty than the Southerners because they wrote more books. These books about Kansas, and these early attempts at writing Kansas history, fixed the characteristic intemperate contemporary labels so firmly in the literature that they have not, even after a century, been replaced generally by more accurate and discriminating usage. In fact, there are no words available that describe accurately the several shades of opinion. The names Antislavery, Proslavery, and Free-State, must always be used with the reservations and qualifications in mind that have just been described.

Another aspect of the Kansas question associated with the conspiracy formula was the charge that the action of congress in organizing the Indian country was sudden, taking the people of the states by surprise. In this allegation, Phillips and Wattles were again doing their cause a disservice. This action upon organization of the territories was not taken suddenly, and to represent it in that light was to reflect adversely upon knowledge of contemporary affairs on the part of the public, if not also upon public intelligence. Possibly this inference that Eastern antislavery men in particular were ill-informed about Western matters was more truthful than was comfortable to admit, but neither author intended to make such a confession. Of course, there was nothing sudden about the organi-

zation of Nebraska, a proposal that had been agitated under that name for ten years. Even the question of division was not new—the creation of two or more territories had been suggested, and the eventual creation of two or more states out of the area had been taken for granted. Furthermore, the application of the principle of popular sovereignty had been discussed extensively for at least two years.¹⁹

THE POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY CONTROVERSY

Both Phillips and Wattles were representing popular sovereignty as a fraud. The method of argument was to use as the standard of measurement an extreme theoretical definition of sovereignty as an absolute. Except for purposes of systematic argument about pure theory, conducted by political scientists or philosophers, no one would have subscribed for a moment to such a concept of absolute sovereignty. In the evolution of international law, publicists had recognized the practical limitations upon sovereignty, that must subsist within the family of nations. These realistic principles of jurisprudence were accepted as commonplace. Furthermore, according to any theory of compact within the federal union, the several states were subject to limitations upon their sovereignty as the price of union. The Northwest Territory was claimed originally by the states and ceded to the general government as common property. The conditions under which the area was held made politically impossible the relinquishment by congress of all control. Additional land had been acquired by purchase or other means. The relations of congress to these new areas followed in general terms the same pattern. Congress could not grant, withhold, or relinquish power it did not have. These facts imposed practical limitations upon any discussion of sovereignty and government either in the states or territories. In this perspective, the theoretical discussions of sovereignty as an absolute were tactical and diversionary. Only by confusing the issues could the squatter sovereignty of the Compromise measures of 1850 and of the Kansas-Nebraska act be made to appear as something sinister. Neither Phillips nor Wattles were advocating the actual adoption of the principle of absolute sovereignty as applied to the territories. Quite the contrary.

Douglas was not a systematic or theoretical thinker. During the early 1850's no one else came forward with an effective exposition of squatter sovereignty. Possibly no one dared to undertake it because the Democratic party was too badly divided upon the basic

19. Malin, *The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854*.

issues. John C. Calhoun's doctrine of state rights was the ablest literature on political theory produced in the mid-19th century America. The Douglas doctrine and the Calhoun doctrine were incompatible. Furthermore, the controversy over the Douglas bill in congress demonstrated that formidable minorities in the party were committed to the theory of the complete power of congress over the territories, although the Northern and Southern extremists took opposite positions about what action congress should take on the subject of slavery there.

Thomas H. Benton compared the territories to minor children, and the general government to the parent. According to that simile, admission to statehood was equivalent to coming of age and control of their own households. Under these circumstances, the least said about the theoretical aspects of squatter sovereignty the better for Democratic party unity. The Republicans, accordingly, adopted as their theory of warfare that the best defense is attack. By keeping always on the offensive, and being out of power, no opportunity was given for effective counter-attacks, and therefore they were not called upon to explain their own position—one less favorable to self-government in the territories than the Douglas doctrine of popular sovereignty. The Republican position stood upon the absolute power of congress over the territories, and that it should be used to prohibit the extension of slavery even against the consent of the governed.

At the practical or history-making level there were aspects of these controversies that require some analysis. To be objective, the same tests must be applied impartially to all participants. Regardless of the principle of popular sovereignty as a political theory, the pioneer settling-in process had always involved a conflict of interest between early and later comers. Primarily, the controversies related to possession and eventual ownership of particular pieces of land. But, in any case, the outcome of such land-claim contests was related to the matter of political control which fell into the hands of the successful claimants. Those controversies date back to British colonial history. One outcome of that prolonged controversy had been the enactment in 1841 of the pre-emption act, supposedly in the interest of first comers. Even in that perspective, much the same questions arose as later plagued the proponents of popular sovereignty as a self-government formula. How could right of early comers be determined; what constituted a right; could rights be transferred; was actual and continuous residence necessary; was

declaration of intent, either without or coupled with some token overt act, all that was necessary? Organized action to circumvent the laws was commonplace. Although these questions about the land system had been pending for more than a century under British and under American political control, no satisfactory answers had been provided. Abuses in the operations of the land disposal system were primary and continuous.

The first Emigrant Aid Company party arrived on the site which became Lawrence on August 1, 1854. This little group organized an association and attempted to monopolize their advantage as first comers against the more numerous second party which arrived a few days later. Also, they had marked claims for friends who were coming later. The second party, being the more numerous, however, compelled the first party to disgorge, to cancel alleged claim rights of friends who had not arrived, and to admit them (the second party) upon an equal basis. Close upon the heels of the first two parties came a third, but the first two were strong enough to stand out against the admission of the third party on an equal basis. John Doy, a member of the first party nursed his grievance against the later parties, and in his pamphlet, published in 1860, declared: "Thus we were for the first time cheated in Kansas." Yet, by his own admission, Doy was not a first comer, but bought out a claimant already on the ground.²⁰

Some early comers to the Lawrence town site refused to sell out or to yield possession to the later comers, the Emigrant Aid Company parties. This situation precipitated controversy that took on the color of a proslavery-antislavery conflict and was made to appear as a phase in the Missouri conspiracy formula so widely publicized by Phillips and other antislavery writers.

In terms of political control of the territory, the same basic issues were at stake in the continuous chain of newer comers. At what point could this continuous turnover of population be "frozen" for purposes of determining the character of its institutions? Phillips declined to commit himself about the number necessary. Each new annual legislature should produce theoretically a different answer, and the adoption of a constitution, together with an application for statehood, did not either sanctify the decision contained in it, nor immobilize the composition of the population to be governed. The changes in institutions would be numerous and continuous until the population was relatively stabilized. Yet, even then, changes would

20. John Doy, *The Narrative of John Doy, of Lawrence, Kansas*, pp. 8-10.

always be introduced in consequence of the introduction of new cultural technology. In a practical sense, the so-called doctrine of "popular sovereignty" made little difference in the basic issues. The parties to the Kansas controversy were inconsistent in their application of "principles," either to the land question or to government, and each appealed to "principles" in such a manner as to afford a show of justification for his own side in each particular controversy.

To mid-20th century historians the emphasis here upon the principles of government in relation to the theory and practice of popular sovereignty may appear strange and disproportionate. But in the perspective of the source materials, in contrast with the traditional mode of writing American history, this emphasis is only a return to the realities of the 1850's. Again and again the editors and speech makers expounded the matter, even though usually in the form of a vicious circular logic controlled by political prejudice. At times, however, someone struck out independently.

THE CHANGE OF 1857: NATIONALISM

The change that came over Kansas territory and the Kansas question in the states after 1857 was fundamental to both local and national history. Probably it is reflected more accurately and basically in the changed characteristics of Kansas books than has been appreciated.

In Kansas, after the October, 1857, election of a territorial legislature by Free-State men, the basic question of slavery had been settled, although neither side was willing to accept the verdict of popular sovereignty in action and rest its case. The Kansas agitation had proved too potent a propaganda weapon at the federal level for either to be willing to forego its perpetuation. More than ever, that is, more even than in the presidential campaign of 1856, Kansas was useful in politics at the federal-state level, which was rapidly crystallizing into an intolerant new spirit of nationalism fundamentally different from both state rights and federalism. Implicit in the new nationalism was the concept designated in the 1850's by several terms, the chief of those used by the opposition probably being the "consolidated state" or the "imperial state." The full significance of the more general usage during the 1850's of the words nation and national escaped general notice then, by contemporaries, and since, by historians. But in any case, the more important fact is not the words used, but the substance, the crystallizing spirit of nationalism in the modern Western European sense, which infused a new meaning even into the old words. Of course, this

process had been a long time in the making, and Webster had given it theoretical expression, but the culminating steps moved swiftly.

Possibly the most potent and tangible but little recognized factor in precipitating this new spirit of nationalism, was the nativist movement throughout the federation, irrespective of the presence or absence of slavery. Native-born Americans against foreign immigrants and foreign influence! Anglo-Saxons against other races, including the Negro! Nativism was both political and nonpolitical in a party sense. At any rate, the power of nativism has not been adequately evaluated. It was nonpolitical before it became a political party, and was probably more potent in that form than when it organized as a political party. Nativist organizations enlisted both Whigs and Democrats as members. The very nature of the emphasis, when the American or Know-Nothing party was launched as a rival of the Whigs and Democrats, is important, because the party placed nativism above the slavery question. When, in 1856, the American party split on the slavery question and the Northern wing went into the new Republican party, the nationalistic sentiment prevailing in the Southern wing of the party was not destroyed, only diverted to a different channel. The ensuing controversy obscured the nationalistic character of Southern sentiment. There has been much confusion on this point, compounded by terminology. The nationalism which is the subject of the present discussion is an emotional attachment to the United States as a nation, and not to a Southern nationalism, or a sectional nationalism separate or distinct from the common heritage. Yet, it is true also that many who went into the Confederate States of America were firmly convinced that they were devoted to the preservation of the true American nationalism, and that it was being perverted or destroyed by the North. Anyone who would understand the decade of the 1850's must somehow fit the Kansas question into this large and complex pattern of developments.

Locally, the southeastern Kansas war perpetuated the tradition of "Bleeding Kansas." "Nationally," the Dred Scott case, the Leecompton constitution in congress, and the Lincoln-Douglas debates raised to the federal level the dispute over federal power in the territories. Yet, what territory after 1857, even Kansas, was really debatable except to partisans, bent on making political capital? The Indian territory might be opened, New Mexico admitted, and Texas subdivided to provide more free states. But north of Kansas, there was no reasonable possibility of a slave state. In Utah, the issue was Mormonism. Why all the agitation, ostensibly, about Kansas, where

the issue was really settled, and about slavery in the remaining territories? There was more, much more involved than meets the eye.

The theoretical debate over the power of congress in the territories, carried on in the Lincoln-Douglas debates, in the newspapers and magazines during 1858 and 1859, and in congress, so far as it could apply to any future territory, was primarily a theoretical discussion in a vacuum. It was in the nature of a post-mortem; an attempt to formalize or systematize thought after the event. That was the meaning of the *Harper's Magazine* article of Douglas in 1859, and of the book by S. G. Fisher, *The Law of the Territories*. Two possible contingencies, however, might inject a new life and reality into the dead theory; an antislavery drive into the country south of 36° 30', or the annexation of new territory. Does the constitution follow the flag into contiguous territory or overseas? But barring such new developments, the only fruit these abstract discussions could bear was a consolidation of thought about the nature of the general government under the swelling, intolerant force of nationalism, which was overriding both state rights and federalism. Douglas and popular sovereignty, as applied to local self-government, were on the losing side of that issue. As the Civil War demonstrated, the national idea, a national popular sovereignty and the issues identified with its dominant majority, possessed the power to enforce that national idea. Thus not only local self-government and state rights, but federalism were marked for liquidation.

THE HARVEST OF HATE

An effect of the Phillips formula, "The conquest of Kansas by Missouri, and her allies," was to produce a bountiful harvest of hate. In the southeastern Kansas border warfare, it helped to make history. The "antislavery" Kansans were the aggressors against the so-called "proslavery" party and Missouri. Revenge, not freedom, became dominant, and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 removed apparently all inhibitions. In the writing of Kansas history, the Phillips formula is still, after a century, a major characteristic, although somewhat modified by other factors. The period of Kansas history prior to 1857 was one of an enforced unity, the necessity of a united front. Controversies among Free-State men existed in full measure, but were suppressed or played down by the propaganda literature. The "enemy" at the time was the so-called Proslavery "conquerer." These facts are basic to the interpretation of the situation as history and to an understanding of the contemporary "double-talk." Also, that enforced unity of a public front belies the claim of the Free-

State party to an overwhelming majority of the actual settlers in Kansas prior to 1857. Had they possessed a clear majority they should have forced the issue of political control.

In 1857, and later, the situation was different. Free-State population was unquestionably in the majority numerically, and there was no longer any valid reason (only an excuse) for them not to assume the dominant position, politically, in the Lecompton constitution movement. The primary thing that stood in their way was their own shortsightedness, selfishness, and factional jealousies over which Free-State men should control. What the situation amounted to was that the Free-State men preferred to perpetuate their precious grievance of being a conquered province of Missouri, to asserting themselves and to taking control, but with the hazard to each faction that an opposing faction or combination of Free-State factions would govern them. In other words, they preferred to be governed by alleged Proslavery men than by opposing factions of Free-State men. Fowler's fictionalized history, "The Jay-Hawker," exposed important aspects of the factional Free-State civil war.

The issue of the abandonment of the Topeka state government during 1857-1858, and of the Free-State political party organization in early 1859, each in turn precipitated a controversy over the relative effectiveness of rival policies, and over personal honors and credits for making Kansas free. Of course, the assumption upon which all such argument turned was the unproved formula that without the Kansas crusade, Kansas would have been a slave state. But these Kansans of the late 1850's were still engaged primarily in making, not writing, history, and these quarrels of 1857, 1858, and 1859 were more a part of the substance of history than a phase in the writing of history. The vicious second Kansas civil war, the one over credits and honors, did not break out into a "shooting war" until the late 1870's, and the 1880's. The day of the united front in the presence of the conquering Missourians and their allies was then past, and the old settlers were free to fight that war without restrictions or inhibitions.

Bypaths of Kansas History

NO COFFEE BREAK IN 1855!

John Calhoun, surveyor general of Kansas and Nebraska in 1854-1858, laid down the following rules for his office in Wyandotte (now a part of Kansas City, Kan.):

RULES

To be observed in the Surveyor General's Office

Office hours from 8½ A. M. to 4½ P. M. with one hour's intermission at noon, and if necessary to keep up the work, one hour may be required in addition to the foregoing time.

Each clerk will be requested to report himself daily at the time of commencing and leaving work giving the precise time.

No clerk will be allowed to absent himself from his desk unless it is indispensably necessary during office hours, without first asking and obtaining leave therefor.

No clerk having his work in one room will be allowed to spend any more time in the other room than is actually necessary in order to transact his business there.

No visitors will be admitted into the draughtsman's room without permission.

No smoking will be allowed in either room during office hours.

No reading of books or newspapers during office hours.

No clerk having his duties assigned him will be allowed to transfer his work to any other clerk without permission.

Any Books, Maps or papers taken from the files must be returned to their proper places by the persons using them.

It is expected that every gentleman in the office will cheerfully share with me in the responsibilities due the Government.

SURVEYOR GENERAL'S OFFICE
WYANDOTT, Dec. 15, 1855

J. CALHOUN
Sur. Gen'l.

The rules were copied on pp. 1 and 2 of the surveyor general's "Private Account Book," now in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society.

CHRISTMAS IN 1860

From the *Topeka Tribune*, December 29, 1860.

Whatever ideas our Eastern brethren may have formed as to the manner in which we "acorn-fed and bark-clothed" people of Kansas would celebrate Christmas this year, it is nevertheless a fact that so far as our observation extends it was not observed, either as a matter of choice or necessity, as a day of fasting in Topeka. So far from this was the case that we venture the opinion

that the day in this city will long be remembered by most of our people as one rendered socially pleasant and delightful, and so far as the "good things" were concerned, so little below the time-honored standard of christmas sumptuousness and epicurean indulgence as to lessen in no perceivable degree the conviviality, fire-side mirth and general good feeling peculiar to christmas day in a christian land. The presence of sleighing, the bright, mellow sun-shine, the prospect of the speedy admission of Kansas as a sovereign State, the strong hope of a future crowned with Heaven's richest blessings and earth's abundance in this our adopted land, the absence of famine, plague or unusual disease, and the general good health and spirits of our citizens, altogether combined to render it a cheerful, happy day, around which will linger in our recollections the most fond and welcome memories.

It was a day long to be remembered by the printers of the *Tribune Office*. For two long, weary years had their labors been without cessation, but upon that day—that Christmas day—no "clicking of the types" broke the stillness of our office, or "clanking of the press" proclaimed to the passers-by that "the print-shop was at home." Vainly, upon that day, did exasperated creditors wait for the latch string at our door. So far as we were personally concerned we remained the guest of the sharer of our social, domestic bliss, and partook of her hospitality, while the sharer of our pecuniary trial and sorrows wandered away to the pleasant village of Tecumseh and was there kindly taken in and cared for by our friend, E. B. Smith, Esq., and his excellent lady. Thus, the day and the eve passed pleasantly away.

NO "CLINGING VINES" HERE

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, May 1, 1873.

The *Wathena Reporter* says women get off the cars as they go through Brown county, without troubling the conductor to halt the train. One lady who wanted to go to town lately, was fifteen minutes behind time, but set out on foot with the determination to catch the train, and did so after traveling a couple of miles. She maintained a steady trot the entire distance, and was almost out of breath when she reached the train, but displayed her womanly courage by bouncing upon the platform and into the car without waiting for "any man" to politely hand her in.

EMPORIA AS DESCRIBED BY A NEIGHBOR

From the *Garden City Paper*, July 10, 1879.

The *El Dorado Press* says that Emporia is getting to be one of the best towns in Kansas. They have a daily newspaper, nine whisky saloons, three railroads, a church festival once a week, one street lamp, two drays, a democratic street sprinkler, and thirteen fellows in jail.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Early Marshall county history was the subject of an article in the *Frankfort Index*, June 17, 1954. Included were brief histories of Marysville, Blue Rapids, Axtell, and Beattie.

Included in John Watson's "See Kansas" series in the *Wichita Evening Eagle* in recent months were: "Buffalo Bill Cody Camped at Natural Bridge Located Under Stone Arch East of Arkansas City," June 17, 1954; "Gunmen of Old West Once Fought Fierce Battles to Death on Streets of Cattle-Town Caldwell," July 15; "Sod House Standing on Colby Fairgrounds Recalls Hardships Undergone by Pioneers to Make Homes," July 22; "Fort Riley Hall Stands as Memorial to Heroic Gen. Jonathan Wainwright," August 26; and "Iowa Sac and Fox Mission Museum [at Highland] Stands on One of State's Most Historic Sites," September 2.

A biographical sketch of John Taggart, by Frank Ferris, was printed in the *Nortonville News*, June 18, 1954. One of the town's earliest settlers, Taggart opened a store at Nortonville in 1872.

Articles of a historical nature have continued to appear in the *Hays Daily News* and *Ellis County News*. Included in recent numbers of the *Daily News* were: "Business Growth of Hays City Rapid During Early Years," June 20, 1954; "Birthday of Old Fort Hays," June 22; "Indians Camped on Big Creek Threatened Attack on Hays" and "There Were Good Women as Well as Bad in Early Days of Hays City," a biographical sketch of Anna M. Wilson, June 27; "German Settlers Worked Hard on Arrival in Ellis County," July 4; "[Charles F. Chase] Tells of Battling Indians on the Plains of Western Kansas," July 11; "Custer's Island Is Really Buzzard's Island and Not Camp of Custer at All," July 25; "It Took a Lot of Talking to Get Flour Mill for Hays," and "Massacre of Six Germain Sisters West of Ellis One of Worst Indian Atrocities," August 15; "First Electric Street Lights Installed Here Fifty-Five Years Ago," August 22; and "Hickok Was Marshal at Abilene Two Years After Leaving Hays," September 5. Articles in the *Ellis County News* included: the article on German settlers in Ellis county, July 8; Chase's story of Indian battles on the plains, July 15; "'Boys' Ruled Hays in 1900 and Did Good Job of It," August 5; the article on the Hays flour mill, August 19; and the article on "Wild Bill" Hickok as marshal of Abilene, September 9.

Readers are taken for a tour of old Fort Larned by Frank Kelley in his article "Custer's Ghost Still Haunts Ft. Larned," in the *Hutchinson News-Herald*, June 20, 1954. The fort was established in 1859 and was first called Camp Alert. On June 27 the *News-Herald* printed an article on Fort Dodge by Paul Murphy. The post, founded in 1864, is now the site of the Kansas Soldier's Home and the Mother Bickerdyke Annex.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans published in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included: "Kirwin, Kas., Ending 83rd Year, Is Again Solomon Valley Key," June 20, 1954; "A Kansan's [John J. Vanier of Salina] 75-Dollar-A-Month Job Grew Into Cattle Empire," by John Alexander, August 1; "Town of Atchison and Editor Ed Howe, 'Sage of Potato Hill,' Grew Up Together," by Charles Arthur Hawley, August 7; "Fame and Near Disgrace in Strange Life Story of Col. John M. Chivington," a biographical sketch of the first master of Kansas' first Masonic lodge, by Floyd S. Ecord, August 10; and "Saga of John Brown to Be Seen in Kansas Pageant [in Osawatimie]," by John Alexander, September 19. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Descendant of Coronado [Don Alonso Cotoner y Cotoner of Mallorca] Takes Pride in 400-Year-Old Bond With Kansas," by Jonathan M. Dow, July 21; "Freemasonry in Kansas Started the Year Present State Became a Territory in 1854," by John Edward Hicks, August 10, "Buffalo Slaughter Shameful Tragedy of American Greed and Wastefulness," a review of Mari Sandoz's *The Buffalo Hunters*, by Leslie D. Polk, September 1; and "Pencil of Traveling Artist Adds Appeal to Kansas Historic Lore," a review of Margaret Whittemore's *Historic Kansas: A Centenary Sketchbook*, by Theodore M. O'Leary, September 8.

"Early Days in Valley Falls," is the title of a weekly series by E. J. Stewart, Rogers, Ark., which began in the *Valley Falls Vindicator*, June 23, 1954. Stewart is a native of Valley Falls.

A four-column history of the area around Hammer cemetery in Lincoln county, by Arthur J. Stanley, appeared in the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican*, July 1, 1954. John Blount was reported to be the first settler, arriving in 1869.

On July 1, 1954, the *Johnson County Democrat*, Olathe, published a brief history of Gardner by Mrs. Arthur Pearce. The town was platted in 1857.

Included in the centennial issue of the *Perry Mirror*, July 8, 1954,

were an article on the history of Perry by Raymond Gieseeman, several other short historical articles, and pictures of early Perry.

Fort Scott's historic Carroll Plaza was the subject of an article in the Pittsburg *Headlight*, July 10, 1954, and the Pittsburg *Sun*, July 11. The plaza was the center of the military fortifications established in 1842. The Fort Scott Lions club recently erected a sign at the entrance, giving some of the fort's history. A biographical sketch of Grant Whitlock, 91-year-old McCune resident, was published in the *Sun*, July 11, and the *Headlight*, July 12.

In 1874 the first Catholic church was built at Kimeo, Washington county, according to an article on the history of St. Michael's church in the Greenleaf *Sentinel*, July 15, 1954. Work on the present building commenced in 1904.

Some of Jamestown's early history was printed in the Jamestown *Optimist*, July 29, 1954. Although a post office served the area from 1871, the town was not incorporated until 1883. A short article on the Mill bridge, near Jamestown, appeared in the same issue.

A history of the St. Boniface Catholic church of Sharon was published in four installments in the Kiowa *News*, July 29, August 5, 12, 19, 1954. Formation of the church began in 1904 when the Rev. Patrick Maloney arranged for Mass to be said at the Otto Winter home.

An article by Fayette Rowe on the notorious Kate Bender and her family was published in *The Modern Light*, Columbus, July 29, 1954, the Coffeyville *Daily Journal*, August 1, and the Oswego *Democrat*, August 13. Known as the "Bloody" Benders, the family lured travelers into their home on the Fort Scott-Independence trail and murdered them. The fate of the Benders, after the discovery of their crime, is still a mystery.

Articles in the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, August, 1954, were: "Local History in the Making—1953," by Earl Ives; "What Became of the Fountain [Used in the Kansas Building at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, 1876]?" by Nancy Veale Galloway; Part 1 of "Topeka and the Emigrant Aid Company," by Russell K. Hickman; another installment of George A. Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County"; and a continuation of Charlotte McLellan's "Potwin Place People."

Names of Kansas counties which have been changed or have disappeared were discussed by F. J. Cloud in the Kingman *Journal*, August 10, 1954.

Lane county, created by the legislature in 1873, which was first settled in 1878 and organized in 1886, was the subject of a series compiled by Mrs. Elmer Johnson and Nolen Yates, beginning in the *Dighton Herald*, August 11, 1954.

Centennial editions were published by the Marysville newspapers August 12, 1954, 72 pages by the *Marshall County News* and 76 pages by the *Advocate*. City and county histories, stories on the birth and expansion of the city's institutions, organizations, and business firms, and articles on the industry and agriculture of the area made up the editions. Marysville's centennial celebration was held August 17-19.

Lawrence history, as illustrated by a display in the Weaver Department store in Lawrence before and during the city's centennial celebration, September 23-28, was described by Ruth E. Love in the *Lawrence Journal-World*, August 14, 1954.

A story on the Alexander Gardner collection of Kansas pictures in the Kansas State Historical Society, by Frank Madson, Jr., appeared in the *Wichita Beacon*, August 22, 1954. The pictures—approximately 150—were made in 1867. Several were reproduced with the article.

Fayette Rowe, Columbus, reviewed the history of the Cherokee county county-seat war in the *Joplin (Mo.) Globe*, August 22, 1954, and the *Girard Press*, August 26. Baxter Springs built a courthouse early in the 1870's in an effort to become the county seat, but it was never occupied by the county offices, as Columbus won the fight.

The Council Grove *Republican*, August 24, 1954, published a historical sketch of the Diamond Springs community by Lenora Rude Drayer. Mrs. Drayer's grandfather, David Rude, was one of the earliest settlers in the area.

A 24-page edition was published by the *Mulvane News*, August 26, 1954, commemorating the 75th anniversary of the founding of Mulvane. The edition was "designed to portray some of the events of past years which have contributed to the development of the city, as well as to picture Mulvane as it is today."

The *Argonia Argosy* has continued to print regularly the series of historical reminiscences compiled by Frank Beals.

Installments of John S. Gilmore's diary, 1867-1870, have continued to appear regularly in the *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia.

Kansas Historical Notes

Under the direction of their English teacher, Mrs. Louise McElroy, a group of high school students at Sedan have been engaged in writing historical articles on Chautauqua county subjects. Begun in January, 1954, the project has continued through the summer months. The themes won first place in the miscellaneous division of the contest for high school newspapers sponsored by the William Allen White School of Journalism, University of Kansas, in April. The Sedan *Star-Times* has published one of the stories almost every week.

A reunion of the Dow Creek [Lyon county] community pioneers and their descendants was held in Emporia, June 20, 1954. One of the features of the program was the presentation of a history of the community by John A. Scheel. The history was printed in the Emporia *Gazette*, June 22.

Principal speaker at the Lyon County Historical Society's July 4, 1954, luncheon was Mrs. O. D. Lewis, Shawnee, Okla., a member of the Sac and Fox Indian tribe.

Judge Karl Miller and Heinie Schmidt, Dodge City, were speakers at the organization of the Lane County Historical Society in Dighton, July 16, 1954. Officers elected at the meeting included: Mrs. Robert Jennison, president; Raymond Tillotson, vice-president; Mrs. Elmer Johnson, secretary; and Mrs. R. G. Mull, Sr., treasurer. Members of the board of directors are: Frank Vycital, Robert Jennison, Walter Herndon, Minnie Moomaw, Tillotson, Le Roy Allman, Mrs. Grant Hallbick, Mrs. William Shaffer, and A. L. Linden.

Larry Yost was recently named president of Boot Hill Museum, Inc., Dodge City. Other new directors are: Gene Gurtner, vice-president; Don Young, Jr., secretary; and Warren Speakman, treasurer. The museum is being operated by the Dodge City Junior Chamber of Commerce. Added to the museum's collection during the summer were an old Santa Fe locomotive and a large group of articles from the Rev. Andrew D. Shore, including old-time nickelodians, guns, and many other antiques.

New officers of the Douglas Historical Society were recently announced as follows: Gladys Sherar, president; Walter Martin, vice-president; Emma Elder, secretary; Turia Bolington, reporter; and Viola Dennett, historian. The society's museum was moved to new quarters during the summer.

George M. Miller was re-elected president of the Chase County Historical Society at the annual meeting in Cottonwood Falls, September 4, 1954. Other officers chosen were: Henry Rogler, vice-president; Clint A. Baldwin, secretary; George T. Dawson, treasurer; and Mrs. Helen Austin, chief historian. Members appointed to the executive committee included: Mrs. Ruth Conner, chairman; Mrs. Ida M. Vinson, vice-chairman; Mrs. Austin, Minnie Norton, Ida Schneider, and Beatrice Hays.

Olathe's 56th annual Old Settlers' reunion was held September 10, 11, 1954. Joseph J. Hedrick, president of the Natural Gas Pipeline Company of America and a native of Olathe, was the guest speaker on the Saturday afternoon program. Officers elected for next year were: Dale Dorst, president; G. A. Brink, vice-president; Mrs. Mildred Dorst, secretary; and Gene Breiner, treasurer.

Downs published a 24-page historical pamphlet as a part of its 75th anniversary celebration, July 28-31, 1954. The town was incorporated December 17, 1879.

The history of Wyandotte Lodge No. 3, A. F. & A. M., Kansas City, and biographical sketches of its early masters were recently published in a 48-page pamphlet in observance of the lodge's centennial.

Two articles by Charles H. Dick were recently published by the Lawrence *Outlook* in a 34-page pamphlet under the title *Territory Aflame*, a survey of the Kansas situation in 1854-1856. The second article was a brief history of the Santa Fe trail and the towns, streams, and other points of interest along it.

Pioneer's Mission—The Story of Lyman Copeland Draper, a 384-page volume by William B. Hesseltine, was published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin early in 1954. Draper, 1815-1891, was one of the founders, principal promoter, and for years secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

A study of the organization and work of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions during President U. S. Grant's Indian "Peace Policy," by Peter J. Rahill, has been published by the Catholic University of America in a 396-page volume entitled *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy 1870-1884*. It is No. 41 in *Studies in American Church History*, published by the Catholic University of America and edited by Peter Guilday and John Tracy Ellis.

Life on the Santa Fe trail is re-created by John W. Tait in his recently published 268-page novel, *Fighting Wagons to Santa Fe*. The hardships and adventures of freighting on the plains, the Indians, outlaws, and other features of the trail's history comprise the story.

The escape of a slave in 1859 through the "underground railway" from Fort Scott to Canada is the theme of a novel by Leonard Nathan entitled *A Wind Like a Bugle*, published in 1954.

Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* has been edited by Max L. Moorhead and recently republished in a 469-page volume by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. The book, first published in 1844, is Gregg's personal narrative, describing the Southern Plains and giving an account of early Santa Fe trade.

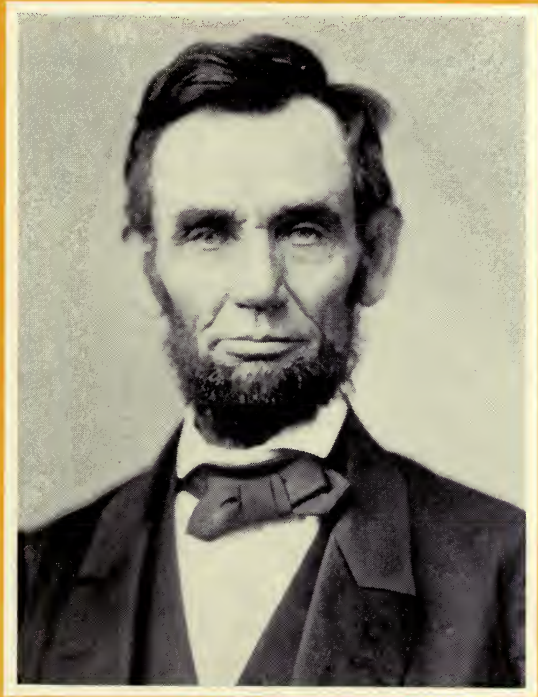
A 183-page description and history of the Oregon trail by Fred-erica B. Coons, is entitled *The Trail to Oregon* (Binfords & Mort, Portland, Ore., 1954). After taking an imaginary journey down the trail with the emigrants bound for Oregon, the reader is given a present-day itinerary for following the trail by automobile.

The Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, recently published an attractive 379-page volume entitled *Walam Olum or Red Score—The Migration Legend of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians*. The "Walam Olum" is the tribal chronicle of the Delaware Indians, relating their history from the creation to the coming of the white man to North America. Part one of the book contains this document and its translation; Part two consists of essays analyzing the "Walam Olum."



**THE
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CONTENTS

PAGE

HOW NATURAL GAS CAME TO KANSAS	<i>Angelo Scott</i> , 233
With photographs of Lanyon Smelters Nos. 1 and 2 in 1908, and the same area in 1945, <i>facing</i> p. 240; and Gas, Kan., about 1908 and 1945, <i>facing</i> p. 241.	
AN INDIAN CAPTIVITY AND ITS LEGAL AFTERMATH	<i>Alan W. Farley</i> , 247
With portraits of Mrs. Fanny Wiggins Kelly and Mrs. Sarah Luse Larimer, <i>facing</i> p. 248.	
JOSEPH BECKER'S SKETCH OF THE GETTYSBURG CEREMONY, NOVEMBER 19, 1863	<i>Robert Taft</i> , 257
With a reproduction of the drawing, <i>facing</i> p. 256.	
NOTES ON THE WRITING OF GENERAL HISTORIES OF KANSAS:	
Part Two: J. N. Holloway, <i>History of Kansas</i> (1868)	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 264
With portrait of John Nelson Holloway, <i>facing</i> p. 280.	
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees, Election of Officers, List of Directors of the Society, and Sen. Andrew F. Schoepfel's Address at the Dedication of the Kaw Mission Museum in Council Grove on May 12, 1954	288
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	312
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	313
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	317

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THE COVER

Abraham Lincoln, a photograph made by Alexander Gardner of Washington on November 15, 1863, four days before the speech at Gettysburg. Photo courtesy of F. H. Meserve, New York City.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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How Natural Gas Came to Kansas

ANGELO SCOTT

THIS is a story of the early adventures of natural gas in Kansas, of how reluctantly it was first accepted as a thing of worth, of how haltingly it pushed its way forward, and of how amazingly it made and broke a city before it finally grew up to be an adult member of economic society.

The story begins with the curious fact that natural gas never was "discovered" in Kansas—except, perhaps, by Indians of unknown antiquity. It was here, seeping out of the ground, when the white men came. They observed and identified it. They encountered it in the search for other things. They played with it and talked about it. Finally they actively searched for it. But there is no time, place, or event in the state's history that can be identified as marking "the first gas well in Kansas" or even the first written observation that this precious natural resource existed within the state's boundaries.

People did note its existence and begin talking about it almost immediately after the territory was opened to settlers. One of the first curiosities they ran into were the "tar springs" and "oil springs" of eastern Kansas, particularly those in Miami county. They noticed that some of them bubbled. And they knew that the bubbles were natural gas when they listened to semilegendary tales of great Indian warriors who used to hold their councils around the light of "burning springs."

But watching the bubbles and listening to the legends was as far as the interest of these early observers went. The last thought to cross their minds was the possibility that more wealth might lie beneath these springs than in the six inches of good topsoil on the acres surrounding them.

The next mentions of natural gas in Kansas—and they were

ANGELO SCOTT, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1953-1954, is editor and publisher of the *Iola Register*. This article was his presidential address before the annual meeting of the State Historical Society on October 19, 1954.

quite as casual as those remarking about the bubbling springs—came in connection with the search for oil.

People were not quite so slow to recognize the potential worth of oil as of gas. Skimming it off the occasional pools where it was found floating on water, they discovered that it made a much better wagon wheel lubricant than mutton tallow. A few were imaginative enough to speculate that if small quantities of oil oozed out of the surface of the ground, larger quantities might lie below.

Thus it happened that a certain Edwin L. Drake started prospecting for oil near Oil creek, Pennsylvania, in 1859. He drilled a hole in the ground that turned into the first commercial oil well in history. Its capacity was a fabulous 20 barrels a day, enough to lubricate more wagon wheels than you could dream of.

The news spread quickly. The very next year Dr. G. W. Brown obtained one of the crude drilling rigs of the day and began prospecting for oil in Miami county. He found none his first two or three tries. And soon the Civil War stopped all activities. Yet in 1865, when drilling had started again here and there, the *Kansas Daily Tribune* of Lawrence carried the following letter from a Fort Scott driller to a friend:

"We struck oil on the evening of the 20th at a depth of 280 feet in oil-bearing sandstone. On the 21st we bored about ten feet, with a large increase of oil and gas. . . . Gas is so strong that a bucket will not pass through without weighting. . . ."

The casualness of this mention of gas can only indicate that the encounter was neither surprising nor unexpected, that it must have been commonplace in the experience of these earliest drillers. And of course it became still more commonplace as drilling continued because gas and oil always go hand in hand, and in eastern Kansas, almost any hole punched in the ground is likely to encounter a gas showing of some sort at some level.

But from the writing of this letter in 1865 until 1882, gas continued to be mentioned only casually, as a nuisance incidental to oil drilling, as a freak of nature, or as an interesting sort of plaything. Natural gas never did walk into Kansas head up. It only stumbled in on the heels of the search for oil, coal, and water.

Examples of that stumbling are interesting. One of the first dates back to the late 1860's when a man living in the vicinity of Fort Scott may well have become the first person in the United States to utilize natural gas in his home. The late Judge Charles E. Cory of Fort Scott, writing years later, gave this version of the event:

Along in the sixties, immediately following the Civil war, John G. Stuart, who was afterward mayor of Fort Scott, owned the land which is now Gunn Park. . . . As you go on the main driveway in Gunn Park westward till you approach near the river, where the upper waterworks dam is, and then turn southward, you will observe a pretty rolling mound rising from the river. Right on the brow of that mound was the Stuart home. Down northwestward toward the point where the dam now stands, Mr. Stuart bored a well for water.

He got the water all right, but in addition he struck a strong flow of gas. In those days the art of utilizing natural gas, or any other kind of gas, for household or industrial purposes had not been developed, but Mr. Stuart, in a crude way, confined a part of the flow and led it up to his house which was a crude sort of pioneer shack.

He piped it into an ordinary old-fashioned coal cook stove and used it for domestic purposes. He also installed some old-fashioned flat flame gas jets. This was the first time that natural gas was ever utilized anywhere in the West. The appliances were extremely crude but it was a great convenience for the Stuart family. . . .

Along in the seventies and eighties, this gas well was allowed to run free and was permitted to burn a large portion of the time, so that "The Burning Well" was a wonder spot for the people hundreds of miles around.

Natural gas has become so commonplace in recent years that it is difficult for us now to understand what a marvel this place was. Older men and women now living in Fort Scott could tell you gaudy stories about the picnics and outings, the dance parties and frolics that were had at the Burning Well. It was not only a beautiful place for an evening picnic but the marvel of it attracted wide attention.

The well has long since been clogged up and has ceased to flow, and lots of people who remember, talk about The Burning Well. . . . The memory of it is well worth preserving, both for its historic interest as the first place where natural gas was utilized in the West and also as the site of a very popular resort in the pioneer days.

Judge Cory might have added that it is also worth remembering as an illustration of how blind the people of those days were to the commercial possibilities of natural gas, even when an example of actual household use was set before their eyes. In 1874 a writer for the Fort Scott *Monitor* did have at least a momentary flash of realization that there might be a future in gas. Concerning this same well, he wrote:

The burning well on the farm of Mr. J. G. Stuart, which has long been a great curiosity to our people and those visiting this county, is at last being utilized. The gas is used for heating purposes. A furnace and boiler for boiling food for stock has been constructed, and the gas when lighted furnishes sufficient heat in a short time to boil the food. It seems that sufficient heat from this burning gas could be generated, if it was distributed over a large surface, to furnish steam for milling purposes. This would be a great saving in fuel; in fact, no fuel at all would be required, would materially lessen the cost of running a manufactory of any kind.

But no such development ensued. No manufactory came to Fort Scott. The well clogged up with dirt and was abandoned.

A second example of how natural gas stumbled into Kansas, unrecognized as a resource of more than trifling value, occurred in 1873 when a well was drilled at the southwest edge of Iola. Here the search was for coal. But again gas was encountered, this time at a depth of 736 feet.

The flow was an estimated 250,000 cubic feet per day. This is the well which might have opened people's eyes, which might have started the direct quest for still greater quantities of gas which actually got under way a decade later. But by a quirk of chance, the drill that bit into the gas sand simultaneously opened a vein of mineral laden salt water. A sort of geyser resulted as the water was thrown into the air at regular intervals, falling back into the shaft. Col. Nelson F. Acres, president of the coal prospecting company, was deeply disappointed. The drilling operations were continued in other locations and the well was left to boil and spout for the benefit of curiosity seekers.

It was not unnoticed. It was, indeed, a curiosity and there were those who felt it must have a value of some sort. But the type of speculation going on about *what* value it might have is illustrated by the following item from the *Neosho Valley Register* (published in Iola and predecessor to the *Iola Register*) on March 29, 1873:

. . . in the *Lawrence Tribune* we found an article headed:—"A wonderful well in Allen county—Salt, oil, gas &c." which went on to tell of the wonders of this well which throws a stream of water 100 feet high and is accompanied by an inflammable gas, which when ignited, gives the strange spectacle of a column of burning water, or geyser of fire.

The article also stated that "tests which have been made demonstrate that this water contains salt sufficient to make it valuable as the basis of a salt manufactory," all of which we most sincerely hope may prove true. Now the fact is, we have watched this boring with considerable interest and we very much doubt that any one would feel better pleased than ourself, if coal, or oil, or even a paying salt well should result from all the labor and expense that the people have been to, yet we fail to discover the great advantages to be gained by making a huge noise about this undertaking until we are sure that we have really found something that will prove a benefit to the people.

. . . False alarms seldom prove a benefit to any town.

A month later, April 26, 1873, the editor of the *Register* got to thinking further about this well, and here was his estimate of what might possibly be made of it:

. . . would it not be advisable to have some of the water from our flowing well reduced and thus demonstrate to a certainty what amount of salt

it contains? A great deal has been said about our having a salt well that will pay and also that the gas can be used to produce heat for evaporation, all of which may or may not be true. . . .

If, as has been claimed, the gas can be used for the purpose of evaporation, then it would probably pay to make salt even if it took three or four hundred gallons . . . to make one bushel, as there would be no expense whatever for fuel. . . . If we are fortunate enough to have anything of value, why not apply the test and find it out? If we have not, the quicker it is settled the better.

That editorial was apparently as near as anyone came to considering that the gas in this historic well might have value. But the water still intrigued people. And Colonel Acres, owner of the property, was the one who finally had imagination enough to turn it to commercial use. It tasted so bad that he decided it must have great therapeutic qualities, so he set aside the acreage into a park and constructed a hotel-sanatorium where people could not only drink the water but bathe in it. Mineral Well Park was a profitable and popular spot for years.

A third example of how natural gas knocked at the door but was refused admittance during these early days occurred in Wilson county the next year. The *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, of June 12, 1874, gives the following account of what happened:

On Wednesday, May 27th, the usual quiet and repose of the village of Guilford was startled by a report scarcely excelled by a heavy cannon, and followed by a violent shaking of the earth, extending beyond the limits of the valley.

The minds of the rural population were filled with doubts as to the cause of this sudden alarm, but on visiting the mill pond of Akin & Bros., where a party of well diggers were drilling for water, the cause of the shock became evident, and no fears of a repetition of the recent manifestations in North Carolina, were entertained.

The gentlemen engaged in drilling a stock well on the premises of the above, having reached the depth of 120 feet, all at once noticed the drill descend about six inches, evidently meeting with no obstructions, and at once a deep rumbling sound, like heavy thunder, came forth from the well, and drove the person who was tending the drill (at a depth of 27 feet, being at the bottom of an excavated well,) to the surface, anticipating that a vein of water had been struck, which would at once fill the well to overflowing.

Having reached the top, the drill was immediately withdrawn, but no water becoming visible, the drill was again lowered, and a few strokes given, but the noise became so terrific that all operations were suspended.

A slight odor was emitted from the well, and the conclusion that something inflammable was escaping, induced the gentlemen to test its burning qualities. A match was at once lighted on the edge of the well, and had hardly commenced to burn when the report and shock that has been described took place, and the adventurous well digger, with whiskers, eyebrows and hair

missing, lay at some distance from the well, evidently meditating upon the peculiarity of combustibles.

A solid column of flame shot up from the well at least 40 feet, and continued to burn, attended with that same rumbling sound that at first indicated the presence of something escaping from the well. It continued to burn brightly until extinguished by several buckets of water thrown in the well.

On visiting the spot the next morning the noise still continued, and another application of a match, at a much greater distance from the well than at first, was attended with similar results. A column of flame would burst forth from the well from 30 to 40 feet in high [*sic*] and be followed by a shock that would be plainly felt at a distance of one hundred yards.

An idea of the rapidity that the gas was generated may be obtained from the fact that every 15 minutes during the whole day, on lighting a paper and throwing it towards the surface of the well, a similar report and shock took place.

At last it took fire at the mouth of the drill hole and burned brightly until extinguished by the heavy rain on Sunday night that followed. No water in any quantity has appeared. The noise has ceased, and the usual quiet again "reigns around."

That seems to be as far as the record of this well goes. It made a fine firecracker to play with. Apparently it never occurred to anyone that what they found might be more valuable than the water they were looking for.

These early experiences explain sufficiently why it is impossible to identify "the first gas well" in Kansas. Nevertheless, a number of writers have pretended to. The *Newton Republican* of October 5, 1888, for example, stated flatly that "The first gas well in Kansas was bored at Wyandotte in searching for coal in 1870. The gas blew the drill out at 737 feet and shot fifty feet into the air."

The *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* of January 18, 1903, declared: "Wilson county was the scene of the first oil and gas development." The *Independence Daily Reporter* said in 1905: "The first gas well west of the Mississippi was drilled in by John Werner on July 25, 1882, east of Paola, Kansas." None of these statements is true.

But if it is impossible to pinpoint the first gas well in Kansas, no such difficulty attends the identification of two other "firsts" in the early history of the state's natural gas development.

The first wells put to commercial use were unquestionably those which were drilled near Paola in 1882 and 1883 by John W. Werner, a hotelkeeper from Galveston, Tex., who had come there from Pennsylvania and had been engaged in the oil business there.

The object of his search was oil. But he kept finding gas, and in 1884 he obtained a franchise from Paola and piped gas into the city for commercial and residential use. Paola was the first town

in Kansas to have gas lights; Werner's wells were the first to turn gas from a novelty into a commodity of saleable value.

The other "first" which may be pinpointed is the discovery which set off the first gas-fired industrial boom in Kansas. It happened in December, 1893, when Joseph Paullin and W. F. Pryor drilled in the well that opened up the Iola field—possibly the largest in the world at the time of its maximum development some 15 years later.

This was not the first big well to tap the great mid-continent field. That event occurred a year earlier when the firm of Brown, McBride & Bloom brought in a 5-million-foot well near Coffeyville. But it was the first to open a field large enough to supply the fuel for a major industrial boom.

Here, for a change, the search was specifically for gas. And it had been a discouraging one, covering a period of almost 20 years. Shortly after the Acres well had been converted to bath house and sanatorium use, a company of Iola business men was formed for the express purpose of prospecting for gas. It included Robert H. Stevenson, William H. McClure, W. A. Cowan, George A. Bowlus, H. L. Henderson, and others. They obtained a charter from the city permitting them to pipe the city for the distribution of gas should they find it.

Over a period of time, these men drilled four wells, all of which were failures. Finally they sold their interests, including the city franchise, to Paullin and Pryor with the stipulation that six wells should be drilled before they abandoned the field. Five of these were drilled in the west part of Iola to depths of 250 to 450 feet, none producing gas in any quantity. It was decided that the sixth, to be located in the south center of town, should be a deep test, going down 1,000 feet if necessary.

Drama attended the drilling of this final well—the one which set off the boom that turned Iola from a sleepy village to a roaring industrial center. Two accounts of what happened appeared in a historical supplement to the *Register* of May 13, 1907. The first, written by Nelson F. Acres, simply records:

After drilling this well to a depth of about 800 feet and still failing to find the long sought for sand, the drillers became greatly discouraged. A small amount of coal was still left and it was decided to consume this coal before the work was abandoned. This was done and before the coal had been consumed, a depth of 850 feet had been penetrated, and the long hoped for gas sand had been entered. . . . Whistles were blown and the entire population of the village and country gathered to witness the phenomenon.

The editor of the *Register*, however, offered the following version:

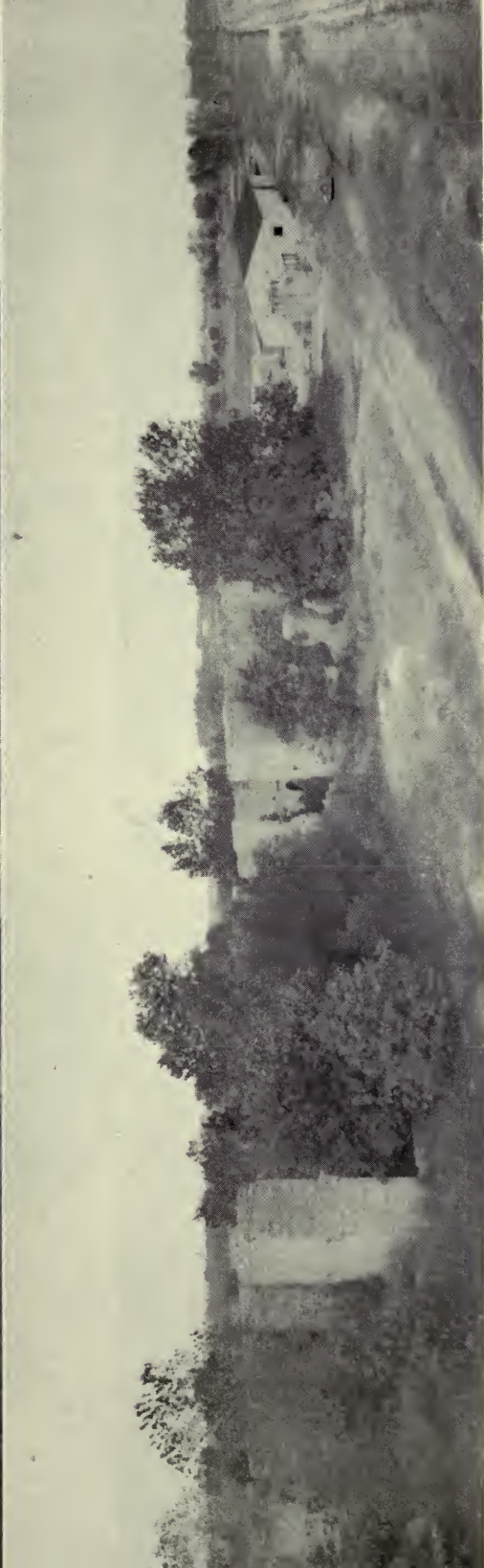
Finally Messrs. Pryor & Paullin . . . decided that they would risk everything on one deep hole. And so passing through the shallow sand they drilled on and on—until their money was all gone. It is worth recording as an illustration of the narrow margin that sometimes lies between success and failure, to state that only 12 hours before the deep sand was struck Mr. Pryor, having exhausted his funds, tried in vain to mortgage his entire plant the work of ten years, for \$500. Finally a personal friend said to him, "Go ahead for twenty-four hours and I will pay the bills." Within those twenty-four hours **real gas was struck**, the plant which could not be mortgaged twenty-four hours earlier for \$500 was worth twenty times that sum and the transformation of Iola from a country village into a manufacturing city was assured.

But whatever the exact circumstance, the well was drilled in. It showed a rock pressure of 320 pounds and an open flow of three to four million cubic feet of gas per day. The Iola gas boom was on.

The news of the discovery spread rapidly, and in June, 1894, the Palmer Oil and Gas company of Fostoria, Ohio, sent representatives to Iola and leased several thousand acres of land. They proceeded at once to sink a number of wells, all of which produced from four to fourteen million cubic feet a day. The field developed steadily, finally measuring roughly eight miles long and four miles wide. In 1904, a new field was discovered a few miles to the north, about half way between Iola and Carlyle. Late in 1906 still a third field was developed lying to the west of the north field, and wells in this area were the biggest of all, many producing an open flow of around 20 million feet.

Here was gas in previously undreamed of volume. And the people who found it, having no experience to guide them, spent it without restraint, as if it would last forever. Indeed, many of them thought it might. Some "experts" of the day predicted the Iola fields would last "for hundreds of years to come." So down the primrose path they went, writing into history one of the most remarkable industrial booms ever experienced in Kansas.

Things really got going about 1896 when the Robert Lanyon Zinc Smelter No. 1 was induced to move to Iola through the offer of free gas. Other industries quickly followed, more smelters, cement plants, brick plants, and iron works, and various small manufacturing plants and service establishments, including such esoteric developments as an ice plant with a capacity of 18 tons a day and a modern steam laundry with a capacity of 100 shirts, 100 collars, and 100 pairs of cuffs every 50 minutes.



ABOVE IS A PHOTOGRAPH OF LANTON SMELTERS No. 1 AND No. 2 JUST NORTH OF IOLA AS THEY FLOURISHED IN 1908, THE HEIGHT OF THE ALLEN COUNTY GAS BOOM. ONLY ABANDONED FOUNDATIONS REMAIN TODAY, AS SHOWN IN LOWER PICTURE OF SAME AREA TAKEN IN 1945.



ABOVE IS A VIEW OF THE BUSINESS DISTRICT OF GAS, KAN., TAKEN ABOUT 1908. THE LOWER PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN FROM THE SAME POSITION IN 1945. THE TOWN STILL EXISTS BUT IS WHOLLY RESIDENTIAL, A SUBURB OF IOLA, TWO MILES WEST.

By 1898 Iola's 1,500 population had doubled and the town was straining at every seam. The *Iola Register* had become a daily newspaper, houses and store buildings were being built by the score, new factories and enterprises were flowering at every turn. Gas was at the heart of everything. The industries, according to the *Register* of September 1, 1898, "located here for the reason that they have been able to secure natural gas in unlimited quantities *absolutely free* through the enlightened generosity of the citizens of Iola." But the citizens were almost equally fortunate. The *Register* quoted the following standard charges:

For cook stove in private home, \$1.00 per month.

For heating stove in private home, \$1.00 a month during winter months only.

For Wellsbach burners, ten cents a month each for the first two lights, five cents a month each for all additional lights in the same house.

Stoves and lights could be burned 24 hours a day if desired. There was no metering, no limitation.

"Is there any other town on earth in this latitude," asked the *Register*, "where the fuel bill is reduced to so small a sum?" Indeed, there probably was not. Nor was there any other town willing to give it to factories without charge or just burn it up for fun if the occasion suggested itself.

Such an occasion was September 1, 1898, when Iola entertained an incredible 20,000 members of the Modern Woodmen of America from eastern Kansas at their annual "Log Rolling."

Those who came by Missouri Pacific from the east were greeted at LaHarpe, seven miles east of Iola, by "a great arch made of gas tubing and spelling in flaming letters the words, 'THERE ARE OTHERS,' spanning the principal street of the village, flaring torches in every door yard, and screaming whistles at the smelters."

At Iola, the celebration day opened at 10 A.M. with a salute blown on "a dozen . . . huge factory whistles, which require from 100 to 200 pounds of steam to blow," but which, for this occasion were connected to a 14-million-foot-a-day gas well. That was just a starter. The entire square had been surrounded with pipes with holes drilled in them at regular intervals. The well was connected to them also. When the gas was turned on and ignited, the park was surrounded by a wall of flames.

In addition, a "gas gun" the size of a huge cannon, was placed near the square. The tongue of flame issuing from this gun, under

the 320-pound direct pressure of the gas well, was 50 feet high and 20 feet in diameter.

Said the *Register*,

The gas consumed . . . valued on comparison with coal at the rate of \$2.25 a ton, is worth one dollar a minute. [But] it should be remembered that the whole display is made from one of about twenty similar wells in the Iola gas field, and that any number of additional wells of equal volume may be had when they are wanted. In the meantime, it is a nice plaything and Iola wastes it unregrettingly when occasion justifies it.

Iola continued to use and waste gas unregrettingly for the next ten years. It also continued to grow amazingly. By 1907 its claim to industrial pre-eminence in Kansas was undisputed. The boom was at its height.

Its nine smelters, one of them the largest in the United States, produced 60 percent of the nation's zinc spelter, 40 percent of the world's. It possessed the only zinc rolling mill and the only sulphuric acid plant west of the Mississippi river. The zinc industry centered in Allen county employed around 2,300 men with an annual payroll of \$1,500,000 and a capital investment of \$4,350,000. These last two figures would be at least quadrupled if translated into today's dollars.

Two cement plants were producing 10,000 barrels daily and four more were under construction. Three brick plants were operating with a daily output of 170,000 bricks. Brass and iron castings to the amount of 34,000 pounds were manufactured daily, sheet zinc to the amount of 450 tons monthly.

Iola's iron foundry was one of the largest in the west. One of its cement plants was the largest in the United States operating as a single unit. One of its smelters was the largest in the world with the single exception of the Ville Montaigne in Belgium. As a freight point, it ranked third among all cities on the Missouri Pacific system, handling 40,970 carloads of freight, in and out, during 1906.

The population of Iola was in excess of 14,000; that of the whole industrial area was around 20,000. Iola bank deposits totaled over 16 million dollars compared with half a million in 1900. There were 2,000 gas consumers and 1,200 telephones emanating from three separate exchanges, the Bell, the Home, and the Rural Exchange.

There was an electric railway system connecting the industrial complex and providing transportation for the workers. The main line, about eight miles long, served Iola and the little towns that had sprung up to the east: Lanionville, Melrose, LaGrange, Gas,

and LaHarpe. Spurs aggregating another two and a half miles took in Concreto and Bassett. The company used 14 cars, operated 24 hours a day, carried 40,000 to 60,000 passengers a month.

There was even an amusement area halfway between Iola and Gas called "Electric Park." It was a gay and sparkling affair, offering, according to advertisements of the day, "bowling, tennis, figure 8 roller coaster, laughing gallery, Japanese roller ball game, dancing pavilion, electric fountain, boating, bathing, water toboggan, zoo, clairvoyant, cafe, moving pictures, auditorium, and stock company." It collected admissions from as many as 250,000 people in a single summer.

This was the Iola of 1907, the town that gas built, the industrial metropolis of Kansas, the zinc smelting center of the world. No town in Kansas had grown so fast; none seemed to have so bright a future. Optimism was limitless. Wrote the editor of the *Register*:

Its countless millions of cubic feet of gas, and its hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil, [are] capable of being converted in the crucible of industry and capital into a magic wand that, touching the city, will add thousands upon thousands to its population, and millions upon millions to its wealth. It requires only the effort of its citizens, the mere setting of the hands to the task. . . . Faith is no longer a factor, the thing we know is this—that the future is an open book, and we have only to turn the pages, to unfold the story that is as easily a matter of common knowledge as history that is written and quite as much a matter of foregone conclusion.

There seemed to be plenty of basis for the optimism. The gas field at that time was probably the largest and strongest in the world. There were 308 producing wells with a combined capacity of 750 million cubic feet of gas every 24 hours. In addition, 13 new wells had been brought in between March 1 and April 15 of that year in the brand new field northwest of Iola. These 13 wells showed a combined open flow of 214 million cubic feet per day. One had showed the incredible output of 32 million feet per day. The limits of the new field were unknown. So here was a combined proved potential production of a billion cubic feet of gas per day with more wells coming in every month and no way of knowing how many entirely new producing areas might be discovered as the drills kept moving from one location to another.

An additional element of optimism lay in the fact that along with the development of gas immediately around the city of Iola, there had been important discoveries of oil near Humboldt. A refinery of substantial proportions had been built there. From 10,000 to 15,000 barrels a month were being produced. And it was the view

of the operator of this refinery, C. D. Webster, that if the gas ever did play out, oil could easily take its place. Webster was entitled to be considered an "expert" in those days. Here was what he wrote in a special by-lined story for the May 13 *Register* supplement:

The life of the Iola gas field has been variously estimated at from fifty to one hundred years by gas experts who have made the subject a study. There is no good reason, however, why Iola should concern herself to any considerable extent over this matter. In Allen county, in the vicinity of Humboldt, is one of the richest oil fields in all the West. . . . The field is capable of producing . . . a thousand barrels a day is a reasonable estimate. This oil lies at the door of Iola and could be piped to the city almost over night, and converted into fuel for the great manufacturing institutions located at Iola at a cost which would surprise those who are not familiar with the cheapness of fuel produced in this way.

I am firmly of the opinion that natural gas could be manufactured from Allen county oil at Iola, and sold to consumers at from five cents to six cents a thousand cubic feet. Figured on this basis, the fuel so produced would be a good deal less than one-fourth the cost of coal.

Oil converted into gas is a cheaper fuel than oil burned under boilers direct. . . . In Iola a six-inch pipe line from the Humboldt field, eight miles away, would bring the product to a gas plant at practically no cost after the first cost of installing the pipe line. And the Humboldt oil field is practically inexhaustible. The great lake of oil which underlies the field would make gas enough to run Iola manufacturing plants for generations. So Iola, even if its gas field were not good as the experts claim . . . has the oil field to fall back on. It absolutely solves the fuel problem of this county beyond any question.

In the light of today's knowledge, a statement like this is almost unbelievable. It is hard to tell which was more fantastic—the estimate that Iola's gas reserves would last 50 to 100 years or the "firm opinion" that gas could be manufactured from petroleum at a cost of five or six cents per thousand cubic feet. Both, however, are only a reflection of the lack of technical knowledge in these early days of oil and gas development. Oil technology was still in the kerosene stage. Gas technology in the matter of computing underground reserves simply didn't exist for the reason that this was the first exploitation of a major natural gas pool in history. No similar pool had previously been drained to exhaustion. There was no experience upon which to base even a plausible formula or theory.

So it is not too surprising, perhaps, that tragic miscalculations were made. After all, here was a measured potential flow of a billion cubic feet of gas a day from these holes that had been punched in the ground. Use was only 75 million cubic feet a day—

less than a hundredth part of the potential production. Such a ratio must, indeed, have suggested an almost illimitable supply. No one could have dreamed that two short years would see the beginning of the end of the fabulous gas bubble that even now was being stretched to the limit.

At least no one did. Late in this same year of 1907, the United Zinc and Chemical Company, with its sulphuric acid plant and three-block smelter, began construction of four additional blocks of a more permanent character than any they had theretofore built. Alas! These blocks had scarcely been completed when whispers of falling pressures throughout the gas field began to be heard. Within a year the whispers turned to shudders. Within two years the first smelter had closed for lack of fuel. By the end of 1910, six of the nine smelters in the area had shut down, including the four United Zinc blocks built only three years before.

The boom was over. The bubble had burst.

Of course not everything faded at once. Three smelters operated by the New Jersey Zinc Company managed to continue until the close of World War I in 1918. Another smelter, closed in 1910, was resuscitated in 1914 and it, too, was able to carry on until 1918. Of three brick factories operating in 1907, one closed in 1908, a second changed ownership and continued until 1940, the third, the Union Brick Company, is still operating today under the name of United Brick and Tile Co. and at the same location.

The Kansas Portland Cement Company operated at Concrete until 1914. The Iola Portland Cement Company became the Lehigh Portland and continues today as Iola's leading industry. The United Iron Works of 1907 also remains, in part at least, as the Walton Foundry of today, a small but prospering firm.

Thus the total liquidation of the boom was spread out over many years and there was even a considerable salvage in the end—enough to leave Iola a solid town of 7,000 today instead of the wayside village of 1,500 it might have remained if gas had never been discovered there at all.

But the death of its original dream of becoming the industrial metropolis of the state was swift and sure—as swift as the rush of gas through a smelter jet, and as sure as the emptying of a barrel of water when you turn it upside down. It happened in the two short years between 1908 and 1910. That's how long it took to discover that a pool of natural gas is not inexhaustible and that 300 wells will produce no more from it than 30—just drain it ten times as fast.

This is the end of my story about how natural gas came to Kansas, about its crawling infancy, its stumbling childhood, and its lusty, devastating adolescence. Because gas grew up in 1910; it learned the lesson of its delinquent youth; it put on the overalls of a man and went to work.

Today, natural gas wouldn't even recognize those overalls of 1910. It wears a full dress suit and a stovepipe hat. It has become one of the most respected and powerful members of a great industrial society, and it conducts itself with corresponding dignity and decorum.

Even so, it must occasionally look back with secret longing upon the ebullient days of its youth, because those were the days that wrote one of the most surprising chapters in early Kansas history.

An Indian Captivity and Its Legal Aftermath

ALAN W. FARLEY

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ALL along the course of the history of the American frontier the native Indian tribes were ready to kill and plunder those inquisitive pioneers who invaded or traversed their hunting domain, usually by taking advantage of some act of indecision or weakness of the migrant. The feeble failure of our national authority to regulate and suppress the tribes of the mountain and the plain, or to protect its adventurous and restless argonauts, is difficult for students of the welfare age to comprehend.

Neglect of the military establishment, remoteness of the trans-Mississippi frontier, the sentimental writers who spoke for the noble red man, and lack of a realistic policy by *all* departments of our government, contributed to making the lot of those who came into the power of the Indians extremely perilous. Often female captives were "taken for squaws" by the tribesmen but it was quite unusual for the Western Indians to take adult male captives. Men were almost invariably tortured until death became a sweet release. Women became the wives of their captors, a "fate worse than death." In *Massacres of the Mountains*, p. 429, the author, J. P. Dunn, Jr., referred to the "treatment that no white woman was ever known to escape at the hands of the plains Indians."

Many captive children seemed to adapt themselves readily to Indian ways, and their foster parents often became truly respected. But the principal passion of the nomadic tribes was to acquire the white man's horses and other useful equipment. So, by carnage, rape, and theft, a successful chief could travel the easy road to importance and wealth in the currency of the Plains.

In volume ten of our supreme court *Reports* is found one of the most fantastic cases in legal and literary history, and to the best of my information, it is unique in its setting, for the two principal parties had both been captives of the Sioux Indians, and the suit was concerned with the theft of a manuscript account of that captivity. This controversy was entitled "Fanny Kelly vs. Sarah L. Larimer," and had three hearings in the supreme court, Mrs. Kelly prevailing in the trial court and on every appeal, except the

ALAN W. FARLEY, an attorney of Kansas City, is a director of the Kansas State Historical Society. He is an outstanding authority on Western Americana.

first. I would like to review what I have learned about the case and its background.

In May, 1864, Fanny Kelly,¹ her husband, Josiah S. Kelly, her adopted daughter, and two Negro servants joined with others in emigrating from Geneva, Kan., to what is now Montana, then Idaho territory. While on the road a few weeks later, they met William J. Larimer and his wife, Sarah, whom they had known in Allen county. The Larimers left their larger train and joined the smaller party of which Mr. Kelly seems to have been the leader. They had the ordinary experiences of travelers on the Oregon trail along the Platte river up to Fort Laramie. On inquiry there, they learned that there had been no trouble with the Indians and so ventured on past Fort Laramie in a small group. All went well until they reached the Little Box Elder creek some 80 miles beyond Fort Laramie when suddenly the roof fell in.

In order to understand the conditions on the Plains in 1864, it must be remembered that in the summer of 1862, the hitherto friendly Sioux Indians on the frontier of Minnesota completely surprised the settlers and massacred great numbers, wiping out several settlements and all of the isolated cabins, even attacking Fort Ridgely. This treachery was severely punished by troops under Gen. Henry H. Sibley. The Indians were defeated and severely handled, and more than 300 captive women and children were restored to their families. Thirty-eight chiefs who were implicated in murders of the settlers were tried and hanged at Mankato, Minn. At the battles of Birch Coolie and Wood Lake the Sioux were defeated by the soldiers and their artillery, and more than 2,000 Indians hastened to throw themselves upon the mercy of those to whom they had shown no mercy. The remainder of the wily foe followed Chief Little Crow, fled to the Plains, and sought protection among the kindred tribes of the West. In 1863 these hostiles were driven far into Dakota and across the Missouri river, and warriors captured by the troops were treated with barbarity which matched even the Indian treatment of the settlers. So the Sioux tribes fled west across the Plains into the very region through which the Kelly-Larimer wagon train passed.

Both Mrs. Kelly and Mrs. Larimer wrote accounts of their experiences as I shall detail later. The two accounts agree in the general details of what occurred. In each book is an engraved picture of these women, and both must have been quite attractive. Mrs. Kelly was only 19 years of age at the time of her ordeal while

1. "Fanny" or "Fannie" Kelly. Mrs. Kelly signed her name both ways.



MRS. FANNY WIGGINS KELLY

1845-1904

A former resident of Geneva, Allen county, Mrs. Kelly was held captive by the Sioux Indians from July 12 to December 12, 1864.



MRS. SARAH LUSE LARIMER

Formerly a resident of Iola, Mrs. Larimer was also a captive of the Sioux, July 12-14, 1864. Both women were with the same westward-bound wagon train which the Indians attacked in present Wyoming.

Mrs. Larimer must have been considerably older, as her child was then eight years old. Mrs. Kelly's book is the much more interesting and reliable account of the events related here. It was in print for years and a Canadian edition was even published in 1880, containing explanatory notes not present elsewhere.

The 12th of July had been an extremely hot day and the little caravan of five wagons and 11 persons passed the telegraph station at Horse Shoe creek and toward evening approached the timber that skirted the Little Box Elder creek some 80 miles beyond Fort Laramie. Suddenly a large party of Indians appeared on the surrounding hills, discharged their guns into the air and raised a loud war whoop. The startled emigrants corraled their wagons and prepared to make the best defense they could. The two women appeared to have insisted on appeasement instead of defense and such policy was no more successful then than it is today. The Indians who were Ogallala Sioux first wanted to trade horses, then became bolder and asked for gifts and finally insisted that the emigrants fix their meal. While the emigrants were trying to prepare food for 250 hungry Indians, they were set upon and four of the men were shot outright. Mr. Kelly and Mr. Larimer escaped into the high grass and sagebrush along with one of the colored servants, Larimer having been wounded in the leg by an arrow.

Mrs. Kelly and her 5-year-old adopted daughter and Mrs. Larimer and her 8-year-old son were captured and taken away after the Indians had destroyed or appropriated everything in the wagons. A mile behind the Kelly train a single wagon was traveling along the trail accompanied by a man on horseback. The Indian chief sent a party to take this wagon, but by throwing out all of its contents the driver was able to turn around and fight off the raiders and escape to a larger train some eight miles east. The horseman was killed by the Indians while trying to protect the wagon. Kelly and his colored servant later also escaped to this larger wagon train which immediately made preparations for defense and was so alarmed that its leaders refused to do anything to rescue the captives. The next morning, proceeding cautiously along the trail, they found the Indians were gone, buried the mutilated corpses, and rescued Larimer who had hidden all night near the trail.

The Indians took their captives away on horseback, traveling northwesterly away from the trail, and with only short pauses rode

all night and most of the following day. Sometime during the first night, Mrs. Kelly set her small daughter down off the pony on which she was riding and told her to walk back to the emigrant road where she might have a chance to be rescued. Roving Indians soon located her alone on the prairie, and poor Mr. Kelly later found her body transfixed by many arrows and scalped. Mrs. Kelly also attempted to escape the same night. But the savages spread out in a long line, sweeping the country-side near the trail, and found her crouched in the brush.

The following night when the Indians had encamped for the first time, Mrs. Larimer, curiously enough, was able to steal out of the camp with her child, and after four days of wandering, in which they suffered severely from thirst and hunger—hiding by day and walking all night—they reached the emigrant trail near Deer Creek telegraph station where two companies of soldiers were camped, and where Mr. Larimer had been taken to recover from his wound. When her husband could travel again, she and her family returned to Fort Laramie and later eventually to Kansas. Her experiences are narrated in a book called *The Capture and Escape; or, Life Among the Sioux*. Her adventure occupies only a few pages of this book, the balance is simply "filler" and is devoted to experiences of other captives, accounts of life among the Indians and Indian customs. This book must not have sold well for today it is very scarce.

Mrs. Kelly had a much more thrilling story to tell, for she was among the Indians for five months. After the escape of Mrs. Larimer from the Indian band, Mrs. Kelly was very closely watched and suffered much from the cruel ingenuity of various Indians, escaping death narrowly many times. The Indian leader apparently claimed her as his property and saved her from death at the hands of the other savages on several occasions. She suffered greatly from the heat, from terrible beatings, and poor food. After nine days of hard travel the war party reached the Indian village on the Tongue river at a point in what is now southern Montana. Mrs. Kelly had narrowly escaped death as a consequence of throwing away the chief's pipe, which she was required to carry as part of a large load of Indian possessions. Here the savages decked themselves in all of the clothing they had stolen from the emigrants, and made their usual triumphal entry into the village where the trophies and scalps were displayed in a course of scalp dances and dog feasts. The war chief, Ottawa, or Silver Horn,

who claimed Mrs. Kelly, turned her over to the women of his wigwam where some kindness was shown by his squaws.

In the summer of 1864 an army under the command of Gen. Alfred Sully campaigned against the hostile Indians of Dakota and at the same time escorted a large party of emigrants to Idaho. This army built Fort Rice as a base in central Dakota on the Missouri. As the soldiers proceeded westward scouts brought word that the hostile tribes were concentrated in Deer Woods. Leaving the emigrants entrenched and under guard and following a rapid march, Sully surprised the Sioux camp on July 27 and destroyed it. Some accounts call this action the battle of Killdeer Mountain. Fanny Kelly was in the Indian camp, but her captors got her away just before the assault. On August 8, the fighting men of the whole Dakota nation disputed the passage of Sully's army near the Bad Lands. Many were wild tribesmen who had seen little of the white men but all were routed by the cannon fire of the soldiers, who pursued the band to which Mrs. Kelly belonged beyond the Yellowstone river.

The attack and pursuit had cost the Indians all of their stores of food and equipment and drove them into country where game was scarce. Mrs. Kelly said the whole tribe almost starved in the weeks to follow. Some tried to take revenge on the captive for their misfortunes but the old chief, Ottawa, intervened to save her.

Mrs. Kelly wrote that she was to become the wife of the old chief as soon as he recovered from a wound, but that he never got well enough for the ceremony while she was with the Ogallalas. The Indians seem to have been charmed by Fanny Kelly's beautiful singing just as on many other crucial occasions savages have responded to musical talent. Perhaps this is a reason she was never "taken as a squaw," for she always insisted she was not dishonored. On September 5, the warriors went to battle against an emigrant caravan crossing Dakota under the direction of Capt. James Liberty Fisk, which they attacked some 200 miles west of Fort Rice.

This large train consisted of almost 200 men, women, and children in 88 carts and wagons, and was accompanied by a guard of 50 troopers. It started from Fort Ridgely, Minn., journeyed west through Dakota territory a few weeks after General Sully's army had crossed the country ahead of them.

The danger of Indian attack was fully anticipated and the party traveled in a military fashion, believing the size of the expedition sufficient to overcome any threat. As they were about to enter

the badlands of western North Dakota, hostiles were observed, and shortly thereafter while crossing a small but steep ravine, one of the wagons upset. The rear guard and another wagon were left about a half mile behind the rest of the train when the Indians struck. This small guard was wiped out and the two wagons were captured, a great windfall to the tribesmen, they being loaded with tobacco, whisky, and ammunition. The main body of the wagon train proceeded a short way and corraled, digging entrenchments around the wagons.

After several attacks by drunken Indians smoking cigars had been repelled a white woman was discerned among the Indians on one of the near-by hills. This was Fanny Kelly with her captors, and they left a message in a forked stick written by the captive which the emigrants later brought in. In it the Indians demanded provisions as the price for allowing the wagon train to proceed. Mrs. Kelly was able also to inform Captain Fisk that she was with the Indians as a captive, begged him to secure her release, and warned him of their treachery. Captain Fisk refused to appease the Indians but did offer three horses and some provisions as a ransom for Mrs. Kelly. Several messages were exchanged but the Indians finally moved away, taking Mrs. Kelly with them.

The wagon train was eventually rescued by 500 troops from Fort Rice and was brought back to the fort under escort. This was the end of Captain Fisk's expedition of 1864.

It is almost impossible to reconcile the two narratives of the rescue of Mrs. Kelly. In 1908 Doane Robinson had an interview with a Blackfoot Sioux Indian, then 77 years of age, named "Crawler." Crawler insisted that he had been employed by Maj. A. E. House, commander at Fort Sully, to rescue Mrs. Kelly. According to his story, he went to the camp where Mrs. Kelly was held and forcibly took her away, leaving several horses to salve the feelings of her former owner. Mrs. Kelly, whose account is much more reasonable, says that she was sold by her owner to the Blackfeet Sioux, who planned to use her as a decoy to get into the fort, and she recounts hearing a speech by the chief who purchased her, planning the capture of Fort Sully. She also claimed to have warned the commander and saved the fort. At any rate, the Blackfeet brought her to Fort Sully, she was conducted into the fort, the gates shut, and then she was forcibly taken away from her captors under the rifles of the soldiers.

It seems to me that Mrs. Kelly's book is the more valid account of her rescue. She reproduced the testimony of an officer at the

fort and a number of soldiers stationed there, all of whom attest to the accuracy of her narrative. One said that the day Mrs. Kelly was brought into the fort was the coldest he had ever experienced. That she was very poorly clad and her limbs, hands, and face were terribly frozen and that she was confined to the Fort Sully Hospital for nearly two months for treatment. Other officers and members of the Sixth Iowa cavalry said that the Indians came up to the fort in war paint and singing their war songs, but that as soon as Mrs. Kelly was within the gates of the fort, all of the Indians, save those who had her directly in charge, were shut outside the fort and that their understanding was that Mrs. Kelly occasioned such preparations as saved the fort from capture.

During her captivity Mr. Kelly had sent many messengers with money and horses to ransom his wife and apparently had done all that an anxious husband could do to rescue her, one Indian coming into her camp well equipped with horses, even having her husband's Bible in his possession as a mark of identification to show that he was authorized to bring her away. She said he made no real attempt to secure her release. When Mrs. Kelly was finally released, her husband was at Fort Leavenworth trying to raise an independent company to invade the Indian country; there he received word of her arrival at Fort Sully, and it was a very short interval before they were reunited and started to their former home in Allen county.

Fort Sully was on the Missouri river some 300 miles from Sioux City, and at Yankton, Sioux City, Council Bluffs, and St. Joe, crowds of visitors flocked in to see the white woman who had been a captive of the Indians. The Kellys returned to Geneva then moved on west to Ellsworth where they operated a rooming house until Mr. Kelly fell a victim of the cholera, on July 28, 1867. Mrs. Kelly was also seriously ill, but recovered and eventually accepted an invitation of the Larimer family to share the home in Cheyenne where Mr. Larimer was a photographer. After remaining in Wyoming a year, Mrs. Kelly went to Washington to urge a claim from the government for restitution of her loss in the attack on the emigrant train, for her service in attempting to save the Fisk expedition in Dakota and for warning Fort Sully. The Kansas State Historical Society has a photostatic copy of Mrs. Kelly's petition. The narrative was presented to the government in furtherance of her claim, which was allowed April 12, 1870.

In October, 1870, Fanny Kelly commenced a suit against Sarah Larimer and W. J. Larimer in the district court of Allen

county. Mrs. Kelly related the experiences of her captivity and alleged that in December, 1865, she and Mrs. Larimer agreed to prepare a joint memoir of their experiences in captivity and publish the same with the names of both appearing as the authors. She stated that in May, 1869, when the narrative was nearly completed, Mrs. Larimer secretly took the manuscript to Philadelphia and there had it published in her own name, as her own work, thereby depriving Mrs. Kelly of the credit and reputation of such authorship and of her share of the profits of such publication and that Mr. Larimer conspired with Mrs. Larimer in thus defrauding her. At the first trial Mrs. Kelly recovered a judgment for \$5,000. On appeal the court held that the amount of damages for breach of the contract as shown in the petition should be one half of the value of the manuscript at the time it was taken by Mrs. Larimer.

The second appeal concerned procedural matter with regard to a demurrer to the reply of Mrs. Kelly in the trial court. The supreme court affirmed the overruling of this demurrer.

The third appeal disclosed that upon trial in the Woodson district court, where the case had been taken on a change of venue, Mrs. Kelly recovered a judgment for \$285.50. This judgment was attacked on the ground that one of the jurors had become sick, and the court allowed the jury to separate and go home until the next morning, after the case had been submitted. The following morning one of the jurors took a drink of intoxicating liquor. After the court had convened the jury again retired and later returned a verdict in favor of the plaintiff for \$285.50. This appeal was based on the ground that the particular juror who had imbibed was therefore disqualified as a jurymen and that the verdict should be set aside. The supreme court failed to sustain this contention so the judgment for \$285.50 was finally fixed as the measure of damage to Mrs. Kelly for the loss of her manuscript.

This case was bitterly contested from start to finish and witnesses were examined by the score. The court costs were enormous for that day, amounting to almost \$2,000 so that the loss of the case carried with it the terrific burden of paying these costs.

The court files in this case have recently been discovered in the courthouse at Ottawa. The file contains a number of affidavits that recount Mrs. Larimer's experiences in publishing her book. From the various depositions, it appears that a book by Mrs. Larimer entitled, *Mrs. Kelly's Experiences Among the Indians* was prepared by Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, a publishing firm of Philadelphia, was actually printed but never bound and apparently

all copies were destroyed. If a copy should turn up, it would certainly be a book collector's gem.

Helen Hosmer, of Philadelphia, deposed that the greater part of Mrs. Larimer's manuscript was rewritten by her mother, Margaret Hosmer, who wrote for the Presbyterian Board of Missions. Inspection of Mrs. Larimer's book bears out this fact, for it reads like a Sunday School tract, full of religious platitudes and expressions. A Willis P. Hazard, manager for Porter & Coates, publishers, testified that he recommended Mrs. Hosmer to Mrs. Larimer, and advised her to have her manuscript entirely rewritten and prepared for the press, also that the published work met with indifferent success.

Edmond D. Bensell told about preparing the designs for pictures in the book at the instruction of Mrs. Hosmer. J. L. Campbell, of Iola, disclosed that he kept a hotel at Sherman Station, Wyo., where Mrs. Larimer was writing on some manuscript. Mrs. Kelly at that time told him that she had written all she could remember and sent her story to Washington, trying to get a claim from the government. That in May, 1869, Mrs. Kelly told him that Mrs. Larimer had her manuscript and was ready to go east and have it published. That Mrs. Larimer wanted to go in partnership with her in this publication. Jonathan E. Luse, brother of Mrs. Larimer, and a law student, testified that he knew Mrs. Kelly at Sherman Station, Wyo., where she was a washerwoman. That he had done some work on the manuscript, making corrections and suggestions. That Mr. Larimer owned a saloon at Cheyenne, but did not keep it.

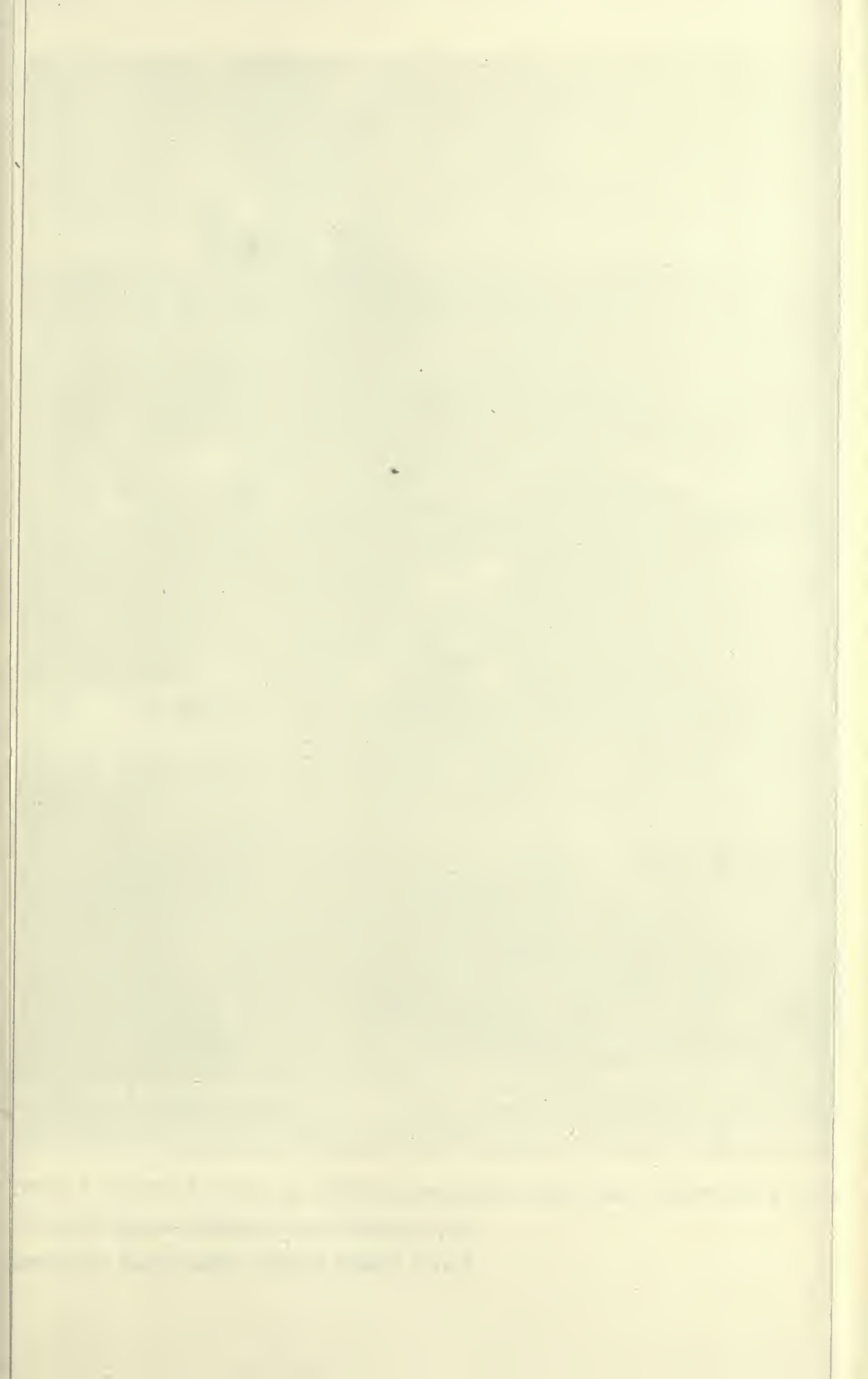
A. E. House, the commanding officer at Fort Sully during November and December, 1864, deposed that he received information from Mrs. Kelly to tell him that hostile Indians with whom she stayed contemplated making an attack on Fort Sully. In answer to a question, he stated that he made no arrangement or preparation for defense of the fort in consequence of this information, for it was his duty at all times to be prepared for attack and he was so prepared.

The final chapter in this case indicates that a settlement was arranged between the parties, for on August 29, 1876, the case was dismissed at plaintiff's costs. Considerable effort was made to recover these court costs which had become the principal item of damage, but the files disclose that they were never paid.

On December 17, 1904, the *Iola Register* published an account of the death of Mrs. Kelly the preceding week at Washington,

D. C. Although this account has many inaccuracies concerning the captivity, we learn that Mrs. Kelly still owned the old homestead in Allen county near Geneva, had been in Iola the previous fall looking after her property, that Mrs. Kelly had been given a place in the government service at Washington, had invested her money wisely, and was a very wealthy woman at the time of her death. It also stated that Mrs. Larimer was then still living in Oklahoma.

One of the humorous sidelights of this lawsuit is disclosed by a county history which refers to the case and tells that W. J. Larimer was moved by his long association with litigation to study law and be admitted to the bar as a result of his experiences in contesting Mrs. Kelly's case.



Joseph Becker's Sketch of the Gettysburg Ceremony, November 19, 1863

ROBERT TAFT

CONSIDERING the enormous interest and research in the life of Abraham Lincoln, and especially in the ceremony at Gettysburg on November 19, 1863, it is astonishing that but little use has been made of Joseph Becker's illustration of the Gettysburg ceremony that appeared as a double-page spread in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, New York, for December 5, 1863.

For example, the illustration has not been used in any of the 14 studies or accounts of the Gettysburg address, a number of them of book length, listed by Robert Fortenbaugh in his very useful study published in 1949.¹ Although the writer has by no means examined all of the 3,958 items listed in the exhaustive Lincoln bibliography prepared by Jay Monaghan,² he has looked at a considerable number and has found no use made of the Becker illustration in those he has examined.

No doubt part of this neglect arises from the fact that Becker's illustration is a bird's-eye view of the complete scene made at some distance from the speaker's stand. Individual figures are therefore either very small or merely suggested by the artist and as a result neither Lincoln nor any other figure on the speakers' stand is distinguishable. Nevertheless the illustration of one of the classic events in American cultural history is of very real interest as it is perhaps the only picture record of its kind. Photographs were made of the event but these either have not survived or, as is the case of a number of the Brady photographs, were so poor that they are nearly valueless as illustrations.³ Under these conditions, therefore,

DR. ROBERT TAFT, of Lawrence, author and historian, is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas and editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*. He is currently finishing a new illustrated history of the University of Kansas, soon to be off the press.

1. Robert Fortenbaugh, *Lincoln and Gettysburg* (Gettysburg, 1949), p. 30.

2. Jay Monaghan, *Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939* (Springfield, Ill., 1943), vols. 31 and 32 of *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Springfield.

3. Josephine Cobb, chief of the still picture section, National Archives, wrote me in part under date of December 8, 1954: "None of the photographs of the crowd [italics are the writer's] in the Brady Collection are good enough to be copied." Two of them have been reproduced in Francis T. Miller's *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York, 1912), v. 9, p. 255. Other Brady photographs of Gettysburg are referred to later in the text. That photographers were present, other than Brady, is recorded in various newspaper reports of the ceremony. For example, the correspondent of the *Daily Morning Chronicle*, Washington, D. C., November 21, 1863, p. 1, wrote that "a daguerreotypist [i.e., photographer] placed at the outskirts of the main crowd, by the aid of the softly-glowing, hazy sun, endeavors to snatch and forever preserve the animated foreground, rich in eminent citizens." The photographer may have been Brady who was apparently present if we may believe the negative records of the National Archives (see Footnotes 8 and 10) or perhaps the Tyson Brothers of Gettysburg. I have not been able to prove that the Tysons made photographs of the events of November 19, 1863, but it seems that they almost surely would have been present. The Tysons made and offered for sale a number of photographs taken right after the Battle of Gettysburg in July, 1863 (see *Adams Sentinel and General Advertiser*, Gettysburg, Pa., August 11, 1863, p. 2), and as the ceremony was attended by Lincoln, and thousands of others, the enterprise of the firm would certainly have suggested recording this event photographically. Perhaps the comment made by the *Chronicle* reporter given above that there was a "hazy sun" explains the paucity of photographs of the ceremony; there just wasn't enough light to secure good photographs by slow speed wet-plate photography.

the Becker illustration becomes of especial value and a considerable study of its authenticity has therefore been made.

The illustration as reproduced in *Leslie's* measures 6½ by 20½ inches; these awkward proportions are probably another reason why the illustration has not been used extensively since it was originally published. It is the main (and center) illustration of a two-page spread, three smaller illustrations appearing above it and three below. These six additional illustrations are: "Union Sold. Graves"; "Gettysburg, Pa." (i. e. the town seen from the cemetery); "Rebel Graves"; "[General] Meade's Headquarters"; "Round Top Mountain"; "Union Graves."

The legend below these illustrations reads: "From sketches by our special artist, Joseph Becker." In the text which accompanied the illustrations, the statement is made: "Of this interesting ceremony we present several sketches, that the whole country may in spirit be present at it."⁴ From this statement and the fact that the illustrations were credited to the *special* artist, there is reasonably good evidence that Becker was actually present at the scene on November 19, 1863. Many times during this period, *Leslie's* did not credit illustrations, and occasionally when credit is given in the pictorial journals of the 1860's, it can be shown that the artist redrew the scene depicted from photographs or from the sketches of others. There is, however, no direct statement, other than reference to *special artist*, that Becker was present. Becker in reminiscences of his career published in 1905 does not mention the Gettysburg ceremony but stated that he was in the field as an artist for *Leslie's* beginning with the Battle of Gettysburg (in July, 1863).⁵

Becker at the time he began his field career for *Leslie's* was a young man 21 years of age. He later achieved a considerable reputation for a group of excellent illustrations made on a Western trip in 1869 and still later he became head of the *Leslie* publications art department.⁶ As far as I have been able to determine, he was a competent and reliable observer.

In the absence of direct proof, however, that Becker was actually present we must judge the considerable evidence presented in the

4. *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 5, 1863, p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*, December 14, 1905, p. 570. We have prepared a list of 62 additional Civil War illustrations, credited to Joseph Becker, which appeared in vols. 18-20 (1864-1865) inclusive of *ibid.* With one or two exceptions Becker is cited in these illustrations as "special artist" and in most cases there can be little doubt but that Becker was actually an eyewitness of the scene depicted.

6. See the biographical account cited in Footnote 5 and my book *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West* (New York, 1953), pp. 89-93, and the notes cited.

Becker illustration of the ceremony itself.⁷ For this purpose a trip was made to Gettysburg, where I was present at the observance of the 91st anniversary of the Gettysburg address.

With a copy of the Becker illustration before us, Dr. Frederick Tilberg, historian of the National Park Service at Gettysburg, and I compared the illustration with the view that was available on the morning of November 19, 1954. The view was obviously sketched from East Cemetery Hill not far from the large equestrian statue of Gen. O. O. Howard. The view seen in the Becker illustration looks west from East Cemetery Hill. The large arched structure (left of center) is (and was) the entrance to Evergreen Cemetery, the local (citizens') cemetery. The Soldiers National Cemetery lies to the right of the arch and the two cemeteries are now separated by an iron fence which extends south and west from (about) the large tree appearing just to the left of center of the illustration.

At the present time, the Baltimore Turnpike (U. S. 140) runs northwest and southeast about 25 or 30 feet in front of the arch. The arch itself still stands but an addition has been built on its north side (i. e., on the side to the right of the observer). The arch proper appears (in 1954) much as it does in the illustration. The four upper windows have arched tops (as in the illustration), and the four lower windows are rectangular in form (as in the illustration). The ornament on the center of the arch appears as it does in the illustration. To the right of the arch in the illustration, appears a small frame building, probably an "arbor." Although the arbor no longer exists, a contemporary Brady photograph in the National Archives (B-5060) shows a close-up of the arch much as Becker depicted it, with an arbor similar to that shown by Becker.⁸

Very nearly in the center of the illustration appears the stand from which Lincoln and Everett spoke. The stand is properly located by Becker in relation to the other features of the Becker illus-

7. In 1905, Becker stated that he had a number of his original Civil War sketches in his possession. I have made extended effort at various times in the past ten years to locate some descendant of Becker in the hope that these original sketches, including that of the Gettysburg ceremony, could still be found. My efforts in this direction have, however, been so far without success. The New York Public Library possesses an album of original Civil War sketches by artists of the Frank Leslie publications but the Becker sketch of the Gettysburg ceremony, the library recently wrote me, is not among them.

8. The National Archives has supplied me with a print made from this negative (B-5060). Another print was also supplied by the National Archives from negative CN-1809. This print also shows the arch although it was taken at a greater distance from the arch than B-5060. According to the records of the National Archives, negative CN-1809 was made by T. H. O'Sullivan in July, 1863, and was copyrighted in 1865 by Alexander Gardner. The two photographs (B-5060 and CN-1809), although showing slight differences in detail, are essentially in agreement. CN-1809 has been reproduced in Frederick Tilberg, *Gettysburg National Military Park* (National Park Service Handbook, Washington, 1952) p. 13.

tration. The site of the stand from which Lincoln spoke is now marked by the National Monument in the Soldiers National Cemetery (the monument was erected during the years 1865 to 1869 and was dedicated July 1, 1869).⁹

To the right of the speaker's stand (nearly across the square formed by spectators) appears a very tall flagpole. The pole appears in a contemporary Brady photograph (B-4975) and was reported in a local newspaper as erected for the ceremony on November 16, 1863.¹⁰

Dr. Tilberg believes that Becker's flagpole is out-of-proportion (too tall) in the illustration. There appears to be no information on the height of the pole, but a flagpole raised for the ceremonies of November 19, 1863, on the town square of Gettysburg had a reported height of 100 feet.¹¹ This height would be considerable and if the pole at the National Cemetery were of equal height it would be a prominent landmark. It does seem probable, however, that Becker had represented the flagpole somewhat out of proportion with respect to the other features of the illustration. Dr. Tilberg believes also that the soldiers graves shown on the extreme right (center) have been depicted too far to the right. Becker may have

9. Fortenbaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 15, and Tilberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 36.

10. A print of B-4975 was furnished me by the National Archives as well as a print of SC-114820. The pole appears in both photographs; considerably more than half of the pole in B-4975 and all of it in SC-114820. (SC-114820 was reproduced in part in F. T. Miller, *The Photographic History of the Civil War* [New York, 1911], v. 9, p. 255. Not all the flagpole is shown in the reproduction. In this picture the spectator is looking east, rather than west as in the Becker illustration, and the flagpole therefore appears to the left of the observer.) Oddly enough neither photograph indicates the presence of a flag. Josephine Cobb, of the National Archives, wrote me under date of January 21, 1955, that the flag "was half-masted and draped in mourning ribbons," but did not cite her source of information on this point. Neither of the above photographs and the Becker illustration would support such a statement. It is, of course, possible that the photographs were taken before the flag was raised and it may also be that the flag was allowed to fly free for a time. Unlike photographs which would require only a few seconds to make, Becker must have put in considerable time in making his sketch, especially when one considers the wealth of detail shown. It is also possible, of course, that the flag was half-masted during the ceremony and Becker chose to represent it flying free.

Miss Cobb has made an extended study of photograph B-4975 and from enlargements made from the original negative (whole plate size) has identified Governors Andrew Curtin of Pennsylvania and David Tod of Ohio. Miss Cobb has also made tentative identification of Lincoln (see General Services Administration, Washington, Press Release for Thursday morning, February 12, 1953, GSA-199). Tilberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 40, reproduced another photographic view said to represent the Gettysburg ceremony which was credited to Bachrach. Miss Cobb, however, reports that the Bachrach copy is probably a view of a different and later occasion than the Gettysburg address. Perhaps the Bachrach copy may be of the dedication of the National Monument on July 1, 1869. The point certainly needs further study.

Dr. Tilberg of the National Park Service at Gettysburg has supplied me with a photograph which bears the legend "353—Soldiers National Monument in course of erection." Dr. Tilberg thinks it probable that the photograph was made by Tyson Brothers of Gettysburg. From its legend and the nearness of completion of the monument, it was probably taken about 1868. The important feature of this photograph for our purpose, however, is the fact that it shows a very tall flagpole standing to the right and behind the monument, which would correspond to the location of the flagpole in the Becker illustration. It seems probable that the flagpole of 1863 was still standing in 1868.

Mention of the flagpole at the National Cemetery will be found in the local (i. e., Gettysburg) newspaper, *Adams Sentinel and General Advertiser*, November 17, 1863, p. 2. I am indebted to Editor Paul Roy of the *Gettysburg Times* for permission to examine his office file of the *Sentinel*.

11. *Adams Sentinel*, Gettysburg, November 17, 1863; *Gettysburg Compiler*, November 16, 1863. The *Compiler*, also in the office of the *Gettysburg Times*, was kindly examined for me by Prof. Robert Fortenbaugh of Gettysburg College.

purposely distorted this portion of the picture in order to represent clearly the graves, as no doubt the crowd of observers present would have obscured the view of the graves. It is to be observed, however, that the reburial of soldiers who fell during the Battle of Gettysburg was far from complete at the time of the dedication ceremony.

To the left of the arch, appear gravestones in Evergreen Cemetery. Two of the gravestones in the illustration are taller and more prominent than the others. A close-up examination of the gravestones in 1954 shows that Becker may have represented stones still standing. The large stone farthest to the left may have been the McClellan family marker. In the illustration (if the assumption concerning the marker is correct) the McClellan family plot is fenced in. At present, this plot is not fenced but stones outline the plot in much the same manner as the fence depicted in the Becker illustration. The large monument to the right (and rear) of the McClellan marker and to the left of the arch was perhaps the McPherson family marker which still stands in 1954. A less likely possibility is that it was (and is) the Winrott family marker.¹²

The line of trees and slight elevation that runs north and south (i. e., horizontally) through the center of the entire illustration depicts correctly Seminary Ridge, which during the Battle of Gettysburg, in July, 1863, was the main Confederate battle line. It would be about three-quarters of a mile from the point where Becker made his sketch (East Cemetery Hill). In the background of the illustration appear South Mountains (about eight miles distant), the outlines of which correspond approximately with those observable on a clear day in 1954. The Becker illustration also shows, it will be noted, a number of trees still retaining their foliage in mid-November. Residents of Gettysburg have informed me that fall weather in southern Pennsylvania varies considerably from year to year. I did notice on my visit to Gettysburg on November 19, 1954, a number of trees in the National Cemetery that still retained their foliage although the leaves were rapidly falling and the brilliant coloring of the leaves had given way to various shades of brown.

12. Dr. Frederick Tilberg of Gettysburg very kindly sought information on the three markers mentioned in the text above. He has examined the records of Evergreen Cemetery and he also consulted a great grandson of the McPherson family. Dr. Tilberg wrote me: "I have found that John Bayard McPherson bought four lots in 1856 in the location where we examined [on November 19, 1954] the McPherson plot. John B. McPherson died January 4, 1859. The great grandson does not know when the monument was erected. Since a shaft appears rather prominently in the [proper] location in the Becker sketch, it is possible that the shaft in the Becker sketch is the McPherson monument and that it was erected sometime between the death of John B. McPherson in 1859 and the time the sketch was made late in 1863. I have been unable to obtain definite information concerning the McClellan plot or the Winrott plot, beyond the date of purchase which was also in 1856."

Newspaper accounts of the events of November 19, 1863, also furnish other details which are of use in studying the Becker illustration. The illustration, it can be seen, shows that the crowds of people were not all congregated about the speakers stand. Reporters, also, made note of scattered crowds. "Crowds, unable to hear the prayers and speeches wandered in every direction over the battle-ground," wrote a reporter for the *Philadelphia Press* and similar comment was made by the reporter for the *Washington Chronicle*: "Around, far off, scattered over the landscape, were crowds of people who, despairing of a near approach to the stand, the centre of interest, were satisfying the curiosity and enjoying the scene apparently apart from it."¹³

The *Chronicle* reporter was particularly observant of detail in that classic event of 91 years ago and he made two additional observations that are especially pertinent in our study of the Becker illustration. It will be noted in the illustration that the observers form a square in front of the speaker's stand. The *Chronicle* reporter stated: "The crowd upon the ground were kept in the form of a hollow square, within which while these things were proceeding, the procession had filed and the various companies forming it had taken up a position around the platform, while those who had tickets took their seats upon it [the platform]."

Examination of the Becker illustration also shows a number of tables among the nearer crowds (right-foreground and in front of the arch). The *Chronicle* reporter observed ". . . little tables set out with relics, for sale, of the terrible struggle, in the form of bullets and every kind of projectile, as well as fragments of shells . . ." ¹⁴ No doubt, too, at some of the tables the good ladies of Gettysburg churches sold food to the hungry throng, as the eating houses of Gettysburg could not hope to cope with the crowd of 15,000 to 20,000 reported to have been present.

As a result of this study, the agreement in general outline as well as in many details of the sketch with those recorded by other methods contemporary with the day (i. e., by newspaper reports and by photographs), the agreement furnished by comparing the sketch with features still observable today, we may conclude that the Becker illustration is a reasonably correct transcription of the

13. *Philadelphia Press*, November 21, 1863, p. 2; *Daily Morning Chronicle*, November 21, 1863, p. 1.

14. Both the quotations in the text above are from the *Daily Chronicle*, Washington, November 21, 1863, p. 1. It should be said that the *Chronicle* reporter observed the tables (upon which were displayed and offered for sale relics of the battle) on the streets of Gettysburg, but if there were tables along Gettysburg streets there surely must have been similar tables where the concentration of crowds was greatest.

Gettysburg ceremony of November 19, 1863. It may be, perhaps, the best record of all in our attempts to brush away the veil of years and recreate again the general scene which attended one of the most notable events in the life of one of our most notable and best-loved Americans.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the course of this study I have become indebted for aid and for courtesies extended both in my visit to Gettysburg and in subsequent correspondence to Dr. Frederick Tilberg of the National Park Service and to Prof. Robert Fortenbaugh of Gettysburg College. Their kindness is hereby acknowledged with sincere thanks. Thanks should be extended to Josephine Cobb of the U. S. National Archives for her time and patience in consulting notes and records of the Gettysburg ceremony. I am also indebted to a grant from the General Research Fund of the University of Kansas which made this detailed study possible.

Notes on the Writing of General Histories of Kansas

JAMES C. MALIN

PART TWO: J. N. HOLLOWAY, *History of Kansas* (1868)

INTRODUCTION

DOES Kansas history have a structure? If so, what is it? How and why did it take shape? The answers to these questions are not easy or simple. John Nelson Holloway (1839-1887), who wrote the first book that could qualify strictly as a history of Kansas, found himself under the necessity of formulating some kind of an answer.

Local history always presents to a prospective author some rather special problems. Because it is local history, certain presumptions are inherent; a limited market, and the probability that no established publishing house exists in the area that could or would assume the responsibility for publication. Even if a publisher were available, who would control what went into the book, the publishing organization, whatever its form, or the author? In any case, could the potential market for a local history be enlarged by tying it into a framework larger than the locality immediately concerned? But before Holloway's personal response to his problems can be considered, the man himself must be introduced.

HOLLOWAY, THE MAN

Holloway left a manuscript journal covering a part of his career. It would scarcely qualify as a diary, because the entries were intermittent, beginning May 1, 1861, with intervals between entries, sometimes of many months, filled in briefly from memory.¹ His declaration of purpose in keeping the record is revealing. Almost through college, he felt called to the ministry: "I want to live for heaven. . . . Life is transient. . . . I want to accomplish some good in the world, and will strive to if my life is spared." His sense of sin might be described, almost, if not quite, as a morbid obsession, and the diary he set out to keep was de-

DR. JAMES C. MALIN, associate editor of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, is professor of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

1. A biographical sketch by a grandson, George Whittier Johnston, reproduced parts of the journal, *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. 13 (1913-1914), pp. 80-90. The original journal is owned by the Kansas State Historical Society.

signed as an instrument for the self-discipline of which he felt so much in need.

He taught school and lectured to finance his education and undertook, unsuccessfully, to establish himself in his chosen profession. In the entry of January 1, 1866, written at South Bend, Ind., he summarized what had happened since the previous entry of April 15, 1865. The presiding elder of his district had told him that he would not be assigned and gave as the reason that his sermon delivery was not satisfactory. The verdict was demoralizing, and he recorded candidly: "From that time to this I have never been able to preach a bit." During the following months he finally accepted the conclusion that for some five years he had mistaken the call to preach.

At Centralia Ill., as superintendent of schools, December 30, 1870, Holloway recorded another landmark in his personal development:

I am greatly changed from what I was four years ago. I am no longer anxious about my future success. I expect to be an unknown man while I live and hence am not so solicitous about becoming distinguished. I am seeking now to pass life off pleasantly, to repair as far I can (easily), the errors of the past, but am constrained to yield quietly to the drift of events and cheerfully adapt myself to circumstances.

In respect to religion I am very much changed. I once was settled and established in the orthodox faith; but now I am somewhat unsettled. I once thought I enjoyed religion, but I am quite sure I do not now and am disposed to doubt the religion I once had. I feel that I am drifting in opinion towards Deism. It does seem to me if ever any one wanted [to] be a *good christian* in word and deed it was I in my earlier years. Yet I know of none who have [*sic*] made so *great a failure*. I am not now trying to live conscientious[ly?] and I believe I have succeed[ed] in living nearer correct than I used to. Still I have not abandoned altogether the faith of my boyhood and would never have doubted it but it seemed first to fail me.

In September, 1866, or during the interval between these entries of 1866 and 1870, Holloway came to Kansas and found employment as principal of the public schools at Ottawa. In orienting himself in his new environment, he inquired about a history of Kansas and was met with the reply that there was none, but somebody should write one: "I continued to muse the idea," he wrote April 15, 1868, "to examine the features of Kansas history, whether such a book would pay, and especially whether I could succeed in writing and publishing such a book. I finally decided, as my way in other directions seemed hedged up to make the attempt and run the risk."

And thus Holloway was off on a fresh venture before having proved himself in his new position at Ottawa. He had arrived in Kansas late in September, alone, and about eight weeks after establishing himself at Ottawa, sent for his family, in the meantime building a house. Thus the Holloways were scarcely settled in their new home in December when he resigned, effective with the termination of the fall term of school before the Christmas holidays.²

In his journal entry of February 16, 1867, written at Topeka, Holloway brought his story to date:

In three weeks at the close of the term I concluded to write a history of this state. So I came up here and spent two weeks gathering material. I found that most of my time for the next year or two would be spent here so I determined to move my family up. In one week more we are all here in the basement of a house—a very pleasant place. For two weeks now I am hard at work gathering material for my history.

He began the actual writing about June 1, and finished about October 1, of the same year, completing ten to fifteen pages of original matter per day. The elapsed time from January 1, to October 1, was nine months, a remarkable record of accomplishment. But there had been interruptions. According to his journal entry of April 15, 1868, he had \$25.00 when he began. He had taken time out to move his family, he had spent five weeks in the vicinity of Lexington, Mo., trying to sell life insurance but did not make expenses. He financed his year with money borrowed from members of his family and by mortgaging his Ottawa home. Other time out must be allowed for travel necessary for interviews with old settlers, and search for materials in Leavenworth, Atchison, and Lawrence. But he was a vigorous young man of 28, more than six-feet-two and broadening with age.

Publication and sale were his next problems. After correspondence with publishers, he decided that he must issue the book himself. He returned to Indiana, and with further financing from his family, the book was printed at Lafayette, Ind., and was ready for distribution about December 15. The copyright date was 1867, although the imprint was 1868. His figures for the cost totaled \$3,464 but he did not indicate the number of copies printed, nor the distribution of numbers among the three bindings referred to in the advertisements. He was not out of debt until 1872 when he had liquidated his obligations out of his salary as a school teacher.

2. *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, January 3, 1867, advertisement for a principal, the next term of school to begin January 14.

THE STRUCTURE OF KANSAS HISTORY

Obviously, Holloway was not a trained historian. When he began his work there is no reason to assume that he had more than the general concept of Kansas current among educated Northern people of his generation, except, possibly, an outlook on moral questions associated with his intense religious convictions. About methods of gathering and evaluating material, and organization and interpretation of Kansas history, he had to find his own way and make his own decisions. He insisted that "I have had but one idea to guide me . . . , and that is Truth. By this I have sought to test every word and sentence. . . . I have labored to describe events exactly as they transpired, without underrating them or coloring them."

The general scope of the book was indicated by the full title: *History of Kansas From the First Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, to Its Admission Into the Union: Embracing a Concise Sketch of Louisiana; American Slavery, and Its Onward March; the Conflict of Free and Slave Labor in the Settlement of Kansas, and the Overthrow of the Latter, With all Other Items of General Interest; Complete, Consecutive and Reliable.*

The distribution of the subject matter of the 51 chapters was: two chapters on the Louisiana Purchase; three chapters on the establishment and triumph of slavery in the United States; two chapters on the Kansas-Nebraska act; one chapter called the antiquities of Kansas, tracing the history of the area during the 18th and early 19th centuries; four chapters in chronological order on the year 1854; 11 chapters on 1855; one chapter on the winter of 1855-1856; 14 chapters on the year 1856; one chapter on the winter of 1856-1857; four chapters on the year 1857; one chapter on the winter of 1857-1858; two chapters on southeastern Kansas troubles, 1854-1858; one chapter on political parties; one more chapter on southeastern Kansas; one chapter on "Various Items," including the Wyandotte constitution; one chapter on the drought of 1860; and a final chapter, "Various Items," which included admission.

Thus the scope of the book went much beyond a history of the seven years of territorial Kansas. Six of the chapters dealt with material belonging to general American history, particularly, a slavery interpretation of that history in extreme form. This fixed conspicuously an arbitrary "frame of reference" which distorted the whole, but it provided the setting for his Kansas history.

As Holloway had explained in his journal, before making his decision to write a history of Kansas, he had investigated "whether

such a book would pay." In his preface he wrote that the Kansas troubles were but "the outgrowth and culmination" of slavery aggression upon freedom in the United States, and for that reason, "I have . . . inserted a short sketch of that Institution." And, having lost Kansas, the "Slave propagandists . . . turned in their wrath upon the General Government. . . ." In this manner, Holloway identified Kansas history with national history, the moral crusade against the "aggression" of slavery, and with the triumph of the Union over slavery in the American Civil War.

No doubt Holloway believed what he wrote, but at the same time, there was good reason, in terms of marketing the product, for enlarging the scope and interpretation of the book far beyond what was strictly Kansas history. That aspect of the matter is emphasized further by a different approach to the problem.

In his preface, Holloway urged as one of his qualifications for writing the history, that as he had been "Totally unconnected with the Territorial difficulties, without any political or personal preferences, my judgment has been wholly free from prejudice and partiality." True, Holloway had arrived on the Kansas scene more than seven years after the admission of Kansas into the Union. As a newcomer, with no roots whatever in Kansas, what interest could he have had in the earlier seven years of Kansas territorial troubles, terminated, definitely, by Kansas statehood in 1861? To answer that question for himself would answer it also for most of the Kansans of 1868 who would be his potential customers—newcomers.

In his chapter on political parties (p. 536) he interpreted the role of newcomers in 1858: "Newcomers arriving, knew nothing about the old organizations, and readily fell in with the new. In fact, by the spring of '58 there were more new emigrants [immigrants] than those who were here during the troubles." He was correct in that statement both as to facts and interpretation, and the principle involved was even more important to an understanding of Kansas in 1868 than a decade earlier. The American Civil War was an experience common to all, and to appeal to the largest possible number, Kansas history must be identified with it.

Holloway had stumbled upon something here that was more important than he knew. The first comers of 1854 included in its composition a large contingent, probably a majority, of "professional squatters" who followed the opening of new territory to settlement wherever it might be found, seized upon desirable sites, and sold out their extra-legal priority rights, primarily at their nuisance value, to later comers. Possessory (rights) were the major issue, and that

fact was high-lighted in the election of a territorial delegate to congress, November 29, 1854. Slavery was not supposed to be the issue.

The year 1855 was different. The new increment of settlers differed largely in character, and as the year wore on, the single issue of slavery became paramount, first among Proslavery men, belatedly among Free-State men. Largely the first comers of 1854 had moved and fifty-fivers overwhelmed the remaining handful of settlers of fifty-four vintage.

In 1856 came another complement of newcomers, stimulated conspicuously by the abnormalities of the agitation accompanying the presidential campaign, with "Bleeding Kansas" as the chief issue.

With the election of a president settled there was no further reason for Kansas to bleed. The spring of 1857 brought another large complement of newcomers motivated more largely by homemaking than stimulated by campaign politics. But the fifty-sixers, and the surviving handful of earlier comers, had convinced themselves that their participation in the Kansas Civil War of 1856 had conferred upon them a special status. Jealousies and bitter political rivalries between fifty-sixers and later comers ensued. The young radical contingent among the newcomers, baptised into the Republican party during its first campaign, refused to yield to the claims of the fifty-sixers. These, together with some older radicals who crossed the line, made up the element that came to be referred to as "The Boys," who exploited the new area of civil war in southeastern Kansas as a means of attempting to seize control of all of Kansas. Holloway gave his interpretation of the newcomers of 1858 and their contribution to the break-up of old and realignments into new political parties for Kansas.

As time passed, and accumulating numbers of stable settlers increased, the annual increments however large comprised a successively smaller and smaller proportion of the total population at any given time. Correspondingly, in theory, the new population could wield a lesser and lesser relative influence politically. In practice, however, established oldsters might retain a disproportionate vested power. Even in relatively stabilized older communities, the turnover of population persisted, and in a demographic sense newcomers behaving much as pioneers did, though their impact upon the community was relatively less influential.³

The American Civil War and the years immediately following had

3. James C. Malin, "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 4 (November, 1935), pp. 339-372; *The Grassland of North America: Prolegomena to Its History* (Lawrence, The author, 1947), chs. 16-20.

disturbed the orderly development of this pattern. Kansas population in 1860 was 107,206; in 1865, 135,807; but in 1870, 364,399. In view of the fact that probably less than half of the population of 1860 was still present in 1870, the newcomers at the end of the decade would outnumber the old-settler territorial population by seven or more to one. Thus whether Holloway was thinking in terms of population facts and historical interpretation, or in terms of market appeal for his book, newcomers were overwhelmingly dominant in 1868.

Had Holloway followed this population principle to its logical conclusion, even in the incomplete form evident to him, he could have laid the foundation of a structure for Kansas history of enduring value. Instead, he imposed upon this population principle and upon Kansas history the presentist frame of reference common to his dominant Civil War generation. Thus the structure given to his history of Kansas could have meaning only to the generation identified with the American Civil War, and with the slavery interpretation of American history. Subsequent attempts at general histories of Kansas have not been successful in breaking the Civil War mold, although not because they were following Holloway. Nevertheless, to the extent that this population principle of the relation of the newcomer to the old settler entered in its own right into his interpretation, Holloway's work was distinctive. He used it most effectively in his chapter 47, "Political Parties," making that chapter the most significant in his book.

Holloway's comments in his preface and in the bibliographical essay in the appendix reveal that he was well aware that the writer of a history of Kansas was confronted with more than the ordinary obstacles. In fact, he showed a better grasp of the dimensions and the complexities of his problem than is usual with amateur historians. Obvious, of course, was the assertion that "there is no complete and consecutive history of Kansas Territory," only books covering short periods and partial accounts, highly colored as campaign documents. He realized that

The history of Kansas is a difficult one to write, [because] facts were so perverted and differently represented by contemporary writers, that the searcher for truth is often lost and puzzled in his investigations. Much, too, of the history of Kansas has never been written. The designs and motives of each party, and many of their plans, can not be found on paper [so] . . . must be gathered from men who are still living. . . .

The collection of the necessary material, he reported, was more difficult than the actual writing of the book:

In a few years this work could not have been done. Documents would have

been lost, families moved away, and thus some of the most essential items in the history of Kansas become oblivious [*sic*].

The UNWRITTEN history of Kansas could never be WRITTEN so well as at the present time, while most of the actors in the early troubles of the Territory are still living. The author has visited those, made their acquaintance, whom he has ever found open and communicative on all subjects. . . .

In his bibliographical essay in the appendix, Holloway returned to this aspect of the problem: "Much has been gathered from living witnesses, and participants in events—much that has never before been published of a secret and party character."

Holloway was making substantial claims. Did his book bear him out? The answer is no. Of course, he found difficulty in gathering material, because no agency had yet been established for collecting such things. There is no important document in his book, however, but what is readily available elsewhere. So far as his interviews, or revelations of matter of "a secret and party character," was concerned, the verdict would seem to be similar. He did render some unusual decisions about facts and interpretations, but he did not identify the origin of individual statements. Without information about the authority for such deviations they cannot be accepted at face value, especially when documentary evidence runs to the contrary.

Holloway's bibliography included most of the major governmental documents, manuscripts in the various state departmental archives, and printed federal documents, and most of the propaganda books about Kansas. He recognized much of the deficiencies of the latter. He described the leading newspapers published during the territorial period: *The Herald of Freedom* (Lawrence), the *Squatter Sovereign* (Atchison), the *Kansas Weekly Herald* (Leavenworth), the *Kansas Territorial Register* (Leavenworth), *The Kansas Free State* (Lawrence), *The Kansas Freeman* (Topeka), the *Tribune* (Lawrence and Topeka), the *Republican* (Lawrence), and the *Kansas Pioneer* (Kickapoo). All of these, he said, he "had before him while writing this book." All of these have been preserved, with the exception of the Kickapoo *Kansas Pioneer*. Apparently the file of that paper was in the Leavenworth Mercantile Library which burned January 31, 1868. The loss of that paper as historical material, was serious, but unfortunately, Holloway had made practically no use of the *Kansas Pioneer*, so his book did not make good any part of it.

Holloway listed in his preface, by way of acknowledgment for aid received, the men he had interviewed, or who had made material available. His list included state officers who had per-

mitted him to use the manuscript records on file in their department archives. None of these were men who had been leaders during the territorial period. In the latter category, Holloway's list included, in the order named: Dr. A. Hunting, G. W. Smith, Joel Grover, C. K. Holliday, J. A. Halderman, Charles Robinson, James Montgomery, J. A. Wakefield, George Hillyer, John Ritchie, and James Christian. Only two of these, Halderman and Christian, had been identified with the so-called Proslavery party, and in commentary upon James Christian, Holloway remarked that he had "the most valuable library in the Territory."

Among the territorial leaders omitted, but who were still present in Kansas, were J. B. Abbott, George A. Crawford, of Fort Scott, R. G. Elliott and Josiah Miller, who had edited the *Kansas Free State*, H. Miles Moore, Marcus J. Parrott, Mark W. Delahay, William A. Phillips, John Speer, T. Dwight Thacher, Samuel Walker, and S. N. Wood. These names would seem to comprise a minimum list on the Free-State side. Gen. Benjamin F. Stringfellow and Judge S. D. Lecompte might have been interviewed to represent the Proslavery side. Among Free-State men omitted, special emphasis should be placed upon Miller and Elliott, and their *Kansas Free State*. Failing an interview with either of the men concerned, Holloway should have given careful attention to their paper, which he virtually ignored. Thus he was without any effective antidote to the New England and Eastern interpretation of events. More than that, he omitted completely the Sandbank convention of July 17, 1855, and the bearing of its supporters upon the Big Springs convention and the origins of the Topeka statehood movement.⁴ Holloway did refer in his bibliography to the Augustus Wattles "Complete History of Kansas. . . .," published in the *Herald of Freedom*, but without mention of the author's name. Apparently he did not appreciate the relation of Wattles to the southeastern Kansas wars.

THE CONTENT OF HOLLOWAY'S *History of Kansas*

The content of Holloway's history may be indicated by using the same list of questions employed in reviewing the Phillips and Wattles histories in part one. Stephen A. Douglas received little space (p. 67), but his behavior in connection with the Kansas-

4. Cf. part one of this series, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 21 (Autumn, 1954), pp. 184-223; "The Topeka Statehood Movement Reconsidered: Origins," *Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial* (University of Kansas Publications, Social Science Studies, 1954).

Nebraska bill, including the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was represented as having as its object a service to the South that "could only be rewarded by placing him in his long sought for position—the Presidency." This interpretation of Douglas was grossly in error, but was essential to the logic inherent in the structure he had imposed upon Kansas history. The thesis of chapter 2 was the "Introduction and Establishment of African Slavery in the United States Against the Wishes of the People"; and the next three chapters, the "triumph of slavery" in succession, in the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the annexation of Texas, and in the Kansas-Nebraska act. The logic was then carried into the years immediately following in the form of the conquest of Kansas by "the slavery propagandists" through the instrumentality of the Missourians and the South, supported by the general government. This approach resembled more nearly the Wattles than the Phillips structure, but was not necessarily either one, because the point of view was well established by 1867, in such books as Horace Greeley's *American Conflict*. In fact, it was essentially the orthodox interpretation by the North of the American Civil War.

Popular sovereignty was recognized only as a device of the slavery propagandists: "But its success on the field of practice was prevented by its own friends and itself rendered ridiculous before the world [p. 137]." As has been pointed out already, Holloway bungled the account of the Free-State party and the Topeka statehood movement. On the issue of Leavenworth or Lawrence leadership in the Free-State cause, he made no explicit commitments, but in his narrative alternated approximately Leavenworth (including northeastern Kansas) and Lawrence events. Thus he did in fact recognize that the Lawrence area did not have a monopoly on the Free-State cause. That in itself can be urged in Holloway's favor as one of the merits of his book.

In the treatment of the Wakarusa war, Holloway was quite sketchy about its origins, or background. Had he interviewed S. N. Wood and J. B. Abbott, he would have found sharp differences between them about what had happened and which one deserved the credit.⁵ His account of the sack of Lawrence was pinned on D. R. Atchison and his alleged grand jury indictments.⁶ The ubiquitous problem of Charles Robinson and James H. Lane gave Holloway trouble, but

5. Charles Howard Dickson, "The True History of the Branson Rescue," *Collections, K.S.H.S.*, v. 13 (1913-1914), pp. 280-298.

6. James C. Malin, "Judge Lecompte and the 'Sack of Lawrence'," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (August, November, 1953), pp. 465-494, 553-597.

he attempted to evade the main issue. Instead of treating them as rivals for power, his character sketches of the two men were constructed in contrasts; Robinson the sagacious planner (p. 259), and Lane the man of action. But Holloway made clear where his own sympathies lay by admonishing Kansas youth to "practice his [Lane's] untiring energy and unfaltering perseverance, but let them flee from the way of the ungodly, which perisheth [p. 262]."

Holloway evaded the complexities of the southeastern Kansas wars, and admitted it frankly. He organized that struggle around the activities of James Montgomery who assumed heroic proportions in his account. The Doy rescue was not assigned to the leadership of J. B. Abbott. John Brown appeared as the martyred hero, according to the legend that had been established. The blood of the Pottawatomie massacre was washed from his hands by representing him as not present, although afterwards approving the murders (ch. 33).

Holloway's history was not all bad. The high point was chapter 47, "Political Parties," the only major portion that has, in any substantial manner, stood the test of time. Probably here is to be found the sobering influence of two men, Halderman and Christian, moderate Proslavery men, both Democrats. Holloway opened with an emphasis on Gov. Robert Walker's new policy, inaugurated in the spring of 1857, as contributing to the breakup of the early Proslavery and Free-State party alignment and paving the way for the Democratic-Republican party system which took form in 1859. In this connection, Holloway admitted that: "The mass of the pro-slavery party, who never had been pecuniarily interested in making Kansas a slave State, readily abandoned the contest and became the followers of Walker [p. 528]."

Another important concession to the conservative point of view was the admission that in the spring of 1858: "It was now generally conceded that the Topeka Constitution was but a temporary expedient to afford a rallying point and shelter to free state men while contending against slavery and oppression; that the emergency for which it had been framed, was past [*sic*], and it had better be abandoned, . . . [p. 530]." But he pointed out that in turn the conservatives in the Free-State party "who most strongly condemned the adherents of the Topeka Constitution were themselves the tenacious adherents of the free state party," resisting the new party alignment (p. 536).

The new party system required Kansans to make fresh choices.

Holloway generalized that the moderate Proslavery men became Democrats, along with many conservative Free-State men, and that the radical Free-State men went into the new Republican party. The problem was not so simple as that however, and he qualified his interpretation in an important manner:

There was but little difference in the platforms of the different parties. . . . The organization of these parties was the inauguration of that confusion and personal bitterness that had always characterized Kansas politics. Her early troubles attracted to her soil men of talent and ambition. Never could a new Territory boast of so many able and enthusiastic young men. The troubles had made them querulous; then these had subsided each one was ready to cast everything aside that stood in the way of his aspirations. No party nor principle could carry them through, for there was little distinction in parties; they were but in their infancy. Office-seeking, therefore, became a personal strife, an individual contest between men of equal merit and ability [p. 537].”

Holloway subscribed to the conviction of the old settlers in Kansas about the peculiar importance of Kansas history. His preface opened with the declaration that “Kansas has a history which is common with no other State in the Union.” The reason assigned was that here supremacy of “Free Labor in Kansas” over the onward march of slavery “was finally settled.” Then, illogically, he asserted that having lost in Kansas the “Slave propagandists . . . turned in their wrath upon the General Government. . . .” If, “finally settled” in Kansas, then why was the Civil War fought? Holloway was not alone in his difficulty. His reviewers revealed also a commitment to a similar determining role of Kansas in American history.

SALES AND CONTEMPORARY EVALUATIONS

Having printed his book privately, the job being completed about December 15, 1867, Holloway was obliged to arrange for marketing it. J. Nichols & Company of Topeka became his general agent, and they appointed agents throughout the state. The first of their advertisements found appeared in the Atchison *Daily Champion*, December 15, 1867. It was short, announced the book, a “Complete, Consecutive and Reliable History of Kansas. . . . A STANDARD WORK of great interest and value to the people of Kansas.” They emphasized that it would be sold “only on subscription, and an Agent will soon visit this city to canvass for it.” The Topeka *Kansas State Record*, December 18, carried a long advertisement, announcing that the book was “now before the public.” After an outline of the contents the advertisement continued:

The book presents facts in a very life-like and entertaining manner. Mr.

Holloway has clothed his thoughts in the most classical language, and given to his writings a charm which never fails to interest and absorb. His style is terse, simple and animating without the show of display or effect.

A virtue was made of the fact that Holloway had not participated in the Kansas troubles, permitting him to take an unbiased attitude:

"Kansas has justly been entitled the historic State of the Union.— Scarcely an acre of her eastern soil can be found which has not witnessed some daring deed or frightful rencounter. Her Territorial Conflict attracted the attention of the world. . . ."

The exaggeration was not greater than book publishers usually indulge in, and the blurb closed with the assurance that "the whole is beautifully illustrated with engravings, from original designs by the author." Three bindings were listed: muslin at \$5.00; sheep at \$5.50; and Turkey Morocco (full gilt) at \$6.50.⁷

From Lawrence the "news" came soon that the agent there, G. W. Hunt, had sold 50 copies the first two days: "Agents can make money at those rates." In February, the report from Ottawa said that Holloway had sold 75 copies in a short time, and that over one thousand copies had been sold over the state "during the past month." A discordant note came from Atchison about the same time, admonishing Holloway that if he wished to sell his book, he should provide the press with copies for review. Later the sales campaign was extended to northeastern Kansas, the *White Cloud Kansas Chief* received a copy, but no review has been found from John A. Martin of the *Champion*.⁸

In his journal, Holloway did not reveal the machinery set up for handling his book, but made it appear that he had done the promotion and sales mostly by himself and agents. He emphasized there how he had concentrated on Topeka during the session of the legislature in January and February, 1868, and then had gone out with horse and buggy to sell through the country during the summer, returning to Indiana in the fall.⁹

The first review that has been found appeared in the *Topeka Leader*, December 26, 1867, and certainly did not convey the good will of the Christmas season. It was written apparently by the editor, J. F. Cummings, who had been, in 1855, the printer for E. C. K. Garvey's *Kansas Freeman*. Although pronouncing the typog-

7. A similar long advertisement appeared in the *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, December 26, 1867, and elsewhere. A third form of the advertisement appeared in the *Topeka Weekly Leader*, December 19, 1867.

8. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, January 8; *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, February 20; *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, February 6; *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, April 16, 1868.

9. Journal entries for April 15, 1868, and January 11, 1869; Johnston, *loc cit.*, p. 85. Apparently Johnston did not know about the Nichols agency as the selling organization, depending alone on his grandfather's journal.

raphy excellent, the woodcuts were "of such a character as to make us thankful there were not more." On the last point all will agree. Although admitting that examination of the book had been "but a cursory" one: "What we have seen, however, has not impressed us favorably. The book lacks several necessary points. It has no pathos, no humor, no system, and is far from accurate in its details." The editor thought Holloway had "failed to become acquainted with those who could give him correct and necessary information." In dealing with Judge Lecompte Holloway was accused of giving opposite opinions, "so that the reader, who pays his money, takes his choice. . . ." Among other things challenged, the editor ridiculed the account of the Marais des Cygnes massacre which represented Montgomery as having advance information about Hamilton's plans yet permitted the tragedy to happen. If Holloway offended on that score, many others have done likewise since. The treatment of Charles Robinson, James H. Lane, and S. N. Wood, did not suit the *Leader*, especially the last named—he was willing to wager that Sam Wood would buy ten copies, and never pay for them. Referring to the acknowledgments in the preface the reviewer insisted that the list included "several noted wags," which led "to the very painful conclusion that the author has, in several instances, been hoaxed. . . ."

New Year's Day, the *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, gave Holloway a courteous notice, but by no means a complimentary review. The authorship is not certain; either S. D. McDonald, or F. P. Baker. In either case, the reviewer would be a man who had had no part in the Kansas troubles. He explained that he had looked through only about half of the book, that Holloway was a resident of Topeka, and that he had given his attention entirely to collection of material for the book, so had made few acquaintances. Holloway was credited with good intentions about fairness, but the reviewer himself admitted that he was not sufficiently acquainted with the seven years of territorial history to pronounce judgment about accuracy: "The time has however come that a history should appear. . . . If there are errors, there are plenty of actors still living who will make the proper corrections." . . . Exception was taken in general terms, nevertheless, to the treatment given Robinson and Lane: "We do not wish to open old sores, and would rather bury in oblivion the quarrel between these early champions of Kansas, but we cannot let pass the grave charge that Lane was 'reckless and cowardly,' or that he shaped his action by the signs of the times.' Gen. Lane is gone and the people of Kansas owe to him

a debt that they do not to any other man." In these disagreements, the reviewer gave assurance that he did not wish to appear to belittle the work: "Old residents will want it to see how it agrees with their remembrances, new settlers will want it so as to know about the early history of the state."

The next review to be considered is that of the Rev. Isaac S. Kalloch, editor of the *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, printed January 23, 1868. Kalloch was a notorious antislavery preacher in Boston during the 1850's, who at one time was charged with adultery, and underwent a sensational trial which resulted in a hung jury. In 1860 he had been sent to Leavenworth under the auspices of the Home Missionary Society to minister to a small Baptist congregation without a meeting house. Van Horn, of the *Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., was contemptuous of both Leavenworth and Kalloch, commenting May 10, "If Leavenworth likes his style, all right." He had become involved in land speculation, railroad promotion, journalism, and politics, and in 1868 was nearing the climax of his Kansas career, bearing the doubtful reputation of "the sorrel stallion of the Marais des Cygnes." At the time of his assassination in San Francisco, in 1879, S. S. Prouty wrote in the *Junction City Union*, August 30: "His best *forte* is preaching, though he indulges in the hallucination that he was born for a statesman. As a pulpit orator he has no superior in the United States. He possesses a handsome figure, a very large head, classical features and would be recognized as a man of mark anywhere."¹⁰

Although Kalloch assured his readers that he intended only to thank Holloway for the complimentary copy sent to him, the duty note ran on and on to one and a half columns:

No state in the American Union has such a history as ours. . . . This will be the verdict of the future. It will then be seen and recorded that the experiment of consolidating the various States into one homogeneous Republic was prosecuted with varying success, but still with increasing hope, the one great element of evil and precursor of disaster being the existence of slavery in some of the States, and the growing antagonism to it in the remainder. . . . in the Kansas conflict . . . the fate of slavery, and the future of the Republic were decided in Kansas.

Lest the reader's indoctrination in the slavery interpretation of the history of Kansas and of the United States mislead him in the reading of the foregoing portion of Kalloch's argument, the summary is interrupted to make a check on his premise, or the base from

10. Others said much worse things about him, and for a hostile biography, see John H. Shimmons, *The Shame and Scourge of San Francisco, or, an Expose of the Rev. Isaac S. Kalloch*. . . . n.p. (1880).

which he started, and the direction of his thought. To Kalloch, slavery or freedom per se, was neither the base nor the goal; slavery was only the obstacle in the way "of consolidating the various States into one homogeneous Republic." The success of freedom in Kansas assured the victory of unitary nationalism (not federalism) over state rights in the American Civil War. This was the American counterpart of similar wars of national unification taking place in Germany and Italy during the same period of time.

Kalloch clinched his argument about the outcome of both the Kansas conflict and the Civil War by introducing the "if" alternative. If slavery had won in Kansas, and the Civil War deferred, "we should have had a slave Republic." In other words, not a federation of states, but a unitary "nation." But if the Civil War had not been deferred

the geographical position of Kansas was such that her position in the conflict might have turned the scale which so often and fearfully trembled. . . . Kansas like a huge breakwater between contending seas, was able to say: Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further. . . . They fought the battle for the world when they fought for freedom in their State.

If Kalloch's argument were true, then indeed, the little handful of Kansas Free-State men of the middle 1850's were a "chosen people" who changed the course of world history.

. . . never . . . braver men or truer women than those who "marched along," to the music of old John Brown's majestic spirit. . . . They were few in numbers. . . . [but] God is stronger than armies—stronger than parties—stronger than majorities—stronger than all the councils and combinations of the wicked—stronger even than the universe which he made and is able to destroy.

Facts or logic to support Kalloch's bursts of rhetoric there were none, but these quotations from his resounding periods may convey to the reader something of his capacity to evoke emotional reactions by means of words that made Kalloch, and make others like him any time or place, such a power in society.

But, back to Holloway's book that set off Kalloch's pyrotechnics. He pointed out Holloway's misuse of words and other literary deficiencies, error in facts about the admission of Kansas, but a point that irritated him particularly was Holloway's closing compliment to a Democrat, "James Christian who has the most valuable library in the *Territory*." Some of the choice political wisecracks of that era turned on the dicta that a Democrat could not read.

Charitably, Kalloch qualified his disapproval of Holloway's history: "If it were, what perhaps it aims to be, an exhaustive and

final 'History of Kansas,' we should feel it our duty to criticise it unsparingly as utterly unworthy the magnitude of the theme." As a stopgap "It will be a valuable aid to the historian of the future. . . . we trust he will be duly rewarded for it. The 'History of Kansas,' however, remains to be written." But when would the time come?

The Kansas conflict is among the unwritten histories of men. Partisan prejudice and passion are not yet ready to hear or believe the truth. But when these unholy passions have subsided; when the actors in the tragedy have been gathered to their fathers; when the love of patriotism swallows the love of party, and sympathy with treason to sympathy with truth; that history will be written.

But for Kalloch, the rhetorician, there was still another qualification to which, in modesty, he deferred: "To write such a history will require a master of the art. The time has not come to write it yet."

O. H. Browne, a former Proslavery man challenged the accuracy of Holloway's documentation of the bills passed by the "Bogus" legislature, and offered \$100 to any one who could produce one document. The *Kansas State Record* advised Browne that he could save his money by coming to Topeka where Holloway would gladly and without pay show him the document in question in the archives of the department of state where it had been copied for the book.¹¹

The Leavenworth *Commercial* appraised Holloway's history as "the only book yet published worthy to be entitled a 'History of Kansas.' . . . However much we may differ from the author in his conclusions . . . , we must yet accord him praise for giving us so good a history of Kansas."¹²

The canvassing for the book in the southeastern part of the state came late in the spring, the Fort Scott *Monitor* noticing it May 20, "the work which has been creating such a wonderful sensation in the northern part of the State. . . . All other States in the Union have had their history written in book form; but Kansas—the most historical of all—has not until now had a record of her stirring events given." The *Monitor* called attention to the prominence of Fort Scott in three chapters of the history, but pronounced no judgments, except recommending it to every family, and commending the author for his great service.

The most vicious of the reviews was one in the form of a letter

11. *Kansas State Record*, February 19, 1868.

12. Reprinted in the *Western Home Journal*, March 12, 1868. The file of the *Commercial* for this date has not survived.



JOHN NELSON HOLLOWAY
(1839-1887)

Author of the first general
history of Kansas (1868).

to the editor, printed by the Topeka *Leader*, April 30, 1868, over the initials "H. B. A.," devoted mostly to ridicule of what the author thought were its literary and organizational deficiencies. Actually, however, he was using those shortcomings, real or imaginary, as a cover for his disagreements on subject matter and interpretation. Having seen a notice of the publication of Holloway's book "'a reliable History of Kansas in the most classical language,'" when

A stray copy . . . having come into my hands I sat down to enjoy this classical feast. I think, however, that Mr. Holloway's ideas of the classics and mine differ. I found the volume made up of a strange medley of things. Solecism after solecism abounds throughout the entire work. Words have broken loose from their ordinary moorings, and seem to be drifting in every direction. The parts of speech seem to be on a general rampage. . . . Sentences coil around each other like serpents about Laocoon and his sons in the temple of Neptune. . . . The grossest blunders in language, numbering from one to five, occur on almost every page. If the book were a skeleton it would need immediately to be wired together to keep it from falling to pieces.

Only a few samples of "H. B. A.'s." criticisms can be included here:

. . . the good Saxon word "amidst" takes on its poetic form and whirls on its toe "amid the darkness." On the same page he says, "The pro slavery men from other houses began to *bang away* at—they scarcely knew what." "Bang away" is a choice expression worthy of Macaulay. On the next page he speaks of a large force assembling "on Bull Creek, about twelve miles east of *where* Baldwin City now stands." There must be another "bull" here besides the creek. "Of where" is worthy of an "A. M.," *Magister Asinorum*.¹³

At another place the reviewer went on by citing Holloway's statement:

"The people were poor, and *scanty* of pecuniary means." To be poor is bad enough, but in addition to be "scanty of pecuniary means" is a classic phrase, and a distressing calamity. . . .

I am happy to state that one grammatical sentence has been discovered in the book, but I must add that on further examination it proved to be quoted from Bancroft the historian. There is one thing, however, to be commended about the book—it has a strong binding; this was thoughtful on the part of the publishers, as it has a tendency to keep together the shattered sentences.

True, Holloway's grammar and literary usage left something to be desired, but the adverse criticism focusing on that aspect of his book cannot be taken at face value. Other things were involved. Hol-

13. On the title page of his history, Holloway had listed himself as J. N. Holloway, A. M. The available biographical data do not indicate when or where he had earned the academic degree of Master of Arts.

loway was not as completely bilingual in the provincial American sense as his critics. They used a spoken language which, no doubt violated rules of grammatical construction, but employed a quite different written language—artificial and formal—such as no person used for common oral communication. Holloway's written language was rather closer to the spoken language of Indiana and Illinois, than to the literary language of New England. Much of what the adverse critics complained had its origins in the natural idiom of the spoken word, the oral tradition, rather than in the artificialities and formalism of the written tradition, which they thought they were following as a standard of excellence.

"H. B. A." cited the English historian Macaulay, and the New England historian George Bancroft. Those who had been raised on the colloquial speech of the Indiana-Illinois area, or Ohio and Kentucky, found themselves very much at home with Holloway's written language. Kalloch objected strenuously to Holloway's phrase "personal preferments," which he insisted should have read "personal preferences." The word "preferment" is in good standing in all dictionaries of the English language. Furthermore, Holloway used it correctly, although Kalloch was in accord with the prevailing literary form in his "preference."¹⁴

Much of what appeared as defects in Holloway's book was merely the result of inexperience in writing for publication and in book-making. Holloway's journal shows that his printer was also without much, if any, experience in these matters, was not adequately equipped, and did not execute the contract in what Holloway thought was a workmanlike manner. His adverse critics who appeared in print, were mostly men who wrote only for newspapers, and were experienced only in that medium. By and large the most intolerant in these matters are those with the least experience in their own right. As he had no source of income, and the whole project was being financed with borrowed money, even his living for himself and his family, the urgency of completion as the only means of liquidation of his debts, excluded imperatively any quibbling about perfectionism. If these aspects of the enterprise are kept in perspective, the truly remarkable thing about the episode is not the shortcomings, but that the book turned out so well.

14. The word "preferment," as Holloway used it, is classified as obsolete by *The Oxford English Dictionary, Being a Re-issue . . . of a New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* . . . edited by James A. H. Murray, and others (Oxford, England, University Press, 1933), v. 8, p. 1269. The latest example cited was dated 1754. As late as 1910, however, the *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* . . . of the *English Language* (Springfield, Mass., G. and C. Merriam Co., 1914 [c1910]), gave priority to the following meaning: "1. A preferring; state of being preferred." The most recent editions of the leading unabridged dictionaries (1949, 1950) do not list the Holloway usage.

Holloway had not sold books on promises in advance of the writing and publication, thus no element of misrepresentation or fraud entered into his operations. The completed book was offered for sale on its merits and subject to the criticism of newspaper commentary, advance copies being supplied for that purpose. In the Kansas of 1868, the only book-review medium available was the newspapers. He had the courage and tenacity, not only to write the book, and to make his own interpretations, but to publish and market it, and in doing so to shoulder personally all the hazards.

The one reviewer that stands out above all others found by the present writer, is that of James Hanway of Lane (Dutch Henry's crossing). He was the only "old settler," active in the Kansas troubles of the middle 1850's, who reviewed Holloway's book, and the only reviewer who dealt with it on the intellectual level of legitimate historical criticism.¹⁵ Living in the John Brown country, and within a short distance of the site of the Pottawatomie massacre, Hanway was deeply concerned about anything dealing with John Brown. Although a loyal admirer of "the Old Hero," Hanway was in sharp disagreement with the form taken by the legend about John Brown. Of particular concern in his communication in correction of Holloway's history, was the question of Brown's participation in the massacre. Holloway had followed one version of the legend which insisted Brown had not been present and was not responsible. Hanway was otherwise minded, and marshalled his facts carefully and presented them logically in proof of his contention about both John Brown's presence and responsibility. On the main issue he was correct, although in error on some details, but he was a rare example of a Free-State man in Kansas who had the courage to stand out against the most flagrant falsifications of the John Brown legend.¹⁶

Holloway and his general agent, J. Nichols & Company, avoided any controversy over the adverse reviews, but late in January released a number of favorable testimonials: Gov. S. J. Crawford, ex-Gov. Charles Robinson, Secretary of State R. A. Barker, State Auditor J. R. Swallow, Adj. Gen. J. B. McAfee, Superintendent of Public Instruction P. McVicar, and G. W. Smith. All gave the book guarded praise. Governor Robinson, and McVicar admitted only "cursory examination." Two, Swallow and McAfee, qualified their approval by a form of limitation: "so far as my own knowledge or

15. *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, April 16, 23, 1868. The former is a preliminary letter to the editor explaining the review article that was to follow, and which was printed the next week.

16. James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1942), ch. 12, "Hanway's Challenge. . . ."

recollection extends," and "so far as I am personally acquainted." All agreed on Holloway's desire to present his facts accurately and fairly. Only two of the group had really been major actors in the Kansas troubles. Governor Robinson congratulated Holloway "on your success, in furnishing to our people so valuable a work. . . . I regard it as by far the most complete and reliable work yet published on that subject." G. W. Smith wrote without evasion:

I was an ardent participator in the early events of our State, and was a member of about all important Free State conventions.

In detailing the political movements, in presenting a correct and impartial account of the conventional proceedings in the Territory of Kansas, Mr. Holloway's "History of Kansas" is very accurate. The spirit of the work is candid and manifests a disposition on the part of the writer to do justice to all parties and persons. I hope that it will, as it should, find a place in every library in Kansas.

Of course, Smith did not say that he agreed with everything Holloway had written, only that the historian had shown "a disposition . . . to do justice," and that "the spirit of the work is candid."

The Nichols company had attributed the unfavorable notices of the book to "a few petty and aspiring politicians . . . simply because it says nothing about them, or presents them in their real light," and "Notwithstanding the hard times no book has ever met with such a wonderful sale in Kansas. . . ."

In May, 1868, mention has been found of plans by Holloway for a second volume.¹⁷ As the book published had covered seven years of territorial history, a second volume on the seven years of statehood was quite reasonable. But, in spite of the glowing claims of the Nichols company about sales, Holloway's journal revealed that they were relatively small.

In June an announcement came out about a second edition; apparently the same material with only an additional chapter. The explanation was that this edition was designed for circulation in other states, and for that purpose another chapter had been prepared dealing with the country's resources and prospects. The Topeka real estate firm of Mills and Smith secured an advance copy of this new chapter which was published in full in their trade paper, *The Real Estate Advertiser*, June, 1868.¹⁸ Holloway's journal recorded his return to Indiana to sell his books there during the fall or early

17. *Kansas Central*, Olathe, May 6, 1868. One of the editors of this paper, W. F. Goble, was agent for the book in Olathe. A price reduction of 75 cents was announced. The rival *Olathe Mirror* did not mention the book, or Holloway's visit in behalf of sales.

18. The chapter was reprinted in the *Kansas State Record*, the weekly for June 10, and the daily for June 11, 1868.

winter. His entry of January 11, 1869, referred to difficulties with his printer about bindings, which he considered damaged the sale of books, more than their cost, and to his doubt about getting more books until his debt to the printer was settled. Anticipating a suit to compel settlement, Holloway retired to Illinois and taught school the remainder of the winter. He was determined, if suit was brought, to file claims for damages in excess of the cost of binding. The journal entry is so vague that specific conclusions about the second edition cannot be drawn. Possibly, not all of the printed sheets had been bound, and his plan before leaving Kansas had been to have the additional chapter printed and bound with the remaining original sheets for sale in the East. If so, the inference from the entry of January 11 would be that the plan did not materialize. At any rate, the present author has not found a record of any copy of the history containing the additional chapter. All bibliographical listings are for a volume of 584 pages, the original number.

A CRITIQUE

When W. D. Wilder compiled his *Annals of Kansas* (1875, 1885) he listed Holloway's *History of Kansas* under the date line of December 30, 1867:

Like the other histories [of Kansas], it has no index; the important facts published in it are badly arranged, and it is not easy to find any special subject in regard to which the reader may want information. The opinions, the grammar, and the spelling, especially of proper names, might be criticized. The author was a non-resident, and it is really surprising that the book is so complete. . . . Mr. Holloway has not received the credit which his industry justly entitled him to.

In his adverse criticisms of Holloway, Wilder revealed himself through the standard of measurement he imposed upon another: "no index . . . badly arranged . . . not easy to find." Was that a fair yardstick? These unfavorable judgments turned on the assumption by Wilder that the primary purpose of a history was its effectiveness for ready reference. As a newspaper editor, that point of view is understandable. To serve best that purpose a historical work must take one of two forms; that of a topical encyclopedia arranged alphabetically, or a chronology accompanied by a voluminous index. Wilder had chosen for himself the latter. Did he have a right to impose that test upon Holloway?

Implicit in Holloway's history is a different conception of the use to which a history was to be put. For Holloway, the primary purpose of history was to be read as a whole. To read Wilder through would be much like reading a large dictionary from A to Z. It could

be done, but not many have tried, and fewer have succeeded. The theory of history is not at stake here; only the practical question of the functional effectiveness of different methods of presentation of history for particular limited purposes. Neither Wilder nor Holloway would have served their generation satisfactorily as classroom textbooks for the public schools. Neither met the test of Literature, with a capital L.

In agriculture, the choice of a breed of cattle depends upon the purpose for which it is included in the individual producer's program; beef, dairy, or dual purpose. At the strictly functional level, histories may be written for specialized purposes. The confusion about histories, in contrast with cattle, arises out of the unreasonable demands so often imposed upon histories. They are expected to be, not merely dual-purpose books, but multiple-purpose miracle works. To change the metaphor, to pretend such an accomplishment of functionalism would put history in the same class of commercial frauds as the old-fashioned cure-all patent medicines.

In the practical sense the organization given a particular history depends upon the choice of methods made by the author and the reason therefor.¹⁹ Holloway was an amateur historian, and hit upon the chronological form of presentation, with modifications. Why? he did not explain. Possibly, because it presented fewer practical difficulties. The choice had its merits, however, in this particular case, regardless of whether or not the decision was largely a matter of accident. Had he capitalized fully upon the idea of the annual increment of newcomers dominating the changing historical scene in successive years or periods, he would have had something of outstanding importance in his favor as a justification for his choice. As it was, whether or not his interpretation worked out unconsciously and accidentally as he wrote, or whether he sensed the significance of the principle before writing began, but did not succeed in making himself articulate in what he set out to do, the idea did emerge significantly in his distinctive chapter 47, "Political Parties." Unfortunately, he did not place that chapter at the end as the climax of the book. The four chapters which followed were an anticlimax, which obscured and for most readers obviously eclipsed the basic idea.

Wilder was correct when he told his readers that Holloway had not received the credit he deserved. But Wilder stands convicted

19. The problem of the theory of history as an abstract question, with its philosophical implications, is discussed elsewhere. See James C. Malin, *On the Nature of History: Essays About History and Dissidence* (Lawrence, 1954), and an earlier volume, *Essays on Historiography* (Lawrence, 1946).

under his own indictment. Holloway's book, even though it had had an index, did not stand the test as an accurate reference work for details of facts and interpretation. It is astonishing how many professional historians, who should know better, cite Holloway as an authority in this particular category where his work is least reliable. It did serve an important purpose in collecting (not saving from destruction) for his generation important but otherwise widely scattered documents under the cover of one book for reference. The really significant feature of the book has escaped attention altogether; that of the role of the annual increment of newcomers. That principle was valid, not only for Kansas, but for the pioneer stage in particular, or settling-in-process, in all newly settled areas.

The Annual Meeting

THE 79th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 19, 1954.

The meeting of the directors was called to order by President Angelo Scott at 10 A. M. First business was the reading of the annual report by the secretary:

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 19, 1954

At the conclusion of last year's meeting, the newly-elected president, Angelo Scott, appointed Frank Hauke and reappointed Charles M. Correll and Robert C. Rankin to the executive committee. The members holding over were John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard.

During the past year death took four members of the Society's board of directors: Jess C. Denious, John M. Gray, W. H. Montgomery, and Robert C. Rankin. Their passing is recorded with sincere regret. Mr. Rankin, in addition to long service as a member of the executive committee, was president of the Society in 1939, and Mr. Denious was president in 1946.

THE TERRITORIAL CENTENNIAL

This year, the 100th anniversary of the organization of Kansas territory, has been an unusually busy and gratifying one for the Society. When Gov. Edward F. Arn appointed a centennial committee in December, 1952, to make recommendations and co-ordinate plans for state-wide observances, he named Dr. Robert Taft of Lawrence, then president of the Society, as its chairman. Charles M. Correll of Manhattan, a member of the Society's executive committee and a former president, was named vice-chairman, and 26 other Kansans, nearly half of them members of the Historical Society, were also appointed.

The Society has co-operated in many ways with the centennial committee. It has supplied accounting and bookkeeping services for administration of the Kansas centennial celebration fund which was appropriated by the 1953 legislature. Members of the committee recommended to the legislature that its funds be limited to \$10,000, with the idea that interested state agencies and others from their own resources might aid in every possible way. The Historical Society was glad to be able to contribute among other things nearly \$2,500, most of it for salaries of committee employees.

Perhaps the most noteworthy single undertaking of the Society's staff on behalf of the centennial observance was to plan and install exhibits in a railroad coach, obtained by Dr. Taft from the Santa Fe. Designed as a traveling museum, the displays were intended to tell the story of Kansas up to 1861. Most of the objects used were from the Society's collections. The coach left Topeka on February 16, and under the direction of Dr. Taft and the Santa Fe, and with the assistance of other co-operating lines, has been on the road ever since. It will conclude its tour in December, after covering every county in the state. As of September 30, 75,000 persons had visited the car.

Beginning in April, the Society has sent out each month to the newspapers of the state a series of releases, telling the story week by week of Kansas territory 100 years ago. Many of you have seen these in your local newspaper. Most of the accounts have been taken from early-day newspapers, and have dealt with such topics as the Kansas-Nebraska act, slavery, Indian problems, the opening of the territory, the founding of towns, the first newspapers, and many other related subjects which combine to sketch the beginnings of Kansas. More than 300 newspapers over the state are now receiving these monthly releases, and they will continue to be sent out as long as they are desired. Our president, Angelo Scott, himself a newspaperman, assisted in the planning of the project and has contributed greatly to its success.

Individual members of the staff have aided the observance of the centennial by doing research and supplying information for the use of local committees, by assisting in the writing of books and pamphlets, and by making talks. Pictures and articles were furnished for many purposes, and especially for the April-May issue of *To the Stars*, a magazine published for general distribution by the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, which was devoted to the centennial.

Several of the staff and members attended a Kansas centennial history conference at Lawrence on April 30 and May 1, sponsored by the University of Kansas. The Kansas Association of Teachers of History and the Historical Society were among the cosponsors.

The Society also participated in a joint meeting with the Nebraska State Historical Society at Falls City, Neb., on May 9, in observance of the 100th anniversary of the organization of the twin territories—Kansas and Nebraska. Many of our members were present. The principal speakers at this meeting were Dr. Robert Taft of the University of Kansas and Dr. Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania.

The territorial centennial year will soon be over. However, the centennial of the territorial period will continue for six years, culminating in 1961 with the 100th anniversary of the admission of Kansas to the union as a state. This anniversary, for Kansas as a whole, will have greater significance in the minds of many people than the territorial centennial. For the Historical Society it presents an opportunity to enlarge our activities in both scholarly and popular endeavors, and to increase our usefulness to the people of Kansas.

This year we published an illustrated brochure, copies of which were sent to all members, summarizing the varied work of the Society. It has been well received, and several thousand have already been distributed. Consideration is now being given to the preparation during the next few years of several major works. An illustrated history of Kansas, of booklet length, written for the general reader, would have wide appeal, and if planned for completion by 1960 would be available for publication as a 1961 centennial souvenir. A list of state officers for the past 100 years is being assembled, and its publication would benefit students, newspapermen, and others. Another important reference tool that should be put into printed form is our "List of Dead Towns."

Work has already begun on a project of great value: a master index to all the Society's publications—the *Collections*, the *Quarterlies*, the old *Biennial Reports*, and the special *Publications*. This is a tremendous undertaking, but such an index will make the store of information in these volumes more acces-

sible than ever before. Five volumes of the *Collections* have already been indexed, and nearly 10,000 entries have been made. Publications of this character can be important and beneficial contributions by the Society pointing to the 1961 centennial.

We have learned at least one valuable lesson in 1954: that the Society should not expect to schedule any major work of its own during the 1961 centennial year. The time of the staff has been so taken up this year by countless calls for aid from communities and individuals, in addition to the routine daily work that must be kept up, that special projects could not be given adequate time. It is essential, therefore, that all our activities of more than ordinary scope be planned and executed in advance. And that, of course, is simply a matter of good business.

If the Society's members approve, and will help to obtain covering appropriations from the legislature, these publications can be scheduled for issue within the next six or seven years. The 1955 session is being asked for funds to publish volume two of the current *Annals* series. Each succeeding legislature can be asked for appropriations for one or more of the other works which have been mentioned. An expression from our members as to the worth and feasibility of these projects will be appreciated. If they meet your approval, your recommendations to your legislators may provide the impetus needed to achieve these goals.

BUDGET REQUESTS

Appropriation requests for the next biennium have been filed with the state budget director. In addition to the usual items for salaries and maintenance, funds have been requested to permit the employment of a cataloger to care for the Society's large and steadily increasing collection of maps and photographs, and an additional attendant to help in the museum. An increase of \$3,000 per year was asked for printing, which, if granted, will make possible the restoration of the *Quarterly* to its former size and will also permit the occasional publication of historical leaflets and booklets.

Requests for partial rewiring and replacement of obsolete electrical fixtures, and for installation of steel stack floors, which were denied by the 1953 legislature, are repeated in the current budget. As mentioned in the reports of the last two years, these items are necessary for proper maintenance of the building. Such protective measures should not be delayed. Funds have also been asked for painting, plumbing, elevator repairs, and insulation of steam lines.

The largest single item in the budget is \$44,000 for air conditioning. A few years ago such a request might have seemed out of place. Today, air conditioning is generally accepted as a necessity of modern life, and business institutions which lack such improvements are finding their personnel problems intensified. The Society has not yet received resignations from staff members because of the heat, but there is little inducement to working in a building where the temperature reaches 120° or higher—as it did in our museum on 35 days during last July and August.

To install electric lighting in the First Capitol at Fort Riley \$750 has been asked, and for a new roof, of old-style hand-split shingles, \$1,500. Museum cases are also needed, and \$1,200 has been requested for their purchase.

At Old Shawnee Mission several items of equipment are needed, including a three-gang lawn roller, new portable picnic tables and chairs, a display case for

the museum, and a drinking fountain. Purchase of a pickup truck, long needed, has also been requested, and on the recommendation of the local fire department funds have been asked for an underground gasoline storage tank and pump to replace present storage in the garage. These requests total, in round figures, \$4,000. The most essential item for maintenance is tuckpointing and waterproofing of the West and North buildings, for which \$3,500 has been budgeted. Other important requests include \$5,000 for enlarging the garage to hold the truck and lawn roller and to provide additional space for storage and work rooms, \$3,500 to erect a chain link fence across the north property line, \$3,000 to enlarge the basement of the West building and install a concrete floor, \$1,500 to reinforce the first floor of the West building and \$3,000 for exterior painting on all of the buildings.

The Kaw Mission at Council Grove, which was purchased by the state in 1951, is now operating successfully as a museum. Plans are being made to convert the large stone garage adjoining the mission building into living quarters for the caretaker, so that the second floor rooms of the mission may be used for museum purposes. The state architect's office has estimated that \$6,000 will be required for this work. In addition, \$1,575 has been requested to construct a new frame garage, large enough to include storage for tools and supplies.

LIBRARY

During the year 3,910 persons have done research in the library. This number—693 more than the previous year—is the highest in the history of the department, and is almost certainly accounted for by the increased interest in Kansas history caused by the territorial centennial. Of these patrons, 1,650 worked on Kansas subjects, 1,393 on genealogy and 867 on general subjects. Many inquiries were answered by letter and telephone, and 146 packages on Kansas subjects were sent out from the loan file. A total of 5,808 clippings were mounted, and 1,463 pages from early volumes of clippings were remounted. Ten daily newspapers were read and clipped regularly, and approximately 1,400 single issues of other Kansas newspapers were also read and clipped.

Important gifts which have enriched our genealogical department are microfilm copies of the United States census of 1850 for North Carolina, received from the State Society of Sons of the American Revolution; for South Carolina, from the Thomas Jefferson Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution; for Virginia, from the State Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; and for Kentucky, from Mr. and Mrs. Frank Helm of Topeka. The Daughters of American Colonists contributed \$100 toward the purchase of the Illinois census. The 1850 census was the first census to list all the names in every family. From May through September, 1954, these records have been used by 190 persons, which proves their value to genealogists.

Gifts have also been received from the Smoky Hill chapter, the Emporia chapter, and the Eunice Sterling chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; the National Society United States Daughters of 1812; the National Society Children of American Colonists; Margaret Dunning chapter, Daughters of American Colonists, and the Woman's Kansas Day Club. Kansas books and genealogies have been received from individuals, including 13 volumes of genealogical works given by Mrs. Guilford Dudley.

To our collection of Kansas music several gifts have been added: *Sunflower Song*, by Edna Becker and Rebecca Dunn; *Topeka, the City of My Dreams*, by Franz Steininger; *Topeka*, by Elizabeth Van Ness Hutton; *The Voice of the Prairie*, by Irma Doster and Esther Clark Hill; *Cheers for Kansas*, by Duff E. Middleton and Robert R. Jones; *In the Twilight Rays*, by James B. Inscho, and seven songs by S. O. Oyley. Some of these were inspired by the centennial.

Several books and pamphlets which are in poor condition have been micro-filmed: *History of the Town of Hingham, Mass.*, Vols. 2 and 3; Wyman, Thomas Bellows, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, . . . Mass.*; Newton, G. W., *Sketch of Comanche County* [ca. 1885]; Sharpe, A. T., *Franklin County, . . . 1893*; and Davy Map and Atlas Company, *Atlas of Elk County* [ca. 1885].

The following items were lent the Society for microfilming: Pioneer Kansan club of Morris county, "Records, 1927-1944," lent by Mrs. A. W. Musgrave, secretary, through Neosho Fredenburg; Slechta, Don B., "Dr. John R. Brinkley, a Kansas Phenomenon," M. A. thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State Teachers College, 1952, lent by the author; and Hayes, Jennie Lorene, "Kansas Cow Towns, 1865-1885," M. A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1938, lent by the University library.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the year 330 photographs and paintings have been added to the picture collection. From the children of Addison W. Stubbs, an interpreter to the Kaw Indians, a collection of 37 photographs was received, 23 of Indians, ten of the Stubbs family, and four early scenes of Garden City. Tracy F. Leis presented pictures of his father, George Leis, and his mother, Lillian (Ross) Leis, daughter of U. S. Sen. Edmund G. Ross.

Use of the collection by authors and publishers in need of early pictures for illustrations has continued heavy. In addition, hundreds of the Society's photographs have been reproduced in historical pamphlets and special editions of newspapers during this centennial year. Costume and scenery designers for parades and pageants also visited the Society to consult old photographs in order to make their work more authentic.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

Public records from the following state departments have been transferred during the year to the archives division:

Source	Title	Dates	Quantity
Adjutant General's Department	Correspondence Files	1932-1945	19 transfer cases
Agriculture, Board of . . .	Statistical Rolls of Counties, 1947 Population Schedules of Cities and Townships . .	1953	1,670 vols. 3,960 vols.
Governor's Office	Correspondence Files	1952, 1953	5 transfer cases
Grain Inspection Department	Correspondence Files	1942-1945	16 transfer cases

<i>Source</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Industrial Development			
Commission	Correspondence and Re- ports, State Planning Board		
	Scrapbooks and Photo- graphs		
	Climatological Data	1934-1941	2 transfer cases; 3 letter file boxes
Insurance Department . .	* Annual Statements	1947	49 vols.
	* Admission Statements . .	1947	1 vol.
	* Certificates of Authority, .	1947	1 vol.
	* Tax Statements and Fire Marshal Statements	1947	1 vol.
	Official Lists	1947	1 vol.
	Applications, Certificates of Authority	1947	1 vol.
Secretary of State	County Officers' Signatures, Record of Commissions and Bonds, Notaries Public . .	1889-1900 1940-1945	12 vols. 16 vols.
	Legislature: House and Senate Dockets	1941-1951	48 vols.
Vocational Rehabilitation Service, State Board for Vocational Education, Closed case file folders [samples]		1941-1945	6 folders

* Microfilmed and originals destroyed.

Annual reports were received from the Director of Alcoholic Beverage Control, the Budget Department, the Entomological Commission, the Horticultural Society, the State Treasurer, and the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, and from the State Printer and the Board of Engineering Examiners for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954.

The correspondence files of the Adjutant General's Department and the Grain Inspection Department will be screened for important material and the remainder will be discarded.

Some additions were made to the territorial archives during the past year. Three volumes of the records of the First District Court, 1859-1862, were obtained from Leavenworth county; Dr. Frank Schaeffer, McLouth, gave four commissions issued by the governor's office to Jefferson county elective officials, 1857 and 1858; and from Frank Reeder, Jr., of Easton, Pa., through Dr. Robert Taft, came 20 documents from the papers of his grandfather, Andrew Reeder, first governor of Kansas territory. These items are of particular interest during this centennial year.

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

The papers of the late Jess C. Denious, Dodge City, given by the Denious family, form the largest single collection received during the year. Because

of the prominence of Mr. Denious in the newspaper field, in Republican politics, and in affairs of Southwestern Kansas, it undoubtedly will offer rich returns to researchers. Mr. Denious received early training as a journalist under Henry J. Allen. He purchased the *Dodge City Globe* in 1910 and was publishing this newspaper at the time of his death in 1953. He was elected to the state senate in 1932 and again in 1936; served as lieutenant governor, 1943-1947; and was a member of the first legislative council in 1933. He was equally active as a civic leader. An estimated count of the papers is 15,000.

Single accessions and small groups of papers number 540; and 22 manuscript volumes were received.

A group of 300 papers, 1880-1916, was received from the estate of James W. F. Hughes, adjutant general of Kansas, 1905-1909.

Mrs. André Baude, Topeka, gave a copy of the diary of her grandfather, Enoch O'Brien, for the years 1868-1869. Mr. O'Brien was a Montgomery county settler.

Charlotte McLellan, Topeka, presented the complete manuscript of her study of Potwin Place, Shawnee county. A portion of this was published in the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society* for December, 1953.

Eight registers of the Hanover House, oldest hotel in Hanover, Washington county, 1873-1890, were given by Charles W. Munger through Leo Dieker of Hanover.

The children of Addison W. Stubbs presented 70 manuscripts from their father's papers: letters, radio talks, and articles. Addison Stubbs and his father, Mahlon Stubbs, were agents, teachers and interpreters to the Kansas Indians, and much of the material relates to the Indians.

Annie B. Sweet, Topeka, gave personal account books of her father, Timothy B. Sweet. One volume contains tax information on land owned by the Topeka financier, and the other is an account of income and disbursements, 1869-1875.

Four volumes of business records of the firm of H. Wentworth & Co., Russell, were given by E. R. Wentworth of that city.

Edward M. Beougher, Grinnell, presented a photostatic copy of a report by Capt. John M. Hamilton, Co. H, 5th U. S. cavalry, dated Fort Wallace, November 16, 1875, describing an engagement with hostile Indians near the Smoky Hill river.

Rena Reinhart, Chanute, gave five manuscript volumes written by her father, entitled "Life and Recollections of Herman Francis Reinhart." These reminiscences cover 50 years, 1832-1882. Herman Reinhart was born in Germany and came to America with his family as a boy. After active and colorful years in various parts of the country, he settled in present Chanute in 1870.

Howard C. Raynesford gave an article on George Ellis, first lieutenant, Company I, 12th Kansas infantry, with his original commission. The town of Ellis and Ellis county were named for Lieutenant Ellis.

Other donors were: Monroe Billington, H. E. Breed, Mrs. Lalla M. Brigham, Berlin B. Chapman, Mrs. H. C. Foster, R. S. Fowler, Thomas M. Galey, Mrs. Ira E. Harshbarger, Paul Henderson, Mrs. Minnie Jacobs, George Jelinek, C. W. Kanaga, Myra Summers Keeler, Marie Kelley, Mrs. Charles Lane, James C. Lysle, Lea Maranville, Clifford Marcell, Sister Mary Mark, Dr. Karl A. Menninger, Morrill Free Public Library, L. A. Ormsby, Mrs. Eunice Batch Rash, Mary J. Rees, J. C. Ruppenthal, Mrs. W. B. Sadilek, Charles

W. Sargent, A. L. Shultz, Dolph Simons, Carroll D. Smith, Harriet E. and Harry W. Stanley, Marguerite Stevenson, Grace Tear, Mrs. Elmer Wegman, Dean Earl Wood, E. K. Wharton, and Mrs. B. W. Woodward.

Several manuscripts and other records were lent to the Society for micro-filming. Included among these were the following:

Records of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Kansas, with a minute book of the trustees of the College of the Sisters of Bethany, Topeka, 1861-1926; minute book, trustees of Christ's Hospital, Topeka, 1882-1902; and papers pertaining to Grace Cathedral, 1879-1917. The originals were lent by the Rt. Rev. Goodrich R. Fenner.

Excerpts from the journal of John H. Forsyth, 1849, lent by D. M. Ward, Peabody.

Recollections of the Battle of the Blue, by John Kemp, lent by Mrs. Minnie Kirkwood.

"Cat-Wagon Trails," by W. G. Clugston, lent by the author.

Account book of Moses Grinter, 1855-1882. Grinter operated a ferry across the Kansas river about eight and one half miles west of the Kansas-Missouri line. This was the earliest ferry established on the Kansas river. The book is the property of Anna Stevens and was brought to the Society by Mrs. Harry Hansen.

Three volumes of Russell county records: Wisconsin colony minute book, 1871-1884; Russell townsite company, secretary's book, 1871; Northwest company and Russell townsite company, ledger, 1871-1874, lent by the Russell Public Library.

Journal of Donald McKay, trip from Des Moines to Marion, Kan., 1870, lent by Edward Weillepp, Topeka.

Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages, by J. W. Powell, given by the children of Addison W. Stubbs.

Memoirs of the Butler wagon train to Oregon, 1853, by G. M. West, and letters, 1850-1862, lent by Mrs. Hazel Woodmansee, Dunlap.

"I Crossed the Plains in the '50's," reminiscences of James C. Carpenter, lent by Mrs. Lewis R. Chase.

MICROFILM DIVISION

In its eight years of operation the microfilm division has made nearly 3,500,000 photographs, about 300,000 of them during the past year. More than 250,000 were of newspapers, 35,000 of archives, and the balance were library and manuscript materials.

Filming of the Arkansas City *Daily Traveler* was completed for the period October 30, 1929-September 29, 1951, a total of 126 rolls of film containing more than 85,000 exposures. The Wichita *Morning Eagle* was continued from April 5, 1948, and the *Evening Eagle* from January 1, 1948, both runs ending with the issues of August 31, 1953, a total for these two papers of 145 rolls with 93,000 exposures. The Topeka *State Journal*, 1941-1942, and the Coffeyville *Daily Journal* for the period June 16, 1893-December 30, 1899, were also filmed.

Other newspapers microfilmed during the year were: Abilene *Gazette*, May 3, 1878-November 30, 1889; *Barbour County Mail*, Medicine Lodge, and Medicine Lodge *Cresset*, May 21, 1875-December 28, 1894; Cheney *Blade*, January 20, 1888-October 12, 1890; Cheney *Journal*, March 1, 1884-January

22, 1887; *Coffeyville Weekly Journal*, October 30, 1875-January 8, 1920; *Emporia Democrat*, August 16, 1882-December 19, 1889; a second *Emporia Democrat*, June 24, 1898-January 26, 1900; *Kansas News*, Emporia, June 6, 1857-August 6, 1859; *Emporia News*, August 13, 1859-May 1, 1890; *Cultivator and Herdsman*, Garden City, May, 1884-March 5, 1887; *Garden City Sentinel*, July 30, 1884-December 29, 1900; *Kansas Chief*, White Cloud and Troy, June 4, 1857-December 28, 1899; *Kansas Gazette*, Enterprise and Abilene, April 27, 1876-April 26, 1878; *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, October 15, 1859-April 28, 1875; *North Topeka Times*, March 16, 1871-December 28, 1883; *Topeka State Record* (a short-lived Populist newspaper), July 20, 1899-January 4, 1909; and the *Topeka Weekly Leader*, December 7, 1865-November 4, 1876.

For the archives the division microfilmed records of the state insurance department for 1947, and a series of daily weather maps and forecasts, 1900-1948, which were received a year ago from the Topeka office of the United States Weather Bureau.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

The steady increase in the number of persons making use of materials in the newspaper and census divisions which has been noted in past years is continuing. These divisions this year served a total of 5,540 patrons who used 6,893 single issues and 5,022 bound volumes of newspapers, 1,593 reels of microfilm, and 22,913 census volumes.

Demand for certified copies of census records remains high. A total of 10,775 certifications was issued during the year, most of them to persons seeking proof of age and place of birth for delayed birth certificates, social security, railroad and other retirement benefits. These certifications are furnished by the Society without charge.

Nearly all Kansas newspapers are received regularly for filing. They include 55 dailies, one triweekly, 11 semiweeklies, and 292 regular weeklies. The Society's files of original Kansas newspapers totaled 56,059 bound volumes, as of January 1, 1954, in addition to over 12,000 volumes of out-of-state newspapers, dated from 1767 to 1954. The Society acquired 606 reels of newspapers on microfilm this year, and the film collection now totals 4,827 reels.

Several publishers are regularly contributing microfilm copies of current issues of their newspapers. They include: Oscar Stauffer and Rex Woods, the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*; Angelo Scott, *Iola Register*; W. A. Bailey, *Kansas City Kansan*; Dolph Simons, *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*; Daniel R. Anthony, III, *Leavenworth Times*; and Henry Blake, Milton Tabor, and Leland Schenck, *Topeka Daily Capital*.

One of the most interesting gifts came from Charles A. Knouse of the *Osawatimie Graphic-News*. Mr. Knouse donated four copies of the *Southern Kansas Herald* of Osawatimie, dated January 16, April 24, May 1, and August 7, 1858. The Society had known that the *Herald* began publication about that time, but heretofore none of its early issues had been received.

The Society was able to obtain a photostatic copy of *The Kansas Freeman*, Topeka, for September 26, 1855, through the kindness of Annabel Garvey, Topeka, granddaughter of the publisher, E. C. K. Garvey. This issue is Vol. 1, No. 2, and was the first issue of any newspaper ever to be printed in Topeka. The *Freeman's* first number had been printed in Lawrence before a press could be brought to Topeka.

Other donors of miscellaneous older newspapers include: Annie B. Sweet, Clif Stratton, Mrs. Thomas A. Lee, City Library, Mrs. Lee Conwell, Marion Beatty, and the Rev. Ernest Tonsing, all of Topeka; Jim B. McWilliams, Great Bend; Morrill Free Public Library, Hiawatha; J. C. Ruppenthal, Russell; Clifford E. Marcell, Minneapolis, Minn.; Charles C. Calnan, Troy; Frank Hodges, Olathe; and the children of A. W. Stubbs.

MUSEUM

Attendance for the year in the museum was 41,137, an increase of nearly 3,000 over the preceding year. There were 45 accessions, comprising 300 objects.

One of the most important of several large collections was received from the King estate, Junction City, through the generosity of the heirs, Robert Callen King, Washington, D. C., and Adelaide King West, Healdsburg, Cal. The collection was obtained through the assistance of Charles M. Correll and included a selection of women's clothing dating from the 1860's to the 1920's, an assortment of toys made around the turn of the century, and a variety of early furniture, glass, and household items.

A large collection of homespun linens and clothing was received from the A. E. Crandall estate, Jewell county, through Mrs. Hubert C. Andrews, Independence. Adelaide Bolmar, Topeka, gave her father's wedding suit, made in 1875, an early Quaker dress and cap, a homespun coverlet, and an embroidered carriage robe. E. K. Wharton, Powhattan, donated several handmade carpenter's tools, dating from the 1870's, and the children of A. W. Stubbs gave a large group of Indian objects and early household items.

Perhaps the most unusual accession was an old "jail," made of native walnut planks, which was built and used at Burlingame in the 1860's. During the city's centennial celebration it was displayed, and again used, on the main street. From there, with local assistance, it was "stolen" by some gentlemen from Mission, later returned, and after the celebration was presented by the city to the Historical Society.

Other items of interest acquired during the year included: a hunting knife of Osa Johnson's, received from her mother, Mrs. Belle Leighty, through the Woman's Kansas Day Club; an early quilting frame from Mrs. Duane McQueen Ward, Peabody; a trunk which belonged to Avery Washburn, from Mrs. Caston Washburn Royer, Topeka; a sod plow used in Tecumseh in 1856, from A. B. Cusic, Topeka; a leather license plate from a 1911 Stafford car, from Mrs. C. A. Wolf, Topeka; and from John Eisenhower, Topeka, a buggy yoke used by Charles Curtis when he drove a hack to earn money for his education.

Modernization of the museum is continuing. Displays have been rearranged, cases and large exhibits have been regrouped to facilitate the movement of visitors through the galleries, walls have been painted, and many objects have been cleaned, repaired, and relabeled.

Special displays in connection with the territorial and Topeka centennials have been arranged in the main lobby and museum gallery. Of particular interest is a collection of items which belonged to Cyrus K. Holliday, one of the founders of Topeka, lent for the centennial year by his granddaughters, Mrs. Frank Smithies and Mrs. George W. Burpee of New York.

ANNALS OF KANSAS

The first volume of the new *Annals of Kansas, 1886-1910*, featuring 64 pages of pictures, is before you today. The extensive photograph collections of the Society were searched for suitable pictures of the period, and personal letters and notices in newspapers brought in many more from over the state and nation. Final selection of photographs to illustrate the first volume was made in July. Cuts and captions were finished in August. The first completed volumes were delivered by the state printing plant early this month.

Manuscript for the second volume, 1911-1925, has been revised, rechecked, and two thirds of it retyped. Approximately half is ready for the printer. Publication of this second volume, which will contain the index for both, must of course await authorization by the 1955 legislature.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Extended research during the year included the following persons and subjects: Chester I. Long; Samuel N. Wood and the Stevens county-seat fight; Dr. John R. Brinkley; Waconda Springs; Fort Zarah; Fort Harker; Riley county history; histories of Hartford, Perry, and other Kansas towns; territorial history for centennial celebrations and publications; Tennessee town kindergarten, Topeka; Jewish colonies in Kansas; history of Topeka and Leavenworth schools; editorial opinion concerning the Spanish-American War; irrigation in western Kansas; Negro exodus to Kansas in 1879; early oil explorations in Oklahoma; history of Crested Butte, Colo.; Kansas newspapers printed in German; Kansans who have received the Congressional Medal of Honor; Kansas Freedman's Relief Association; history of the Kansas State Department of Public Instruction; campaign songs; Cyrus K. Holliday house in Topeka; Kansas homestead act; history of woman suffrage in Kansas; Kansas during the Civil War; Fascism in Kansas; linguistic survey in Kansas; promotional publicity put out to bring settlers to Kansas; American toys.

ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1953, to September 30, 1954

Library:

Books	1,033
Pamphlets	1,693
Magazines (bound volumes)	216

Archives:

Separate manuscripts	128,500
Manuscript volumes	5,763
Manuscript maps	None
Reels of microfilm	45

Private manuscripts:

Separate manuscripts	540
Volumes	22
Reels of microfilm	2

Printed maps, atlases and charts

171

Newspapers (bound volumes)

629

Reels of microfilm

606

Pictures

330

Museum objects

300

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1954

Books, pamphlets, newspapers (bound and microfilm reels), and magazines	459,890
Separate manuscripts (archives)	1,943,811
Manuscript volumes (archives)	70,688
Manuscript maps (archives) ..	583
Microfilm reels (archives)	807
Printed maps, atlases, and charts	10,282
Pictures	26,871
Museum objects	33,872

THE QUARTERLY

Due to the reduced printing appropriation, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* will continue to be issued with fewer pages during 1954 and 1955. Volume 20, consisting of the 1952 and 1953 numbers, was distributed early this year. Volume 21 will be made up of issues appearing in 1954 and 1955. This winter the legislature will again be asked to restore the cut in printing funds.

During the next six years appropriate centennial articles will appear in the *Quarterly*. In 1954 several of this nature have been or will yet be published, including: "The Appearance and Personality of Stephen A. Douglas," by Robert Taft; articles by James C. Malin on housing in Lawrence in 1854 and 1855, and on the general histories of Kansas; "The Bishop East of the Rockies Views His Diocesans, 1851-1853," by J. Neale Carman; and "Atchison's First Railroad," by the Rev. Peter Beckman, O. S. B.

An unusual article dealing with another era is appearing in the Autumn number of the *Quarterly*, soon to be off the press. It is a story by Monroe Billington of Susanna Madora Salter of Argonia, the first woman to be elected mayor of an American city.

Dr. Malin's valuable assistance in reading and evaluating articles submitted for publication is again gratefully acknowledged.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

During the year visitors registered from 25 states, the District of Columbia and the Marshall Islands. Many school and scout groups visited the Mission.

Shawnee Mission is listed in many tourist guide books, and U. S. Highways 50 and 69, only a block away, are marked with signs directing the way to the Mission. This, no doubt, accounts for a large number of the visitors.

New metal markers have replaced the old wooden signs at each building, and a new flagpole has been erected. The exterior brick walls of the East building were tuckpointed and waterproofed last fall, and the interior was completely redecorated. Some exhibits were rearranged, and the displays generally have been made more attractive. A new accession is a hymnal in the Shawnee Indian language, published in 1859. It was presented by Mrs. W. W. Higbee, whose father was a member of the Shawnee tribe.

The annual pilgrimage of the Kansas department, Daughters of the American Revolution, was held at the Mission as usual on Constitution Day, September 17. Approximately 125 members from over the state attended the meeting and picnic.

The Society is indebted to the state departments of the Colonial Dames, the

Daughters of American Colonists, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of 1812, and to the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society for their continued assistance at the Mission.

THE KAW MISSION

Attendance at the Kaw Mission, Council Grove, during the past year—its second full year of operation—was 5,716, more than four times that of 1953. Visitors came from 37 states and nine foreign countries.

A formal dedication was held May 12 in connection with Council Grove's centennial celebration, and on that day 867 persons registered. Several hundred others visited the Mission without registering. Mr. and Mrs. Frank (Chief) Haucke were active on the local arrangements committee and the "Chief" was master of ceremonies for the dedicatory services which featured Sen. Andrew Schoeppel as the principal speaker. [Senator Schoeppel's dedicatory address is printed on pp. 308-311 of this *Quarterly*.] Several Indians of the Kaw tribe, and at least two Cherokees, were among the guests. Three Kaw Indian women from Lawrence had their pictures taken with the portrait of Charles Curtis which hangs in the Mission. Asked if they were interested in Mr. Curtis, one of them remarked: "He was my Uncle Charley." Then, seeing another portrait of an Indian in native costume, she added: "That is my grandfather, Washunga."

A four-page leaflet on the Kaw Mission, with a list of ten other historic sites in the Council Grove area, was printed by the Society for free distribution.

Reconstruction of the old Indian building on the Mission grounds by the Council Grove Rotary club, which was mentioned in last year's report, has been completed. The building is a gift of the club to the state. A flag pole for the grounds was donated by the Nautilus club of Council Grove.

Approximately 90 articles were added to the museum displays during the year. Donors were Harold Anker, B. R. Berkihizer, Gene Block, Mrs. Lalla M. Brigham, the Council Grove Library Board, Mrs. R. R. Cross, Mrs. L. S. Harris, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Haucke, Mrs. John Jacobs, Johnson Brothers, Orval Kendall, Hattie Mack and John Quiett, Georgia Nicholson, Allen Nixon, Mrs. W. H. Pierce, Andrew and R. C. Porter, G. G. Puryear, Mrs. Quinter Sample, R. O. Scott, and the Stubbs family.

THE FIRST CAPITOL

Next year is the centennial of the First Capitol. The first territorial legislature met in the building July 2, 1855, in accordance with Governor Reeder's proclamation, but adjourned on the 6th to meet at the Shawnee Methodist Mission. Antagonism was rife between the Proslavery legislature and the Free-State inhabitants of Pawnee, as this short-lived town was called. A resident wrote that during the session occurred the first and only Fourth of July ever celebrated in Pawnee, and that it was "of such a tempestuous nature that no inhabitant of that city ever desired to see another celebration of the day."

Plans are being made to install new and attractive displays in the hope that visitors, particularly from out-of-state, will be interested in seeing the building even though the principal highway now by-passes the Fort Riley reservation. There were 4,890 visitors at the Capitol this year, an increase of more than 25 per cent over 1953.

THE MITCHELL BEQUEST

Last year the board of directors moved to accept the gift of land which William I. Mitchell bequeathed to the Society, and the property has now been formally transferred. This 30-acre tract of hill pasture, known as Mount Mitchell, is about two miles east of the town of Wabaunsee. In accordance with the terms of the bequest a historical marker or monument will be designed and placed on the summit of the hill as a tribute to the Connecticut Kansas colony, which settled in Wabaunsee county nearly 100 years ago. Since the centennial of the colony's arrival in Kansas will occur in 1956, it seems appropriate that the erection and dedication of the monument be planned for the fall of 1956.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

The many accomplishments listed in this report of a year of special achievement are due largely to the Society's fine staff members. Their loyalty and cooperation, which have been mentioned so often in these annual reports, are responsible this year, as in the past, for the success of our undertakings. That the public shall be served first and well is our basic policy, and I believe the staff sincerely tries to make it effective. For this I am personally grateful.

Although it is impossible here to name every individual on the staff, the work of each is deeply appreciated. I should like to mention particularly Edgar Langsdorf, assistant secretary, and the heads of the departments: Mrs. Lela Barnes of the manuscript division, who is also treasurer of the Society; Helen M. McFarland, librarian; Robert W. Richmond, archivist; Forrest R. Blackburn of the newspaper division; Mrs. Joan B. Foth, acting director of the museum; and Jennie S. Owen, annalist.

Custodians of historic sites under the Society's management, whose work week is a full seven days, deserve special commendation for their loyalty and devotion. It is a pleasure, therefore, to acknowledge the Society's gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Hardy, at Shawnee Mission; Mr. and Mrs. Elwood Jones, at Kaw Mission; and John Scott, at the First Capitol.

Respectfully submitted,
NYLE H. MILLER, *Secretary*.

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, Wilford Riegle moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by James Malone and the report was accepted.

President Scott then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes:

TREASURER'S REPORT

Based on the post-audit by the state division of auditing and accounting
for the period September 12, 1953, to July 31, 1954.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, September 12, 1953:

Cash	\$5,901.95
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	8,700.00

\$14,601.95

Receipts:

Membership fees	\$756.00
Interest on bonds	177.50
William I. Mitchell bequest	200.00

1,133.50

\$15,735.45

Disbursements:

\$1,167.76

Balance, July 31, 1954:

Cash	\$5,867.69
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	8,700.00

\$14,567.69

\$15,735.45

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, September 12, 1953:

Cash	\$84.48
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00

\$1,034.48

Receipts:

Bond interest	\$27.25
Savings account interest	2.38

29.63

\$1,064.11

Disbursements:

Books		\$49.20
Balance, July 31, 1954:		
Cash	\$64.91	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		\$1,014.91
		<u>\$1,064.11</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, September 12, 1953:		
Cash	\$111.72	
U. S. treasury bonds	500.00	
		\$611.72
Receipts:		
Bond interest	\$14.42	
Savings account interest	1.20	
		15.62
		<u>\$627.34</u>
Balance, July 31, 1954:		
Cash	\$127.34	
U. S. treasury bonds	500.00	
		\$627.34

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

This donation is substantiated by a U. S. savings bond, Series G, in the amount of \$1,000. The interest is credited to the membership fee fund.

ELIZABETH READER BEQUEST

Balance, September 12, 1953:		
Cash (deposited in membership fee fund)	\$958.69	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G (shown in total bonds, membership fee fund)	5,200.00	
		\$6,158.69
Receipts:		
Interest (deposited in membership fee fund)	65.00	
		<u>\$6,223.69</u>
Balance, July 31, 1954:		
Cash	\$1,023.69	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	5,200.00	
		<u>\$6,223.69</u>

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

This report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. It is not a statement of the appropriations made by the legislature for the maintenance of the Society. These disbursements are made through the state department of administration. For the year ending June 30, 1954, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$163,880; Memorial Building, \$5,900; Old Shawnee Mission, \$15,180; Kaw Mission, \$4,026; First Capitol of Kansas, \$4,342.

Respectfully submitted,
MRS. LELA BARNES, *Treasurer.*

On motion by T. M. Lillard, seconded by Kirke Mechem, the report of the treasurer was accepted.

President Scott next called for the report of the executive committee on the audit of the Society's funds by the state division of auditing and accounting. The report was read by T. M. Lillard:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 15, 1954.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the state department of post-audit has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the Old Shawnee Mission, the First Capitol of Kansas and the Kaw Mission from September 12, 1953, to July 31, 1954, and that they are hereby approved.

T. M. LILLARD, *Chairman,*
C. M. CORRELL,
WILLIAM T. BECK,
JOHN S. DAWSON.

On motion by Robert Taft, seconded by Charles M. Correll, the report was accepted.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by T. M. Lillard, chairman:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

October 15, 1954.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

For a one-year term: F. D. Farrell, Manhattan, president; Wilford Riegle, Emporia, first vice-president; Rolla Clymer, El Dorado, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

Respectfully submitted,
T. M. LILLARD, *Chairman,*
C. M. CORRELL,
WILLIAM T. BECK,
JOHN S. DAWSON.

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board.

President Scott then addressed the board on the subject of a revised dues schedule which had been under consideration by the executive committee. It was his belief and that of the committee members that this Society should increase its rates to meet more nearly those of other leading societies. T. M. Lillard presented the recommendation of the executive committee that dues be increased.

A general discussion followed. After careful consideration of the recommendation, it was the consensus that the cost of life membership should be changed from \$10 to \$20; the cost of annual membership from \$2 to \$3; and that a new annual sustaining membership at \$10 be established. James Malone moved the adoption of the proposed schedule. Alan W. Farley seconded the motion and the schedule was adopted.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society was called to order at 2 P. M. President Angelo Scott delivered his address, "How Natural Gas Came to Kansas," which is printed in its entirety as the lead article in this issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

Following the president's address, Alan W. Farley recounted the story of a legal battle which resulted from an Indian captivity, "Kelly vs. Larimer." This, also, is printed in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

Certificates of merit, conferred on Robert Taft and James C. Malin by the American Association for State and Local History, were presented by the secretary. The awards were made for outstanding contributions in the field of historical writing: *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West*, Taft; and *The Nebraska Question*, Malin.

The Society's new publication, the *Annals of Kansas, 1886-1910*, was discussed by Kirke Mechem, editor. Mr. Mechem told briefly of the working plan for compiling the *Annals* and introduced the annalist, Jennie S. Owen, and her assistant, Jim Sallee.

The report of the nominating committee was called for, and presented by T. M. Lillard:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 15, 1954.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending in October, 1957:

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
Beezley, George F., Girard.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.
Campbell, Mrs. Spurgeon B.,
 Kansas City.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
Docking, George, Lawrence.
Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.
Farrell, F. D., Manhattan.
Hall, Fred, Dodge City.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.
Hodges, Frank, Olathe.
Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison.
Long, Richard M., Wichita.

McArthur, Mrs. Vernon E.,
 Hutchinson.
McCain, James A., Manhattan.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
Malone, James, Gem.
Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg.
Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
Murphy, Franklin D., Lawrence.
Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green.
Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Simons, Dolph, Lawrence.
Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Taft, Robert, Lawrence.
Templar, George, Arkansas City.
Townesley, Will, Great Bend.
Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

Respectfully submitted,
T. M. LILLARD, *Chairman.*

On motion by Will T. Beck, seconded by Wilford Riegle, the report of the committee was accepted and members of the board were declared elected for the term ending in October, 1957.

Reports of county and local societies were called for. Wilford Riegle presented the report of the Lyon County Historical Society, and Charles Correll announced plans for a celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Riley county society.

Mrs. Burns H. Uhrich, daughter of D. W. Wilder, was introduced by Will T. Beck.

The meeting was asked by T. M. Lillard to recognize the death of Robert C. Rankin, one-time president of the Society and for many years a member of the executive committee. The secretary was instructed to convey to Mr. Rankin's family an appreciation of his services and the sympathy of the membership.

There being no further business, the annual meeting of the Society adjourned. Refreshments were served to members and visitors in the Society's office.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by President Scott. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society, which was read by T. M. Lillard. James Malone moved that it be accepted. Frank Haucke seconded the motion and the report was accepted. The following were elected:

For a one-year term: F. D. Farrell, Manhattan, president; Wilford Riegler, Emporia, first vice-president; Rolla Clymer, El Dorado, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AS OF OCTOBER, 1954

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1955

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Pratt.
Brock, R. F., Goodland.
Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.
Hall, Standish, Wichita.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.
Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita.
Maranville, Lea, Ness City.
Means, Hugh, Lawrence.

Norton, Gus S., Kalvesta.
Owen, Arthur K., Topeka.
Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Richards, Walter M., Emporia.
Riegler, Wilford, Emporia.
Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
Scott, Angelo, Iola.
Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence.
Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs.
Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Wark, George H., Caney.
Williams, Charles A., Bentley.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1956

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
Anderson, George L., Lawrence.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
Beck, Will T., Holton.
Blake, Henry S., Topeka.
Chambers, Lloyd, Clearwater.
Chandler, C. J., Wichita.
Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado.
Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg.
Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.
Dawson, John S., Topeka.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
Lose, Harry F., Topeka.

Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander,
Topeka.
Menninger, Karl, Topeka.
Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Motz, Frank, Hays.
Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence.
Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons.
Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Somers, John G., Newton.
Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H., Newton.
Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1957

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
 Beezley, George F., Girard.
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
 Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.
 Campbell, Mrs. Spurgeon B.,
 Kansas City.
 Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
 Docking, George, Lawrence.
 Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.
 Farrell, F. D., Manhattan.
 Hall, Fred, Dodge City.
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
 Harger, Charles M., Abilene.
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.
 Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.
 Hodges, Frank, Olathe.
 Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison.
 Long, Richard M., Wichita.

McArthur, Mrs. Vernon E.,
 Hutchinson.
 McCain, James A., Manhattan.
 McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
 Malone, James, Gem.
 Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg.
 Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
 Murphy, Franklin D., Lawrence.
 Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
 Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green.
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
 Simons, Dolph, Lawrence.
 Stone, Robert, Topeka.
 Taft, Robert, Lawrence.
 Templar, George, Arkansas City.
 Townsley, Will, Great Bend.
 Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

Sen. Andrew F. Schoeppel's Address
 at the Dedication of the Kaw Mission Museum
 in Council Grove on May 12, 1954

Chairman Haucke, Distinguished Guests, Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the great Jayhawker State, and my fellow Kansans:

Thanks for this invitation, Chief, to come to Council Grove on this great occasion to share with you and with our friends this momentous event—the dedication of this important link on the Santa Fe trail, the Old Kaw Mission.

To those members of the state legislature and to all who had the idea, I want to say a word of genuine appreciation and commendation for your part in preserving, protecting, and perpetuating structures such as these. Their significance and importance will increase through the years for those of us who were not yet here during that era.

I realize how privileged I am today to return to my home state to visit with you and to see portrayed and to relive some of the events that happened in this historic spot.

Kansas this year is celebrating in many ways, the centennial. Here in the city of Council Grove, historic landmarks are brought to our attention and view. I am thinking that here, as was mentioned awhile ago by your chairman and a number of the speakers, was signed the first treaty with the Indians that permitted the white man to travel unmolested, and to survey and mark this

historic Santa Fe trail. Approximately 780 miles had to be traversed between these points—miles of hopeful expectation, of hardship, of hunger, privation, suffering, and many times death.

Almost every mile of it was marked by a contest, many times against great odds. But woven together, out of it all was spelled the old Santa Fe trail.

Here before our eyes today is a landmark that played a very important part. Historians tell us that at least 700 years ago native peoples traded and traveled up and down the Arkansas river from its mouth to the Rocky Mountains, and it is also recorded that the first European to pass over any considerable part of this trail was the Spanish explorer Coronado, who followed the Arkansas river on the way back from his unprofitable journey to Quivira in 1541. This was more than 50 years before the first English settlers established their homes in Virginia.

Since today we are living again in the past it is well for us to recall that President Thomas Jefferson acquired the Louisiana territory from France in 1803, and Americans began to stir, so that in 1825 our congress authorized the survey and the marking of the Santa Fe trail. Westport officially became a depot on this trail in 1833.

Those were the beginnings of the days and years when the Santa Fe trail was kept open, and your city of Council Grove played an important part in this era of colorful, unfolding drama.

In this immediate vicinity grew the great oak grove near the shallow ford across the Neosho river, and recorded, at least in legend, the note that Coronado and his Spaniards used that ford.

You have commemorated with proper ceremony—and I speak of officials of our state, the DAR and those other appropriate organizations—the event that took place many years ago under that council oak, and it is to the credit of these organizations that they are helping to protect and preserve for posterity, those landmarks.

I shall not recount for you today during this short dedication ceremony of the Old Mission the old landmarks in your city. It is sufficient to say that as traffic flowed over this trail through your city, so was developed the great West with its vast potentialities.

So this great Republic of ours began to unfold.

Up and down this trail, and within the shadow and the influence of this trail, grew the traditions that we revere and respect as guideposts—guideposts to tie to for the development of a stable civilization.

The West was glamorized despite the hardships which the early settlers of this Southwestern area went through, and overcame, as they passed through.

Here were practiced the homey philosophies and virtues. Here a man's word, once given, was stronger than bonds of steel.

Here faith in the future never dimmed, and here the early pioneers developed a faith and a belief in the Divine Creator that was genuine, true, and sustaining. I repeat—it was sustaining, it was comforting, and from this precarious beginning, recorded within these four walls which we here dedicate, are treasures to be preserved and to spur us on.

We are the benefactors, my friends, although we may look all too lightly upon what brought all of this progress into being.

Let us investigate and search our souls today as we dedicate this historic Mission which houses within its four walls reminders of the distant past—reminders of what our pioneer forefathers endured that we might enjoy the blessings of a free people in the great state of which we are a part.

Oh yes, we enjoy our churches, our schools, our hospitals, our social advances, our inventions—all of these things make life more pleasant and more easy.

But these developed from very simple, homey and arduous beginnings. As I said, we are beneficiaries of a rich heritage. It is all too easy to forget. In the rush and the jam to get ahead, and sometimes to keep up with the Joneses, we become engrossed in our pleasures and methods of easy living, so that I fear sometimes we have lost, or are losing, some of the hardihood of our forebears—by reason of our carelessness and unappreciativeness of some of the fundamental cornerstones that carved out this great, free Republic.

We are a liberty-loving, peace-loving people, living in a world that has shrunk to such an extent that whereas we formerly took months to travel the length of this Santa Fe trail, in the yesterdays—it now takes only a few hours.

The tragedy is that many people in our world today have not been as universally blessed as has been this great, free Republic of which we are a part. So, let us rededicate ourselves in the shadow of this great Mission, as today we link ourselves to the hardships of the past, to the possibilities of tomorrow.

Let us learn to live together as human beings in a troubled, distorted world. It is going to take patience and understanding, yes, and a rededication on our part, to the principles practiced and

lived by the pioneers who have gone before and left something for us to emulate.

Here we enjoy the blessings of liberty and freedom. Here, under God, men are not pawns of a state, but individuals whose rights and privileges are protected, and we are proud that we can house those things that typify those beginnings in this museum.

Unfortunately, this happy state does not exist in too many places in the world, and how are *we* going to keep it, my friends? First, by a firm faith in God, upon which the precepts left by the founding fathers were founded; by loyalty to our nation and what it stands for; and a willingness to be ever vigilant, come what may, to protect and preserve the theories and philosophies of a government that has made this all possible for us.

And so, my friends, as we dedicate this Mission, this shrine to the past, let us rededicate ourselves to a system and a philosophy of living represented by a great Republic of free men. Let us be honest men, fearless men, who put principle above expediency.

And let us hope that at the end of the next 100 years there can be enshrined in appropriate places within this state and nation, alongside of these, evidences that your generation and mine have kept the faith for those who come after us—not only to be inspired thereby, but to improve upon and continue to live nobly thereby.

Thank you, and good afternoon.

Bypaths of Kansas History

WHEN CULTURE CAME TO KANSAS

From the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, September 29, 1854.

For lack of other amusement, our citizens have organized a debating society which is held every night on the Levee in front of the Herald office. They have no light on the subject except that of the stars and the various camp fires. Notwithstanding, a lively interest is manifested and their proceedings are in a high degree orderly and respectable.

BESIEGED BY A BUFFALO

From *The Sumner County Press*, Wellington, July 23, 1874.

Last Monday afternoon, while Messrs. Jones, Bowyer and Cies were engaged in digging a well near the house of the former, nine miles southwest of this city, a wild buffalo suddenly appeared upon the scene, not fifty yards away, with trailing horns and tail erect, charging down upon the party. Mr. Cies retreated into the house where Mr. Jones was also compelled to take refuge. Mr. Bowyer was in the well. This was the situation of affairs when the buffalo took up position between the well and the house and actually held the inmates of both in a STATE OF SIEGE.

Mrs. Bowyer, who was in the house, climbed to the rafters and enjoyed the situation. The gentlemen had only a shot gun loaded with bird shot. To shoot him with this would only add to his rage, and they didn't shoot. Finally comprehending that he was master of the situation, his buffaloship coolly laid down between the house and well, keeping an eye out for both. The situation becoming rather monotonous, Mr. Cies escaped by way of a window, and procuring the assistance of Capt. Wright and a Winchester rifle, the two returned mounted, to find the besieged and besieger in the same relative positions in which Mr. Cies had left them. A shot from the Winchester brought Mr. Buffalo to his feet and a realizing sense of his danger, and he scampered off, pursued by both gentlemen who were joined by Bowyer as soon as he could get out of the well. The chase was continued for a mile or more, when a well directed shot terminated the unequal contest. He was a noble fellow, in fine condition, and now the luscious steaks from the well dressed carcass, grace the board of the lately beleaguered family, while they laugh over the incidents of the novel siege.

A "DEAR JOHN" LETTER OF 1882

From the *Caldwell Post*, August 3, 1882.

"DARLING JOHN:—Come back; all is forgiven! Pa kicked the wrong man; he did not know it was you," was the way a pink-tinted, rose-scented little epistle read that was picked up on Market street last Sunday.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

A history of the Anthony Methodist church was published in the *Anthony Republican*, September 9, 1954. On March 15, 1879, the organization of the church was completed and the first sermon was preached by the Rev. J. W. Anderson.

J. F. Santee's reminiscences of early Labette county history were published in the *Oswego Independent*, September 10, 1954, and reprinted in the *Edna Sun*, September 16. On November 11 the *Sun* published a history of the Edna Methodist church compiled by V. L. Sedoris. The church was organized in 1879.

A series on the history of Dorrance, by J. C. Ruppenthal, began appearing in the *Russell Daily News*, September 14, 1954.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* included: "Saga of John Brown to Be Seen in Kansas Pageant [at Osawatomie]," by John Alexander, September 19, 1954; "Ghosts on Halloween May Get a New Look at Boot Hill [Cemetery, Dodge City]," by Dwight Pennington, and "Mother of William Allen White Was Early-Day Fighter Against Segregation in Kansas School," by Everett Rich, October 24; and "Whittier Advised a Future Governor of Kansas [Lorenzo Dow Lewelling] Against a Literary Career," by Charles Arthur Hawley, November 9. Among articles in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* were: "Site of Indian Legend [Waconda Springs] Proposed as First National Monument in Kansas," by Lelia Munsell, October 1; "First of Kansas's 'First Ladies' Was an Eye-Witness of Quantrill's Raid," by Jane Carey Plummer, October 2; "Last Raid of the Daltons Recalled by Opening of Coffeyville Museum," by W. W. Baker, October 5; "Two Retired Deans of Music [Dr. Samuel A. Hirschler of the College of Emporia and Dr. Walter McCray of Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg] Pioneered in Creating Kansas Musical Tradition," by Clyde B. Neibarger, November 1; "Indians, Wolves, Snow and Illness Encountered in Covered-Wagon Journey [Across Plains and Mountains in 1887]," by Cora Ann Pearson, November 11; "Colorful Kansas Lives Again in New Compilation of Her Years up to 1911," a review of the *Annals of Kansas*, by John J. Doohan, December 3; and "Indians Observe 120-Year-Old Religious Customs on Reservation Near Horton, Kas.," by H. E. Bruce, December 18.

The final installment of the diary of John S. Gilmore, Sr., was published in the *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, September 20,

1954. Taking the place of the diary in the *Citizen* are excerpts from the editorial columns of that newspaper of 1870 when Gilmore was the editor.

W. G. Curtis, Ashland, was the subject of a biographical sketch by Ruth McMillion in the *Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, September 23, 1954. Curtis came to the Ashland area in 1884.

As a part of Osawatomie's centennial celebration the Osawatomie *Graphic-News* published a centennial "extra" October 2, 1954. A biography of John Brown and a history of the Missouri Pacific railroad were among the articles, which covered many phases of Osawatomie history.

An article on the Kansas State Historical Society, by Frank Madson, Jr., was printed by the *Wichita Beacon*, October 3, 1954. Madson sketched the Society's history briefly and described some of the material in its files and a few of the exhibits on display.

On September 7, 1879, the First Presbyterian church of Kingman was organized under the direction of the Rev. A. E. Garrison, according to a brief sketch of the church in the *Kingman Journal*, October 5, 1954.

Work on the first Congregational church building of Downs was begun late in 1879, according to an article in the *Downs News*, October 7, 1954. On October 14, the *News* printed a history of the Zion Lutheran church of Tipton, also organized in 1879.

A history of Boyd, Barton county, by John Frazier, was published in the *Great Bend Tribune*, October 10, 1954. Boyd was established as a post office in the 1870's and was at first called Maherville.

Historical articles in the *Clearwater News*, October 14, 1954, included: "A 'Thumbnail' History of Clearwater," by Mrs. John Poehner; a history of the Clearwater Christian church now celebrating its 70th year; and a history of the Clearwater Baptist church, organized in 1876.

Some of the history of the Andover Lutheran church, Windom, was included in an article in the *Hutchinson News-Herald*, October 17, 1954. The congregation was organized in December, 1879, at the home of Andrew Swenson. The *News-Herald*, October 30, printed a history of the Grace Episcopal church of Hutchinson. In the autumn of 1879 this church was organized by the Rev. James Newman.

Recollections of the Dalton family by J. R. Williams, Houston,

Mo., were the basis of an article by Jim Colegrove in the Coffeyville *Daily Journal*, October 18, and the Wichita *Beacon*, November 7, 1954. Williams was a neighbor of the Daltons for about three years near Coffeyville.

Among Harold O. Taylor's articles in the Pittsburg *Headlight* recently were: "History in Hosey Hill Cemetery Site [Near Weir]," October 18, 1954; "Old [Railroad] Time Table Reveals History," October 25; and "Wear Out Two Schools [Lone Star, Near Pittsburg] in 80 Years," November 1.

In observance of the 75th anniversary of St. Catherine's Catholic church of Dubuque, Russell county, a history of the church appeared in the Claflin *Clarion*, October 21, 1954.

A brief history of Derby was published in the Derby *Star*, October 21, 1954. The town was founded as El Paso, which is still its legal name, but the post office was changed to Derby to avoid confusion with El Paso, Tex.

Mildred Karber's series, "History of Gypsum Valley," has continued to appear in the Gypsum *Advocate*. Floods have been her principal topic in recent months. The *Advocate*, October 21, 1954, published a short history of the Roxbury Methodist church, McPherson county.

"The First Half Century of Randolph, Kansas, and Community," by Floyd Wendell Nyquist, began appearing in installments in *The Blue Valley News*, Randolph, October 21, 1954.

Quantrill's raid at Baxter Springs, October 6, 1863, was reviewed by Fayette Rowe in *The Modern Light*, Columbus, September 30, the Fort Scott *Tribune-Monitor*, October 22, the Chanute *Tribune*, November 11, and the Chetopa *Advance*, November 25, 1954. A small body of Federal troops under Gen. James G. Blunt was caught in the open and massacred, with only the general and a few soldiers escaping.

The Arkansas City *Daily Traveler* published a 56-page special edition October 26, 1954, as a part of Arkansas City's 23d annual "Arkalalah" celebration. Several historical articles recalled pioneer days in the area.

A letter written in 1854 by Father Maurice Gailland, Jesuit missionary to the Pottawatomie Indians in Kansas, to Father Franz Xavier Huber of Rome, was published in the October, 1954, number of *Mid-America—An Historical Review*, Chicago. A seven-page

introduction to the letter was written by Hubert Jacobs, S. J. The territory of Kansas, the Indians, and the Pottawatomie mission are among the subjects covered by Father Gaillard.

A history of the Kennekuk School, District No. 58, Atchison county, now consolidated with another district, appeared in the *Horton Headlight*, November 1, 1954.

Some early history of the Cawker City area appeared in an article in the *Cawker City Ledger*, November 4, 1954. Settlers began arriving in the vicinity about 1870.

A five-column history of the Swedish colony in Marshall county, by Mrs. G. V. Johnson, was printed in the *Axtell Standard*, November 4, 1954. The first Swedish settler was Peter Froom, who arrived in 1858, according to the article. A shorter history of the colony appeared in the *Frankfort Index*, October 28.

Several historical papers which were given before the 1954 meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society were printed in the *Abilene Reflector-Chronicle*. Included were: "Bethany Church Was Begun in Probasco School House," by Mrs. E. J. Browning, November 16, 1954; "Chronister School Was Begun in '72," by Mrs. E. E. Chronister, November 17; and "First Business in Village of Buckeye Was Cheese Factory," by Mrs. Ray Livingston, November 26.

Articles in the December, 1954, number of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, included: "Shawnee County's Centennial—1854-1954," by Milton Tabor; "Pioneer Days," by Mrs. J. C. Gordon; part 2 of Russell K. Hickman's "Topeka and the Emigrant Aid Company"; "Some Reminiscences of Early Days in Topeka," by Mrs. S. R. Remington; "Robert Simerwell: Pioneer Educator of Shawnee County," by Lena Baxter Schenck; letters written by Avery Washburn from Topeka, 1857-1878; "Old Buildings in Auburn, Kansas," by Virgil Brobst; and "The Story of the Land [Potwin Place]," by Charlotte McLellan.

A biographical sketch of Belle Starr, famous woman outlaw of the Indian territory, Kansas, and Missouri during and following the Civil War, by Fayette Rowe, was published in *The Modern Light*, Columbus, December 2, 1954.

By 1879 the Almena Methodist church was on a regular weekly circuit and in 1888 it received its first minister, according to an article by Mrs. Minnie Sebelius, in the *Almena Plaindealer*, December 2, 1954.

Kansas Historical Notes

Mrs. Arthur W. Wolf is the new president of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, of Johnson county. Other officers include: Mrs. Kenneth Carbaugh, first vice-president; Mrs. Harry Meyers, second vice-president; Mrs. William Yager, recording secretary; Mrs. John Blake, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Lee J. Smith, treasurer; Mrs. Mahlon Delp, historian; Mrs. R. D. Grayson, curator; and Mrs. Clifton Shepard, member-in-waiting. Mrs. David M. Huber was the retiring president.

Osawatomie observed its centennial October 3-7, 1954, with a celebration featuring an outdoor pageant based on the history of the Osage valley. Other activities included a parade, an old-time style show, a "Faith and Freedom" program, Indian tribal ceremonies, and a barbecue.

The Dalton Defenders Historical Museum at Coffeyville was opened to the public October 5, 1954, exactly 62 years after the Dalton raid on the town. Lon Hopkins is custodian of the museum, which features relics of the Dalton raid and exhibits relating to Wendell Willkie and Walter Johnson.

Nearly 300 persons attended the annual Kiowa county pioneer celebration in Greensburg, October 7, 1954. Included on the program were pioneer reminiscences by Mrs. Harve Scott of Haviland and a resume of early Kiowa county history by Mrs. Sam Lanier, Haviland.

O. F. Grubbs was elected president of the Crawford County Historical Society at a meeting in Pittsburg, October 8, 1954. Other officers named were: Paul Wilbert, vice-president; Mrs. Mae Stroud, secretary; and Mrs. Oscar Anderson, treasurer. Dr. Dudley T. Cornish spoke on the history of Fort Scott.

All officers of the Hodgeman County Historical Society were re-elected at a meeting in Jetmore, October 23, 1954. They are: L. W. Hubbell, president; Mrs. O. W. Lyman, vice-president; E. W. Harlan, secretary; and Mrs. C. W. Teed, treasurer.

The annual meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society was held at the Buckeye Church of the Brethren, October 29, 1954. Mrs. Ray Livingston was elected second vice-president. Officers re-elected and holding over include: B. H. Oesterreich, president;

Mrs. Viola Ehram, first vice-president; Elsie Koch, secretary; Mrs. W. Wilkins, treasurer; and Marion Seelye, historian.

The annual gathering of the old settlers of Labette county was held in Oswego, November 6, 1954. Officers elected were: Dr. D. B. Fordyce, president; Mrs. John D. Brader, vice-president; and Mrs. Winnie Crain, secretary-treasurer. Mrs. Alma Pfaff-Piper was the retiring president.

Speakers at the annual meeting of the Comanche County Historical Society in Coldwater, November 9, 1954, included John H. Connaughton, Washington, D. C., whose subject was "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," and Ray Pierce of the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, who spoke on how to keep family records. Roy W. Ellis was elected president, and the following officers were re-elected: Warren P. Morton, vice-president; Mrs. Ben Zane, secretary; and F. H. Moberly, treasurer.

Mrs. Nina Broadie was elected president of the Clark County Historical Society at the annual meeting in Ashland, November 13, 1954, and Chester L. Zimmerman was named vice-president. Paul Randall was the retiring president.

Douglass observed its 75th anniversary and the Kansas territorial centennial with an all-day celebration November 24, 1954, sponsored by the Douglass Historical Society. Featured were a parade, a program honoring pioneer families and 90-year-olds, a talk by Dr. L. D. Wooster, president emeritus of Fort Hays Kansas State College, and visits to the Douglass Museum, Copeland Memorial Library, and the Kansas territorial centennial car.

The Leavenworth County Historical Society was organized at a meeting in Leavenworth, December 6, 1954, with 44 charter members. Officers were elected as follows: John Feller, president; Helen Yoakum, first vice-president; Mrs. Walter Lambert, second vice-president; Lula K. Baum, secretary; Homer D. Cory, treasurer; and D. R. Anthony, III, Byron Schroeder, and Sen. E. Bert Collard, directors. Nyle H. Miller, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, spoke at the meeting.

The Marion county courthouse in Marion will be the temporary location of the county's historical museum while the search continues for permanent quarters.

Three talks given at the luncheon of the annual meeting of the William Allen White Foundation, February 10, 1954, were printed

in a 17-page pamphlet: "Past and Future . . . Kansas Press at Century Mark," by Rolla Clymer; "Senior Contemporary," the presentation address of the Foundation's award for journalistic merit to Charles Moreau Harger, by Fred W. Brinkerhoff; and "Down the Long Years," Harger's response to the award.

The New England Emigrant Aid Company and its role in the struggle over the extension of slavery into Kansas form the theme of *The Battle Cry of Freedom*, a 357-page book recently published by the University of Kansas Press. The book was written by Dr. Samuel A. Johnson, of Kirkwood, Mo. Dr. Johnson, a former Kansan, is now professor of history at Harris Teachers College in St. Louis.

Volume 2 of the *History of Finney County, Kansas*, was recently published by the Finney County Historical Society. Subjects of the 304-page well-illustrated book include: the Historical Society, some early homes, history of Finney county, organizations, biographical sketches, portraits, and schools. Ralph Kersey is historian of the society.

The first issue of *American Heritage*, New York, the "Magazine of History," in book format was published in December, 1954. The new hard-cover publication, edited by Bruce Catton and published by James Parton, is sponsored jointly by the American Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Historians, Inc. The first number contains 120 pages of generously illustrated articles.

Westward the Way is the title of a 280-page volume edited by Perry T. Rathbone and published in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase by the City Art Museum of St. Louis, in collaboration with the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis. Containing 225 pictures, the book is a pictorial history of the "winning of the West after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803." A chapter on the history and character of the Louisiana territory is by Frederick E. Voelker.

Main Street on the Middle Border, a 423-page book by Lewis Atherton, was published in 1954 by the Indiana University Press, Bloomington. According to the author it is a "cultural and economic history of midwestern country towns from 1865 to 1950." He defines "Middle Border" as including eastern Kansas.

Fourteen stories of persons who were held captive by the Indians

have been compiled by Howard H. Peckham and published in a 238-page book called *Captured by Indians* (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. Y., 1954).

Biographies of J. B. "Texas Jack" Omohundro and his wife, Mlle. Guiseppina Morlacchi, by Herschel C. Logan, were published recently by the Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pa., in a 218-page book entitled *Buckskin and Satin*. Texas Jack was a Confederate scout, Indian fighter, and plainsman. Mlle. Morlacchi was a popular dancer and actress. Mr. Logan, who lives in Salina, Kan., is an authority on firearms.

An account of the outlaws of the Old West and the law enforcement officers who fought them, by James D. Horan and Paul Sann, has been published in a 254-page volume entitled *Pictorial History of the Wild West* (Crown Publishers, Inc., New York, 1954).

Two volumes of 310 pages each have been compiled and recently published by Dr. Margaret Long of Denver: *The Santa Fe Trail* and *The Oregon Trail*. The trails, stage stations, and other landmarks are located in relation to points and distances on present-day highways.



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KIRKE MECHEM
Editor

JAMES C. MALIN
Associate Editor

NYLE H. MILLER
Managing Editor

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS	<i>Robert W. Richmond</i> , 321
BUILDING THE MAIN LINE OF THE MISSOURI PACIFIC	
THROUGH KANSAS	<i>A. Bower Sageser</i> , 326
With a map of Missouri Pacific railroads	
in Kansas in 1888, <i>facing</i> p. 328.	
NOTES ON THE WRITING OF GENERAL HISTORIES OF KANSAS:	
Part Three—The Historical and Philosophical Societies:	
Repositories of the Material of History and of Science. . .	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 331
With portraits of William Walker, William Hutchinson,	
Lucian Johnson Eastin and William I. R. Blackman,	
<i>facing</i> p. 352, and Samuel Austin Kingman, Lawrence	
Dudley Bailey, Brinton Webb Woodward and George	
Addison Crawford, <i>facing</i> p. 353.	
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY,	
Compiled by <i>Helen M. McFarland</i> , Librarian,	379
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	394
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	395
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	398

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THE COVER

The First Capitol of Kansas at the old town of Pawnee. The first territorial legislature of Kansas met in this building July 2-6, 1855, before adjourning to reassemble at the Shawnee Methodist Mission in present northeast Johnson county. The Pawnee capitol, located on the main highway through the Fort Riley reservation, is now a state museum. The photograph was taken by Russell W. Walker of St. John.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The First Capitol of Kansas

ROBERT W. RICHMOND

ON April 16, 1855, Gov. Andrew H. Reeder issued a proclamation calling the territorial legislature to meet in the town of Pawnee on July 2. Governor Reeder had earlier informed the Pawnee Town Association, of which he was a member, of his intention to convene the session there, provided that a suitable building would be available.

Pawnee had been laid out in the fall of 1854 on land adjoining the Fort Riley military reservation. Col. William R. Montgomery, then the commanding officer at the fort, was one of the chief promoters of the new town, which was small in size and of little importance except for its location on a well-traveled military road. When news of the governor's plans for Pawnee became known, however, immigration increased and a "boom" was soon underway. A letter written from Pawnee, February 19, and printed in the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, March 24, 1855, stated:

The Pawnee Association have . . . men at work on a warehouse . . . to be built of stone. Two saw-mills are about being put into operation. A hotel is in course of erection. . . . It will be a mammoth structure . . . built of stone taken out of the hill right above it.

There is a great demand for laborers here, and good wages will be paid them; but none ought to come at this time unless they have the means of accommodating themselves for some time in the way of bed-clothes, &c.

This warehouse was to serve as the first territorial capitol. Warren Beckwith, who was engaged in the construction, wrote to H. Miles Moore on March 9: "I have about thirty men at work on the warehouse & we are getting along very well. It will be done in time for the first session of the Legislature." Beckwith also wrote that two houses were finished in Pawnee—a boarding house and a hotel—and that a Catholic and an Episcopal church would be built during the year.

ROBERT W. RICHMOND, a member of the staff of the State Historical Society, is state archivist of Kansas.

Beckwith was apparently overconfident concerning the completion of the building, judging by the following letter by John Stringfellow, printed in the *Squatter Sovereign*, Atchison, July 17, 1855:

On arriving at Pawnee, I must acknowledge I was disappointed in not finding more improvements, especially as Gov. Reeder thought this the most eligible place for holding the session of the Legislature. The building designed for the Legislative Hall, is a large stone warehouse, which when we arrived on Saturday, had neither floor nor roof, but by working all day *Sunday and Sunday night*, the roof and floor was finished, but the doors were not completed while we stayed—so we had to legislate with open doors.

The two-story structure, with approximate dimensions of 40 by 80 feet was built of native stone. It was rudely furnished although the governor said that it was well provided with seats and writing tables.¹ The lower floor was used as the house chamber and the council or senate occupied the second floor.

Most of the legislators who came to Pawnee were sympathetic to the Proslavery cause. They had been elected on March 30, 1855, with the aid of many Missourians who had crossed the border to vote. The election had been contested by the Free-State partisans but the fraudulent votes helped to overwhelm them. Because of this illegal selection of representatives, the legislature became known to antislavery Kansans as the "Bogus Legislature" and the laws it passed were called the "Bogus Laws."

The legislature was described by the *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, in the following account, printed July 16, 1855:

This redoubtable body met at Pawnee on Monday the 2nd of July. It is composed of a mass of material as heterogeneous as were ever thronged together. Its main ingredients are fire-eating residents of Missouri, of whom there are three, equally hot headed residents of Kansas, many of them of Northern origin, and still hotter renegades from the Free Soil Party. The members generally arrived a day or two previously to convening. The pro-slavery portion exhibited a determination to be dissatisfied with everything done by the Governor, and especially with his convening them at Pawnee.

On the other hand, Lucian J. Eastin, editor of the Proslavery *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, took an opposite view. His comment, printed in the July 14 issue of the *Herald*, said:

Thus far everything has passed off smoothly and quietly, without any disturbance or difficulty. Those gentlemen who anticipated a row, have been disappointed. They have found the pro-slavery party to be composed of men actuated and governed by principle and justice.

Most of the members came prepared to camp out. They brought tents, food, cooking utensils, and an ample supply of whisky. They

1. *The Old Pawnee Capitol* (Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, 1928), pp. 3, 4.

arrived on horseback and in wagons, and their clothing ranged from buckskins to frock coats. Some brought slaves with them to do their personal work and practically all of them were armed.

The session opened on July 2, 1855, with Daniel Woodson, the Proslavery territorial secretary, presiding at the organization of both houses. John H. Stringfellow of Atchison was elected speaker of the house and J. C. Anderson of Fort Scott speaker *pro tem*. The Rev. Thomas Johnson, superintendent of Shawnee Methodist Mission, was elected president of the council and R. R. Rees, Leavenworth, president *pro tem*.

Members of this first legislature were young men. Only five of the 39 were over 50 while 11 were under 30. One, Alexander Johnson, was a native of Kansas—a real rarity in 1855. He was a son of the president of the council, and had been born at Shawnee Methodist Mission in 1832. Only two members were listed as being outside the Proslavery party. A lawyer named Chapman from Lawrence was on the record as a Democrat, while Samuel D. Houston, a resident of Pawnee, was a Free-Soiler. It is interesting to note that the one Free-State legislator called the capital his home, and that on July 23 he resigned his position, thus leaving the body with no Free-State members.

On the morning of July 3 the governor's message was read to both houses, but it was not well received and his remarks concerning slavery were completely ignored by the legislators. On that day the *Squatter Sovereign*, Atchison, a strong Proslavery newspaper, had the following comment to make about Governor Reeder: "Nineth-tenths of the citizens of Kansas would rather see him hanging to a tree, than filling the gubernatorial chair."

The primary objective of the legislature was to have the seat of government moved to the eastern part of the territory. Since most of the members were from the border towns with interests in Missouri they wanted the administrative center located where their strength lay. On July 4 the legislature passed a bill providing for the temporary establishment of the capital at the Shawnee Methodist Mission in present Johnson county. The bill also stated that the governor and secretary were to maintain their offices there until a permanent capital could be decided by law. The bill was vetoed by Reeder on July 6 on the grounds that the legislature was acting outside the power conferred upon it by congress. However, both houses promptly passed it over his veto and then adjourned to meet at Shawnee Mission on July 16. It was also on July 6 that

John T. Brady, Tecumseh, was elected public printer and it was he who supervised the printing of the "Bogus Laws."

Immediately following adjournment the legislators gathered up their belongings, saddled their horses, hitched up their teams and headed east. Pawnee was no longer the capital of Kansas territory and the capitol building was put to various uses. The lower story was used as a combination carpenter shop and lodging place. Half of the second floor was used as a residence and a bachelors' club occupied the other half. Church services were occasionally held in the building too. In September, 1855, an election was held there and again Missourians invaded the town and tried to control the voting. A poll tax was levied on the spot but the Free-State men refused to pay and held their own election on the following day.

The town declined rapidly after its abandonment as the territorial capital. The War Department had ordered a new survey made of the boundaries of the Fort Riley reservation and when they were readjusted the townsite came within them. In September, 1855, United States troops arrived with orders to see that the settlement was vacated. Many of the residents strenuously objected to being moved out of their homes but their objections were to no avail. By October 10 only a few families remained. These were forcibly evicted by the army and those buildings still standing were razed. The capitol was the only one left intact and it was put into service as an army storehouse.

In 1877 the roof was torn off by a windstorm and the interior of the building suffered from the weather for many years afterwards. Roofless, and with no whole windows or doors, this once important structure was almost forgotten until 1900 when some Kansans began working for its preservation. In 1907 Samuel F. Woolard of Wichita started a fund raising campaign, the proceeds of which were to be used by the Kansas State Historical Society for the restoration of the walls. The money collected through Woolard's efforts was enough to replace the missing stone in the walls, to repair the windows and doors, and to reinforce the walls.

Nothing more was done until 1927 when the legislature appropriated \$1,000 for strengthening and repairing walls and for cleaning up the grounds. The Union Pacific railroad, on whose right of way the building partly stands, became interested in the restoration and expressed a desire to aid in the work. Under the guidance of the Historical Society the Union Pacific spent approximately \$20,000 to reconstruct the capitol so that it resembled as nearly as possible the

original of 1855. Fifty-foot beams, two-inch plank flooring, old-fashioned iron nails and wooden pins, and hand forged hardware all went into the restoration and the interior was furnished with items representative of the territorial period.

At the time the restoration was arranged for, the Historical Society applied to the War Department for a revocable license to enter and occupy the land on which the capitol stands and to maintain the building. The license was granted and is in effect for an indefinite period.

On August 1, 1928, the restored first Kansas capitol was formally presented to the state of Kansas by the Union Pacific railroad, and the Kansas State Historical Society, as trustee for the state, now operates it as a museum.

Building the Main Line of the Missouri Pacific Through Kansas

A. BOWER SAGESER

THERE is little doubt that the Missouri Pacific Railway Company became one of the giant companies in Kansas in the 12-year period ending in 1892. Although it had made a modest entry into Kansas several years earlier when it leased the Missouri River Company line from Kansas City to Leavenworth, the Missouri Pacific's big expansion program began in 1880 with the purchase of the Missouri River road. By July 1, 1882, this line was completed to Omaha, Neb.

Prior to 1879 Jay Gould and his associates had secured control of several Western railroads that had fallen into receivership during the panic of 1873. For a few years Gould held a directorship in the Union Pacific and with his associates owned the Central Branch of the Union Pacific, the Kansas Pacific, and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas. However, the Missouri Pacific was his chief interest. By 1878 he had sold his interests in the Union Pacific and the Kansas Pacific, but retained control of the Central Branch of the Union Pacific and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas. Later these two roads were leased to the Missouri Pacific as feeder lines. Rival companies also sought to lease smaller lines to strengthen their empires. This story has been repeated by historians of the state's railroads.¹ However, when the practice of leasing did not produce the desired results the officials of the Missouri Pacific decided to build a main line across the state. To the knowledge of the writer, the speed with which the main line was constructed and the methods used in its financing have not been recorded.

The railroad was planned so that it would split the prosperous trade territory of the Santa Fe and the Kansas Pacific. The line would be operated from Kansas City to Pueblo, Colo. From Pueblo connections would be made with the Denver and Rio Grande system, thereby reaching important points in Colorado, Utah, and on the Pacific coast. The area of southern Colorado and the Panhandle of Texas could be served through the Denver, Texas and Gulf Railway Company.²

DR. A. BOWER SAGESER is professor of history at Kansas State College, Manhattan.

1. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 251-252; Vincent V. Masterson, *The Katy and the Last Frontier* (Norman, Okla., 1952), pp. 214-218, 222-225.

2. *Seventh Annual Report of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, 1887*, p. 25. By 1889 connections were also made with the Texas and Fort Worth line.

The promoters of the main line could hold out the promise of a competing line to the citizens of the state. By 1886 some towns were enjoying the services of two railroad companies and some three.³

The construction and financing of the main line followed a fixed pattern. Almost without exception, small companies were organized as subsidiaries of the Missouri Pacific. These small companies brought in local men to conform with the corporation laws of Kansas. Usually these companies secured rights of way, sold bonds to local residents and acquired whatever local aid and gifts were possible. Compared to earlier decades of railroad building in Kansas, the amount of local aid was small. Most of the financial support came from Jay Gould, his friends and financial associates in the Missouri Pacific, who received in return the capital stock and bonds of the subsidiaries. Later, in some cases, the Missouri Pacific exchanged its stock for subsidiary stock. Once a segment of the main line was completed it was turned over to the Missouri Pacific for operation.⁴

The pressure was for speed in construction. The subsidiary companies built with a speed that rivaled that of the Rock Island lines.⁵ Speedy construction was possible since the most difficult lessons in railroad building had been learned earlier. By 1885 grading, tracklaying, and bridge building were much easier than in the 1860-1870 era. When the Missouri Pacific promoters demanded speedy construction, it could be obtained.

In 1880 the Missouri Pacific put into operation the line between Paola and Ottawa that had been built by the St. Louis, Kansas and Arizona Railway Company. At the same time a connection to the company's main line was opened between Paola and Holden, Mo., via a previous lease from the Missouri, Kansas and Texas. This was the first entry for the main line into Kansas. The construction of the main line started from the two towns of Ottawa

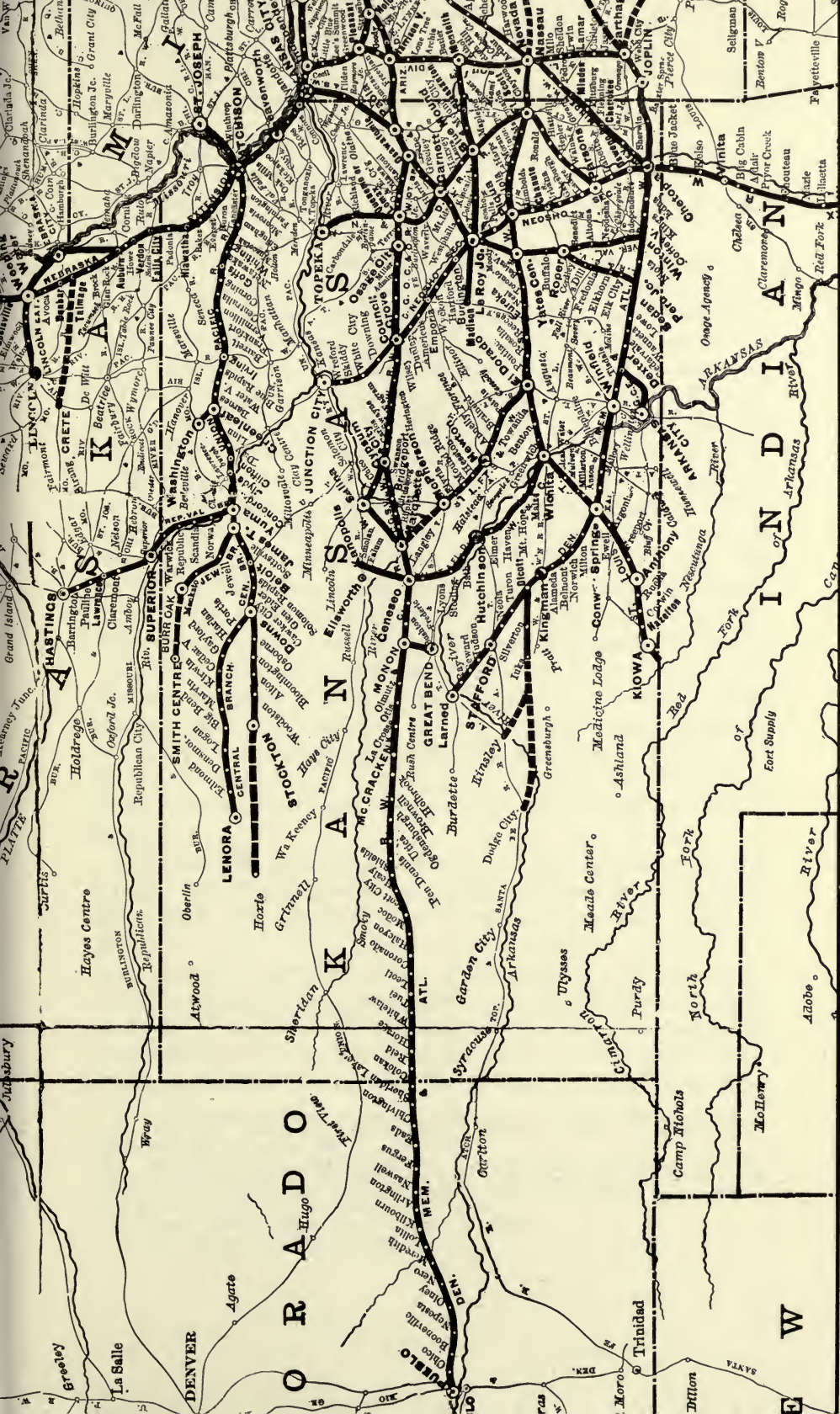
3. *Fifth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1885-1886* (Topeka, 1887), pt. 2, pp. 128, 129, reports a total of 5,323 miles of track in Kansas by November 1, 1886.

4. Information on the method of financing was furnished by Ray Maxwell, director of publicity and advertising for the Missouri Pacific lines in a letter to the author, dated January 11, 1954. Leonard W. Thompson, *The History of Railway Development in Kansas* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Iowa, 1942) shows more of the details of financing. The role of the parent company is also shown in the *Ottawa Republican*, January 21, 1886, and the *Greeley County News*, Horace, September 29, 1887. In addition see *Sixth Annual Report of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, 1886*, p. 29.

5. The speedy development of the Rock Island Line is told in William E. Hayes, *Iron Road to Empire: The History of the Rock Island Lines* . . . (New York, 1953), pp. 113-120.

MAIN LINE OF THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILROAD IN KANSAS

<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>	<i>Date Opened</i>	<i>Charter</i>
Paola	Ottawa	April 15, 1880	St. Louis, Kansas and Arizona
Ottawa	Vassar	September 25, 1886	Council Grove, Osage City and Ottawa
Vassar	Osage City	September 25, 1886	"
Osage City	Elm Creek	October 25, 1886	"
Elm Creek	Admire	October 31, 1886	"
Admire	Council Grove	November 30, 1886	"
Council Grove	Wilsey	October 16, 1885	Topeka, Salina and Western
Wilsey	Hope	November 16, 1885	"
Hope	West Line Dickinson County	January 2, 1886	"
West Line Dickinson County	Chico	January 2, 1886	Missouri Pacific in Kansas
Chico	Salina	May 23, 1886	"
Salina	Geneseo	October 25, 1886	Kansas and Colorado
Geneseo	East Line Ness County	February 21, 1887	"
East Line Ness County	Horace	October 1, 1887	Denver, Memphis and Atlantic
Horace	Colorado Line	December 15, 1887	"
Colorado Line	Pueblo, Colorado	December 2, 1887	Pueblo and State Line
Paola	Kansas City	January 22, 1888	Kansas City and South Western



THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILWAY SYSTEM IN KANSAS IN 1888
Reproduced from the Annual Report . . . of The Missouri Pacific Railway Company (1888).

and Council Grove.⁶ The total mileage of track from Ottawa to Pueblo was to be 540 miles.

The chart, on page 328, shows the plan and development of the main line.⁷

It was well known that the parent company was backing each of its subsidiaries. The editor of the *Ottawa Republican*, January 21, 1886, pointed out that the proposed road to Council Grove "is backed and will be operated by the Missouri Pacific of which it is in fact an extension." As each subsidiary completed its section of the track the Missouri Pacific took over the operation of the railroad. There is considerable evidence that most of the building materials for the main line were furnished by the parent company.

The progress of the main line was followed with enthusiasm by the local editors along the route. Under the heading of "Our New Boom," the *Kansas Cosmos*, Council Grove, reported that the construction train from the east had arrived on November 24. The last rail had been laid and the last spike driven "forty days" before the time named by the company for the completion of the work. The editor declared that this was a connection which "before the smoke of a locomotive could be seen on the eastern horizon had paid for the right of way to the farmers . . . more money than the bonds voted to aid it. . . ." Council Grove's prosperity would now be increased. The city had the M. K. T. division and the "much loved, but coy," Santa Fe was constructing "two trunk lines" of railway in Morris county, and "one of them to Council Grove."⁸

The year 1886 was indeed a boom year for railroad building in Kansas. The secretary of state reported on December 2, 1886, that 453 railroad companies had been chartered in the state during the year.⁹

By the fall of 1886 the citizens of Salina were seeking the location of a railroad division and machine shops. Charles F. Adams, president of the Union Pacific Railway Company was sufficiently interested in the area that he visited Salina in September to examine a proposal for moving the company's shops there from

6. Council Grove *Republican* (Supplement), January 1, 1886; *Ottawa Republican*, January 21, 1886. The entrance of the Missouri Pacific into Ottawa is described in the *Republican*, April 15 and 22, 1880.

7. Compiled from the annual reports of the board of railway commissioners in Kansas. The *Sixth Report*, 1888, pp. 314, 315, gives dates of operation. See, also, *Sixth Annual Report of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company*, 1886, p. 21; *Seventh Annual Report*, 1887, p. 25; and *Eighth Annual Report*, 1888, pp. 2, 3.

8. *Kansas Cosmos*, Council Grove, November 26, 1886.

9. *Salina Herald*, December 2, 1886.

Brookville.¹⁰ By this time the tracks of the Kansas and Colorado had been laid 50 miles west from Salina. By October 15, 85 miles of track were ready for traffic and a section was turned over to the Missouri Pacific. Jay Gould and his son, George, visited Salina on October 13. The citizens of the city pressed the Goulds to make Salina a division point for the Missouri Pacific. The visit was described in the *Salina Herald* under the heading, "The Gould Party: The Great Railroad Builder and Wrecker Visits Salina." The editor indicated that if the city received the Missouri Pacific's shops, the citizens would have to put up the money for them.¹¹

During 1887 the construction of the main line was completed to Pueblo, Colo. On February 21, 1887, service was opened to the east line of Ness county. From this point the Denver, Memphis and Atlantic built the road to the Colorado state line. Service was opened to the state line on December 15, 1887. Meanwhile the Pueblo and State Line had built from the Kansas state line to Pueblo and the road was opened on December 2, 1887. The citizens of Pueblo raised \$5,000 for a banquet held in honor of the arrival of the construction train on December 1, 1887. The *Greeley County News* of Horace, described the celebration at Pueblo and declared that the completion of the road "gives us direct communication from ocean to ocean" and the line of railroad now completed "is destined to be one of the most traveled and best lines in the state."¹²

Both the Denver, Memphis and Atlantic and the Pueblo and State Line were turned over to the Missouri Pacific for operation. On December 24, 1887, the *Ness County News* reported that after January 1, 1888, the Missouri Pacific would put into operation a fast passenger train from Denver to St. Louis. In January, 1888, the company completed the last link in the main line from Paola to Cecil, Mo., a suburb of Kansas City.¹³ Thus in less than two years, the parent company had successfully invaded Kansas to become a great competitor to the powerful Santa Fe and Kansas Pacific lines.

10. *Ibid.*, September 30, 1886.

11. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1886.

12. *Greeley County News*, December 8, 1887. See, also, issue of November 24.

13. *Eighth Annual Report of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company*, 1888, p. 29.

Notes on the Writing of General Histories of Kansas

JAMES C. MALIN

PART THREE: THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETIES: REPOSITORIES OF THE MATERIAL OF HISTORY AND OF SCIENCE

INTRODUCTION

DID you ever drop a pebble into a deep well and not be able to see or hear it hit the bottom? Holloway's history, reviewed in the preceding paper, fits such a metaphor. From the ranks of the leading participants, no one cheered and no one damned. The adverse criticisms that were offered did not touch essentials in any material way. Neither did the faint praise. With little exception, the comments were written by relative new-comers or by men who had little or nothing to do with the Kansas troubles of the early years. Positive or violent reactions to historical writing came only with the passing of years and the organization of "Old Settlers" to commemorate the past. Along with this came "refreshment" of memories already faded. The "refreshment" process often resulted in engrafting legends and hindsight upon the atrophied memories.

As all Free-State men were united in their verdict on the Proslavery cause, with few exceptions, their differences in interpretation were over credits and honors applied to men and measures. The lost cause did not write history. That conclusion is emphasized by the examples of Judge Samuel D. Lecompte and James Christian, neither of whom wrote in vindication of the Proslavery cause as such, but rather in defense of individuals against unjust charges.

Three attempts, 1855, 1859, and 1867, were made to organize an effective state historical society before success was attained in the fourth trial, beginning in 1875. Why did these attempts fail, while a substantial number of other institutions succeeded: schools, churches, the agricultural society, etc.? It was partly a case of first things first; partly it was a reflection of the cultural background. The making of history took precedence over the collection of materials and the writing of history. This statement, however, oversimplifies the situation. A substantial minority of those engaged in the activities of the 1850's and 1860's were convinced that they were

DR. JAMES C. MALIN, associate editor of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, is professor of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

participating in a momentous cause that would characterize a historical era. Although all generations probably feel that way, more or less, many of this early Kansas generation were more than ordinarily captive to such self-deception. To them, the preservation of the records of their side of the controversy was thought essential to the enlightenment of future generations. A state historical society was the chosen instrument for this end.

A number of obstacles stood in the way of the realization of this dream. Some were more or less common to pioneer communities, while others were unique to Kansas and to the geographic area from which it was carved. Pioneer life was always conspicuously unstable and insecure. Movement was its outstanding characteristic. Of the people present in a given community, according to the census of 1855, for example, very few would probably be there five years later, still fewer in 1865, and 1875. A similar principle would apply to the newcomers of 1860 or of 1865, only possibly in less drastic proportions.¹ This principle applied both to the total population from which a membership of a historical society could be drawn, and to the initial groups which instituted the successive societies. Also, in proportion to population, Kansas had a surplus of "professional" men—lawyers, doctors, ministers, or at least men who answered to such labels—and "speculators." A very sizeable proportion of these "doubled" in "professional competence" as politicians. Any legitimate movement undertaken by the people was likely to be taken over by these professional people and used or dropped as it served their peculiar purposes. As early as January 13, 1855, G. W. Brown complained in his *Herald of Freedom* that Lawrence had already nearly a dozen each of lawyers, doctors, and clergy, but what was needed were farmers, mechanics, "or any class of persons relying upon labor for support. . . ." And he explained further that "The truth is the learned professions are over-supplied everywhere, and new countries seem a sort of safety valve to which they invariably resort, with the hopes of growing up with the country. Many do so . . .; but the great masses sink into obscurity and are forgotten."

By coincidence the early years of Kansas settlement were a period of weather as well as political extremes, especially 1854 and 1860, although only one year of the first eight, 1859, was generally favorable to most crops. Kansas was visited by excesses of drought and

1. James C. Malin, "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 4 (November, 1935), pp. 339-372; *The Grassland of North America: Prolegomena to Its History* (Lawrence, the author, 1947), chs. 16-18.

moisture, heat and cold. Many of the failures and much suffering chargeable to these factors were blamed on the Kansas troubles, making Proslavery men, or Missourians, or South Carolinians the scapegoats.

Upon entering Kansas in 1854 the population was meeting an environment strange to them. Eastern people were forest dwellers. Wood was utilized for most of their needs, whether housing, fencing, tools, and equipment of all kinds, with a minimum of metal, or fuel. Only Western people from parts of Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee east of the Mississippi river, and from the states of Iowa, and Missouri west of that stream, had made acquaintances in any substantial manner with the prairie. Kansas was not only prairie, but rainfall followed a decidedly seasonable pattern, and westward the amount diminished rapidly to a point critical to the successful production of the accustomed crops of the East—corn, oats, etc., and many of the fruits and vegetables. Relatively, the prevailing culture emphasized to a high degree a subsistence economy. This accustomed way of life was challenged by the years of extremes in eastern Kansas, and by “normal” years farther west. New crops, tillage methods, and machinery were necessary, as well as more economical utilization of scarce and expensive wood for buildings, fencing and fuel, and a resort to rock and brick for construction, and to coal for fuel. In addition to the traditional concern for fertile soil as a natural resource, attention was directed sharply to other resources of the earth—to coal, salt, and gypsum, and later to oil. The geology of the area took on a new significance. Of course, the wider utilization of coal and iron was taking place in the older parts of the country, and in Europe, but the relative importance had a sharper impact upon the people of the prairie than of the forest. How were these supplies to be purchased from the outside and paid for? The answer was money crops sent to markets at population centers. This requirement emphasized further the necessity of shifting from subsistence to commercial agriculture, and imposed upon the people of Kansas an understanding of the necessity to find cheap transportation. In a grass country, where water was scanty, the answer was steam railroads.

At the time the Nebraska agitation was under way, 1844-1854, for the organization of the grassland which was to become Nebraska and Kansas territories, the age of steam, coal, and iron was already changing American culture in the East. One large factor in this transformation was the exhaustion of forests within economical

transport distances. In Kansas, that condition faced the settlers from the beginning. The search for mineral substitutes had been begun in a systematic way by state geological surveys east of the Mississippi river. In 1849 Sen. Stephen A. Douglas proposed a grant of land in the public land states to aid them in financing surveys. Missouri took a particular interest in his bill of 1849, along with proposals for a Pacific railroad, and the organization of Nebraska. Missouri's geological survey had been organized in 1853 with George C. Swallow in charge. One of his first objectives was to determine whether coal-bearing geological formations existed in western Missouri. He concluded that the northwestern part of Missouri and the adjoining parts of Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas were of the Upper Carboniferous age—the coal measures.

Through Frederick Hawn, one of his subordinates in the geological survey of Missouri, who was employed in the Kansas linear land surveys, Swallow became involved in Kansas geology. Hawn collected fossils in Kansas, which he could not identify adequately and sent part of them to Frederick Meek and part of them to Swallow. Both men, in early 1858, announced their conclusions that these fossils were Permian in geological age, the first identification of that geological horizon in the United States. Just as coal was associated in the public mind with the Upper Carboniferous rocks, so salt and gypsum were associated with the Permian rocks. Thus coal, salt, and gypsum, as well as other minerals, and limestone, sandstone, and clay for building purposes, were resources already recognized in territorial Kansas.²

The critical role of transportation may be illustrated by two clear-cut examples. In January, 1862, just as the first year of the Civil War was drawing to an end, and on the eve of the legislative session at which the Kansas State Agricultural Society was chartered, an editorial raised the question: "Does it pay to raise corn?" The answer was "No," but the reasons are the important point for present purposes.

The editorial admitted that: "The staple production of Kansas up to the present, is corn. . . ." The following unpleasant facts were pointed out however: "Corn in the raw, when the Eastern markets are best, will scarcely pay its transportation. Take out 75 to 80 cents per bushel as such charge and nothing remains to the

2. James C. Malin, *Grassland Historical Studies: Natural Resources Utilization in a Background of Science and Technology*, v. 1, *Geology and Geography* (Lawrence, the author, 1950), pp. 31, 32.

producer.”³ The disadvantage was only partially remedied by selling it as cattle and hogs, or as beef and pork.

This fact was not a new discovery, but its proximity to the chartering of the State Agricultural Society has some significance. Charles Robinson had discussed the whole subject in 1859 in a more elaborate and pertinent form, as well as for the particular purpose of explaining his Kansas career.⁴ At the time his letter was written, the Free-State party was breaking up and the Republican and Democratic parties were being organized, as in the states. Robinson’s reaction to this new situation was to announce a decision not to participate in any political convention, not even the Wyandotte constitutional convention:

In the first place I am not a politician, never was, and, so long as I have my reason, never mean to be. It is true I voted for Harrison for President [1840], because I thought the Whigs honest and the Democrats corrupt. Since that time I could see but little difference between them, and have voted for no Presidential candidate, but have occasionally joined in popular movements. . . .

With the defeat of the English bill in 1858, he insisted that the slavery question was settled, and it was time for the politicians to enter the field, and for all others to retire, and

From that time I have avoided all political gatherings and turned my attention more particularly to the development of the material interests of the territory. Kansas . . . , has, probably, less commercial advantages than any State in the Union. Her lands, so rich and beautiful, must lie unimproved and comparatively valueless without the means of getting their products to market.

Robinson pointed out that in ordinary seasons corn sold at Missouri river towns at 25 cents per bushel, but at Lawrence it was worth nothing because the freight from Lawrence to the river was 30 cents per bushel; “Should things remain as they are, and no railroads be built, the land in the Missouri river counties will increase in value, while the lands of the interior cannot rise above the price of grazing lands, or from one to five dollars an acre. So with the towns. . . . the interior towns will lose even their present trade.”

Realizing this situation, Robinson related that he had attended the last three sessions of congress, 1856-1857, 1857-1858, and 1858-1859, in order to use the influence which his prominence in early Kansas affairs had bestowed upon him, to promote land grants for a system of railroads for Kansas. He insisted further that at the last session “a grant would probably have been made had not the political demagogues interfered. That system would have given five, if not

3. *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, January 9, 1862. Hovey E. Lowman, editor.

4. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, May 7, 1859.

six roads to Lawrence, and would have increased the value of every lot in town ten fold, every farm in the county four fold, and every acre of land east of Fort Riley, on an average, two fold."

Robinson placed the blame for defeat of railroads upon M. F. Conway, elected to congress under the Leavenworth constitution, who resorted to "libel, slander, and lying," unequalled in the annals of Tammany Hall politics.

Should the land sales come off as advertised, there will be but little, if any, land in Eastern Kansas for road purposes, and we can, in [the] future, lie supinely on our backs, hugging the delusion that certain men are great benefactors of Kansas, and especially Lawrence.

In the perspective of the traditional histories of the period, the most remarkable aspect of Robinson's blame for the defeat of the railroad system was that he placed it, not upon the Proslavery men, the Democrats, or the Buchanan administration, but upon the Kansas antislavery radicals—the same men who were trying to seize control of the Republican party which was to be launched at Osawatimie a few days later. Repeatedly during the spring of 1859 Robinson warned that the political party of the future that he would work with depended upon circumstances, and positions on issues.

But these differences over a particular group of measures must not divert attention from the fundamental principles which underlay Robinson's argument about the significance of railroads. Those principles were the important historical fact, regardless of how the railroads were built or who received the credit. The analysis of the geographical setting of Kansas history in relation to the communications, as presented in this letter, was fundamental. When Robinson himself had arrived at this understanding of the relationship of railroads and land-mass in the grassland environment of the continental interior is not clear. Certainly not when the site of Lawrence was selected in 1854. Possibly the important thing is that he had arrived at all. So many, both then and since, never did grasp this basic concept.

About the same time, Lucian J. Eastin, editor since 1854 of the *Weekly Kansas Herald* of Leavenworth was expounding his views of what was of "immediate and urgent importance" in Kansas. He was a Democrat and had been rated a Proslavery man. Although the writers of Kansas history have either ignored or denounced Eastin for opinion's sake, he was among the ablest journalists on the Kansas scene. His editorial entitled "Conservatism" was published February 26, 1859. He decried the radicalism that was dis-

turbing the country, and then proceeded to differentiate the conservative from the radical:

No man can be a conservative, unless *he has the spirit of submission* to authority fully developed in his nature. He must premise that his judgment is not infallible, and that his reasoning faculties are as apt to be warped by his feelings as those of other men. He must know how to make the proper distinction between firmness and obstinacy, and when superior authority has stamped the ideas of his opponents with the impress and sanction of the law, he must subject his private opinion to public statutes. This may be done without abating his original convictions, and if it is not done, cheerfully and promptly, the refractory individual becomes, in our estimation a *radical*.

Again he must form his opinion from deliberate and dispassionate investigation, and not permit the thought to be offspring of the wish. . . . Toleration is also absolutely requisite in the composition of a conservative.

Still other qualifications specified that: "He must be an independent thinker. . . . He must demand proof. . . . He must be frank and candid. . . . And above all other essentials, he must be kind-hearted and amiable." As related to the political scene: "He must be a national man. . . . To be truly conservative a man must be just, sincere and patriotic. . . ."

Of course, as a newspaper editor, writing for his subscribers in Leavenworth and the territory of Kansas in 1859, Eastin was not indulging himself in abstract social philosophy in a vacuum. He applied his principles of conservatism to American politics—to Kansas and to the general government. He was preparing his reader with criteria by which to deal with first things first:

Time has arrived when the great sectional issue is settled upon a firm basis, and we must direct our attention to topics of more immediate and urgent importance.

What were these topics, as of February, 1859, that should come first?—

Kansas must be developed: her rich alluvial [soil] . . . : her mines . . . : her cities . . . , and the whole body politic welded with the iron ribs of public improvement. . . . And when the undertaking is vigorously commenced, and citizens of all shades of politics work side by side for the common good, the paltry abstractions which separate man from man will sink into insignificance by comparison with the importance of the great work in which they are now engaged. Passion will cool down—reason regain her sway, and men will laugh over the olden time when neighbors essayed to cut each other's throats upon matters in which they themselves were so little interested.

Even those Kansans who might agree with Eastin up to this point, might balk at his conclusion that "the great mission . . . of the Democratic party [was]—to harmonize—to pacify and conserve." But again difference over political party preferences as to the

instruments to be used must not divert attention from the evaluation of what things come first.

A change in editorship of the Leavenworth *Herald*, late in the same year, did not modify the view held in Leavenworth about "Our own Interest." This title appeared over four separate editorials in the issue of December 17, 1859, while the excitement about John Brown at Harpers Ferry was at its height. The front page editorial insisted that: "The true course is plain. We want a direct Railroad communication with the East, and we must have it *soon*. . . ." The three articles on the editorial page proper developed the same theme as applied to the country to the west, even to the Pacific coast.

Although each city was looking at the problem from the standpoint of rivalry with competitors, the principles involved were basic to the new age of steam railroads. River traffic in the interior had been oriented upon New Orleans, but rail traffic was being oriented eastward by way of the Great Lakes and the Ohio river to the Atlantic coast cities. The full impact of that revolution was receiving a belated recognition. The railroad was the key to the future, not only of cities but of the agricultural development of the interior. The railroad and the telegraph became the channels by which the interior was bound to the East in all aspects of communication, intellectual, artistic, or material.

The Kansas troubles of the 1850's and the Civil War, in their relation to slavery and to the Negro, were not the single issue in Kansas, in spite of the fact that the Free-State party and the Proslavery party were organized supposedly upon that single issue of freedom or slavery. Even these phenomena, had they been as dominant as tradition has represented them, had to be subordinated to the making of a living. Kansas could not indefinitely be supported by "aid" and "relief" and new capital brought in by immigrants and the general government. Sooner or later Kansas must assume responsibility for paying its own way. How long did Kansas operate on a deficit economy? Certainly until the later 1870's! And how much longer? The answer is important to the writing of Kansas history.

On the basis of first things first, it would seem to be laboring the obvious if the foregoing discussion had no more bearing on the subject of this paper than to conclude that a historical society was not among the first things. The goal in the writing of history is to reconstruct so far as possible historical reality, and the function of a historical society is to serve as a repository for the materials from

which history may be written. The obstacles to be mastered by the pioneers in the settlement of Kansas were but an index to the range of the historical reality, to the variety of materials that should be collected for the use of the historian and to the scope of that history when it is to be written *adequately*.

In view of the fact that such a comprehensive view of the interests of Kansas was so clearly recognized at the time, why was the history of Kansas written upon the narrow basis so evident in all the printed histories? Why this wide split between historical reality and written history?

THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF KANSAS

The bare narrative of the origins of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Kansas, initiated in 1855, attributed the leadership to William Walker, of the Wyandotte Nation. He was a one-eighth Wyandotte Indian, and principal man in the Nation, resident in what is now Wyandotte county. He had received some education at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. On August 1, 1855, in the council of the "Bogus" legislature, Lucian J. Eastin, editor of the Leavenworth *Kansas Weekly Herald*, "asked leave to present a memorial from William Walker and others, praying for an act to incorporate a Historical and Philosophical Society in Kansas Territory, in which memorial were mentioned some of the beneficial results to be expected from such a Society, and the expediency of incorporating it at the earliest possible period." A bill accompanied the memorial, which Eastin presented. He then moved a suspension of the rules to permit an immediate second reading and reference to the committee on education. The council *Journal* recorded no further action, but the bill, as passed by that body, was messaged to the house the same evening. Action in the house was not taken upon it until August 22 and 24, when it was passed.⁵

In the statute the organization was named the Historical and Philosophical Society of Kansas Territory, located at the seat of government of the territory. The nine incorporators were William Walker, D. A. N. Grover, David Lykins, John Donaldson, James Kuykendall, Thomas Johnson, William A. M. Vaughan, Lucian J. Eastin, A. J. Isaacs, and their associates. The conception held by these incorporators of the function of such a society was stated thus:

. . . the object of said society shall be the collection and preservation of

5. *Journal of the Council of the Territory of Kansas* . . ., 1855, p. 95; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Kansas* . . ., 1855, pp. 149, 291, 308, 309.

a library, mineralogical and geological specimens, historical matter relating to the history of this territory, Indian curiosities and antiquities, and other matters connected with and calculated to illustrate and perpetuate the history and settlement of our territory.⁶

Two other items dealing with history came before the council. On July 5, D. A. N. Grover, of Kickapoo City, gave notice of a bill he proposed to introduce to incorporate at Kickapoo City the "Historical Society of Kansas Territory." Apparently, however, he dropped the matter, and instead, on July 21, in anticipation of Eastin's bill, moved that the president of the council be authorized to appoint a committee of three members to memorialize congress for a donation of one section of land to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Kansas Territory. The council agreed and the committee was composed of Grover, David Lykins, and H. J. Strickler.⁷

A word more is in order about the name of this society and the meaning of that name in relation to the scope of the program proposed. In the 18th century the words philosophy, philosopher, and philosophical were still used generally in the comprehensive sense which carried over from the medieval and early modern usage. Philosophy was: "The love, study, or pursuit of wisdom, or of knowledge of things and their causes, whether theoretical or practical." The "three philosophies" of the Medieval university were natural, moral, and metaphysical. The modern academic degree, Doctor of Philosophy, preserves this meaning. The "natural philosophy" included within this context meant science, both theoretical and applied.⁸ Benjamin Franklin was among those instrumental in founding "The American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for promoting useful knowledge," often designated as America's most distinguished scientific organization. This so-called Proslavery legislature in the Kansas of 1855 was using the word "philosophical" in this historic sense as including science, but the name of the society was more comprehensive than if it had been written "The Historical and Scientific Society of Kansas Territory."

The incorporators of this venture were men of representative quality for any segment of American society of the 1850's. Their charter did not become effective, but the reasons for the default lay not so much with the individuals involved as with the times. Fur-

6. *The Statutes of the Territory of Kansas; Passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-five* . . . , ch 56, pp. 831, 832.

7. *Journal of the Council*, 1855, pp. 23, 193.

8. *The Oxford English Dictionary* . . . a Corrected Re-issue . . . on Historical Principles (Oxford, 1933), v. 7, pp. 779-782.

thermore, they had undertaken their enterprise before the structure of the history they proposed to commemorate had taken shape. Other abortive attempts must be recorded before success was attained.

THE KANSAS SCIENTIFIC AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In consequence of the election of October, 1857, political control of the territory of Kansas fell into the hands of the Free-State party, and that party not only governed, but wrote its history. After the defeat of the Lecompton constitution in August, 1858, T. Dwight Thacher expounded "The Need of a Historical Society in Kansas." Educated for the ministry at Union College, Schenectady, Thacher in the spring of 1857, at the age of 25, became editor of the *Lawrence Republican*. Among Free-State men, he was a radical, young newcomer, and that fact was reflected clearly in his editorial on history and a historical society. In distinguishing the two, he assigned to history an aggressively functional role. Quoting Lord Bolingbroke, he asserted:

'History is philosophy teaching by example.' It takes of the various developments of the human race, its laws, languages, customs and religions,—and from them draws many a lesson of interest and profit to place before the student of after times. Races have their histories, and States have theirs.

It is not always necessary that a people should have existed for a long time in an organized society, to enable them to have a history. . . . Indeed, the great eras of history, those which stand as landmarks upon the boundless field of time, are generally the record of only a few years.

As were so many of his generation, Thacher was convinced that he was an actor in one of those great eras and that Kansas history was an important part of it. He feared that posterity would consider the facts of the struggle between freedom and slavery too incredible in their enormity to believe that they "ever *did* or *could* have occurred. . . . Even the careful historian, fifty years hence, will be apt to look back and strike the difference between the actual truth, on the one hand, and the suppressed, mutilated, prejudiced and perverted accounts, on the other, which it has been the interest of our enemies continually to send forth to the world."

Thacher was insistent that the facts of Kansas history should be established:

All the important events . . . are now capable of verification by living eyewitnesses, actors, and participators, and by original documents. . . . If something is not done, many . . . will be irrecoverably lost. . . .

The basis of all right history is *facts*. It is the province of a Historical Society to discover, collect, and preserve these facts. . . .

Thus to Thacher, history and a historical society were social instruments to be used for molding society:

The history of Kansas is yet to be written. The oppression and tyranny exercised on our people is to be treasured up for the scorn of coming ages. The patience, forbearance under wrong, wisdom, and eternal fidelity of those who have won the great battle, shall be commemorated forever, for the encouragement and warning of those who shall live after us. The graves of our martyrs shall be kept green in the affections of our children, and the truthful pen of History shall erect an enduring monument to their fame.

Here was the doctrinaire young radical, consumed by the fire of his own intolerant conviction that no one could be right but himself and his partisans. How different, by contrast, from the views of Eastin and of Charles Robinson quoted earlier, which were written in February and May respectively of the year immediately following Thacher's August 19, 1858, editorial.

Free-State men made their move for a historical society in January, 1859, applying to the territorial legislature in session at Lawrence. The charter bill was introduced into the house of representatives, January 22, by Charles H. Branscomb and reported back from committee and passed on January 28. In the council it was referred to the committee on education, January 28, and reported back the following day with a recommendation that it pass, but the committee was "not wholly satisfied that the incorporation of a society intended for the general benefit of the entire Territory should all be residents of the city of Lawrence. . . ." The incorporators did not take the broad hint, however, and the bill passed without amendment February 4, and became law February 7, 1859, by the approval of the governor.⁹

The bill was conceived in the same particularistic spirit as Grover's proposed bill of 1855, which specified Kickapoo City as the seat of the society, regardless of the location of the capital or of the interest of the territory as a whole. Not only were the incorporators Lawrence men, but the seat of the society was Lawrence. In 1855 Grover had yielded his ambition for Kickapoo, but the Lawrence group of 1859 were stiff-necked, and the legislature yielded to the Lawrence monopoly. At the same time the New England element in Kansas secured the incorporation of "The New England Society of Kansas," mostly also a Lawrence monopoly.¹⁰ The student who would understand Kansas history must give heed to these signs in-

9. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Kansas* . . . , 1859, pp. 138, 186, 293; *Journal of the Council* . . . , 1859, pp. 174, 181, 224, 237.

10. *Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas* . . . , 1859, ch. 54. Approved February 7, 1859.

dicating the direction being given so deliberately to the shaping of major Kansas legends.

The act "to Incorporate the Scientific and Historical Society of Kansas," approved February 7, 1859, named 12 incorporators: Edward Clark (1854), Charles H. Branscomb (1854), R. G. Elliott (1854), William Hutchinson (1855), Charles Robinson (1854), W. I. R. Blackman (1855), Samuel C. Harrington (1854), B. W. Woodward (1855), Melancthon S. Beach (?), James Blood (1854), J. S. Emery (1854), E. S. Lowman (?), and associates.¹¹

A call was issued promptly for a meeting, February 12, to organize under the charter.¹² For the temporary organization, J. S. Emery occupied the chair, with William Hutchinson as secretary, only seven of the 12 incorporators being present. The other five present were Elliott, Harrington, Branscomb, Blackman, and Woodward. After accepting the charter, the seven incorporators present voted into the organization 11 associates, most of whom were not Lawrence residents. A committee of five was then appointed by the chair: Elliott, Branscomb, F. N. Blake, J. P. Root, and J. C. Douglas, the last three being out-of-town associates, to frame a constitution and bylaws. The meeting then adjourned to 7 P. M.

At the evening session, Emery was absent, five more associates were elected, the constitution was drafted, and a temporary treasurer appointed to receive the fee. Seventy-two associates were then elected. Incorporators and clergymen were excused from payment of fees. An election of officers was held. For president, Lawrence D. Bailey of Emporia, was chosen on the second ballot. The five vice-presidents were J. C. Douglas of Leavenworth, J. B. Wheeler of Palermo, F. N. Blake of Junction City, J. P. Root of Wyandotte, and E. Nute of Lawrence. The remaining officers, the working staff, were all Lawrence incorporators: B. W. Woodward, treasurer; William Hutchinson, corresponding secretary; Edward Clark, recording secretary; and S. C. Harrington, librarian. The executive committee of five included W. R. Griffith, Fort Scott; O. C. Brown, Osawatimie; J. L. McDowell, Leavenworth; and two Lawrence men, Josiah Miller and W. I. R. Blackman. The housing problem was solved as follows, on motion of Hutchinson:

Resolved, That the Literary and Scientific Club of Lawrence shall be allowed the right of free access to the library, cabinet, and collection of antiq-

11. *Ibid.*, ch. 41. A manuscript draft of the bill in William Hutchinson's handwriting is in the William Hutchinson "Papers," Kansas State Historical Society. The dates in the parenthesis indicate when each of these men came to Kansas.

12. Lawrence *Republican*, February 10, 24, 1859. The Leavenworth *Weekly Times*, February 19, 1859, gave an abbreviated report of the meeting, based upon the *Republican* report.

unities, &c, of this Society; and as a consideration for the same, the said Club shall provide a room for the safe keeping of said library and other property, without charge to the Society.

The final business transacted was the appointment of 12 standing committees of three members each: geology, botany, zoology, meteorology, mineralogy, fine arts, local history, aboriginal history, ecclesiastical history, biographical history, history of events, and finance.

By actual count, there were 12 incorporators and 88 elected associates, and one man appears on the committee list, the Rev. John G. Pratt, of the Baptist Mission, Quindaro, who was not on the list of associates elected, making a grand total nominal membership of 101 men—no women. Of these, 24 were known to be clergymen, 17 physicians, and an unknown number of "lawyers." The amount of the initiation fee was not publicized, but during the first year only \$42 was collected. Bearing in mind that 12 incorporators and 24 clergymen did not pay fees, the financial burden of the society would fall upon the very small paid-up membership—if one dollar per year—42; if three dollars—14 members. There is no evidence that more than a few of the associates elected were present. Probably the election was really in the nature of an invitation which would not be effective unless responded to by the fee. If the roll of completed memberships were known, a number of aspects of this organization would be easier to interpret.

Of the nine newspapers available for 1859, only two really reported the organization meeting, and one other noticed the fact that it was held. The Leavenworth *Times* gave pointed attention to the operating staff of officers: "All of whom will keep their offices in Lawrence."

Again, one of the significant aspects of this organization was indicated by the name Scientific and Historical Society, and the standing committee structure carried out that broad coverage, on paper at least. Although the organization of 1855 had used the word Philosophical, and this one of 1859 the word Scientific, probably there was in this usage as little real difference in meaning between Proslavery and Free-State men as in most other aspects of their cultural outlook. Both looked upon science and history as fully compatible and complementary in rounding out their orientation of knowledge about the Kansas geographical environment.

The annual meeting of the Scientific and Historical Society was held in Lawrence, January 19, 20, 1860. Again, virtually the only source of information about the meeting is the Lawrence *Republican*

which published in full the proceedings of the meeting and the report of the executive committee.¹³

The annual meeting opened on the morning of January 19, 1860, at its rooms, with President Bailey, of Emporia, in the chair. After the reading and approval of the minutes of the organization meeting, the first motion was one presented by William Hutchinson, corresponding secretary, that a committee of three be appointed on amendments to the constitution. This was carried, and the chair appointed Hutchinson, Woodward, and Lyman Allen, all of Lawrence. This question of amendment appeared to have been the bone of contention throughout the two-day session, but the minutes did not reveal the issues at stake. After the treasurer reported on finances, \$42 receipts from fees, and \$49.10 expenditures, an adjournment was had to 2 P. M.

At the afternoon session the librarian, Dr. S. C. Harrington, reported on the receipt of 244 books, listing the donors; pamphlets; maps and lithographs, nine; and one photograph of John Brown, who had been executed in Virginia some six weeks earlier. Probably the most important part of the library report was that relating to newspapers, the society having solicited editors to contribute their papers regularly for preservation and binding. Fourteen papers were listed:¹⁴

Southern Kansas Herald, Osawatomie

**Fort Scott Democrat*, Fort Scott

**Elwood Free Press*, Elwood

Linn County Herald, Mound City

**Emporia News*, Emporia

**Kansas State Record*, Topeka

**Topeka Tribune*, Topeka

Olathe Herald, Olathe

**Lawrence Republican*, Lawrence

Kansas Statesman, Junction City

**Leavenworth Herald*, Leavenworth

Daily State Register, Leavenworth

**Atchison Union*, Atchison

**Western Argus*, Wyandotte.

The reports of the standing committees were the subject of facetious remarks by the secretary which have for their background

13. *Lawrence Republican*, January 12 (the call by the executive committee), 26 (proceedings), February 2 (report of the executive committee); *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, February 11, 1860 (the proceedings); *Weekly Leavenworth Herald*, February 4, 1860 (summary only of the proceedings).

14. The Kansas State Historical Society now owns files for 1859-1860, some incomplete, of nine of the papers on this list, marked with the asterisk, as well as several not represented here. Cf. "Kansas Territorial Newspapers Available at the Kansas State Historical Society," in *A List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals Received by the Kansas State Historical Society*, July, 1942.

the intense political excitement of the winter of 1859-1860, highlighted for Kansans by the Harpers Ferry raid, and the trial and execution of John Brown, along with the forebodings about the presidential campaign of 1860 already taking shape:

Reports of standing committees were called for, but as there was no committee on the state of the Union, and as the chairmen of all the committees supposed themselves better acquainted with political science than with any of the *obscure* sciences, no reports were forthcoming.

The committee on amendments to the constitution reported, and its suggestions were adopted. The amendments obviously did not go far enough to suit Lyman Allen, one of the committee members, because he then moved a committee of three on revision of the constitution to report at the next meeting, but his motion was lost.

Next came another item of controversial business upon which the minutes reported as follows:

B. W. Woodward, Esq., offered the following resolution: That all editors who shall contribute the files of their papers to this Society for two years shall be constituted members of this Society. Discussed and laid on the table.

New members were then elected, but again the secretary was uninforming as to either names or numbers. Adjournment followed, until 7 P. M., when the evening session would convene at the Methodist church for the formal addresses. L. D. Bailey delivered his address as retiring president, "upon the objects and success of the Society," and Justice S. A. Kingman gave the annual address, "upon the physical causes and development of civilization." The meeting then adjourned to convene the following morning, 9 A. M., at Miller's Hall.

On Friday morning the controversial issues of Thursday's sessions were fought again. Josiah Miller proposed a change in the method of electing members—he moved a bylaw that members propose new members by letter from the applicant. Mayor James Blood proposed a substitute that a committee of five be authorized to receive applications from new members. Carried. The Rev. Charles Reynolds' motion to elect members by ballot was then carried.

Lyman Allen entered the lists again in the interest of reorganization of the society, proposing a committee of five on a new constitution and bylaws. Woodward, who had been a member of the committee of the previous day, moved to strike out the word "constitution" from the motion. Debate followed and Reynolds moved that the question be made a special order at 3 P. M., and that the society proceed to the election of officers. Carried.

The president elected for 1860 was Thomas Ewing, Jr., of Leavenworth. The five vice-presidents were S. A. Kingman of Hiawatha, F. N. Blake of Junction City, Augustus Wattles of Moneka, J. P. Root of Wyandotte, and Lyman Allen of Lawrence. The secretaries, treasurer, and librarian were re-elected. Two members of the executive committee were retained, McDowell and Miller. These, together with Bailey, the retiring president, James Blood of Lawrence, and D. W. Houston of Emporia, completed the panel.

At the evening session, the newly-elected president, Thomas Ewing, Jr., took the chair. The constitution question was reviewed, Woodward withdrew his amendment, and then Allen's motion was adopted. Hutchinson moved that the executive committee be instructed to prepare a code of bylaws for immediate use, to be ratified at the next quarterly meeting. Carried. This was the first mention of quarterly meetings. Possibly they had been provided for by the amendments that had been adopted. At any rate, before the session adjourned, the quarterly meetings were delegated authority to transact all business except election of officers. The structure of the organization was further changed by adding two new standing committees, making a total of 14: agriculture and horticulture, and commerce.

Another election of members was held, and then the fireworks began. Augustus Wattles took the floor, and this time, for a change, the secretary summarized the substance of the debate in some detail. The subject was the momentous woman question—the secretary referred to them as “ladies.” Wattles, and in fact the whole Wattles tribe, who had settled at Moneka in Linn county in 1857, after two years in Douglas county, were radicals adhering to most of the fashionable “isms” of the day. They were not only advocates, but reportedly, practitioners of women's rights, including the wearing of bloomers. Wattles proposed the names of several “ladies” as members. But permit the secretary to tell the story in his own way:

Rev. C. Reynolds [minister of the Lawrence Protestant Episcopal church] hoped that a vote upon those names would not be passed; that the admission of ladies to such societies was a new thing, and feared it might prove injurious to the Society. Mr. A. Wattles considered this a matter of brains against prejudice. Mr. William Hutchinson said those ladies had applied for admission, and for one he would vote for them. Mr. E. Clark said that it was universally acknowledged that woman was more eminent in the social and domestic departments of life than man, and he had yet to find the man who would be unwilling to place a lovely woman at his fireside. It was the life dream of every man. Great men universally refer to a mother or a wife as

the foundation of their greatness. We were willing they should form the minds of our children—acknowledged their equality, physically, morally, socially and in every other respect. Why not admit them intellectually to full fellowship with us? Mr. Kingman said that in this litigation, this contest of brains against prejudice, he was in favor of brains, and that prejudice must eventually go down. Mr. Reynolds said that he nevertheless wished to consider this matter, and moved the names be referred to the Committee on Applications.

The president here decided that all elections that evening were out of order.

To clear the air G. W. Hutchinson moved, and it was carried, that all names proposed for membership be referred to the committee on elections. The president, Ewing of Leavenworth, appointed an all-Lawrence committee: James Blood, S. C. Smith, R. G. Elliott, Rev. C. Reynolds, and Rev. William Bishop. Thus whatever the committee decided on the woman question it was a Lawrence family quarrel.

One important, if not prophetic decision on membership, however, was recorded. During the first afternoon session, Woodward had proposed that a two-year contribution of papers by a newspaper publisher constitute him a member. That had been tabled. Now an unnamed member proposed the following, which was adopted:

Moved and carried, that all editors who shall contribute the files of their papers to this society shall be constituted members hereof, and that their initiation fees be remitted in consideration of such contribution.

The unpleasant question of membership and dues would not down, and the all but final action of the meeting was a resolution instructing the corresponding secretary to notify delinquent members of their status. After announcing the membership of the 14 standing committees, the meeting adjourned at 11 P. M.

The report of the executive committee of the Scientific and Historical Society was published separately.¹⁵ It emphasized that the subject of first importance in launching a new organization was a sound beginning, and argued that this task was more difficult than keeping it in motion afterward. In their first year, they boasted of unexpected success, but the next item of business did not exactly bear out that optimism. They regretted the large list of members who had not paid dues; but they went further in indicating the source of revenue that they considered essential to success—state aid:

No society of this character can secure full benefits provided for in this act of incorporation, while dependent solely upon private aid, or the receipts for

15. *Lawrence Republican*, February 2, 1860.

initiation. Other States have usually made appropriations of money in annual installments, for the benefit of similar societies, by which they are enabled to erect fire proof buildings. . . .

Also such funds would provide salaries. Only by such aid could the society's "true development" be achieved.

This report of the executive committee admitted frankly that the library department was the most prosperous aspect of the society. Except for one newspaper inadvertently overlooked, every publisher in the territory had been solicited to contribute his paper regularly, but "only about half of them have complied with the request." Other measures taken toward building the library were summarized. As Woodward was visiting Philadelphia, he was authorized to solicit learned societies for books, as well as to arrange for the seal of the society "showing the Goddess of Liberty standing on a mounted cannon, with a book in one hand and leaning upon an anchor with the other." The Smithsonian Institution of Washington had contributed, and Parrott, the territorial delegate to congress, had secured over 100 public documents. The Wisconsin and Pennsylvania historical societies had sent volumes, and others had indicated willingness to co-operate. Library policy required something more, however, than what had been acquired thus far:

A mere miscellaneous library is not so essential to the success of a Kansas Historical Society as a judicious collection of all works and material facts relating to Kansas—her laws, legislation, aboriginal and modern history, geography, statistics of vegetable and mineral productions, growth, progress, internal improvements and literary institutions. In these departments, but little, comparatively, has been done. . . .

They looked forward to statehood as holding greater promise, probably the hope of state support. And then as so often with Kansas pioneers in contemplating the future of Kansas, they elaborated upon the significance of its geographical setting and the peculiar problems attending the establishment of habitations in this central plain of the continent:

Our central location upon the arena of a great continent, with a pleasing diversity of mountain, plain and river scenery, peopled with an Anglo Saxon race of the purest blood and highest culture, who appreciate the transcendent advantages that here surround the physical man, are all characteristics of which we may well be proud. . . . It is well remembered, in looking back over the school day period, when the books taught us that this central plain we now occupy, was a portion of the great American desert. . . . But we are now dotting all over that page, heretofore blank, with the daily marks of free labor and the monuments of industrial, intelligent toil, opening its mineral beds, and erecting towns and cities where natives have heretofore held supreme dominion.

The abundant supply of historic facts so readily furnished, especially in re-

gard to the rapid innovations of science and art, will contribute perpetual stimulus to our Society to glean from the passing events matter that would otherwise be lost to the future historian. It becomes especially gratifying, therefore, to know that steps have been taken at so early a period in our civil history, to preserve the incidents of the most interesting period in our country's history since the Revolution.

This was indeed an excellent conception of history and philosophy of history, as of the mid-19th century, with which to inspire a library policy. Possibly, in retrospect, more can be seen in their vision than they were aware of. There was no incongruity, within this comprehensive view, in combining the scientific (or as the men of 1855 worded it, the philosophical) and history in one society. Whether or not they were clearly conscious of what they had done is not evident, but they had come to think of all this as the material of historical reality within the realm of history, and referred to their organization in their report simply as a Kansas historical society, and the library they hoped to build as one for the use of "the future historian." How different, and how sharp the contrast of views represented in this report, when set down beside the editorial of T. Dwight Thacher as of 1858! No clue has been found as to who wrote the report, or was primarily responsible for its philosophy and substance, except that it appeared over the joint signatures of the five members of the executive committee that had functioned during 1859.

However remarkable the activities of this Scientific and Historical Society may appear in the perspective of nearly a century, the press of 1860 gave it slight publicity; in fact few newspapers mentioned it at all. The *Freedom's Champion*, February 11, 1860, printed the proceedings, with a tribute to Kingman: "Kansas has no abler or more eloquent man . . .," and commended the suggestion that his address was to be published.¹⁶ Thacher's *Republican*, printed the proceedings and the report of the executive committee and commented on "The Historical Society and the Women," January 26, 1860. As a professional radical, Thacher, of course, took the side of the women:

We think it was most appropriately termed [by Wattles] a question of "brains vs. prejudice." When we reflect that one of the best of the histories of Kansas is the work of a Kansas woman, Mrs. Gov. Robinson, and that the women of Kansas have sustained as noble a part as the men, in the *deeds* that go to make up that history, we must confess to our wonder that any man should wish to exclude them. . . .

16. No publication of the text of Kingman's address has been located. The theme was the progress "of civilization and distribution of wealth as controlled by climate, soil, and scenery,"—Lawrence *Republican*, January 26, 1860.

The question of quarterly meetings of the society was of concern to the president, Thomas Ewing, Jr. As he had seen nothing in the paper about the first quarterly meeting, he wrote to Secretary Hutchinson, April 14, reporting that on account of court duties he might not be able to attend. He had the promise of a contribution from Frederick Hawn on the geology of Kansas, and promises from others. Also, he proposed two contributions of his own—"not essays." But he asked for information, and the historians still ask. Quarterly meetings there may have been, but no record of them has been found.

When the time came for the annual meeting in January, 1861, many things were competing for attention: secession of the Southern states, attempts to find a compromise that would restore harmony, the admission of Kansas as a state in the Union, the inauguration of Lincoln, the meeting of the last territorial legislature and the convening of the first Kansas state legislature, the organization of state government, the election of two United States senators, and drought relief following the disaster of 1860. Hutchinson prepared a notice dated January 9, 1861, published in the *Republican* the following day, announcing a postponement of the annual meeting until February 3. Again, January 24, the *Republican* carried a notice of another postponement to February 7. Further adjournments on account of the fact that admission cut short the territorial legislature and focused attention on the coming state legislature finally resulted in the date, Friday, March 22, preceding the meeting of the latter March 26, being fixed upon.¹⁷

An elaborate program had been prepared for the annual meeting: addresses by Col. William Gilpin of Independence, Mo., S. O. Thacher of Lawrence, and the address of the retiring president, Thomas Ewing, Jr. The repeated postponements changed the plans. The meeting was convened at Miller Hall on the morning of March 22, to transact business. No report of the proceedings was published, nor any information about the new corps of officers elected. The evening program consisted only of the address by S. O. Thacher on "The Duty of Government." The press report on this effort was brief—that the duty of government was to preserve freedom and prepare citizens for broader liberty; the perfect government was that which ruled least and under which the citizens were least conscious of being ruled. The only commentary in the press about the meeting was that: "The attendance was not large,

17. Lawrence *Republican*, February 14, March 21, 1861; *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, March 21, 1861.

no doubt owing to the general absorption of the people in the political excitement of the times," but the audience that heard Judge Thacher was of "much more than average quality," and "needless to say that the address was eloquent."¹⁸ President Ewing's absence was not explained, but a reading of the Leavenworth papers, *The Daily Times*, pro-Ewing, and the *Daily Conservative*, pro-Parrott, revealed a particularly bitter fight between those two Leavenworth men for the senatorship. Among the issues was old settler against newcomer. Parrott had arrived in 1855, and Ewing in 1857. D. W. Wilder was leading the Parrott forces while J. Kemp Bartlett was supporting Ewing. Referring to Bartlett, Wilder wrote in the *Conservative*, February 27, 1861: ". . . we don't see how the poor silly animal that wears the collar inscribed 'I'm Tom Ewing's dog,' is to get any relief, immediate or remote." The week end on which the Scientific and Historical Society met must have seen Lawrence virtually deserted by politicians.

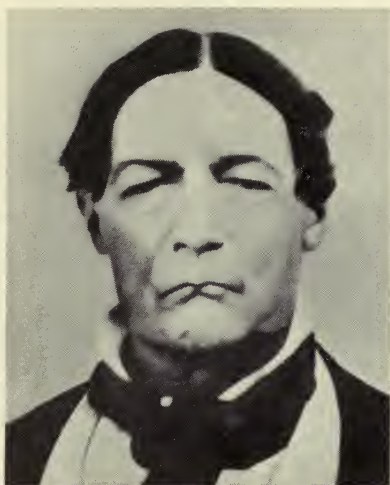
After the capital of Kansas had been removed from Lecompton, that town had been referred to derisively as "the Lonely Widow on the Kaw." Lawrence had been virtually the capital beginning with Free-State control of the legislature in January, 1858. Now that Kansas was a state, the capital was the village of Topeka and for some time Lawrence joined Lecompton as the second "Lonely Widow on the Kaw." Just how small Topeka was, actually and relatively, is emphasized by the census of 1860: Leavenworth, 7,429; Atchison, 2,616; Lawrence, 1,645; Topeka, 759. The *Conservative*, March 24, had been correct in referring to Topeka as "the political Mecca of Kansas," toward which the politicians from every part of Kansas turned their faces. How long, if at all, the Scientific and Historical Society survived, rooted as exclusively as it was in Lawrence, cannot be determined. It just was not on the cards for such a Lawrence institution to receive state support. No subsequent reference to its activities has been found in the press or in private papers.

W. I. R. BLACKMAN PAPERS

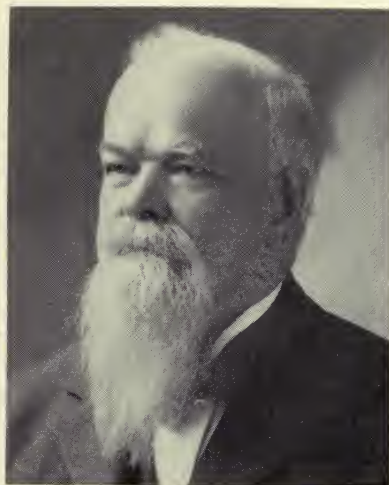
The account of the Scientific and Historical Society just presented is the first to bring together so much of the documented record. Formerly, the most detailed story of the organization was that of W. W. Admire, of 1889, based largely upon information furnished by Kingman and Hutchinson.¹⁹ According to Admire as derived

18. *Ibid.*, March 28, 1861; Lawrence *Kansas State Journal*, March 28, 1861.

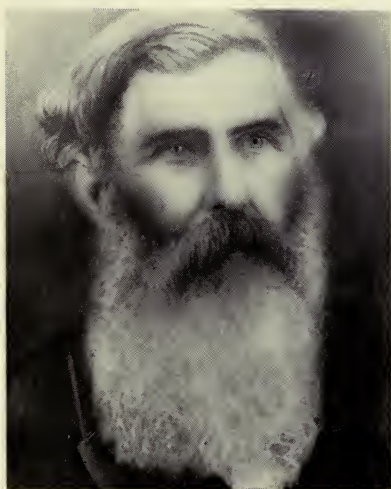
19. W. W. Admire, "The Kansas State Historical Society and Its Founders," *Magazine of Western History*, New York, v. 9 (February, 1889), pp. 407-420.



WILLIAM WALKER
1800-1874



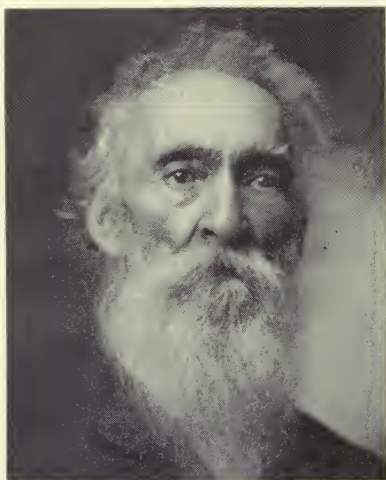
WILLIAM HUTCHINSON
1823-1904



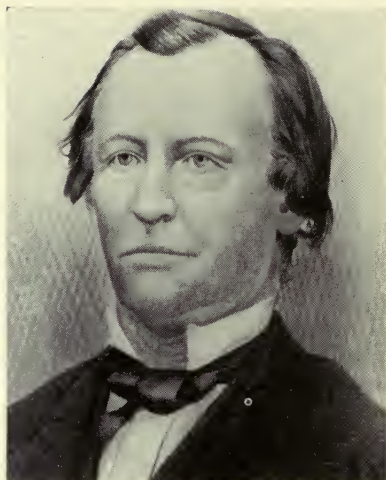
LUCIAN JOHNSON EASTIN
1814-1876



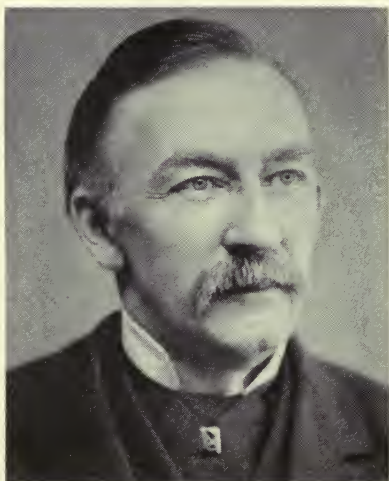
WILLIAM I. R. BLACKMAN
1824-1882



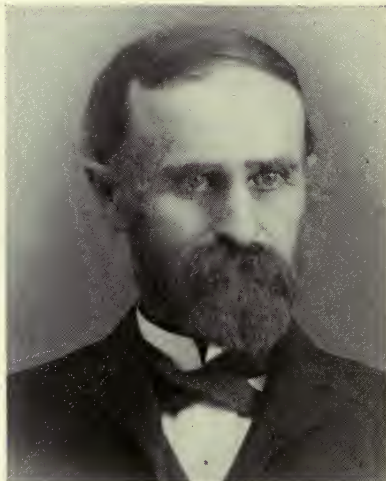
SAMUEL AUSTIN KINGMAN
1818-1904



LAWRENCE DUDLEY BAILEY
1819-1891



BRINTON WEBB WOODWARD
1834-1900



GEORGE ADDISON CRAWFORD
1827-1891

supposedly from Kingman, the society was founded February 1, 1860, Kingman being present quite by accident. He was going to Lecompton, but losing his way near nightfall, stopped at Lawrence for the night. Hutchinson, learning of Kingman's presence, asked him to address a meeting being held that evening to organize a historical society. Admire attributed to Kingman the statement: "I am quite certain that Mr. Hutchinson constituted all there was of the society. . . . I never heard of any other meeting."

A letter of December, 1888, from Hutchinson supposedly supplied other aspects of Admire's story. When Hutchinson moved from Lawrence to Washington in 1861 he deposited his historical papers relating to the society with its library, as well as books and papers. Admire used a copy of the report of 1860 by the executive committee, supplied to him by Hutchinson, which he mistook for a report of 1861. Admire reported also that the library (the books, newspapers, manuscripts, etc.) of the society were destroyed on August 21, 1863, by the Quantrill raid.

The printed record of the historical society is conclusive evidence that Admire's version was in error. The date of February 1, 1860, for the organization meeting is impossible because the legislature of 1859 passed a charter act, and the organization meeting under it was held pursuant to a published call. Kingman addressed the meeting of 1860, but that also was pursuant to an invitation and a published announcement. If there was a kernel of truth in the Admire version, the date must have been early January, 1859. That a meeting was held preliminary to the introduction of the charter bill in the legislature by Branscomb January 22 is possible. Such an explanation of the Admire version, however, would rob it of its picturesque quality.

The story of the burning of the library of the society in the Quantrill affair requires further discussion. W. I. R. Blackman wrote F. G. Adams, May 23, 1878, that his personal historical collection, begun in 1856, had been burned at the time of the Quantrill raid. James F. Legate had testified during the Lecompte-Anthony libel hearings of 1874-1875 that the records of the United States court were burned at the same time. In that he was proved mistaken.²⁰ Possibly some error entered also into one or both of the other instances, if perchance they were not one and the same thing. The Kansas State Historical Society acquired two installments of the Blackman "Collections" containing material dated prior to the Quan-

20. James C. Malin, "Judge Lecompte and the 'Sack of Lawrence'," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20, pp. 589, 590.

trill raid: a newspaper collection in 1898, and a manuscript collection in 1929, a part of which had been the property of the Scientific and Historical Society.

The first correspondence between F. G. Adams, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, and Blackman began in 1878.²¹ Besides the statement that his collection had been burned August 21, 1863, Blackman wrote Adams on May 28 that at Blackman's request Edward Hoogland had sent him a list of the Free-State prisoners held at Leecompton November 12, 1856. This was shortly prior to Hoogland's death in 1862. Thus they would have been in Blackman's possession on August 21, 1863. After several earlier attempts, in 1898 Adams purchased the newspaper collections from the Blackman family. Among others, the files secured were the *Lawrence Republican*, 1857-1862, and the *Lawrence Kansas State Journal*, 1861-August 13, 1863.²² Both of these newspaper files represented the period prior to August 21, 1863, and were not destroyed in the Quantrill raid.

After several more attempts by Adams, and G. W. Martin, all of which came to nothing, in 1929, M. W. Blackman voluntarily deposited a collection of manuscripts with the Kansas State Historical Society in the name of his father, who, he remarked, was "a great man to hoard all sorts of things of this character."²³ All of these manuscripts originated prior to August 21, 1863, and were not destroyed in the Quantrill raid. How is the survival of these newspapers and manuscripts to be accounted for, regardless of whether in the possession of the historical society or Blackman personally on August 21, 1863? In the case of the newspapers, the probability is that they were Blackman's personal file, not that of the historical society, because each issue had his name as though marked by the publisher for delivery to him as subscriber. The case of the manuscripts is different.

One group of the manuscripts included the proceedings of the Leavenworth Constitutional Convention of 1858, in the handwriting of M. F. Conway, a secretary to the convention. The documents had come to Blackman, supposedly through a family connection.

21. W. I. R. Blackman to F. G. Adams, May 23, 1878, Kansas State Historical Society, "Incoming Correspondence," v. 3, pp. 188, 203; F. G. Adams to Blackman, May 25, 1878, K. S. H. S., "Letterpress Book," v. 3, pp. 143, 144.

22. F. G. Adams to Mrs. T. A. [W. I. R.] Blackman, April 30, 1898, K. S. H. S., "Letterpress Book," v. 52, p. 112; K. S. H. S., "Accession Record E," May 5, 1898, p. 126.

23. "Correspondence" of Kansas State Historical Society, Blackman to the secretary of the K. S. H. S., June 18, July 8, 1929.

His mother, Thomas Anna Amoss, was the stepdaughter of M. F. Conway's brother, Jefferson B. Conway.²⁴

Another group of papers related to judicial proceedings before Edward Hoogland, United States commissioner for Kansas territory, arising out of the John Brown massacre excitement on Pottawatomie creek in 1856. Hoogland had deposited these with the historical society at Lawrence, his letter of presentation reading as follows:

Tecumseh, Kansas, January 28th 1861.

To the President and Members of the Kansas Scientific and Historical Society. Gentlemen: As a member of the Committee on "Events" it would afford me pleasure to furnish for your Archives a labored composition on some topic if I supposed, under present circumstances, the reading of the same would be edifying to you or ultimately of interest to the Historian. But as I suppose the evening will be occupied advantageously by others, I ask permission to discharge the duties of my appointment by contributing some original *papers relating to the Public and General History of the Territory*, which may sometime be considered interesting if not valuable.

This paragraph was followed by an inventory of the papers in five groups, and at the end appeared Hoogland's signature.

An endorsement was added, apparently in the hand of W. I. R. Blackman: "Papers of interest read before the Scientific and Historical Society of Lawrence, Kansas, and afterward presented to W. I. R. Blackman by Edward Hoogland." The wording makes unmistakable that Blackman's was not a contemporary endorsement, but an afterthought.

The element of contradiction in these two inscriptions suggests that there was a question about title of ownership. There was no release of ownership by officers of the society in which Hoogland's letter had explicitly vested title. Had the society broken up in part, or wholly, and the property been dispersed to individuals who had an interest in parts of it? Or had the library been placed in trust to Blackman pending a possible future revival, or a successor society? This latter alternative had been the device used by the Kansas State Agricultural Society of 1857: "The library was placed by the Secretary in the hands of Hon. E. D. Ladd, of Lawrence, and subsequently was placed in the Kansas State Library by Hon. Lawrence D. Bailey."²⁵ If such had been the case with the library of the historical society, Blackman did not record the arrangement in the

24. M. W. Blackman to G. W. Martin, secretary of the K. S. H. S., July 8, 1908. —*ibid.* Biographical sketch of W. I. R. Blackman in *Portrait and Biographical Record of Leavenworth, Douglas and Franklin Counties* (Chicago, Chapman Publishing Company, 1899), pp. 790-792.

25. A. T. Andreas-W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 258.

above endorsement, nor in his letter to F. G. Adams in 1878 when referring to these papers. If he was one of the officers of the society elected in the final unreported meeting of March 22, 1861, and thus responsible in an official capacity for the property of the society he did not record that either. As of 1861, when Hoogland was on the committee on history of events, and presented the papers to the society, Blackman was a member of two committees, botany and meteorology.

W. I. R. Blackman was born in Ohio in 1824, and educated in the Troy, Ohio, schools. He enlisted for the Mexican War and upon his return entered the furniture business with his father. In 1855 he settled in Lawrence and opened his own furniture business which he operated until the Quantrill raid, when most of his stock was burned. In 1862 he bought railroad land four and one half miles north of Lawrence. In August, 1863, he was visiting in Ohio, thus escaping the Quantrill raid. In 1864, at the age of 40, he married. At some time after 1863, apparently, he established his home on the farm, where he died March 2, 1883.²⁶ According to his letter of May 23, 1878, to F. G. Adams, he began his personal collection of historical documents in 1856.²⁷ The biographical sketch reported that most, not all, of his furniture stock was burned. Possibly his historical collections were partly saved, and part of the historical society's library which came into his personal possession. Whatever the explanation of their survivals, the newspaper files and manuscripts as described in the two acquisitions from the Blackman family are now in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society, in spite of Quantrill and without any physical evidence of fire damage.

THE LEAVENWORTH MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION,
1859-1873

While Lawrence was undertaking to carry on the Scientific and Historical Society, nominally on a territory-wide basis, but in reality on little more than a city basis, in conjunction with its "Literary and Scientific Club," Leavenworth established its Mercantile Library Association.

Of course, Leavenworth did not pretend to be establishing a historical library, but the differences between the Historical and Philosophical Society idea and the Mercantile Library Association idea

26. Biographical sketch (1899), *op. cit.* The date is given erroneously 1882. The Lawrence *Daily Kansas Herald*, March 12, 1883; *Daily Journal*, March 4, 1883. The *Western Home Journal* and the *Gazette* did not record it. Except for the *Herald*, no obituary was printed by the Lawrence newspapers.

27. Kansas State Historical Society, "Incoming Correspondence," v. 3, p. 188.

were not as real as the names and recent traditional assumptions about such things might suggest. Without any deliberate intention of doing so, the Leavenworth institution might serve the cause of Kansas history better than a weak historical society. It is the effectiveness of an institution, not the name it bears that is important. To deal adequately with the history of historical writing about Kansas, with the history of the facilities that could serve the historian, and with the history of the Kansas State Historical Society would mean virtually to write a history of intellectual activity in Kansas. This series of essays makes no pretense of such completeness, but nevertheless it does constitute a substantial introduction to such an enterprise. In a territory and state where even so-called history was at most only current events not yet more than a decade old, that fact should be apparent in any case. The reasons include other things as well, because these men were close enough to all aspects of the problem of living in Kansas for many of them to think of history as dealing with the past as a whole. And furthermore, specialization of skills, and its counterpart, fragmentation of culture, had not yet become an issue.

In territorial Kansas, even before statehood, as soon as intellect as distinguished from emotionalism had an opportunity to operate, Leavenworth, the largest concentration of population, with the greatest volume of business of all kinds, and the greatest newspaper circulation, took the leadership and held it well through the first quarter century. Kansas City, in Missouri, was its only rival. With the population record before the reader, it should be easier to understand the basis for such a conclusion.

CITIES OF KANSAS

	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880
Leavenworth . . .	7,429		17,873	15,136	16,546
Atchison	2,616		7,054	10,927	15,105
Lawrence	1,645		8,320	7,268	8,510
Topeka	759	1,310	5,790	7,272	15,452

In territorial Kansas, each legislature, Proslavery and Free-State, incorporated its quota of institutions of learning, and, except for the first Free-State legislature, that of 1858, its quota of societies designed to promote other intellectual, literary, professional, and social interests. The legislature of 1858 chartered nothing in the latter category.²³ The Leavenworth Lyceum of 1857 was a joint-stock

23. The record of the several legislatures for institutions of learning (universities, colleges, seminaries, etc.) was 1855, four; 1857, nine; 1858, eleven; 1859, eight; 1860, nine. Most of these were paper institutions associated with townsite speculations. Three became realities: Baker University at Baldwin, still in operation under one continuous management,

enterprise, designed to raise funds for a city library. Among the incorporators was Tiffin Sinks, M. D., who was active in later Leavenworth literary and scientific interests. The lyceum venture failed for want of support, but October 14, 1858, the agitation was taken up by Champion Vaughan, editor of the *Times*. He argued that with the approach of winter the time had come to provide a library as a place where young men could spend their evenings—something besides “haunting saloons.” Vaughan wanted a mercantile library association:

The young men’s mercantile library association has become a National Institution. There is scarcely a town of any magnitude in the country that has not its branch organization. . . .

We do not want any country Lyceums or school-boy debating clubs which go off like squibbs and end in smoke, but we do want a regular mercantile library association, patterned after those in the East. . . .

Vaughan invited letters to the editor. He got at least one response: “It is one of the great and urgent necessities . . . of Leavenworth,”—young men, away from home and religious ties, needed facilities that would rescue them from temptation.²⁹

Before proceeding further with the Leavenworth Mercantile Library Association agitation, the general background of the M. L. A. movement should be explained briefly in order that the several Kansas library charters bearing that name may be placed in perspective. For convenience, libraries serving the public may be classed in four general groups, recognizing that individual examples may not fit exactly into any category and may embody some of the characteristics of two or more kinds. The subscription library followed in the main the precedents found in Benjamin Franklin’s plan in Philadelphia in 1731, and served only subscribers. This type of library was on the decline by 1820, when two other types came upon the scene, the mechanics’ or workmen’s and the mercantile libraries.

The mechanics’-apprentices’ libraries reflected a humanitarian outlook in which employers sought to benefit their workers by providing libraries, reading rooms and lectures. Not only would the workers improve themselves in an educational sense, but the libraries

Blue Mont, Manhattan, and Highland, both of which underwent successful transformations. The record for the second category was: 1855, two (lyceums at Tecumseh and Wyandotte); 1857, one (lyceum at Leavenworth); 1858, none; 1859, five; 1860, ten. Of the five societies chartered in 1859, three involved libraries: the Wyandotte Mercantile, the Leavenworth Literary Association, and the Scientific and Historical Society, Lawrence. Of the ten societies of 1860, Lawrence had a “Law Institute” (bar association), and a music association, Atchison a Turnverein, Paola a mercantile library. At Leavenworth the legislature incorporated the Law Library Association, the Mercantile Library Association, the City Museum, and the Turnverein. The same legislature chartered two other organizations whose locations were not designated, both of which involved the establishment of libraries. Of the charters granted in 1860, nine involved libraries.

29. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, October 28, December 11, 1858.

would offer competition to the saloons and other places that bid for their leisure hours. The movement grew out of the workingmen's lecture idea of Glasgow, Scotland, in 1760. The first important American examples of libraries on this principle were established in 1820 and later, in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere.

The mercantile library association movement reflected the interests of young clerks and merchants on-the-make, to provide facilities for self-improvement in their commercial careers. In the United States this type of library paralleled closely in time the mechanics'-apprentices' type, but in its pure form was self-financed and controlled, not depending upon the patronage of philanthropy. Both movements lasted well past the middle of the 19th century when the public library, supported from public funds and open to the public, began to emerge.³⁰

The Leavenworth M. L. A. reflected a little of the last three types of library movements, but mostly it was of the mercantile character, and in any event it was an adventure in adult education.

Vaughan did not get a mercantile library the winter of 1858-1859, but Leavenworth men did secure a charter for the Leavenworth Literary Association.³¹ Its objects were to diffuse "useful knowledge among its members," and to "found a library and reading room, collect a cabinet of minerals and natural curiosities and specimens in the various departments of sciences, institute a system of literary and scientific lectures, and such other appliances of education, not inconsistent with the general design of said association." The point should be noted carefully that this statement of objects specified in the charter, except for the omission of the word history, was very similar to that of the Scientific and Historical society, with offices at Lawrence, chartered by the same legislature. Among the incorporators of the Leavenworth Literary Association were Henry J. Adams, brother of F. G. Adams, and J. L. McDowell.

With the approach of another winter, Champion Vaughan returned to the lists battling for a library at Leavenworth. His *Weekly Times* editorial, October 29, 1859, urged again that the citizens, "the young men especially," act. He tried to shame the native born Americans in Leavenworth into action:

Our German friends, true to those instincts for which their nationality ever has been distinguished, have taken the initiative in the right direction. Besides

30. This account is based particularly upon S. H. Ditzion, "Mechanics and Mercantile Libraries," *Library Quarterly*, Chicago, v. 10 (April, 1940), pp. 192-219. For the history of several individual libraries, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, etc., consult the index, *Library Literature*.

31. *Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas* . . ., 1859, ch. 40. Approved February 7, 1859.

the Turnverien and Sangerbund, [which included literary activities and lectures] . . . , they have also organized an exclusively Literary Association, under the name of "The Harmonie Library Association."

Vaughan reminded his readers that the earlier library plan had come to nothing: "Will not our young men move in the matter?" Lectures could be provided from local talent as had been suggested a year earlier: "The public library, the debating club and the lyceum desk are, today, among the most potent educational forces of the nation."

Possibly Vaughan's editorial and the action of friends were responsible for stimulating the old venture into life. At any rate the incorporators of the Leavenworth Literary Association met on Christmas Eve to organize under their charter.³² This was the last that was heard, however, of this organization. The sequences are confused, but soon the library movement emerged under a new name.

Out of a series of preliminary meetings, on January 6, 1860, a Young Men's Mercantile Library Association was born by the adoption of a constitution and bylaws and the election of officers: Samuel A. Drake, president; George W. Gardiner, and John A. Halderman, vice-presidents; Champion Vaughan, corresponding secretary; Lewis L. Weld, recording secretary; D. R. Anthony, treasurer; William C. McDowell, Thomas Ewing, Jr., Samuel A. Stinson, A. Carter Wilder, Edward C. Jacobs, directors. A committee on preliminary business was appointed (Vaughan, Sinks, and Weld) to report plans to the directors. The initiation fee was one dollar, and annual dues three dollars.³³ The lectures arranged, with an admission of 25 cents, were not well attended, and the series was abandoned. Before this outcome was painfully evident, however, the legislature had granted a charter to this ambitious group of young men under the title: Leavenworth Mercantile Library Association. The incorporators were A. Carter Wilder, John A. Halderman, Champion Vaughan, William C. McDowell, Lewis L. Weld, E. C. Jacobs, Samuel A. Drake, Thomas Ewing, Jr., Samuel A. Stinson, David H. Bailey, and George W. Gardiner. The objects stated were "the improvement of its members, establishing a permanent library, and such other matters and things as may be for the benefit of said corporation," and the property of the association being "for the purpose of mental culture, shall be free from all taxation whatever."³⁴

32. *Daily Times*, December 24, 1859.

33. *Ibid.*, January 4, 9, 10, 1860. Association activity in perfecting plans was reported further, January 11, 19, 26; February 6, 8, 13, 14, 17, 18, 1860.

34. *Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas* . . . , 1860, ch. 182. Approved February 18, 1860.

In 1861 a new recruit for the M. L. A. movement arrived on the Leavenworth scene. A publishing house under the title of D. W. Wilder and Company, composed of six stockholders among whom were D. R. Anthony and D. W. Wilder established *The Daily Conservative*, edited by Wilder. The first number appeared January 28, 1861, and the issue of February 5, relayed the question asked by a young man who had paid his three dollars membership dues to the Mercantile Library Association—where is it? In view of the fact that Anthony was the treasurer of the library association as well as a business associate of Editor Wilder, the question would seem to have been purely rhetorical. On December 10, however, the question was repeated, and this time followed up with vigor. He called out a group of leading men by name:

If such men as Gen. Delahay, Thos. Carney, Capt. Drake, Robert J. Brown, Henry Deckelman, Judge McDowell, James McCahon, and S. A. Stinson, will interest themselves in such a movement, it can speedily become a source of profit and pride to our city.

Also, Wilder had another gimmick that he thought would stimulate interest: "We are the more urgent about the matter because our friend Artemus Ward wants to come to Leavenworth and because we have ourselves prepared one of the most racy, juicy and gay lectures ever listened to by American freemen. It can't be delivered before nobody. There must be an Association." Wilder used his friend Charles F. Brown, alias Artemus Ward, one of the most noted of American humorists, for all he was worth: "Unless our people are absurdly foolish they will form a Mercantile Library Association and have Artemus Ward here to lecture."³⁵

According to previous announcement, the Leavenworth Mercantile Library Association was organized December 12, 1861. C. A. Logan, M. D., was temporary chairman of the meeting, and D. W. Wilder stated the object of the gathering. The officers elected were Thomas Carney, president; Samuel A. Drake, vice-president; Lucian Scott, treasurer and librarian; David J. Brewer, secretary; and among the board of directors was Dr. C. A. Logan.³⁶ This was indeed a distinguished panel of men. Carney operated a large wholesale house, and was soon to be elected the second governor of Kansas. Drake was one of the leading members of the association until its demise in 1873. Lucian Scott was the head of the Leavenworth Coal Company. Brewer was later to become justice of the United

35. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, December 12, 1861. Three separate paragraphs appeared in behalf of the organization meeting held that evening.

36. *Ibid.*, December 13, 1861.

States Supreme Court. Dr. Logan, and his teammate Dr. Tiffin Sinks, were to be the mainsprings in the Kansas Medical Association.

This action was in the nature of a reorganization under the original charter of February, 1860, but as the constitution and bylaws of that date had been burned new ones were adopted December 14, 1861. Membership was open to "any person" upon approval of the board of directors and receipt of the fee of four dollars per year, payable quarterly. Life memberships were available for \$50. General management of the association lay with the board of directors: "No card playing, drinking, smoking, profane swearing, boisterous conduct, or loud talking, shall be allowed in the rooms of the Association." Rooms were to be obtained, newspapers and periodicals ordered, books bought, and a librarian employed. The first life memberships were subscribed by Carney and Scott, and within the first week there were 10 others.³⁷ In this manner sufficient money was raised, together with what Anthony turned over from the treasury of the previous organization³⁸ to order and pay for the following dailies: *New York Herald, Tribune, Times, and World*; *Washington Star* and *National Intelligencer*; *Philadelphia Press*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Cincinnati Commercial*, *Milwaukee Sentinel*, *Boston Post*, *St. Louis Democrat and Republican*; Weeklies: *Harper's*, *London Times*, *Vanity Fair*, *Home Journal*, *Scientific American*, *Albany Evening Journal*, *London Illustrated News*; Reviews: *Atlantic*, *Knickerbocker*, *London Quarterly*, *Westminster*, *North British Blackwoods*, *Harper's*, and the *Dublin University Magazine*.³⁹ The rooms of the library were furnished and opened for use January 4, 1862. Books were solicited from members. Carney contributed a set of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (21 volumes). Leavenworth claimed a larger list of newspapers and periodicals than the Rochester, N. Y., library.⁴⁰

The next step was to plan a series of lectures. The first year of the American Civil War was closing and the Lane Southern expedition was highly advertised for 1862. Lane was expected in Leavenworth. If any man could draw a crowd willing to pay admission fees, it was Lane and he did his best on January 27. Wilder was enthusiastic.⁴¹ His heroes at this time were Lane, Anthony, Jennison, and Montgomery. The next on Wilder's list of lecture candi-

37. *Ibid.*, December 17, 22, 24, 25, 1861.

38. Alonzo Callahan, *Catalogue of the Leavenworth Mercantile Library, Together With a History of the Association, Constitution, By-Laws, etc., etc.* (Leavenworth, 1869), p. 5.

39. *Daily Conservative*, December 22, 1861.

40. *Ibid.*, January 4, 5, 11, 17, 1862.

41. *Ibid.*, January 22, 28, 29, 1862.

dates was Artemus Ward, and for five months he tantalized the Leavenworth public with the imminence of his visit, announcing May 4 that Ward was expected that day.⁴² Apparently Ward never came.

During the spring of 1862, regardless of the war and of the absence of Artemus Ward, the M. L. A. seemed to thrive. On February 9, the *Conservative* announced that hereafter the library would be open from 2 to 5 every Sunday afternoon, as well as week days.

On March 8 a summary of the holdings of the library was published, which was said to have 800 volumes, as well as the reference works and the newspapers, and periodicals already indicated. A membership of about 150 was claimed and a reading room capacity of 100. The library hours were 8:30-12 A. M., 2-5:30 P. M., and 6:30-10 evenings, and the Sunday hours previously announced. At this time an innovation was recorded casually which was anything but casual. Memberships for women were listed at \$2.00, payable annually or semiannually. No record is available specifying how this change in the bylaws came about. It should be remembered that at Lawrence the Scientific and Historical Society had limited membership to men, and then, under the new president, Thomas Ewing, Jr., of Leavenworth, the issue had been evaded by reference to a committee. The Leavenworth M. L. A. had been launched as a young men's movement, among other things, to provide a substitute for the saloon. Publicly, at that time, no one seemed concerned about the young women. Apparently the admission of women paid off, because the history of the organization indicated that they were active in various entertainments offered to the public in connection with fund raising drives. In 1869 a list of the 69 life members included five women, only one of them married.⁴³

In late 1867 the M. L. A. was out of debt, claimed over 4,300 volumes, and over 100 newspaper and periodical subscriptions.⁴⁴ Information has not been turned up to indicate how many of the newspapers and periodicals received were bound for preservation. This was the largest library in the state and one of the few accessible to J. N. Holloway when he was writing his *History of Kansas* during that year. The Leavenworth M. L. A. did, therefore, make some direct contribution to the writing of Kansas history. His acknowledgment was to "J. A. Halderman of Leavenworth, through whose

42. *Ibid.*, January 5, April 25, 1862.

43. Callahan, *op. cit.*, "Sketch of the Mercantile Library."

44. *Ibid.*; *Daily Conservative*, February 8, 1867.

influence I obtained access to the Mercantile Library of that city, and the use of its excellent files of old papers. . . .” Unfortunately the list of such old files has not been found, but two files on his list, the Leavenworth *Herald*, and the Kickapoo *Kansas Pioneer*, must have been available there as they were not credited elsewhere.⁴⁵

It is important to emphasize the status of the M. L. A. as of 1867, because on the morning of January 31, 1868, fire destroyed everything. If there is any moral to the story of these Lawrence and Leavenworth library enterprises, it would seem to be that the more historical material that is gathered in one place, the bigger the fire. In other words, if truly fireproof storage cannot be provided, it may not be wise to collect unique material in one, or even a few, central repositories.

In reporting the fire, the *Conservative*, February 1, 1868, stated that before noon, of the day of the fire, the president of the association, F. C. Eames, had rented a room, and had started assembling a new library. By February 7 the *Conservative* reported the donation of over 500 volumes. A year later, in writing the sketch of the M. L. A. for his *Catalogue* of the new library, Callahan said:

By nine o'clock the same morning, while the flames were still raging and the engines playing upon them, President Eames had already rented the present rooms, and was canvassing the streets with a subscription paper appealing to the citizens for another Library. . . . in less than a week the Library was in full blast, with one thousand volumes on its shelves.⁴⁶

In both versions the credit went to President Eames. The librarian of the early period was Henry White, who resigned in February, 1867. Mrs. Marion O. Wright was White's successor and remained through 1871, the data being lacking on the last years. Full information would be desirable on this process of reconstituting the library, because the Callahan *Catalogue* of 1869 revealed a most remarkable success in the selection of books. So sound an acquisition policy could not have resulted from the mere chance of the voluntary contributions assembled the week after the fire. The new library had arisen indeed like a Phoenix from the ashes of the old, but even a Phoenix requires some intelligent direction, and at this juncture the M. L. A. had it. With justice, Leavenworth again could claim the best library and "the largest one for general use in the State." Also in 1871, the city government appropriated \$1,000 for the library, and for the first time the reading room was opened to

45. J. N. Holloway, *History of Kansas* (Lafayette, Ind., 1868), preface and appendix.

46. Callahan, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

others than the regular members.⁴⁷ Apparently, this contribution from the city was not continued.

As the years passed, control changed hands, and in 1873 the M. L. A. ran into difficulties by employing a so-called "Gift Concert" scheme as a means of raising money—in plain United States language, a lottery promising a pool of \$332,555, the highest gift to be \$50,000, tickets \$2.00 each, or 60 for \$100. The management proved dishonest, the president of the M. L. A. resigned in protest against the scheme, and finally it was abandoned, the directors undertaking to refund the money on tickets sold. That appears to have been the last of the M. L. A.⁴⁸ It may be that the breakup of the M. L. A. in the midst of the panic of 1873, the drought years of the 1870's, and the consolidation of railroads, is a significant index of a redistribution of power among the towns of eastern Kansas and western Missouri, but that story lies outside the scope of present considerations.

THE KANSAS AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

While unsuccessful efforts were being expended for historical and philosophical ends, the people of Kansas, who were mostly farmers or directly dependent upon agriculture, made a solid beginning of an agricultural society. An interesting, and an important aspect of this venture was that a number of the same men were involved in both the agricultural and the historical societies, and the interests of some of them overlapped still other enterprises. Thus in a very real sense all of these men and organizations became an integral part of the story of historical society enterprise. This interrelation of interests and events is critical to an understanding of the Kansas State Historical Society and to the writing of the general history of Kansas.

Again, the first attempt to inaugurate an agricultural society in Kansas occurred in the "Bogus" legislature of 1855, when a territorial agricultural society was incorporated.⁴⁹ Another abortive undertaking was inaugurated at Topeka, July 16, 1857. On March 5,

47. *Callis, Lynch & Edge's Leavenworth City Directory and Business Mirror for the Years of 1871-72* (Leavenworth, 1871), pp. 6, 7.

48. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, January 7, March 30, May 11, 13, 17, 22, July 2, 4, 1873. The M. L. A. lottery advertisement ran in the *Times* until July 4, the day the directors announced the refunding operations. Lottery advertisements were a common thing during these years, the *Times* carrying its full share of them. Congress finally closed the mails to them in 1890, and interstate commerce in 1895.

A new charter for the M. L. A. was taken out in 1873, executed January 11, and filed May 20, 1873, legalizing lottery operations—"Corporation Charters (official copybooks from office of secretary of state, now in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society)," v. 5, pp. 226, 227.

The Leavenworth Public Library Association was chartered September 5, 1896. —*Ibid.*, v. 55, p. 84.

49. *Statutes of the Territory of Kansas* . . ., 1855, ch. 58, pp. 834-836.

1862, success was achieved. F. P. Baker, then of Nemaha county, was in the chair as temporary presiding officer, and F. G. Adams was on the committee appointed to draft the constitution and bylaws. Adams also drafted the charter bill introduced into the legislature. Among the permanent officers for the first year, 1862, was F. G. Adams, as secretary, and F. P. Baker, as a member of the executive committee. In 1863 L. D. Bailey became president, Adams was continued as secretary, and F. P. Baker was elected treasurer. The *Kansas Farmer*, was authorized to be edited by Adams, the first issue being dated May 1, 1863. In 1864 Bailey and Adams were re-elected and R. G. Elliott became treasurer. Bailey served four terms and then declined another re-election. Elliott became a member of the executive committee in 1865, and Adams dropped out as secretary.

Two new names, worth noting for present purposes, appeared on the executive committee of 1866: H. J. Strickler and Alfred Gray, and before the year was out Strickler became secretary and was continued in 1867, with Elliott as president. In 1868 the officers were re-elected, and Josiah Miller appeared on the executive committee. In 1869 the officers were again re-elected, and Alfred Gray reappeared on the executive committee. In the election of officers in October, 1870, Gray became secretary, a position he held until his death in 1880. In 1872 the legislature created the State Board of Agriculture out of the agricultural society, thus making of it a self-governing quasi-public corporation.

Five conclusions are to be made in connection with the names selected for emphasis in the preceding account. L. D. Bailey was the principal driving force during the first years of the Agricultural Society, unless F. G. Adams deserved that distinction. This is the same Bailey who had been president of the Scientific and Historical Society, and his name will appear again in connection with the Kansas Historical Society of 1867. Secondly, in the launching of the State Agricultural Society, F. P. Baker, and F. G. Adams worked together as a team for the first time, and in 1875 and 1876 this team staged virtually a repeat performance in organizing the Kansas State Historical Society. Thirdly, the emergence of Alfred Gray as secretary of the Agricultural Society prepared another man for a niche in later historical work. Fourthly, attention should be called to the recognition given R. G. Elliott and Josiah Miller. They had played a key role in the critical year of 1855, but historically became "forgotten men," victims in part at least of the New England myth and the feud that raged so fiercely over the merits of Robinson, Lane,

and John Brown. Lastly, but not least, is the case of H. J. Strickler, a Proslavery Democrat, who had been a high officer in the territorial militia before Lawrence in the Wakarusa War. As a representative of the lost cause, he had no place in the historical societies. Yet, he was a man of distinguished ability whose only fault was a difference of opinion with the winning side in the slavery controversy. He was one of a substantial number of former Proslavery men whose talents were largely neglected. Fortunately for Kansas, the Agricultural Society afforded an opportunity for Strickler to serve his state when most other activities were closed to him on account of prejudice.⁵⁰

THE KANSAS GEOLOGICAL SURVEY QUESTION

The interest of Kansas pioneers in geology, and something of the reasons for it, has already been discussed. Looking backward, the proposal of Stephen A. Douglas, in 1849, to provide federal aid for the establishment of geological surveys in the Western states affords background. The territorial historical and philosophical societies of 1855 and 1859 had contemplated geological activities as within their scope of operations. After admission as a state, if there were a serious desire for a geological survey, the responsibility lay with the state legislature. The campaign started almost before the ink was dry on the bill admitting Kansas to the Union. The establishment of a geological survey meant a more specialized geological organization than was involved in the earliest organizational efforts, and the separating out of that specialized interest from the general interest and from the general societies, both historical and agricultural.

Richard Mendenhall, the Quaker missionary to the Indians, who had come to Kansas in 1846, wrote the Lawrence *Republican*, March 11, 1861, in the interest of the geology of Kansas. He wanted to stimulate private activity but his letter called out another, dated April 10, from a reader who signed himself "M," and insisted upon a geological survey conducted by the state government. The writer was interested not only in soil as an agricultural resource, and coal and other minerals, but especially in oil deposits such as had been discovered in western Pennsylvania and in eastern Ohio in 1859 and later.⁵¹

50. Gen. Benjamin F. Stringfellow found an employment of his talents as a promoter of the city of Atchison, and of its railroad interests.

See James C. Malin, *On the Nature of History* (Lawrence, the author, 1954), chapter on "The Nature of the American Civil War: The Verdict of Three Kansas Democrats"; Peter Beckman, O. S. B., "Atchison's First Railroad," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 21 (Autumn, 1954), pp. 153-165. Something of Judge Samuel D. Lecompte's story is presented in Malin, *ibid.*, and in "Judge Lecompte and the 'Sack of Lawrence,'" *ibid.*, v. 20 (August, November, 1953), pp. 465-494, 553-597.

51. Mendenhall's letter was published first in the Lawrence *Republican*, March 21, reprinted in the *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, April 6, 1861. The letter from "M" was printed in the *Republican*, April 11, 1861.

For a state just setting up for itself under the handicaps of 1861, with an empty treasury and no means of filling it except by borrowing without collateral, and no certain prospect of being able to pay, a geological survey must have appeared to most men as an unnecessary luxury. Yet the legislatures of 1864 and 1865 were induced to appropriate money for a state geologist, and two years of survey activities. B. F. Mudge and G. C. Swallow respectively headed these two exploratory surveys. Associated with the Swallow regime were two men who have already been introduced and reappear here as old friends: C. A. Logan, M. D., who reported on sanitary relations of Kansas, and Tiffin Sinks, M. D., who did likewise for the climatology of Kansas.

THE KANSAS MEDICAL SOCIETY, 1859

The Kansas Medical Society was chartered by the legislature of 1859. The incorporators, 29 in number, were widely distributed over the territory. In this respect it contrasted sharply with the Scientific and Historical Society chartered at the same time. The first meeting, to organize under the charter, was set to convene at Lawrence. Apparently, this completion of organization did not occur until February 23, 1860, when a constitution and bylaws, and the National Code of Ethics were adopted. Another session, proforma in character, took place in February, 1861, but not until after the Civil War did the society become effective. At the time of this reorganization, April, 1866, Dr. C. A. Logan became president. His presidential address of April 3, 1867, pointed to the principal function of this professional organization during its early years—to eliminate quacks of which Kansas had an oversupply, and to regularize professional ethics. Logan and Tiffin Sinks founded the *Leavenworth Medical Herald*, June, 1867. With the April, 1871, issue, Logan withdrew, leaving Sinks as editor until 1875 when the journal was terminated.⁵²

THE KANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

After the Civil War the tendency toward specialization and compartmentalization of knowledge became conspicuous. Instead of reviving the Scientific and Historical Society, the naturalists discussed among themselves the possibilities of an organization of

52. An incomplete file of the *Medical Herald* is in possession of the Kansas State Historical Society. For a short period, from May, 1871, to June, 1872, inclusive, the scope was enlarged and the magazine was titled the *Leavenworth Medical Herald and Journal of Pharmacy*.

Logan entered the diplomatic service, representing the United States successively in Chile, Guatemala, and again in Chile, 1873-1883.

their own. As a result a letter was published in *The Kansas Educational Journal*, Emporia, April, 1868, to test out opinion. The responses were sufficiently favorable to encourage the publication of a call in July for an organization meeting at Lincoln College (Washburn) on September 1 to organize the Kansas Natural History Society. Among the names associated with this society were Peter McVicar, president of Lincoln College, and J. R. Swallow, both of whom will be met again in another connection.

In 1871 the society was reorganized to include the physical as well as the biological science: "every line of scientific exploration and observation," and a new name was adopted: The Kansas Academy of Science. By an act of the legislature approved March 6, 1873, the Kansas Academy of Science was declared "a co-ordinate department of the State Board of Agriculture," to become effective upon compliance by the academy. Thus the organization, while remaining essentially self-governing on the model of the State Board of Agriculture, became a quasi-public corporation subsidized from the state treasury.

Although the purpose of the academy was to specialize in science, it is important for the present purpose to review the program of this body in order to clarify the scope of its activities as practiced under that label, as well as the personnel who participated. In 1869 one lecture was devoted to the mound builders; in 1872 papers were presented on the Cherokee language, on the sources of the English language, and on the artist in society. Again in 1874 there was a paper on the English language. In 1876 a commission on ethnology was established. In 1876 F. G. Adams, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, presented a paper on "How to Popularize Science," in 1877 one on "Kansas Mounds," and in 1878 he was appointed to the commission on anthropology. During the three years 1877-1879 there was great interest in anthropology, but the interest in language, during the same period declined. In any case, these were fields that overlapped other specializations that tended in turn to set up for themselves.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1867-1868

Prior to the action of the naturalists in setting up for themselves, men interested in history had launched a Kansas Historical Society. The society was organized at Topeka, March 2, and the charter filed March 4, 1867. The incorporators included George A. Crawford, Dr. D. W. Stormont, who had been one of the incorporators of the

Kansas Medical Society, L. D. Bailey, who had been one of the leading men in the Kansas Agricultural Society, and Samuel A. Kingman, who had participated in the Scientific and Historical Society. The objects of the society were specified as "the collection, preservation, arrangement and publication of facts pertaining to the history of Kansas, together with such powers and privileges as usually belong to similar Societies." In the second of the bylaws adopted March 2, was a repetition of a provision from the earlier society: "Editors and Publishers of newspapers in the State shall be exempt from the payment of a fee of membership."⁵³

The officers of the society were S. A. Kingman, president; C. K. Holliday, vice-president; Dr. D. W. Stormont, treasurer; Andrew Stark, librarian; Prof. S. D. Bowker, corresponding secretary; and George A. Crawford, recording secretary.⁵⁴

Supposedly, the society was to meet May 30, the anniversary of the signing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, but no record of such a session has been found. The annual meeting was called for February 4, 1868, at Topeka. The program consisted of the address of the retiring president, the annual address by Charles Robinson, a paper by George A. Crawford on the candle-box fraud, and one by Hoyt, of John Brown notoriety. The new officers elected were Kingman, president; J. R. Swallow, vice-president; George H. Hoyt, recording secretary; George A. Crawford, corresponding secretary; Dr. Stormont, treasurer, and Prof. Peter McVicar, librarian.⁵⁵ A canvass of these lists of names indicates two conclusions: the overlapping in personnel of this and other organizations reviewed, historical and scientific; and the fact that this Kansas Historical Society was virtually a Topeka monopoly. The movement did not strike fire. For reasons difficult to account for adequately, the time was not yet ripe for Kansas history. Holloway was gathering the material for his history during 1867, and was selling the book during 1868. The chronology of the society and of the book were parallel, but each appeared to be completely isolated from the other. The state was apathetic to both.

One aspect of the Kansas Historical Society is important enough, possibly, to justify the effort, and that is the presidential address of Kingman on the objects of the society, the full text of which was

53. The constitution and bylaws of March 2, 1867, were printed as a circular, a copy of which is on file in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society.

54. From a printed form of notice of election to membership, dated March 4, 1867, in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society; *Topeka Tribune*, March 8, 1867.

55. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, January 29, February 5, 1868; *Topeka Weekly Leader*, February 6, 1868; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, February 6, 1868; *Junction City Weekly Union*, March 7, 1868.

printed in the *Weekly Leader*, February 6, 1868. Kingman (1818-1904), was Massachusetts born, and was educated in common schools and academy until his formal schooling ended at 17. In 1838, at the age of 20, he moved to Kentucky for 18 years where he became a lawyer and held county office and sat in the legislature. In 1856 he went to Iowa for one year, and thence to Brown county, Kansas, in 1857, practicing law in Hiawatha. Elected associate justice of the supreme court in 1859, he served 1861-1864, and was elected chief justice in 1866, re-elected in 1872, resigning on account of ill health in 1877. Whig, Free-State, and then Republican in politics, he was a man of moderation and tolerance on slavery and other issues. Kingman not only held a judicial office, he possessed a judicial mind. This fact is conspicuous in his address:

The leading primary object of the society is to collect from all quarters every attainable fact connected with the early settlement of Kansas. Not only those facts that will throw light upon our history, but such as will show those who come after us the labors and struggles necessarily attendant upon the settlement of a new country, and the organization of society in the wilderness. We wish to gather every fact that will illustrate the manner of life, the style of living, the habits of thought, the motives of action—of every kind and class of people who sought homes on the great American desert. We desire to obtain the details of every enterprise, whether educational or commercial, moral or religious, that has served in any way to develop, shape or modify the institutions of our State or affect its character. We propose to secure a minute history of every settlement within our bounds, telling the story of its progress, the causes that have aided therein, and the impediments that have retarded. . . .

How did Kingman come by this concept of history? Would that the materials were available upon which to reconstruct the biography of his mind. With the minimum of formal schooling, Kingman had developed that mind through his own initiative and experience. Comparisons are invidious. Kingman did indicate one example to illustrate the direction of his thought, but important as it was, it explained only in part his theory of history:

Those who have read the brilliant pages of Macaulay's history⁵⁶ will probably recall with vivid interest the memorable 3d chapter in which that most skillful writer has sketched a picture of the material situation, the conditions of society and the manners and habits of the people of England at the time of the accession of James the Second. How he sought in every old letter, in every scrap of gossiping journalism, in every broadside, in every account of a public meeting, in the local records and public archives, for every fact and incident,

56. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *History of England From the Accession of James II [1685-1697]* (five volumes published, 1849-1861).

This commentary of Kingman's was focused upon chapter three and the question of materials and method. There is no indication whether or not he realized how partisan Macaulay's history was—much more so than Kingman's own idea of Kansas history.

for every expression of thought, or declaration of purpose that would in any way enable him to exhibit the manners, habits, and condition of that age.

So when this *now* infant community shall have grown into the great central State of the continent, we wish to preserve for the use of some future Macauley, the materials out of which his beautiful fabric may be woven.

Kingman was keenly aware of how presentism tends to distort the perspective of history and in discussing the problem, cited a poet to illustrate his ideas about history:

It is never easy—it may never be possible for any contemporary to delineate truthfully the movements of society in his own age.

We plant the acorn, we know that the growth must be an oak—. . . . [but what will happen to it is not known]—We must wait for the centuries to unfold the result. . . . We know but little of the present because it is but the beginning of what never ends.

Every age,
Through being beheld too close, is ill-discerned
By those who have not lived past it. We'll suppose
Mount Athos carved, as Alexander schemed,
To some colossal statue of a man.
The peasants, gathering brushwood in his ear,
Had guessed as little as the browsing goats
Of form or feature of humanity
Up there,—in fact, had travelled five miles off
Or ere the giant image broke on them,
Full human profile, nose and chin distinct,
Mouth, muttering rhythms of silence up the sky
And fed at evening with the blood of suns;
Grand torso,—hand, that flung perpetually
The largesse of a silver river down
To all the country pastures. "T is even thus
With times we live in,—evermore too great
To be apprehended near.⁵⁷

The concept of history and of the materials essential to the writing of the history of Kansas as Kingman was outlining them did not come necessarily from Macaulay and Mrs. Browning. His ideas went much beyond anything contained in these citations. In fact the use of them does not mean that he was influenced by them in a cause-and-effect sense. His ideas may have been formed independ-

57. From Elizabeth Barrett Browning, "Aurora Leigh," *Poetical Works* (five volumes, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1885), v. 5, pp. 180, 181.

Why did not Kingman continue and apply to the historian the following?—

"But poets should
Exert a double vision; should have eyes
To see near things as comprehensively
As if afar they took their point of sight,
And distant things as intimately deep
As if they touched them. Let us strive for this."

The text of the extract given here is from the collected poems rather than the one Kingman read, which was imperfectly printed in the *Leader*. A first edition of Mrs. Browning's poem is not conveniently available from which to make corrections of that version.

ently, in which case his selection of these particular illustrations would be in consequence of conclusions already formed and would serve only as convenient illustrations familiar to his hearers, and chosen for that reason to facilitate presentation to his audience. Whether or not the synthesis had been original with him, the program recognized Kansas as a special case—it had features similar to other transfers of cultures to a wilderness, but it was different. He specified two elements of geographical setting that in themselves rendered it unique: the location at the center of the continent, and the modifications of Eastern culture as they must necessarily be adapted to the so-called “great American desert.” He was thinking of history as a reconstruction of the past as a whole, and came very near to calling for the collection of materials of the whole past.

There was no defeatism in Kingman’s use of this poetic illustration: “But if we may not grasp the present in all its broad significance, we may still exercise the humbler power we do possess, in gathering up the facts that transpire around us. . . .” Nevertheless, Kingman did share with many of his contemporaries some positive presentist convictions and he was candidly aware of their subjective nature:

There are certain periods which always draw to themselves a strong and enduring interest. There are eras in history so marked and so peculiar—having such powerful significance and seeming to exercise upon the course of events that follow them—so strong an influence that we involuntarily pause and look back with earnest attention upon them. We gather up every fragment connected with [them], treasure them in our minds, reflect and ponder upon them, and as the passing years throw over them the softening tints of time, leaving something for the imagination to act upon, we array them in all their brightest colors, and, with becoming grandeur, and our hearts kindle at the contemplation; we exult at success; we mourn at misfortune, and live over again in spirit as if in very fact the deeds in which we feel so deep an interest. We feel that the events are connected with us, that they form part of our greatness by being so connected with our race and the fate of the world.

The settlement of the territory of Kansas, it is believed, is one of those epochs.

There are great mountain ridges in the history of the world which catch the eye early and far off and hold it long. We think we have just passed one of those great mountain ridges—. . . . Whatever may be the fortunes of the future, the past, with all its glorious memories; the stern lessons that it taught; the exalted devotion that it evoked, is safe.

The history of Kansas is intimately and indissolubly blended and connected with that great struggle [—the American Civil War]. Whether we consider it [the history of Kansas] as a miniature of that great contest, or as the acorn that produced so large a tree, or but the great rumbling mutterings that precede the earthquake, it was so intertwined and connected with it that no history of the one can be written that does not hold within its grasp the other.

Therefore the history of Kansas is not simply the story of the settlement of a new state—the planting of the institutions and organizations of civilized society in the wilderness—with somewhat more than ordinary turmoil and conflict—of struggle and triumph. It is a necessary link with the great chain of mighty events.

Whatever Kingman's personal commitments might be upon Kansas and the Civil War, and even John Brown, he was first of all possessed of a judicial mind, and that quality of intellectual objectivity asserted itself:

This is no partisan society, its leading object is the truth, the **WHOLE TRUTH**.

If those who were successful in the struggle committed errors, or were guilty of wrongs, let it so appear; they were human—and if the merits they showed will not bear the weight of such errors as they committed, let them bear the odium—nothing will be changed by falsehood. If Old John Brown were alive to-night, he would scorn the man who sought to enhance his good name by the concealment of one iota of truth, or the utterance of the slightest falsehood. . . .

And here let me in the name of the society, invite contributions from those who belonged to the losing side in the contest for supremacy in our infant state. The most that has been written, has been in the interest of the winning side. You ought not to let judgment go by default. History records her verdicts on men and measures, and before her arbitrament becomes final, you ought to be heard.

This society invites your contributions either in the way of facts or criticism. It will safely preserve what you may present, and in the future will deal justly with it as with all others. . . . Our purposes are different [from other organizations] . . . —we want the truth, and all the truth, not to subserve partisan ends or personal advancement. . . . This is a free country, and this is a free institution, where each may testify as to facts, and we hope to find in the multitude of witnesses the **TRUTH**.

We aim to procure and safely keep the history of every village, town, city and county, every church, school and college, every bank, manufactory and railroad, and bring them here to one common centre, when they can be arranged and preserved for future use. This work must be done now. . . . If we want to preserve the present to our minds we must photograph it as it passes. [The society's] mission will be finished only when all history is ended.

In taking leave of Kingman, it is necessary to come down out of the stratosphere of historical idealism into which he had ascended and return to the rugged realities of Kansas as of 1868. The Kansas Agricultural Society was to meet the following day under the presidency of R. G. Elliott, one of the forgotten Free-State men as Kansas history was then being written. And at the head of the page upon which Kingman's address was printed appeared an editorial welcoming T. Dwight Thacher back to the editorship of the *Daily Republican*: "Of course the Republican will be radical," and quoting from Thacher's salutatory: "We have no new confession of faith

to make. The principles which we avowed more than ten years ago, when the first number of this paper was issued, are still cherished by us with an intensity of conviction to which time and experience have only added renewed and increasing strength." Thacher's views on history and on a historical society have already been reviewed—as instruments to be used in molding society: "The oppression and tyranny exercised on our people is to be treasured up for the scorn of coming ages."

CONCLUSION

The serious student of Kansas history is entitled to some analysis of why the inadequacies in the written history of Kansas exist. Partly, the reasons lie in the larger setting of so-called Western culture, and what happened to it during the 19th and 20th centuries. Partly, peculiar local circumstances, material, and personal, made of the Kansas situation a special case. To some readers this study may appear to be overly complicated, to others oversimplified. If this description of the split between theory and practice, and between science and history is not adequate, the reason is that to make it so would involve a larger setting than these essays on Kansas historiography permit.

The historian and the scientist may utilize much of the same material. The scientist uses it by classification with respect to likeness and difference in order to derive a law of the behavior of matter or the basis for a functional application. The scientist does not always use his material to establish laws. When he operates as an ecologist, studying organisms living together, he finds that uniqueness is the peculiar characteristic of every ecological situation, both in space and time. So far as he may have occasion to undertake to establish ecological laws, they must apply only as approximations, even when dealing with plants and animals as material. They cannot apply to man as history.

The historian may use science and much of the same material as the scientist, but not to establish laws. Each historical situation in space and time is different. His use of these materials is to enable him to describe more adequately the unique setting of history, to aid him in broadening the base upon which to reconstruct unique historical reality. So far as man is involved, he does not follow laws in his behavior, because, within limits, he possesses the power of choice. If for no other reason, his action is unique, because he possesses this power of choice. If that property is denied man,

either in the aggregate, or in the individual human person, he loses his freedom, becoming merely a cog in a universal machine.

About the time of the settlement of Kansas and of the American Civil War, Western culture was entering upon an era of specialization. The subdivision of knowledge and the setting up of compartments was done to promote a specialization that seemed necessary to make human intelligence effective in dealing with its problems. The separation of history and science, and the splitting up of science into many sciences, mark one of the many differences between the late 19th century, and the world of Benjamin Franklin and the American Philosophical Society. The early history of Kansas lies in this transition period. But, without losing sight of the advantages and even the necessity of specialization, the admission must be made candidly, that it was done at a price—a loss of perspective and a loss of an adequate comprehension of interrelationships that were essential to a unity of Western culture—and possibly to its vitality short of some new synthesis of a new order of magnitude.

In the early days of Kansas, regardless of Free-State and Pro-slavery differences, the historical and philosophical society idea of 1855 and of 1859 represent essentially the same cultural tradition. Too much stress has been given to the single factor of slavery as a criterion of difference, because even in the slave states probably about 80 per cent of the white population had no direct participation in slavery. Both north and south of the dividing line between free states and slave holding as an institution there was a substantial unity among white people on the race question—white supremacy, even Anglo-Saxon domination. In the story of historical and philosophical societies just told, the executive committee report of 1860 to the Scientific and Historical Society at Lawrence made that idea explicit. The promoters of these organizations were looking at the body of knowledge more as a whole than later, when specialization and its counterpart, fragmentation of knowledge and of the cultural pattern, became increasingly conspicuous.

The best introduction to what was happening to Western culture, with emphasis upon the United States at the federal level, is that of Roy F. Nichols, in his book *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), pp. 20-40. In that connection he emphasized "cultural federalism" rather than a federation of states as being characteristic of American society of the 1850's. People belonged to groups in society, often without any relation to any recognized political boundary lines. These cultural groups made commitments to different, even conflicting attitudes, and as people

joined two or more groups they found themselves united within particular groups but sometimes in conflict with relatives, friends, and neighbors connected with another group or groups. As the new communications system widened geographical horizons, both the unifying and the divisive ramifications of these permeating phenomena were reconstructing the nature of society. The artificial geographical boundaries established for political purposes—towns, counties, states—no longer served the purposes for which they were created. Public opinion was molded more and more through the instrumentalities of these cultural groups. Yet for political purposes, the old machinery was used and was expected to function effectively in a cultural situation for which it was not adapted.

As applied to the problem in hand, in the early days in Kansas the men named in this study could have been, and often were, members of one or at most, a few organizations that covered their range of interests. By the late 1860's, and more conspicuously later, if a man was to follow intellectual interests, he must be a member of several specialized organizations—so many and so exacting in specialization that most men dropped out. The demands made by so many specializations were too great for a single individual to follow all.

Still another aspect of the internal reconstruction of society may aid in understanding the changing role of the several towns of Kansas. Leavenworth's pre-eminence as a population center, and therefore its bid for leadership in early Kansas, not only in business, but in the intellectual field as well, was founded upon its river position and the fact that the communications system of that time was still dependent upon water navigation. The orientation was toward the mouth of the Mississippi river and New Orleans. The change from water navigation to steam railroad and electric telegraph communications reoriented the interior of the continent upon the Atlantic coast cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. They are enumerated in that order, because already, when Kansas was organized, New York's rail system was on the way to giving it the leadership over Philadelphia and Boston. In the publishing field, the historic Philadelphia book house of the Carey family dynasty was no longer pre-eminent. New York was also taking over the publishing business of Boston. These facts are more important to the intellectual history of Kansas than those associated with the slavery controversy *per se*.

The new communications system was not only redistributing power among Atlantic coast cities, it was contributing similarly to

redistribution of power among Kansas and neighboring towns. Leavenworth, Atchison, and St. Joseph on the upper Missouri river, and Lawrence in the interior, all bidders for leadership, were eliminated from any hope of first rank positions. The fact that Topeka won the prize of being the state capital worked to its advantage, but, except in a restricted sense of local politics, it did not possess the resources requisite to make it the Metropolis of Kansas or of the region between St. Louis and the Rocky Mountain continental divide. Greater Kansas City, mostly on the Missouri side of the state line, won that prize. All these factors have a bearing upon the intellectual history of Kansas, working against a decisive Metropolitan concentration of energy within the state that could find expression during a railroad age in either a state-wide or a regional unity, whether in a restricted intellectual sense, or in the more comprehensive cultural context.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. MCFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified as general. The out-of-state city directories received by the Historical Society are not included in this compilation.

We also receive regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribe to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were added to the library from October 1, 1953, to September 30, 1954. Federal and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in the Winter, 1954, issue of the *Quarterly*.

KANSAS

ALLEN, O., *Allen's Guide Book and Map to the Gold Fields of Kansas & Nebraska and Great Salt Lake City*. Washington, R. A. Waters, 1859. 68p. (Mumey Reprint, 1953.)

ANGERMUELLER, MINA (WAMPLER), *Flames of Life*. New York, Exposition Press [c1952]. 144p.

August 16-17-18-19, 1954, *100th Anniversary of Marysville, Kansas, a Century of Progress*. N. p., 1954. [85]p.

BAILEY, JEAN, *Rod's Dog*. New York, Abingdon Press [c1954]. 192p.

BIEHLER, J. E., *One Hundred Years in Rock Creek Valley, a History of the St. Joseph Parish at Flush, Kansas* . . . [Topeka, Central Press, 1954.] 149p.

BOSTWICK, A. C., *Groping; Selections From the Events in the Life of a Boy as Seen Through the Eyes of That Same Boy When Past Middle Age* . . . New York, Vantage Press, Inc. [c1953]. 175p.

BREIHAN, CARL W., *The Complete and Authentic Life of Jesse James* . . . New York, Frederick Fell, Inc. [c1953]. 287p.

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- CALLENDER, HAROLD, *Fun Tomorrow, the Story of an Artist and a Way of Life*. New York, Privately Printed, 1953. 164p.
- CARSON, L. B., *Introduction to Our Bird Friends*. [Topeka, Capper Publications, Inc., c1954.] 25p.
- CAWTHRA, LILLIAN, *Lure of the West*. New York, Vantage Press, Inc. [1954]. 238p.
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- Cross Reference Directory, Topeka, July, 1954. Independence, Kan., City Publishing Company, 1954. Unpaged.
- CRUMBINE, SAMUEL JAY, *A Few Highlights in the History of Sanitation*. (Reprinted from *Modern Sanitation*, April, 1954.) 10p.
- DALLAS, DAVID, *Comanche Lives Again*. [Manhattan, The Centennial Publishing Company, c1954.] 16p.
- DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, EUNICE STERLING CHAPTER, WICHITA, *Index Revolutionary Ancestors of Members, Eunice Sterling Chapter, D. A. R., From Time of Organization, October 21, 1896*. N. p., 1954. Typed. 26p.
- DIEKER, LEO E., *A Brief Historical Sketch, Hollenberg Ranch, Pony Express Station, Hanover, Kansas*. [Hanover, Hanover News, 1954.] [7]p.
- DUNCAN, KUNIGUNDE, *The Tether, Una Grey's Story*. Boston, L. C. Page and Company [c1953]. 394p.
- DYKSTRA, R. R., *Veterinary Medicine in Kansas*. N. p., 1952. 110p.
- EITZEN, D. C., *History of the Ebenfeld Mennonite Brethren Church, 1951*. No impr. [8]p.
- EMERY, CURTIS RAY, *Modern Volleyball*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1953. 144p.
- FARROW, TIERA, *Lawyer in Petticoats*. New York, Vantage Press, Inc. [c1953]. 214p.
- FISHER, DOROTHY CANFIELD, *Vermont Tradition, the Biography of an Outlook on Life*. Boston, Little, Brown and Company [c1953]. 488p.
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- GREENE, LAURENCE, *The Raid, a Biography of Harpers Ferry*. New York, Henry Holt and Company [c1953]. 246p.
- HAYS, AGNES D., *The White Ribbon in the Sunflower State, a Biography of Courageous Conviction, 1878-1953*. [Topeka, The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1953.] 124p.
- HENNESSEY, LOLA, *Tecumseh, Kansas, 1854-1954, Centennial*. No impr. Mimeographed. 19p.
- HIBBARD, CLAUDE W., *A New Pliocene Vertebrate Fauna From Oklahoma*. No impr. [20]p. (*Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, Vol. 39, 1954, pp. 339-359.)
- HILL, EVERETT WENTWORTH, *Light Across the Valley* . . . Litchfield, Ill., The Sunshine Press [c1951]. 92p.
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- LEIBMAN, JERRY P., *Press Freedom and Libel as Defined by Kansas Case Law*. Emporia, Kansas State Teachers College, 1954. 24p. (*The Emporia State Research Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3.)
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- , *The Nebraska Question: a Ten-Year Record, 1844-1854*. (Reprinted from *Nebraska History*, Vol. 35, No. 1, March, 1954.) 15p.
- , *The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854*. [Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, Inc., c1953.] 455p.
- , *Soil, Animal, and Plant Relations of the Grassland, Historically Reconsidered*. (Reprinted from *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 71, No. 4, April, 1953.) [13]p.
- , *Thomas Jefferson Sutherland, Nebraska Boomer, 1851-1852*. (Reprinted from *Nebraska History*, Vol. 34, No. 3, September, 1953.) [33]p.

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- MEHDEVI, ANNE (SINCLAIR), *Persian Adventure*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953. 272p.
- MOORE, LOUISE, and others, *Downs, Kansas, 75th Annual Celebration*. [Cawker City, *Ledger*, 1954.] 24p.
- MORRISON, HELEN (ROSEN), ed., *Topeka's 100 Years of Inspired Leadership*. [Topeka] n. p. [1954.] [29]p.
- NATHAN, LEONARD, *A Wind Like a Bugle*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1954. 282p.
- NICHOLS, ALICE, *Bleeding Kansas*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1954. 307p.
- OGDEN CENTENNIAL, INC., *Ogden Centennial, 1854-1954*. No impr. 40p.
- Our Golden Heritage; Fifty Years of P. E. O. in Kansas, 1903-1953*. N. p. [1953]. 294p.
- Polk's Topeka (Shawnee County, Kansas) City Directory, 1954, Including Shawnee County Taxpayers* . . . Kansas City, Mo., R. L. Polk and Company, c1954. [1197]p.
- PORTER, WILLIAM EARL, *The Lawbringers*. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. [c1954]. 209p.
- POTTAWATOMIE COUNTY, HISTORICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE, *Early History of Pottawatomie County, Centennial Edition, 1854-1954*. N. p., 1954. 40p.
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Bypaths of Kansas History

HATCHET WOMEN BEFORE CARRY NATION

From *The Sumner County Press*, Wellington, April 9, 1874.

Down in Burlingame they have the whisky war. The ladies meet in the Methodist church every day, very much as their metropolitan sisters do, and organize raids on the liquor dealers.

Mrs. A—— and Mrs. W——, of that town, have drunken husbands. When their husbands get drunk they disturb the furniture and mash the mirrors.

Mesdames W—— and A—— thinking the saloon keepers needed some other kind of suasion than prayer, procured a little hatchet apiece, and growing impatient at the delay of their sisters, sallied forth on their blessed mission. They approached Mr. Schuyler's saloon. Mrs. W——, a little woman weighing less than a hundred pounds, stepped up to the bar and said; "Mr. Schuyler, I have come down to show you how my husband acts when he comes home drunk with your whiskey;" and suiting the action to the word, she brandished her little tomahawk and commenced smashing the magnificent mirrors, delicate decanters, and gorgeous glassware of the drinking booth. Mrs. A—— joined in, and whether the crusade can be recorded in history as a success, it is plain that the effects of the raid were visible when the ladies retired. The hatchet movement has this advantage: You can tell where the ladies have been.

BUSY CALDWELL

From *The Sumner County Press*, Wellington, May 28, 1874.

Seven buffalo paced through the principle business street of Caldwell one day last week.

A GOOD WORD FOR KANSAS

From the *Newton Kansan*, April 22, 1875.

H. Buck, an intelligent gentleman of Illinois recently made an extensive tour through this State, and in a letter to the *Decatur Tribune*, sums up his impressions of Kansas as follows:

Many speak and write discouragingly in reference to the future of Kansas. Let all such barrel up their tears to be poured out for those sections which may need them. Kansas will not be among the number. God made Kansas as he made Illinois, to be a grainery of exportations of food, not of importations. A few decades, more, when Kansas shall be brought into as good a state of cultivation as even Illinois, and she will be able to furnish food for all the colonies of grasshoppers in the west, as well as for the "rest of mankind" in the east. Her resources in all the natural elements that go to make up the development of an empire state are simply immense. The products of the Arkansas Valley alone, will be equal, eventually, to the supply of food for the million. Manhood, in physical, mental and moral perfection, will yet culminate in the high altitudes—the pure, healthy and bracing atmosphere—in the mild and genial climate and the rich and varied productions, the educational and religious culture of this young giant State.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

"What's the Matter With Kansas" by Kenneth S. Davis, was published in the New York *Times Magazine*, June 27, 1954. Davis points out the state's colorful history but feels Kansas is now hog-tied by conservatism.

An article on Belle Starr by Fayette Rowe was printed in the Independence *Daily Reporter*, December 12, 1954. On January 30, 1955, the *Reporter* published a six-column history of Kansas, Montgomery county, and Independence, by Mrs. Fred Colburn.

Among historical articles published during the winter by the Abilene *Reflector-Chronicle* were: "Early County [Pleasant Valley Union] Sunday School Held in Cabin," by Hazel Bryson, December 19, 1954, and "Earlyday Marshals Were Well Paid by Abilene," January 27, 1955.

Robert G. Sprague, San Angelo, Tex., presents another slant on the history of the Quantrill guerrilla band in an article in the Cherryvale *Republican*, December 28, 1954. He says "William Clark Quantrill . . . never at any time was leader of the officially accepted 'Quantrill's Guerrilla Band,'" and he attributes the leadership to an "Uncle John," a distant relative of Sprague's.

In 1857 John Brown and three of his sons camped for two days near present Nortonville according to an article by Frank Ferris in the *Nemaha County Journal-Leader*, Centralia, January 6, 1955, and in the *Nortonville News*, January 14. One of Brown's sons cut his initials and the date in a rock near by.

The history of early Horton was recalled by Jules Bourquin in a talk before the Horton Kiwanis club, January 3, 1955, and printed in the *Horton Headlight*, January 6.

Historical articles by Gordon S. Hohn appearing in late issues of the Marysville *Advocate* included: "50 Years Ago in Marysville—1905 Opened as Prosperous Year," January 6, 1955; "Only One Surviving Member of City's Oldest Band, Organized 70 Years Ago," and "Rare Group Picture of Last Civil [War] Veterans Found in Burned Studio," January 20. On January 13 the *Advocate* printed a history of the now deserted Marshall county town of Schroyer.

The Council Grove *Republican* is publishing a series of local historical stories. Included have been biographical sketches of the

following: David Head family, January 7, 1955; Henry Axe family, January 14; C. E. Skinner, January 18; Samuel Bowman family, January 26; Joseph Rogers family, February 11; and Emmanuel Sanford, February 24. On January 25 the *Republican* printed from the diary of Sam Wood the account of a journey along the Santa Fe trail in 1854.

Recent historical articles in the Hays *Daily News* included: "Bustling Young Hays City Wins Incorporation in 1885," January 9, 1955, "Early Woman Settler [Mrs. Louis Plath] Murders Hays Husband by Administering Strychnine," January 23; a biographical sketch of the Martin Allen family, February 6; "Buffalo Bill Cody's Widow Tells Her Story of Early Life Here," February 13; "[Cal] Bascom Recalls Colorful Happenings of Early Days," February 20; and "[Jennie Martin] Relates Tragedy of Jordan Massacre of Ellis Family in Early County Days," February 27. The Martin Allen story appeared in the *Ellis County News*, Hays, February 10.

Articles by Dick Long in the Wichita *Eagle* recently were: "Wrong Man Lynched for Pioneer Wellington Slaying," the story of the hanging of John D. Lynch by a mob in 1872 for the murder of D. H. Maxfield, January 9, 1955; and "First Home [Munger House] Built in Wichita 86 Years Ago Restored," now on display in Wichita's Cow Town, January 23. An article by Charlotte Offen in the *Eagle*, January 30, was entitled "Grim Hand in the Night Sought Pioneers' Treasure," the story of an attempted robbery on the trail. J. Alex Martin's article, "Was Cowardly Murder [of Bennie Allen] on 7-Bar-5 Ranch Avenged?" appeared in the *Eagle*, February 27.

Some of Lane county's early history, by Willetta Dickinson, was printed in the Dighton *Herald*, January 19, 1955.

A review of Zebulon Pike's visit to the Pawnee Republic in 1806 when the U. S. flag was raised in present Kansas for the first time, appears in a letter by R. G. Nystrom, published in the Belleville *Telescope*, January 20, 1955.

Historical articles appearing in the Emporia *Gazette* in recent months included: "School Days in Early Americus," by Clarence A. Grinell, in two installments, January 21, 25, 1955; another article by Grinell, "The Old Lyceum Reigned Supreme," February 3; also in two parts, a history of Emporia by E. T. Lowther, based on interviews with Mrs. L. J. Buck, a native of Emporia now in her 80's, February 10, 11; and an article by Tom S. Howell on the establishment of Breckenridge (now Lyon) county, February 23.

Oberlin's First Presbyterian church was organized January 11, 1880, according to a brief history of the church in the *Salina Journal*, January 21, 1955. Founder of the church was the Rev. John Wilson.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included: "They Have a Way of Getting Things Done in Highland," the story of Ben Allen's support of community enterprises and a historical sketch of the area, by Howard Turtle, January 23, 1955; "Troy, Kansas, Recalls Incidents of Lincoln's Visit There in 1859," by Turtle, February 6; and "Kansas Has Unique Monument in the Stone Fenceposts of the Smoky Hills," by Sarah Peters, February 8. Articles appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* included: "Stricken Kansas Farmers Were Aided in 1890's by the Mother of Harry K. Thaw," by Charles Arthur Hawley, January 13; "Amelia Earhart's Home Town [Atchison] Hails Idea of Stamp Honoring the 'Tomboy,'" by Agnes Elizabeth Fay, February 21; "Dusty Journal [of Wyandotte City Council Meetings] in Kansas City, Kansas, Tells of Early Days of Old Wyandotte," by John DeMott, February 23; "New Johnson County High School Will Bear Name of Pioneer Catholic Priest [John Baptist Miegel]," by John J. Doochan, March 3; and "Stalwart Faith of River Brethren in President's Religious Background," by Vivian Aten Long, March 11.

Clarence W. Moody's reminiscences of life in Ottawa in the early 1900's were published in the *Ottawa Herald*, January 27, 1955. Moody, now editor of an Iowa newspaper, grew up in Ottawa.

Included in the February, 1955, issue of *American Heritage*, New York, was "An Eyewitness Describes the Hanging of John Brown," by Boyd B. Stutler: a lost article written in 1859 by "Porte Crayon" for *Harper's Weekly* is printed with an introduction by Stutler, who discovered the original manuscript.

An article by Fayette Rowe on Abraham Lincoln's visit to Kansas in 1859 appeared in the following newspapers on the dates indicated: *Girard Press*, February 3, 1955; *Columbus Daily Advocate*, February 5; *Wichita Eagle*, *Independence Reporter*, and *Joplin (Mo.) Globe*, February 6.

A brief sketch of the Alta Vista Baptist church was printed in the *Alta Vista Journal*, February 10, 1955. The church had its origin in 1872 under the leadership of the Rev. John Fechter, but formal organization did not take place until 1880.

Kansas Historical Notes

The basement of the Falls township library in Cottonwood Falls has been leased for a museum by the Chase County Historical Society, and the collection of suitable articles has begun. George M. Miller is president of the society.

Ray Pierce, Dodge City, spoke on preserving county history at a meeting of the Lane County Historical Society in Dighton, January 3, 1955.

Mrs. C. C. Webb, of Highland, was elected president of the Northeast Kansas Historical Society at a meeting January 12, 1955. Other officers elected include: Fenn Ward, vice-president; C. C. Webb, business administrator; and Mrs. Fenn Ward, secretary-treasurer. Harry Connell, caretaker of the Highland Mission state museum, managed by the society, reported 4,386 visitors registered at the museum during 1954.

Orville W. Mosher was re-elected president of the Lyon County Historical Society for his fifth term at a meeting in Emporia, January 27, 1955. Other officers are Harold Trusler, first vice-president; Catherine H. Jones, second vice-president; Mrs. C. A. Moore, secretary; Warren Morris, treasurer; and Mrs. F. L. Gilson, Lucina Jones, and Mabel H. Edwards, historians.

G. Clay Baker, Topeka, and Nannie Bingham, Sabetha, were named presidents of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas at the 37th annual meeting in Topeka, January 28, 1955. Other officers of the Native Sons are: Jim Reed, Topeka, vice-president; Charles N. McCarter, Wichita, secretary; and Cleo Norris, Dodge City, treasurer. Mrs. J. B. McKay, El Dorado, was elected vice-president of the Native Daughters; Mrs. George Marshall, Basehor, secretary; and Mrs. Hobart Hoyt, Lyons, treasurer. Mrs. Lelia Munsell, Herington, was the winner of the factual story contest sponsored by the Native Sons and Daughters.

The 48th annual meeting of the Woman's Kansas Day Club was held in Topeka, January 29, 1955. Mrs. Earl C. Moses, Great Bend, president, told of the experiences of her pioneer parents and grandparents. The theme, featured in talks, decorations, and songs, was "Pioneer Education in Kansas." Interesting reports from the several districts were given to the Kansas State Historical Society. Officers elected at the business session were: Mrs. J. L. Jenson, Colby,

president; Mrs. E. L. Hazlett, Topeka, first vice-president; Mrs. Edna Peterson, Chanute, second vice-president; Mrs. Loleta M. Troup, Kansas City, secretary; Maude Haver, Douglass, treasurer; Mrs. Lucile Rust, Manhattan, historian; Mrs. Paul H. Wedin, Wichita, registrar; and Mrs. Robert A. Douglas, Topeka, auditor. District directors elected were: Mrs. Harry A. Chaffee, Topeka, first district; Mrs. Lloyd Thomas, Fort Scott, second district; Mrs. C. W. Spencer, Sedan, third district; Mrs. Ruth Hibbard, Wichita, fourth district; Mrs. Paul Randall, Ashland, fifth district; and Mrs. John Porter, Concordia, sixth district.

Jennie Owen, annalist for the Kansas State Historical Society, was the speaker at the meeting of the Riley County Historical Association in Manhattan, February 1, 1955. The compiling and publishing of volume 1 of the *Annals of Kansas, 1886-1910*, together with a review of the progress and changes in Kansas since the days of the covered wagon, were her subjects.

Garden City and Finney county history was portrayed in several skits at the annual dinner of the Finney County Historical Society in Garden City, February 8, 1955. The following were elected to the society's board of directors for two-year terms: Gus S. Norton, J. E. Greathouse, Albert Drussel, Mabel Brown, William Fant, Chet Reeve, Mrs. Ella Condra, Frederick Finnup, Mrs. Louis Kamp-schroeder, Guy B. Norris, and Mrs. Kate Smith.

Dr. Robert Taft, of the University of Kansas, spoke on "Abraham Lincoln and the Gettysburg Address," at a meeting of the Leavenworth County Historical Society in Leavenworth, February 12, 1955. Another feature of the program was the presentation of centennial medallions to the winners of a historical essay contest sponsored by the Kiwanis club and several women's organizations in Leavenworth. John Feller is president of the society.

Mrs. C. M. Cooper read a paper prepared by Mrs. Rodney St. Clair, reviewing the history of Baxter Springs, at a meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society in Pittsburg, February 17, 1955. O. F. Grubbs is president of the society.

Judge William H. McCamish and Ellen Lees were speakers at a meeting of the Wyandotte County Historical Society in Kansas City, February 24, 1955. The society voted to undertake to make Huron cemetery a national shrine.

Mrs. Guy Wooten was re-elected president of the Ford Historical Society at a meeting March 11, 1955. Other officers elected were: Mrs. Harold Patterson, vice-president; Mrs. I. L. Plattner, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Lyman Emrie, historian; and Mrs. W. P. Warner, custodian and reporter. The group voted to support Dodge City in its attempt to secure the proposed cowboy hall of fame.

Dr. James C. Malin's latest book is *On the Nature of History*, a 290-page volume of "Essays about history and dissidence," litho-printed by Edwards Brothers, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich., in 1954. It is distributed in Kansas by the Rowland College Book Store, 1241 Oread St., Lawrence.

Silkville: a Kansas Attempt in the History of Fourierist Utopias, 1869-1892 is the title of a 29-page recently published pamphlet by Garrett R. Carpenter on the Franklin county colony founded in 1869 by Ernest Valetton de Boissiere upon the social and economic ideas of Charles Fourier. It comprises the December, 1954, number of *The Emporia State Research Studies*, Emporia.

James C. Olson, superintendent of the Nebraska State Historical Society, is the author of a 372-page volume entitled *History of Nebraska* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1955). In his preface Dr. Olson says: "There has long been need for a one-volume general survey of the history of Nebraska. . . . This book represents an effort to meet that need."

Doc Holliday is the title of a 287-page biography of John Henry "Doc" Holliday by John Myers Myers, recently published by Little, Brown and Company, Boston and Toronto.



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
ORIGIN OF THE NAMES OF TRIBUTARIES OF THE KANSAS RIVER	Aubrey Diller, 401
NOTES ON THE WRITING OF GENERAL HISTORIES OF KANSAS: Part Four—The Kansas State Historical Society: Repository of the Material of History	James C. Malin, 407
With portraits of Franklin George Adams, Zu Adams, Richard Baxter Taylor and Floyd Perry Baker, <i>facing</i> p. 432, and Daniel Webster Wilder, Alfred Gray, George Washington Martin and Noble Lovely Prentis, <i>facing</i> p. 433.	
MARRIAGE NOTICES FROM KANSAS TERRITORIAL NEWSPAPERS, 1854-1861	Compiled by Alberta Pantle, 445
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	487
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	488
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	492

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THE COVER

An act of the 1955 legislature of Kansas named the buffalo the official state animal of Kansas. Millions of head once roamed the plains of Kansas until exterminated by hunters in the 1870's and the 1880's.

The cover picture—a 1907 water color by Samuel J. Reader, pioneer of Shawnee county—recalls a hunting expedition in November, 1857, "on the headwaters of Chapman's creek," northwest of Fort Riley. Reader wrote that he "was nearly unhorsed by a wounded bull, and that night got lost in a furious snow-storm. It was enough."

The Reader diary, now the property of the State Historical Society, is in 16 volumes and covers most of his Kansas life from 1855 until his death in 1914.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXI

Summer, 1955

Number 6

Origin of the Names of Tributaries of the Kansas River

AUBREY DILLER

THERE has been some speculation from time to time on the origin and meaning of the names of the rivers of the Great Plains.¹ It is natural to try to explain such familiar, but often odd, things as the "names on the land."² However, this speculation, as regards the rivers, has often been somewhat unscientific, relying more on hearsay and guesswork than on good evidence. After the names of the native tribes, the names of the rivers are likely to be the oldest in the land because of the role the rivers played in the earliest exploration. Barring later changes, the origin of the name quite often coincides with the discovery of the river and is a record of the discovery. For lesser rivers there is often no other document, and the name is the only record. It is interesting, therefore, to trace the name of a river as far back as possible in an effort to approach the first moment in its history, if not to find the origin and meaning of the name itself.

The names of the tributaries of the Kansas river appeared in print for the first time in Pike's *Expeditions*, published in Philadelphia in 1810.³ After visiting the Osage village (north of Nevada, Mo.) in August, 1806, Pike proceeded west and north to the Pawnee Republic (located along the present Kansas-Nebraska border) and then returned to the Arkansas (at present Great Bend) in order to explore its sources on the borders of New Mexico. His route

DR. AUBREY DILLER, a native of Nebraska, is professor of Greek at Indiana University, Bloomington.

1. George A. Root, in a series of articles on "Ferries in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2 (1933)-v. 6 (1937), has touched on the origin and meaning of the names of several rivers in Kansas.

2. See George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land* (New York, 1945); and *Names: Journal of the American Name Society*, Berkeley, Cal., March, 1953, to date.

3. Maj. Z. M. Pike, *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi and Through the Western Parts of Louisiana* . . . (Philadelphia, 1810).

thus crossed the western branches of the Kansas twice,⁴ and he names five of them, after a fashion, in his journals. The Republican fork and Solomon's fork are so named several times by both Pike and James Wilkinson, his subordinate.⁵ However, Pike was uncertain at first in his identification of these streams, as he first calls the Solomon the Republican fork and then "a large fork of the Kans river, which I suppose to be the one generally called Solomon's (September 22, 23). This shows that he did not make up these names himself. He distinguishes the Saline river from Salt creek correctly, but Wilkinson places the Grand Saline north of the Small Saline. The Smoky Hill is mentioned without name except once, by Pike, where the text is corrupt, "the east fork of the Kanes, or la Fourche de la Côte Bucanieus" (October 12).⁶

Pike's *Expeditions* is accompanied by several maps, two of which form a "Chart of the Internal Part of Louisiana." This chart names nine tributaries of the Kansas river: Warreruza R., Head R., Full River, Blue Earth River, Republican Fork, Solomon's Fork, Little Saline, Grand Saline, and Smokyhill Fork. There are also several small unnamed affluents downstream. The Solomon and the Saline are shown as emptying into the Republican instead of the Smoky Hill. Since Pike's route lay well above the junctions, the lower part of the river and its tributaries must be from an alien source, and in fact the cartouches on the maps say so in plain words. They inform us that the maps were "laid down from the notes of Lieut. Z. M. Pike by Anthony Nau,"⁷ and corrected and supplemented by Nicholas King from other sources, in particular, "The Missouri from the mouth of the Osage to the entrance of La Platte by Captain M. Lewis."

In these words Nicholas King is referring to a previous work of his own, that is, the well-known Lewis-Clark-King map of 1806, which was drawn by Wm. Clark at Fort Mandan (in North Dakota) in the winter of 1804-1805 and sent to Washington with other reports by Meriwether Lewis, where fair copies of it were made for various branches of the government by Nicholas King. Copies were presented to both houses of congress by Jefferson with his

4. Theo. H. Scheffer, "Following Pike's Expedition From the Smoky Hill to the Solomon," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 15 (August, 1947), pp. 240-247.

5. Pike, *op. cit.*, appendix II, pp. 20-32.

6. "Côte Boucaniere" in the London edition of 1811. The readings of this edition are independent of the Philadelphia edition of 1810; see Elliott Coues, *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (New York, 1895), v. 1, pp. xxxv-xl.

7. The manuscript copy of the Pike-Nau map of the Mississippi river, preserved in the National Archives, is published in photograph by Sara Jones Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country, Atlas* (Springfield, 1942), plate XXXII. The cartouche states that Anthony Nau was "Sworn Interpreter of the French language, Territory of Louisiana," and Pike stated (appendix III, p. 61) that Nau had helped him with the reports of his first expedition in St. Louis in 1806.

message of February 19, 1806. The War Department copy is now in the National Archives, and a photograph of the State Department copy is in the map division of the Library of Congress.⁸ These two copies are the only ones known today; the map was not printed at the time because of its provisional character. If we compare the printed Pike-Nau-King map of 1810 with the two manuscript copies of the Lewis-Clark-King map of 1806, we see that the lower part of the Kansas river with its tributaries is very similar on both maps and that the earlier must be the source of the later.

Lewis and Clark evidently made quite an effort to collect information about the Missouri Valley from the French and Indians in St. Louis and on their route. Clark's map gives a wealth of material that is not known from previous documents and is also beyond the range of his own observation. Another presentation of the same material is found in an essay by Lewis entitled "Lewis's Summary View of Rivers and Creeks, Etc.," also written, apparently, at Fort Mandan in the winter of 1804-1805. Lewis gave a list of tributaries of the Kansas river with their distance, breadth, and direction, as follows:

The three rivers, near each other and about the same size	10 [lgs]	20 [yds]	N.
The St[r]anger's wife river	15	35	N.
Bealette's Creek	18	22	N.
Wor-rah-ru-za river	19	40	S.
Grasshopper Creek	21	25	N.
Heart river	31	30	N.
Full river	45	50	S.
Black-paint river	72	38	N.
Blue water river	80	60	N.
Me-war-ton-nen-gar Creek	85	18	N.
War-ho-ba Creek	88	15	S.
Republican river	103	200	N.
Solomon's Creek	115	30	N.
Little salt Creek	125	30	N. ⁹

The Smoky Hill is omitted because it was counted as a continuation of the main stream, not a tributary. Little Salt creek emptying into the Kansas river seems to be a confusion of Saline river and and Salt creek, Pike's Grand Saline and Little Saline. Lewis adds special mention of another Salt creek 60 leagues up the Republican on the west side, which looks like still another error for the actual

8. Tucker, *op. cit.*, plate XXXI. The State Department copy (unknown to Tucker) is sometimes better; it has the name of the Full river, omitted on the War Department copy.

9. R. G. Thwaites, *The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1905), v. 6, p. 36.

Salt creek on the Solomon. He does not share the error of the Pike-Nau-King map in making the Solomon and Saline empty into the Republican. Lewis' list is a fuller and earlier statement of the tributaries of the Kansas river than either of the maps we have considered. If we compare it with the maps, moreover, we find that the unnamed affluents of the lower part of the river shown on both of the maps correspond closely to tributaries named by Lewis, so that it is clear that Clark's map is based on the information contained in Lewis' essay. Since Lewis and Clark merely passed by the mouth of the Kansas river on their way up the Missouri, their information must be secondhand.

No source has been preserved, or found, earlier than Lewis and Clark and Pike that names the tributaries of the Kansas river as fully as they do, but several of the names are mentioned incidentally in a few earlier documents. Among the papers that were taken from Pike during his detention by the Spanish authorities in Santa Fe and Chihuahua and, after lying in Mexican archives for over a century, were returned to Washington in 1910,¹⁰ there is a rough sketch of the route followed by a certain trader from the Grand Panis on the Platte to Santa Fe in 1797. The sketch and the accompanying brief text in the first person are said to be in Pike's handwriting; they may represent an interview of Pike with the trader.¹¹ The sketch names four tributaries of the Kansas crossed by the route, all stated to be navigable by canoe: L'eau bleu, Republic Fork, Solomons Fork, Fork of the Hill Buckaneuse. In 1793 Pedro Vial followed a similar route on his return from St. Louis to Santa Fe, but in his account all the tributaries of the Kansas are anonymous.¹² The map of the Missouri river drawn by Antoine Soulard in St. Louis in 1795 shows four tributaries of the Kansas corresponding to the Blue, the Republican, the Solomon, and the Smoky Hill, but only one of them is named, R. eau bleue.¹³

These are the earliest documents, so far as I know, that mention the tributaries of the Kansas river by name. They suggest that the nomenclature of these streams dates from the last decade of

10. Pike, *op. cit.*, appendix III, pp. 80-82; Herbert E. Bolton, "Papers of Zebulon M. Pike, 1806-1807," *The American Historical Review*, New York, v. 13 (July, 1908), pp. 798-827; W. E. Hollon, "Zebulon Montgomery Pike's Lost Papers," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Lincoln, Neb., v. 34 (September, 1947), pp. 265-273.

11. Bolton, *loc. cit.*, p. 827, gives the text. I have photographs of the text and map, now preserved in the National Archives.

12. Alfred B. Thomas, "The First Santa Fe Expedition, 1792-1793," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 9 (June, 1931), pp. 195-208.

13. A. P. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark* (St. Louis, 1952), v. 1, between pp. 46, 47; Aubrey Diller, "Maps of the Missouri River Before Lewis and Clark," *Studies in Honor of George Sarton* (1946), pp. 505-519.

the Spanish regime. The origins of the individual names are beyond our ken, lost in the prehistory of the Louisiana Purchase. But the early sources do throw some light on the original forms of the names and bring us so much nearer to the actual origins. Let us see what we gain in this direction from our canvass of the documents.

Stranger river is called the Stranger's wife river by Lewis.

Wakarusa river is called Wor-rah-ru za river by Lewis, War-re-ru-za river by Clark and King.

Delaware river is called Grasshopper creek by Lewis. The upper part of it is still so called.

Soldier creek is called Heart river by Lewis and Clark, but on the Pike-Nau-King map it is called Head river, probably by mistake.

Mill creek is called Full river by Lewis and Clark.

Vermillion creek is called Black-paint river by Lewis. There is also a Black Vermillion creek, but it is a tributary of the Blue river.

Blue river is called L'eau bleue or Blue Water by Soulard in 1795, Pike's informant in 1797, and Lewis in 1804. On the existing copies of the Lewis-Clark-King map of 1806 it is not named, but on the Pike-Nau-King map of 1810 it is called Blue Earth river, and this name was copied by Lewis and Clark in 1814, Arrowsmith in 1815, Long in 1823, and others. In spite of this wide currency, due merely to priority in print, I think the early sources prove that Blue Earth is a mistake on the part of Nicholas King and that the true name was Blue Water.

Republican fork, as the early sources call it, was named after the Pawnee Republic situate upon its banks, which is mentioned in documents of the Spanish regime in St. Louis as early as 1777¹⁴ and was much frequented by traders from St. Louis and even Santa Fe. I do not know why this Indian tribe deserved the fair name of Republic.

Solomon river is called Solomon's fork or creek by Lewis, Pike, and Wilkinson. The possessive form shows that Solomon was a man's name, perhaps Solomon Petit, a trader on the Missouri who appears in J. B. Truteau's "Journal" of 1794.¹⁵

The Salines and Salt creeks mentioned by Lewis, Pike, and Wilkinson are stated by them to be impregnated with salt or to have deposits of salt on their banks. At the time of the Louisiana

14. Waldo R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 112 [1936], Washington), pp. 14 ff, 32.

15. Nasatir, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-294.

Purchase there was talk of a whole mountain of salt somewhere in the unknown interior of the vast territory.¹⁶

Smoky Hill river is called Smokeyhill fork on the Pike-Nau-King map. The name is doubtless a translation of the French name given in the journals as La Fourche de la Côte Bucanieus (or Boucaniere) and on the sketch of 1797 as Fork of the Hill Buckaneuse. This strange word is probably an adjective from the noun boucan (buccan or barbecue), and côte buccaneuse would be hill of the buccans or barbecues. The word apparently stumped Pike, who had taught himself French, and he hesitated to translate it. He at last produced Smokey Hill, a poor translation, which has mislead modern speculation of the origin of the name. Smoking Hill would have been better. The French name gives quite a different meaning from those heretofore proposed on the basis of Pike's translation.¹⁷

16. President Jefferson's message to congress, November 14, 1803.

17. See *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 4 (February, 1935), pp. 3 ff.

Notes on the Writing of General Histories of Kansas

JAMES C. MALIN

PART FOUR: THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY; REPOSITORY OF THE MATERIAL OF HISTORY

THE organizations antecedent to the creation of the Kansas State Historical Society in 1875-1879 have been reviewed in the previous essay. Those earlier approaches carried the story of the main currents of historical and scientific activity into the decade of the 1870's, where the present essay begins. The many differences between the two periods produced sharp contrasts, but certain underlying continuities persisted.

FACTORS IN THE BACKGROUND, 1875

The story of the organization of the Kansas State Historical Society is exceedingly complex and therefore it is appropriate at the outset to provide a sort of guide to the labyrinth. For this purpose factors in the problem are grouped under seven headings. First, the persistence of a devoted group of men with F. P. Baker and F. G. Adams at the head of the list. Possibly one woman should be included, even in this story of the founding years, as of 1876, a 17-year-old high school girl, Zu Adams.

The second of the factors was the interest of old settlers in their own history; the manifold experiences, not of heroes, but of common folk, who had carried the daily burdens of making their homes in a new state. These people functioned first in the setting of their own communities and their own contributions to them, but not consciously as having anything to do with history as usually defined. Their meetings were social gatherings, primarily of old settlers with a common community experience.

The third factor was the controversy over heroes, and the legends that had arisen about them. Some background for this hero philosophy is in order. In May, 1840, Thomas Carlyle, a major figure in the English literary world of the mid-19th century, had delivered a series of six lectures which were published under the title *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*. In the first of

DR. JAMES C. MALIN, associate editor of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, is professor of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

these Carlyle's theory of history was stated: "universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here." After surveying the different kinds of heroes, Carlyle devoted his final lecture to "The Hero as King," and of the hero as political ruler; by whatever name he was called he was

The Commander over Men; he to whose will our wills are to be subordinated, and loyally surrender themselves, and find their welfare in doing so, may be reckoned the most important of Great Men. He is practically the summary for us of *all* the various figures of Heroism; Priest, Teacher, whatsoever of earthly or of spiritual dignity we can fancy to reside in a man, embodies itself here, to *command* over us, to furnish us with constant practical teaching, to tell us for the day and hour what we are to *do*. He is called *Rex*, *Regulator*, *Roi*: our own name is still better; King, *Könning*, which means *Can-ning*, *Able-man*.¹

Manifestly Carlyle was hostile to popular government. In 20th century language his hero as King, might be called Dictator, or Administrator.

American transcendentalism, centering upon New England, during the same period, in spite of its pretentious talk about the individual, was committed extensively to the "Hour and the Man" theory of history, with its repudiation of the capacity of popular government to operate effectively. When mediocre men, according to this view, had muddled hopelessly, only the intervention of a hero could set things to rights. From another point of view, that of outsiders, the extreme individualism of transcendentalism made a commitment to a practical condition approximating anarchism, in which the only means of resolving the stalemate of individual differences which prevented a majority decision, was the intervention of the hero—dictator. At any rate, after the Harpers Ferry episode, and the execution of John Brown, he became the particular hero of a large segment of that transcendental cult.

In Kansas William A. Phillips, who boasted of his radicalism, proclaimed at Lawrence, in a lecture January 20, 1860: "Mediocrity has no immortality. . . . I have shown that history of the ages was but the history of a few men. Each recorded age has its man. He is the lesson of its history. This age has its man . . . [John Brown]."²

Twenty-three years later, when the controversy over John Brown was nearing the climax of bitterness, F. B. Sanborn, in the Spring-

1. The edition of *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* used here is the Oxford World's Classics, Oxford University Press (1935).

2. For a more extended discussion of this phase of the question, see James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six* (Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1942), chs. 10 and 11, but especially pp. 289-292.

field (Mass.) *Republican*, November 18, 1883, declared that for every emergency God provided a superman to set right what ordinary mortals failed to accomplish. In the Pottawatomie massacre of May 24-25, 1856, according to Sanborn, "The hour and the man had come," and Kansas was saved.³

In Kansas John Brown was not the only hero. There was James H. Lane, whose dramatic passing by suicide during the summer of 1866 invited many attempts at evaluation of his controversial career. Charles Robinson and others of the New England Emigrant Aid Company group were still on the scene, and insisted upon their share of credits and honors as heroes.

But the factors listed here as number two and three became intermingled upon occasion, with the general result that where that occurred, the bitterness of controversy over heroes tended to involve everybody and to divert attention largely, if not altogether, from the legitimate history of Kansas as a whole. Old settler organization was sporadic and no pretense is made here of systematic compilation of the data necessary for its formal history. A few samples must suffice. In the Osawatimie and Pottawatomie creek area, an organization was formed in 1859 to remove the bodies of the "martyrs" of the battle of Osawatimie, August 30, 1856, to a single site on the "battlefield." During the 1870's the John Brown question became confused with the movement to erect a monument to the five martyrs reburied in 1859. In the meantime the old settlers of Franklin county, independently of either of these other phases of local history, organized on September 25, 1875, the specification for membership being residence in Kansas prior to 1860 and a resident of Franklin county at the time of application for membership.⁴

This old settler organization, representative of the rank and file settler, did not survive, but the monument movement at Osawatimie was completed and the dedication occurred August 30, 1877. By this time the John Brown idea had taken over even the monument movement, his name appeared on the marble shaft, along with the five martyrs of the Battle of Osawatimie, and in fact the monument was usually referred to, not as a monument to these five men buried at its base, but as the John Brown monument. The dedication ceremony also became a landmark in the precipitation of the bitter controversy over Kansas hero worship. This episode epitomizes more sharply than anywhere else, the impossibility of keeping separate the general old-settler history idea and the narrower hero-idea.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 411. For the context of the controversy, see especially chs. 17 and 18.

4. *Ottawa Triumph*, October 1, 1875.

In Lawrence the old settlers organized in 1870, and held meetings annually until 1878. In 1877 a decision was reached to omit the annual meeting of 1878 and concentrate upon that of 1879 as a state-wide quarter-centennial celebration.⁵ This move had wider repercussions than anyone at the time could have foreseen, because Lawrence sponsorship tended to revive and to fasten upon Kansas historical tradition the idea that the history of Lawrence and of Kansas were virtually synonymous.

In Leavenworth county the old settlers association was organized August 8, 1874.⁶ Topeka and Shawnee county did not organize until December, 1875, the 21st anniversary of the founding of Topeka.⁷

Ever present in these pioneer communities were the differences between old and new settlers. The Franklin county association had restricted membership by the requirement of residence prior to 1860. In 1878 at Lawrence "The Settlers of '54" organized, and at the supper October 15, Charles Robinson voiced the point of view of the group by insisting that the settlers of the first year were entitled to some credit.⁸ A committee was appointed to plan for another meeting in 1875. Somewhat later at Lawrence "The Fifty-sixers" organized.⁹ At Manhattan, February 22, 1878, the "Old Settlers" met at one hotel, and the "New Settlers" celebrated separately the same day at another hotel.¹⁰

In politics the same issue of old against new arose from time to time. In the previous essay, attention was called to the rivalry of M. F. Conway and Thomas Ewing, Jr., for the senatorship. D. W. Wilder raised the issue against Ewing although the difference in time of arrival between the two men was but two years, 1855 and 1857. To the Fifty-sixer or earlier settler, the newcomer of 1857 had not fought, bled, and suffered for freedom in Kansas. In Edwards county in 1887 a tenderfoot candidate protested "that unless a man ran wild with the buffalo . . ., he is not eligible to office," but on that basis three fourths of the voters were also tenderfeet.¹¹

The Kansas Editors' and Publishers' Association is fourth on the

5. Charles Gleed (editor), *The Kansas Memorial* (1880), presented in printed form the proceedings of that meeting at Bismarck Grove.

6. H. Miles Moore "Journal," August 8, 1874, Coe Collection, Yale University Library; microfilm, Kansas State Historical Society.

7. *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, October 3, 10, 13, 1875. Hereafter cited as *Commonwealth*.

8. *Daily Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, October 16, 1874.

9. The story of "The Fifty-sixers" has not been compiled but September 13, 1902, R. C. Elliott read his paper, "The Big Springs Convention," before them.—*Collections*, Kansas State Historical Society, v. 8 (1903-1904), pp. 362-377.

10. *Topeka Commonwealth*, February 26, 1878.

11. *Kinsley Mercury*, November 3, 1887.

list of background factors. An early attempt at an editorial organization occurred October 2-8, 1863. D. H. Bailey had presided as president, and F. P. Baker as secretary. The officers chosen for the following year included John Speer as president, D. H. Bailey as secretary, and D. W. Wilder as treasurer. Apparently no further meetings were held. After the war, the leadership was assigned to Richard Baxter Taylor, of the *Wyandotte Gazette*, for promoting a meeting at Topeka January 17, 1866, to effect an organization, and at which he presided, with John A. Martin of the *Atchison Champion* as secretary. Thereafter, except for 1869, apparently, the association met annually. In 1868 Taylor was president, and in 1870 he delivered the annual address which was devoted to a history of the press in Kansas, but more of that later. As will be seen subsequently, this body endorsed or sponsored a succession of enterprises: a history of Kansas newspapers, the *Kansas Magazine*, and the Kansas State Historical Society. In other words, the association not only recorded Kansas history daily and weekly, but made Kansas history in its own right.

The first substantial literary aspirations of these early Kansans found tangible form in the *Kansas Magazine* for which preparations were completed during the last months of 1871. The historical and philosophical society movements and the library movements in their several forms placed the first emphasis upon the collection of materials for study, the facilities for reading, and eventually these would yield productive writing. The *Kansas Magazine* group was convinced that the state then possessed a literary talent sufficient to justify a medium of publication that, in turn, would stimulate further productivity. What was more natural than for the major organization of professional writers, if not the only one in the state, to provide the background for launching this venture?

At a meeting of the Editors' and Publishers' Association, convening that year at Lawrence, October 24, 1871, D. W. Wilder explained the plan, which received the endorsement of the association. On November 8 the *Kansas Magazine* company was incorporated by nine men. The list included S. S. Prouty, Henry King, D. W. Wilder, and John A. Martin. The first number of the magazine appeared January, 1872, and was issued from the *Commonwealth* office under the editorship of Henry King. In December, 1872, Capt. James W. Steele (Deane Monahan) became editor. The project terminated with the October number, 1873, two months short of a two-year life. The panic of 1873 had just occurred as a climax to Kansas drought.

The story would not be complete, either as pertaining to the *Kansas Magazine*, or to the larger theme of this study of historical societies, without an introduction to the *Commonwealth*, a daily and weekly newspaper, founded at Topeka, May 1, 1869, by S. S. Prouty and J. B. Davis, with Ward Burlingame as chief editor. Prouty was an old settler and a radical of early Free-State party days. He sold out to Henry King, August 17, 1873. Somewhere along the line, probably after the fire of October 20, 1873, which burned the *Commonwealth* plant, George W. Veale became proprietor, with King as editor. On March 7, 1875, the *Commonwealth* announced a new editor and proprietor, F. P. Baker, with N. L. Prentis as local and news editor. Baker had arrived in Kansas in 1860. Prentis came in 1869, associated with Henry King. During the years when Prouty, King, and Baker controlled the policy of the *Commonwealth*, it was active in supporting intellectual enterprise. It contributed free publicity in the form of favorable news coverage to the enterprises in which its editors were interested. The financial accounts of the company are not available, but there is a suspicion that they would have revealed price concessions equivalent to a subsidy for printing costs.

The *Kansas Magazine* admitted to its pages literary productions of all types. Quite naturally the writers reflected in a substantial manner their identification with the West. Many of the articles on public questions of the day discussed those which were of special concern to their Kansas present: land, money, Indians, and the plains. A few, but surprisingly few, recounted aspects of the slavery controversies of territorial Kansas. To conclude that historical papers were not submitted, would be unwarranted. At least one, of which there is record, was offered and not printed.¹² Charles Robinson's "Ad Astra per Aspera," appeared in May, 1873. It had been read on February 4, 1868, before the Kansas Historical Society. In printing it, an editorial made an issue of Robinson's paper, asking whether or not the historical society still lived, and if so, it should give more frequent proofs of its existence. The Wisconsin Historical Society was referred to as an example of what might be done. The editorial closed with an appeal for a Kansas State Historical Society, adequately financed by legislative appropriations.¹³

The decade of the 1870's marked the centennial anniversary of

12. George W. McLane's letter to D. R. Anthony, printed in *Leavenworth Daily Times*, May 4, 1873. Not knowing Prouty's relation to the *Kansas Magazine*, McLane said: "It dished up 'Samuel' pretty lively, and of course I assigned that as the reason." Cf. James C. Malin, *On the Nature of History* (Lawrence, the author, 1954), ch. 5, "The Case of H. Miles Moore."

13. *The Kansas Magazine*, v. 3 (May, 1873), p. 483.

the opening of the American Revolution, with the Declaration of Independence of 1776 as the focal date. Preparations were begun definitely in 1871, when congress enacted the first legislation. In 1874 the Kansas legislature responded with appropriate action. The agency created—a board of centennial managers—was new, so its story will emerge in due course, the centennial operations constituting the fifth of the background factors.

The sixth factor on the list was one that had already accumulated some history in its own right. The Kansas State Board of Agriculture was designated as the local agency through which Kansas administered participation in the centennial exposition in Philadelphia. Several considerations entered into this decision. Necessarily a centennial celebration meant that at least a nominal historical character must be given to the exposition. Kansas had little history; she was making it, and the most insistent aspect of that process was the encouragement of immigration to the state. An immigration agency had been set up at the close of the Civil War and when the State Board of Agriculture was created, in 1872, out of the State Agricultural Society, the major emphasis in the *Annual Reports* of that board was the promotion of immigration. These reports were primarily immigration documents. No other state agency was in being in 1874 as a going concern that could better assume the responsibility that Kansas participation in the centennial exposition demanded. Thus Alfred Gray, secretary of the State Board of Agriculture, found himself cast in a role that turned out to be important to the writing of Kansas history.

Last upon the list of background factors, but certainly not least among them, was D. W. Wilder and his *Annals of Kansas*. Born in 1832 in Massachusetts, graduated from Harvard College in 1856, Wilder had come to Kansas first in 1857, but he did not remain long in any one place. On three occasions 1860, 1865-1868, 1876-1882, he had left Kansas, only to return. After about a year as editor of the Fort Scott *Monitor*, in 1872 he was elected state auditor. This led to a political storm, his first annual report revealing gross irregularities in the management of the state's finances. State Treasurer J. E. Hayes gave way to Samuel Lappin, and after a second round of irregularities in 1875, John Francis was installed to clean up. The year 1873 had also been the climax of senatorial scandal which drove both Kansas senators, Pomeroy and Caldwell, out of the state.

The *Annals* was conceived, written, and issued during this period of political upheaval. Wilder was quite realistic about the condition

of Kansas political life, but he was not driven to extremes as were many other Kansans during the drought, grasshopper, and depression years of 1873 and 1874. Wilder had first thought of a Kansas history of some sort as early as 1869.¹⁴ Not, however, until December, 1872, did he do anything positive about it. About that time he became aggressive in accumulating a library of Kansas books.¹⁵ During the process of collection, he became acquainted with the holdings of other Kansans who had done, or were then, collecting: W. H. Smallwood, H. D. McCarty, John Martin, S. A. Kingman, George W. Smith, James Christian, R. B. Taylor, John B. Dunbar, Frank A. Root, Joel K. Goodin, David Dickson, R. G. Elliott.¹⁶

Kansans have come to take the *Annals of Kansas* for granted. A book like that doesn't just happen by some magic of spontaneous generation. In a diary entry of March 29, 1874, Wilder wrote: "I began to think in 1869 of writing a History of Kansas. In Dec. '72 made some citations & quotations for it. Now believe that I should go to work upon it and call it Outlines of a History of Kansas." After the start made in December, 1872, he had an idea for another book, probably not a substitute for the history but additional or supplemental to it—a documentary history. The diary entry June 6, 1873, recorded it and made an indirect acknowledgment of the source of the inspiration for this particular kind of book: "Found yesterday, in [Secretary of State W. H.] Smallwood's office, the Executive Minutes of the Territory, letters, appointments, proclamations &c of Govs. & Secys.—Looked over one of the two books to-day. Should like to use it in getting up a documentary history of K. T. King says he will make an estimate of the cost of 1000 copies of a 600 page book." No further mention was made of the project, the inference being that the cost decided the issue in the negative. Obviously, Wilder was correct that one of the most valuable projects that could have been undertaken was to publish the manuscript records and thus make them generally available for historical purposes. That is exactly what was done later in the early volumes of the *Collections* of the Kansas State Historical Society.

The original plan for a history was continued in a desultory fashion through 1874. On August 12, Wilder wrote in his diary: "Have 20 years of 'Annals' ready." The use of the word "Annals" in this entry may be prophetic, but to jump at conclusions that he had adopted a new name for the book would be an error. On March 19,

14. D. W. Wilder, "Diary," March 29, 1874; November 26, 1875.

15. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1874.

16. *Ibid.*, January 6, 30, March 16, April 3, 19, 1873; May 4, 5, 6, 9, 18, 21, 26, 27, June 18, 1875.

1875, Prentis commented in the *Commonwealth* on Wilder's project referring to it as "a political history, or rather hand-book. . . ." In his diary entry for the same day Wilder quoted this description with apparent approval, but overnight came an inspiration, and the diary entry for March 20 read: "In bed last night thought of *Annals* as the name and way of writing my book." In that inspiration of the night came a decision that was momentous. Thus far Wilder had been floundering. Two good reasons can be assigned. The time was not ripe for a formal history of Kansas because the materials had not been assembled and evaluated, and for Wilder to undertake such a task single handed and as an extra private enterprise outside a full-time job as state auditor just was not practicable. Furthermore, whatever talents Wilder possessed, they did not include those of historian in the formal sense. No one realized that fact more clearly than Wilder himself, and he pronounced his verdict upon himself in a diary entry for June 12, 1875. He had been reading the files of the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* which he had edited 1861-1864, and it was in this context that he wrote: "In the *Conservative* for '62 & on I did just the historical itemizing that I am doing now.—Whether good or bad, the notion was born in me." Wilder had the good sense to recognize where his talent lay and to capitalize upon it rather than to persist in something for which he was quite unsuited. Once Wilder had found himself the progress of his work on his book was amazingly rapid. In spite of all the preliminary work and thought that he had already expended on the project prior to the fateful March 20, or rather the night of March 19-20, he later came to date his book from that day. May 21, 1875, he wrote in his diary: "Have worked on book seven weeks . . .," but in the *Annals* entry for March 20, 1875, he was more explicit: "First page of the 'Annals of Kansas' written."

All these factors ran concurrently and interacted upon each other. Each has been singled out from the others for purposes of individual identification. The next task is to trace as simply as possible, through the years of 1875-1879 inclusive, the story as a whole of the founding of the Kansas State Historical Society, where necessarily, all these factors were intermingled.

THE CENTENNIAL AND KANSAS HISTORY

Not in isolation, but within this background, publicity was focused conspicuously during 1875 on the activities of the centennial managers. Publicity was their business, but it should not be permitted to distort history at the expense of the other themes that did not

possess an advertising machine. Kansas history became a minor aspect of the program of centennial activities, and it came about in this fashion. The act of congress of 1871 authorized conditionally the centennial exposition at Philadelphia for 1876 and a commission which should include a representation from each state and territory. Further legislation in 1872 completed the organization, with additional state representation.¹⁷

Under the first of these statutes, the governor of Kansas nominated John A. Martin, of Atchison, national commissioner for Kansas, and George A. Crawford, of Fort Scott, as alternate. These men were then appointed by the President. The governor's recommendation of 1872 brought no response from the legislature, but in 1874 action was taken. To add to the troubles of 1873, a drought year, a worldwide financial panic broke late in the year, so when the legislature undertook in 1874 to authorize Kansas participation in the centennial exposition, the economic outlook was gloomy indeed. Five state centennial managers were authorized to be appointed by the governor, and they were to use space in the room in the capitol assigned to the State Board of Agriculture.¹⁸ The two commissioners together with the five centennial managers were commissioned March 30, 1874, and constituted the first state board of centennial managers. On April 24, 1875, Alfred Gray, secretary of the State Board of Agriculture, was commissioned to fill a vacancy, and was promptly designated secretary also of the centennial managers. In 1876 a reorganization took place, most of the managers being replaced, but Gray continued in his double secretarial capacity.

The year 1874 was another drought year in Kansas, accompanied by the locust plague of August. A special session of the legislature met to provide limited relief, and in addition private aid for Kansas was collected in the East to relieve drought and grasshopper victims. Under the shadow of cumulative disasters the legislature of 1875 was called upon to make its decisions.

Necessarily, under any circumstances, a pioneer state must operate under a deficit economy until local productivity can meet requirements of a relatively self-sustaining existence. The only question at issue during the deficit era was the sources from which the deficit would be met—new capital introduced by settlers, federal government financing of services, and private and public credits.

17. 16 U. S. *Statutes at Large*, 470, 471; 17 U. S. *Statutes at Large*, 203-211.

18. As most of these official documents dealing with the centennial were reprinted in the "Report of the Centennial Managers . . ." which was incorporated into the *Fifth Annual Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1876, they may be consulted there, unless otherwise designated.

During territorial status, federal funds met much of governmental expense. A major penalty of early statehood was the cutting off of that source of financing. All state and local governmental costs for improvements and current expenses were met either by local taxes or by borrowing; mostly the latter, and at all but prohibitive costs. The centennial managers put the alternative bluntly; high taxes paid by a scanty population, or a lower rate spread over a large population induced by immigration. The centennial exposition at Philadelphia was welcomed as an opportunity that should be capitalized upon as far as possible to induce immigration to Kansas and thus to spread the tax burden among a larger number. The economic disasters of 1873 and 1874 only emphasized the need of heroic measures. The legislature was at least partially convinced.

While the necessary measures were pending a recommendation was received from A. T. Goshorn, director-general at Philadelphia, dated January 30, 1875, which went beyond the matter of physical exhibits, introducing the subject of history:

Another department that should be inaugurated and prepared under the auspices of the State governments is that which may be termed the "historical and statistical." Unless done by official authority, there will not be a complete presentation of such matters as the history of the early settlement of the State, its physical features, climate, geographical position, government, law and punishments of crime, system of State and municipal taxation, revenue and expenditure, benevolent institutions and charities, education, scientific, industrial, commercial, learned and religious societies, agricultural and manufacturing interests, the extent and effects of railroads and other means of transportation, the history and growth in population and wealth of the State. All these subjects, among others, ought to be represented, so as to afford a summary view of the history, progress and present condition of every State. Unless this is accomplished, the Exhibition will seriously fail in that part of its purpose which contemplates a representation of the nation's growth during the first century of its existence.

The importance of official action in the premises was further stressed as the only means that could secure results:

A collective representation of this character will not only be interesting as illustrating the prosperity of the country, but will also be of inestimable value for preservation in the archives of the nation, as a correct history of the birth and progress of the several communities that have contributed during the century to the growth and strength of the Union of States.

Among other things this recommendation reflected a remarkably naive conception of the methods requisite for the writing of history, but when history was recognized as having a place in a historical celebration, that fact in itself calls for commendation. The Kansas

legislature accepted the suggestion about history, which appeared in the following form as section 2 of the act of March 6, 1875:

Said managers shall also prepare and have printed for distribution at the exposition, a complete, condensed history of the state, showing its physical features; its early settlement; its birds, fishes and animals; climate, geographical position; educational, religious and charitable institutions; agricultural and manufacturing industries; streams and water powers; railroads and other means of transportation; growth in population and health; character and habits of the people, and any other matters which will aid in making up a summary view of the birth, progress and present condition of the state.

While reflecting the national recommendation as to content, the legislative instruction about history was substantially in the Kansas tradition which began with the Bogus legislature of 1855 in authorizing the Historical and Philosophical Society.¹⁹ This fact is a reminder that during the 1870's the separation of science into a special compartment of knowledge had not yet been completed. Personal responsibility for authorship of particular documents and for the content of policy cannot be traced satisfactorily, and probably it is not important. The centennial managers were explicit in trying to avoid the jealousies that would result from specific personal credits, and announced in their report that all matters of policy were decided after full discussion and represented in fact as well as form their joint action.

SPECIFIC STEPS TOWARD A HISTORICAL SOCIETY

March and April, 1875, were momentous for the launching again by specific steps a movement for a state historical society. The cast of principals in this act were the *Commonwealth*, the Editors' and Publishers' Association, D. W. Wilder, this time associated in the public mind with a project for a history of Kansas in progress, F. G. Adams, back in Topeka again as clerk in the office of state treasurer, and the legislative requirement for a condensed history of Kansas for the centennial at Philadelphia.

On March 7, 1875, as mentioned previously, the *Commonwealth* passed into the hands of Floyd P. Baker as proprietor and editor, with N. L. Prentis as local and news editor. Baker was born in Washington county, New York, and was educated in the common schools. By 1860 he had arrived on a farm in Nemaha county, Kansas, after many changes which had taken him to Wisconsin, New Orleans, California, the Hawaiian Islands, and return by way of the Isthmus route, and Missouri. He entered Kansas politics as

19. This matter of the theory of history and its content has been discussed at some length in the previous essay in this series.

a member of the legislature in 1861, and in early 1863 bought an interest from F. G. Adams in the Topeka *Kansas State Record* which he retained as part or sole owner until 1871. After a period in Denison, Tex., he was back in Kansas journalism again in March, 1875.

Noble Lovely Prentis (1839-1900), although born in Illinois, from his tenth to his 18th year was reared by an uncle in Vermont. After learning the printer's trade in Connecticut, he worked in Illinois, and in Missouri, besides serving during the Civil War in an Illinois regiment. Henry King induced him to come to Kansas to work on the *Kansas State Record*. He arrived in Topeka, November 10, 1869. Later he was with the *Commonwealth*, the *Lawrence Journal*, the *Junction City Union*, which he edited for G. W. Martin, and now in March, 1875, was with Baker on the *Commonwealth*.

Both Baker and Prentis were men of more than ordinary talents, and both made significant contributions to Kansas history. The *Commonwealth*, during the next few years, was the most active promoter and publicity medium for the movement to inaugurate a state historical society and to make it a success after it was organized. Just who was responsible for *Commonwealth* editorials is not always clear. Of course Baker was actively sympathetic from the beginning of his ownership. Within this general framework of policy Prentis probably wrote the early editorials, and Wilder was a close confidant. Until June 9, according to Wilder's diary, Baker was not altogether free from his Texas connections. S. S. Prouty was on the paper until about the middle of June. Wilder made it clear that until this time, Prentis had carried the real burden of editorship. For the later period, December, 1875, and later, Wilder, in his presidential address before the Society January 17, 1888, credited the *Commonwealth* editorials in support of the Kansas State Historical Society to Baker.²⁰ By December, 1875, F. G. Adams was definitely one of the society group.

The editorials of March 19, and June 20, and November 29, 1875, on the theory and nature of history, were probably the work of Prentis, and they contained truly distinctive thinking about history. The one of March 19, "A History of Kansas," used as a text the second section of the statute enacted by the legislature relative to a "condensed history" of Kansas to be distributed at the centennial exposition at Philadelphia. As the time was short none was to be lost, an editor or board of editors should be chosen and the work

20. *Collections*, K. S. H. S., v. 4 (1886-1890), pp. 241-243.

commenced, but the editorial did not stop with generalities. The history should include, according to the *Commonwealth*, all that was known of the country prior to the coming of the white man; accounts of churches, each denomination being responsible for its own history, military history, county and city histories, Indian history, treated by the missionaries associated with the tribes, summaries from the military post archives, accounts of explorations and surveys, recollections of army officers, R. B. Taylor's history of the press which had not been printed, descriptions of the physical features of the state by scientists, and the reports of the state board of agriculture condensed and made available. In closing, a challenge was thrown out that such a presentation at Philadelphia "can lay before the world a history of what civilized man had done in Kansas in twenty years." It was a pretentious program, but also, it represented a broad and comprehensive conception of history.

The Kansas Editors' and Publishers' Association held its annual meeting at Manhattan April 7-8, 1875, after which many members went on an excursion to Galveston, Tex. At Manhattan, April 8, two important resolutions were adopted; one dealing with newspaper history and the other with a state historical society. By the terms of the first of these resolutions a committee was appointed, consisting of R. B. Taylor, T. D. Thacher, and D. W. Wilder, to prepare a history of the Kansas press. The designation of Taylor as chairman was in recognition of the history he had compiled in 1869 as the basis of his annual address of January, 1870.

The second of the resolutions was presented by D. W. Wilder:

Whereas, All efforts to establish an active and efficient State Historical Society have been failures; and

Whereas, Such an organization is imperatively demanded for the purpose of saving the present and past records of twenty-one years of eventful history: therefore,

Resolved. That this Association respectfully requests that F. P. Baker, D. R. Anthony, John A. Martin, Sol. Miller and G. A. Crawford act as a committee to organize such a Society, and ask of the Legislature an appropriation of not less than \$1,000 annually, to pay for subscriptions and for the binding of every newspaper published in the State, and for such other historical records as can be secured.

About this time the key figure in the cast of characters was added to the scene. F. G. Adams had been in Topeka at an earlier time as has been noted. During the winter of 1874-1875, when F. P. Baker was negotiating for the *Commonwealth*, one of his plans of mid-January, 1875, had included F. G. Adams as editor.²¹ When the deal

21. Wilder, "Diary," January 14, 15, 22, 1875.

was completed in March, however, Prentis, not Adams, was brought in as local and news editor. Later in March, Adams was appointed as a clerk in the office of the state treasurer, and had moved to Topeka by April 1.²² It was in this capacity as clerk in the treasurer's office that Adams was to function, and make his living until 1879 when the legislature belatedly appropriated money sufficient for a real salary as secretary of the state historical society.

During the decade of absence from the Topeka scene, Adams had founded and edited the Atchison *Free Press*, served as Indian agent to the Kickapoo Indians, published the Waterville *Telegraph*, a book: the *Homestead Guide* (1873), and engaged in farming. During 1875 the state grange made him chairman of its educational committee. But almost immediately after his arrival in Topeka in April, 1875, Adams published in the *Commonwealth*, April 13, 14, a two-part paper on "Old County Names." Although printed anonymously, the *Commonwealth* identified the author, April 16, in printing a second letter in correction of the Adams' articles. In this connection the editor observed: "Not the least valuable thing connected with sketches like those by Judge Adams, is the bringing out of information on Kansas history from all quarters."

THE CONDENSED HISTORY

During the year 1875 the board of centennial managers was active in organizing, planning, and collecting materials for the Kansas exhibit at Philadelphia: collections were assembled representing Kansas geology, native and domestic animals and plants, crops, etc. A special issue was made of a number of things. A systematic photographic program was planned—"landscape views of scenes of natural beauty or historic interest." As was explained: "These views are desired as pictorial illustrations of the present appearance of the State, and are designed for permanent preservation in the interest of historical accuracy."²³ Also the board declared that as "Corn is *the* staple of Kansas," special premiums were offered for the best specimens, the preparation of which when selected was to be managed by the board itself. And state pride was involved also in another way: "It is intended that all work done in preparing for the Centennial shall be by Kansas men."²⁴

In August, 1875, the board of centennial managers concluded the "blocking out of the plan of the history of the State called for by

22. *Ibid.*, March 21, April 1, 1875.

23. *Commonwealth*, July 11, 1875.

24. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1875.

the statute.”²⁵ They decided upon six short papers: D. W. Wilder on political history; John A. Anderson on agriculture; T. Dwight Thacher on railroads; B. F. Mudge on geology; F. H. Snow on natural history; John Fraser on education. Although scarcely measuring up to the ideal of a history of Kansas, it served the purpose for which it was intended, and the six papers were printed in the *Fourth Annual Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1875. For the purpose of centennial distribution, the legislature of 1876 authorized a second or abridged edition of the *Fourth Annual Report*, called the centennial edition, in which were printed only three of the so-called historical papers: those of Wilder, Anderson and Thacher, along with the section called “Industries by counties,” together with county maps. In the *First Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1877-8, these county sketches, with the co-operation of the state historical society, were given a substantial historical character. This *First Biennial Report* went through three editions and stands as probably the most important immigration document published by the state of Kansas. The pronounced historical character of the volume is explained by the foregoing background. Several years were to pass before the state historical society was in a position to begin a publication program of its own. The circulation of the *Fourth Annual Report* and the *First Biennial Report* was enormous because they were given away.

WILDER'S *Annals of Kansas*

It is time now to return to 1875 and Wilder, to provide some glimpses into the process by which the *Annals of Kansas* took shape, and to notice some of the by-products. Although Wilder had been actively assembling a library of Kansas materials since December, 1872, his collection was still deficient and gaps became evident that he had not suspected. Having settled on the *Annals* form, he went through the books in his collection for material that could be dated and arranged chronologically. On April 21 he had 120 pages of copy. He began April 27 on the manuscript materials in the archives of the secretary of state, Smallwood. In May he turned actively to newspapers. He found that G. W. Smith, and James Christian, of Lawrence, had partial files of the *Herald of Freedom*. He took the matter up with S. A. Kingman who was president of the Kansas Historical Society, inactive since 1868, and with whom he had discussed the historical society question as early as April 19,

25. *Ibid.*, August 14, 1875.

1873. Kingman responded to his new appeal and Wilder acted as intermediary in the purchase, for \$25, of Smith's file for Kingman and the historical society. Similarly, he acted for David Dickinson, librarian of the state library, in purchasing, for \$30, the James Christian file, but as Dickinson had only \$25, Wilder made up the difference out of his own pocket.²⁶

Wilder had a file of the Elwood *Free Press*, 1859, and part of the St. Joseph (Mo.) *Free Democrat*, 1860, which he had edited. Those he proposed giving to Kingman for the historical society.²⁷ He borrowed the Quindaro *Chindowan* from Frank Root, the Leavenworth daily papers, the *Conservative*, and the *Times*, from D. R. Anthony. In Topeka he borrowed the files of the *Freeman*, the *Kansas State Record*, the *Leader*, the *Commonwealth*, the *Tribune*, and the *Lawrence Republican*. In nine weeks, May 6 to July 14, he had closed out most of his work on newspapers. Next came legislative journals, statutes, and state documents.²⁸ Also by this time he had located books dealing with Kansas not formerly known to him.

After finishing his work on the newspapers, Wilder felt that he was through the worst but: "There is still much to do. I hesitate to begin final revision and exam." That was on July 16. On July 19 he assorted the copy, and on July 22 he "wrote & finished the first four pages of copy. . . . Must entirely finish a little copy every day now, besides reading & filling in more recent events. . . ." By July 26 all copy was ready to 1854, and July 29 the year 1854 was arranged: "I have still a month's work before me." On August 2 he finished 1857, and had 205 pages of manuscript. Printing responsibilities were assumed by George W. Martin, who was also state printer. E. P. Harris was the foreman with whom Wilder worked, and on August 4, 32 pages of copy carrying the story to 1853 were turned over to him.

On August 10 Frank B. Swift, the typesetter, insisted that Wilder must insert data on the Indian tribes and Wilder agreed. Two days later the Indian material, prior to 1853, was added, and the next day, August 13, the remainder to 1859. Fortunately for Wilder's methods, his annals style permitted the scissors and paste method of revising copy and that procedure accounted for the rapidity with which he revised, rearranged, and added to his manuscript as he accumulated new material. Wilder's task from this point on was to keep ahead of the typesetter. Proofreading with Harris, and index-

26. Wilder, "Diary," April 19, 1873; May 5, 7, 9, 10, 24, 27, 28, 1875.

27. *Ibid.*, May 12, 1875.

28. *Ibid.* Nearly every daily entry between these dates had something on the subject of his work on newspapers.

ing were soon added duties, that were kept up to date besides the further reading, writing, and preparation of copy. This hand-to-mouth procedure, operating under high pressure, continued until November 2, when Wilder decided to cut the book at the end of 1874. The next day Gray turned over the data from the 1875 census, which closed the book. On November 9 the last proof was returned and the following day the press work was completed. A copy was taken to George W. Crane to bind, and at 1:30 P. M., November 11, Wilder had this advance bound copy in his hands. At this point, he took out \$2,000 worth of insurance on the books.²⁹ On November 26 Wilder's diary entry contained the succinct comment: "Threw away the manuscript."

When Wilder began on the *Annals of Kansas*, it is evident that he had no idea of the magnitude of the task he had undertaken. Probably it was best that way, or he would not have committed himself. The realization of how formidable the project really was unfolded gradually. On May 20 he thought he should be finished on July 1. On June 13 he admitted he should have another year which would include a trip east to do the book justice. Five days later he recorded the news of R. G. Elliott's holdings of Kansas materials but admitted: "I am too much worn out to go after them. This book will be big enough. If another edition is called for, will get everything." Already Wilder was complaining of backache and headaches. The headaches became worse. By September 17 he weighed 121 pounds and on September 21 he limited himself to one cigar a day, and had not chewed tobacco for four days. September 22 he "Sat still ten hours indexing—176 pp." Besides that he read proof both before and after the indexing. By November 2 he confided that "I feel as if my work, and annoyance on the book and elsewhere might end in a fever—a crazy one. . . ." The factor in his regime that kept him going was his routine established gradually soon after his return to Topeka in 1873 of taking evening walks. During the long ordeal over the book he walked nearly every evening, combining exercise with conversation with a walking companion, Prentiss more frequently than any other. His reference to annoyances elsewhere referred especially to his conviction that there were irregularities in the treasurer's office which his own, the auditor's office, was not able to verify.

In the course of his selection and arrangement of the *Annals* Wilder made a number of revaluations of aspects of Kansas history.

29. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1875.

His reading of the files of the *Herald of Freedom* convinced him, by May 6, that "[G. W.] Brown was a man of good political judgment. I have always thought otherwise." His criticism of his own editorial work on the Leavenworth *Conservative* during the Civil War election of 1864 was severe: "Am ashamed of the record made then, though glad I opposed Lane." This capacity to revise opinions as of 1875 was noteworthy. Under these circumstances it was unfortunate indeed that Wilder decided not to get the R. G. Elliott material, especially the files of the *Kansas Free State* published at Lawrence during 1855 and early 1856 by Josiah Miller and Elliott. Already their role in the Free-State party and the Topeka statehood movement had been lost out of such Kansas history as had been written. Wilder might have restored the perspective, and had he done so in 1875, prior to the outbreak of the bitter controversies of later years, the whole course of Kansas history writing would have been different. By 1886, when the second edition of the *Annals* appeared, it was too late for Wilder to change his mind.

Early in the course of the writing of the *Annals* one element of pessimism crept into the work. Although only 43 years of age, the shock of the attempted assassination of D. R. Anthony, May 11, prompted the comment about the *Annals*: "It is already a history of those who are dead or who have left Kansas, and my work today has been more melancholy than ever." Although difficult to evaluate, that elusive sense of the uncertainty of life and the hazards of time hovered over the *Annals of Kansas*. Still another reaction to his project is important to an understanding of the members of the generation who were founding a historical society in 1875. Upon finishing with the Civil War period, Wilder wrote, August 27: "Copy now has lost interest, war being over." Although applying literally only to himself, the psychological state reflected in this comment was pervasive.

The size and cost of the *Annals of Kansas* grew with Wilder's response to the magnitude of his task. When discussed with Martin on the Galveston excursion of April 9, a two-dollar book was in contemplation. On May 24, Martin estimated that a 1,200 copy edition of a 400-page book, allowing 150 gratis copies, could be produced at one dollar each, possibly 80 cents, and would be sold at two dollars. Wilder suggested that it be printed in Brevier type, to which Martin agreed. On June 19 Martin suggested a two-column format. On July 20 Harris estimated that the manuscript would make a 400-page book, Wilder's figure was 500. The evening

walk for August 7 was taken with Martin who thought that if the book reached 500 pages the price would have to be three dollars in order to pay out, without any expectation of profit. Martin's estimate of cost as of November 8, was \$2.03, and the price was set at five dollars—"600 copies will pay him—that would leave 700 copies for me."

On behalf of the board of centennial managers, George T. Anthony and John A. Martin had approached Wilder, June 3, to write the historical sketch for the centennial volume. Wilder declined at first, but took it under advisement. He could not do any work on it for months. On October 1, he tried to secure a release from his promise, "but Gray said nobody else had the facts and 20 pages would do; made a beginning." A little more work was done October 6 and 7. On October 21 John A. Anderson called on Gray relative to what he was to write. On November 10 Wilder was ready to resume his centennial sketch, and again November 19 he confessed that it would be chiefly "a puff for Kansas." The finished product went to Gray, November 24, but pictures were desired and a revision was resubmitted December 1. The printing and binding of the volume was done in Chicago, not in Kansas, where the board of centennial managers had insisted earlier that all work on the centennial should be done.

Publicity about Wilder's forthcoming book had been practically continuous from the time Prentis had first referred to it in his editorial of March 19. Because the two men were so close personally, Prentis' frequent references were the most authentic and were widely copied. According to Prentis in the *Commonwealth*, June 20, 1875, "the real historian" was the newspaper man. This verdict came from Wilder after he had been at work about five weeks on the newspapers: ". . . in Kansas newspapers has after all been preserved the fullest and fairest history of Kansas." The content of the papers thus described was intended to include editorials, locals, and advertisements, everything—"no man ever yet looked over a yearly file of a newspaper without learning much of the society of human beings among which that newspaper is published."

The moral of this editorial is that editors should remember that they are writing, not for to day or to morrow, but for all time; and that the more faithfully they portray the phases of daily life of the community in which they are published, neglecting far-off, remote and abstruse matter, the more faithfully they will be fulfilling their vocations as writers of history.

Apparently Martin turned out the first lot of complete books on November 25, Thanksgiving day. The first books distributed to the

public were review and gift copies sent out by express November 26, Friday. The *Commonwealth* and the *Leavenworth Times* had notices of it on Sunday, November 28. On Tuesday, November 30, a baby boy, Samuel, was born to the Wilders. Thus momentous were these last days of November, 1875.

On November 28 the *Commonwealth* returned to the theme of "newspapers as history," with the assertion that the bulk of the *Annals of Kansas* "was gleaned from common newspapers files" without which "it would have been difficult, if not impossible" to have presented such "an accurate and connected account of the events that have transpired in the State. It is a matter worth thinking about that the Kansas newspapers, with all their waywardness and all their weaknesses, are yet the fount from which the historian of our stormy and checkered career draws" his material. Also, Wilder was complimented for his discretion in "having sedulously suppressed the volumes of foolish and spiteful and contemptible things we have written. . . ."

The more important reactions to Wilder's *Annals of Kansas* were the private comments and responses. He had difficulty in making his friends understand the kind of book he was writing. Thus on May 4 he explained that "my book would be a collection of facts, a book of reference, & not a stately history." On September 11, Kingman called and read the first 48 printed pages: "it was not what he expected." A week later his friend and frequent walking companion, William H. Rossington, commented: "Seems to me it is a Kansas Encyclopedia." When Prentis, in the *Commonwealth*, November 16, called it "a Diary," Wilder echoed "good." On December 3 Wilder noted that "Almost every Kansas paper has a notice & there is not a single unfavorable word. It is wonderful. But I see the book can only be sold by personal solicitation." "The sale of the book was slow" was the comment on December 7, and just how slow was revealed by the frank admission that an agent in Topeka did not sell any on his first afternoon. Wilder began to cast about for some arrangement by which Martin could get his money out of the venture. Further discouragement came with the breaking of the Lappin bond forgery scandal. Lappin resigned December 20, and John Francis was made state treasurer the following day to clean up the mess. Thus there was much point to Wilder's bitter comment of December 4: "Martin & I gain immortality: nothing else." At five dollars a copy Wilder's *Annals* could not compete in circulation with free copies of the *Fourth Annual*

Report and the First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture.

Full justice must be done G. W. Martin in the *Annals* enterprise because he underwrote the cost before he knew how big the book would be, and did the printing. Without his participation and the co-operation of his men, Harris and Swift, on the mechanical side, there would have been no book. If Wilder had found it necessary to produce a completed manuscript, and have a clean copy made, and then negotiate in the market for a publisher, there would have been no *Annals of Kansas*. Only devoted friends and loyal printers who were willing to work together unselfishly all hours of the day and night, without any idea of profit, could have produced this book and have done it so promptly. The book had defects, but the most important fact about it was that it was done.

TAYLOR'S NEWSPAPER HISTORY

During 1875 R. B. Taylor's committee on a "history of the Kansas press," was not heard from, but the background for his project should be brought up to date as of January, 1876. On October 2, 1869, in order to accumulate the data for his annual address to the Editors' and Publishers' Association to be held in Topeka, January 17, 1870, Taylor explained his purpose in his *Wyandotte Gazette*. The theme was a history of the press of Kansas, but the editors would have to co-operate. Each one would have to provide the necessary information about himself and the paper he was editing. Under the date November 4, he sent out a printed circular specifying the data to be supplied by each. The response was rather better than might have been expected. One major defect of Taylor's procedure, however, was that he could reach effectively only those still operating in the state.

Even under these circumstances the volume of material accumulated during the next two months was too great to be summarized in one annual address, so his presentation upon that occasion represented only a sampling. But it was an impressive sample. That compilation represented the winter of 1869-1870 and the history of the press had neither been completed nor published, yet the Taylor collection was the most extensive body of information about Kansas journalism that had ever been gathered anywhere. The resolution of April 8, 1875, creating the new committee, with Taylor as chairman, was designed to stimulate action. Unlike the centennial volume of the State Board of Agriculture, and Wilder's

Annals of Kansas, Taylor's history was not ready at the close of 1875. Taylor died in 1877 without completing the work. All the materials he had assembled were deposited by his family with the historical society, and the abstracts as he had prepared them were published in the *Collections* of the society.³⁰

LAUNCHING THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In spite of all this historical activity of 1875, the committee appointed April 8 to organize a historical society had not found a spot in the news. In his "Diary," September 17, Wilder noted that F. P. Baker, chairman of the committee, insisted that action must be taken as a demonstration of good faith prior to the meeting of the legislature in January, 1876, when an appropriation was hoped for. Baker elaborated upon this strategy in an editorial in the *Commonwealth*, December 16: "It is believed that if the society can show the Legislature that it has made a beginning, that it will be ready to co-operate and build up an institution that will be a credit to Kansas." It was performance that Baker wanted, not just more talk.

Baker called a meeting of his committee, together with other men, in the *Commonwealth* office, December 14, 1875. Only three of the five committee members were present: Baker (Topeka), Martin (Junction City and Topeka), Crawford (Fort Scott). The additional personnel on hand, although the basis of their presence was not explained, were M. W. Reynolds (Parsons), Kingman (Topeka), Prentis (Topeka), Taylor (Wyandotte), and Prouty (Topeka). Kingman was chosen chairman, with Baker as secretary. The business transacted was simple: the adoption of a resolution to form a historical society; the naming of a committee (Kingman, Baker, and Crawford) to prepare a charter, procure signatures of the necessary incorporators, and file it with the secretary of state; and the naming of nine men to the board of directors: Kingman, Baker, Crawford, Martin, Miller (Troy), Wilder, Anthony (Leavenworth), Prouty, and Taylor. The meeting then adjourned.

The charter committee acted with dispatch, the charter being filed the following day with six named incorporators: Martin, Crawford, Prouty, Kingman, Reynolds, and Taylor. The board of directors then met and perfected organization under the charter, electing Kingman president, Crawford vice-president, Martin treas-

30. R. B. Taylor, "History of the Kansas Press," K. S. H. S., Ms. volume 68: Abstracts of letters to Taylor on the history of the Kansas press, *Collections* of the K. S. H. S., v. 1-2, pp. 164-182.

urer, and Baker secretary. With this done the board adjourned subject to call by the president.³¹

The persons missing from the lists just enumerated were important to such a project, and the reasons for their absence were not apparent. Wilder was in southern Kansas about this time.³² F. G. Adams was soon to take over the key position in the Society. No one was in attendance nor was named to the board of directors from Lawrence, Manhattan, Emporia, or Osawatomie, the old radical strongholds of the days of the territorial wars of 1856 and earlier. Only Prouty was a fifty-sixer. Immigrants of 1857 included Anthony, Crawford, Kingman, Martin, Miller, and Wilder. Taylor arrived in 1858, Baker in 1860, Reynolds in 1865, and Prentis in 1869. Relatively, they were newcomers. Although they were all antislavery, and most of them had Civil War military records, but few of them had been active participants in territorial radicalism. In other words, the controversies that were to be waged so bitterly during the next decades over credits and honors were not at issue with these men as of 1875. And furthermore, so far as these men did become partisans in the later controversies, they had to depend altogether upon hearsay, except as to events of 1857 or later.

The importance of having something in hand that was tangible Baker made the basis of an appeal in connection with his editorial of December 16 announcing the organization of the Society:

31. The original records of these transactions are represented by two sheets of manuscript minutes, apparently kept by Baker. These were copied at some later date into "Record A," pp. 1, 2, a manuscript record book of proceedings of the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society, Manuscript division, K. S. H. S. The record of action as written on the two sheets did not distinguish the proceedings of the two different days, and the material was copied in that form. At a later date corrections were inserted in the book, between the lines and in the margin. A summary of action, with Baker's explanatory comment, was printed in the *Commonwealth*, December 16, 1875.

For some unexplained reason errors of dating found their way into the original notes of proceeding. The figure 13 was written first, then (12), and later both were struck out and 14 was inserted above the line. Most of the printed accounts of the historical society use the date December 13 for the organization meeting. There is little question that the correct date was December 14. The *Commonwealth*, December 16, 1875, indicated that the meeting was on December 14, the charter signed on the 14, filed with the secretary of state the 15, and the officers elected on the 15. Furthermore, a corroboration of the correctness of the 14 as the date is found in the *Commonwealth* locals December 15, which reported R. B. Taylor of Wyandotte had arrived the day before, and would go to Emporia the 15. Taylor was present at the organization meeting. In "Record A," p. 1, the date of the organization meeting was changed by erasure and insertion of 14.

Still another difficulty is found in the membership of the board of directors. The original minutes of the organization meeting and as copied into "Record A," listed nine members. The *Commonwealth*, December 16, 1875, listed only seven, omitting the last two: Prouty and Taylor. The charter as filed with the secretary of state specified seven directors. Possibly, if not probably, the list of nine were named prior to an agreement on seven by the charter committee. Why the lesser number was specified in the charter and what method of elimination of the two extras afterward as enumerated by the *Commonwealth* has not been determined. The text of the charter was copied into "Record A," pp. 2-4. The original is in K. S. H. S. manuscripts. But the *Commonwealth*, December 16, 1875, may have been in error or may have taken liberties with the conflict of authority which was unmistakable. However, Adams' pamphlet of April 28, 1877—"A list of the collections . . ." did not help matters any by adding a tenth name, that of M. W. Reynolds, of Parsons.

32. Wilder, "Diary," December 10, 18, 19, 20, 1875.

In order to get started, and show that business is meant, the secretary would suggest to newspaper publishers throughout the State to aid in inaugurating this society. He knows of but one way to do it; that is for them to donate for say three months, their papers to the Society. If they would do so, the Secretary agrees to see that they are preserved at any rate and hopes to secure a room and place them on file. But they shall all be preserved in a shape to file and be bound when the society gets into regular operation.

Besides newspapers, Baker solicited donations of books, pamphlets and documents relating to Kansas history.

In the *Commonwealth*, January 5, 1876, Baker announced that the Kansas State Historical Society was "now fully organized." By this he meant that a change in personnel had taken place, that the organization had a temporary location, and that it had in fact become a repository of historical materials. F. G. Adams was introduced as the new secretary of the society with this explanation: "As Mr. Baker who was first elected Secretary, is too full of his own business to give it the attention it deserves, the board of directors has accepted his resignation, and appointed Hon. F. G. Adams in his place." As for a home for the infant society the announcement was made that: "He [Adams] has procured a bookcase, and for the present it is in the Auditor's [Wilder's] office." It was in this case that all books, documents, and newspapers contributed to the society were being kept. Baker hoped that all newspapers being received would be paid for soon—meaning that a legislative appropriation was expected for that purpose and to bind them: "We don't believe that the State Historical Society will die this time. . . . We trust within the next thirty days a copy of every paper published in the State will be sent to the 'Historical Society.' Let them all commence with the first issue of 1876."

There was much more in these summaries than met the eye. First was the status of Adams. He had come to Topeka in April as a clerk in the state treasurer's office. The Lappin bond forgery scandal broke in mid-December. Wilder, the state auditor, learned the facts December 18, on his way back to Topeka from Fort Scott. Lappin resigned December 20. John Francis agreed, December 21, to take over the office.³³ In the cleanup what would become of Adams? No doubt several men were interested, but Wilder's diary entry for December 29 read: "Francis keeps Frank Adams for [Governor] Osborn & me." That throws some light on the fact that on January 4, 1876, the diary entry recorded that the "Bookcase for Historical Soc. Library moved into office,"—that is, into Wilder's

33. *Ibid.*, December 18, 20, 21, 1875.

department, the auditor's office space. The implication of this language is that the decisions had been reached prior to January 4, and other data tend to corroborate that conclusion. In the second edition of his *Annals of Kansas*, Wilder dated Adams' tenure as secretary as beginning January 1, 1876. It is even possible that Adams was in fact the acting secretary prior to that date. The conclusion would seem reasonable that Baker and friends had already decided upon Adams as his successor as secretary of the society, and that the Lappin scandal threatened to disrupt those plans. Having secured Francis' confirmation of security for Adams in the treasurer's office the transfer was then completed and announced January 5 in the *Commonwealth*.

Another difficulty in the historical record is of a different character. The *Commonwealth*, January 5, 1876, had announced as an accomplished fact the resignation of Baker, its acceptance by the board of directors, and the appointment of Adams. Yet the manuscript "Record A" of the Society, containing the "official" minutes of proceedings of the board record those events as occurring February 4, 1876. Obviously, the contemporary record of the *Commonwealth*, January 5, 1876, prepared and printed by Baker himself, and Wilder's diary must take precedence over the "official" minutes. If the date of that portion of the official minutes which deals with these points was changed from February 4 to January 4, all would be straight. Another possibility must not be overlooked, however, and that is, the board may not have actually met "officially" on January 4 or some earlier date to make the decisions. Among this small group of friends, working together in intimate harmony, the decision could have been made informally through separate consultations, and then the proceedings of February 4 would represent merely the perfecting of the official record with respect to actions already taken less formally. Whichever view is taken of the official record, the facts remain the same so far as they bear upon the momentous event in the history of the Society, the advent of F. G. Adams as secretary. The point should be kept in mind quite clearly that these men were friends, and they trusted each other, and were determined to make this historical society enterprise a success. The formalities were not important to them so long as the job was actually being done.

Another unresolved problem is that of the memorial to the legislature for an appropriation, and again the accuracy of the proceedings in the "official" minutes of the board entered as February 4



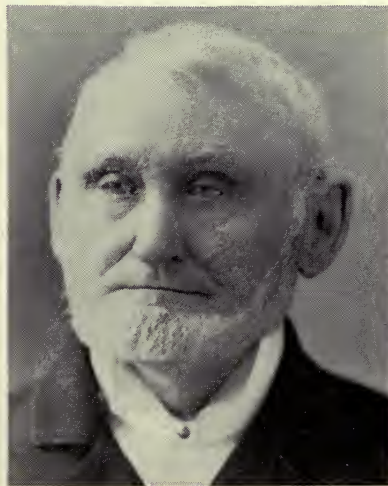
FRANKLIN GEORGE ADAMS
1824-1899



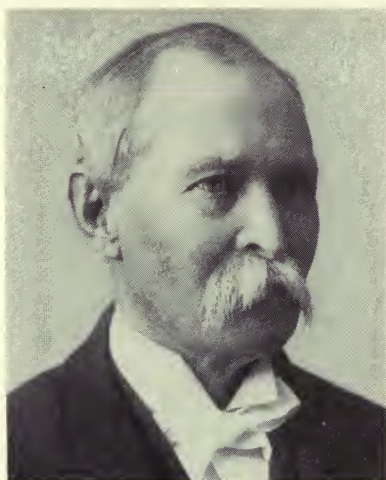
ZU ADAMS
1859-1911



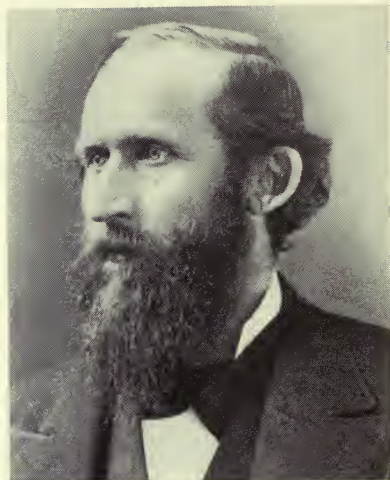
RICHARD BAXTER TAYLOR
1822-1877



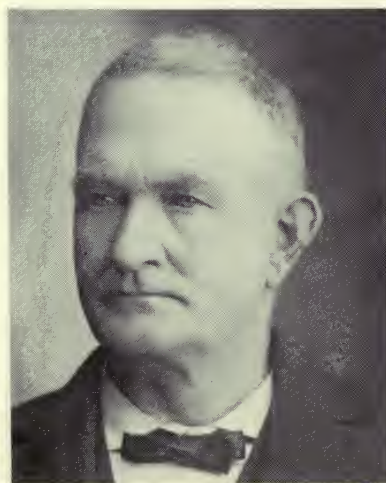
FLOYD PERRY BAKER
1820-1909



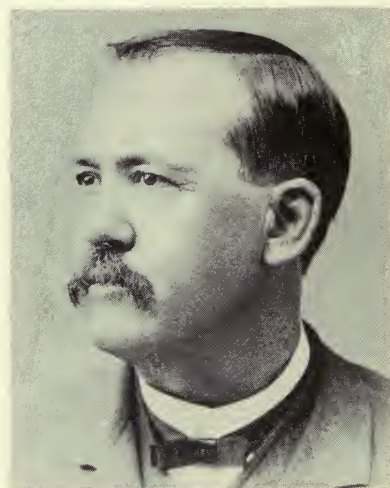
DANIEL WEBSTER WILDER
1832-1911



ALFRED GRAY
1830-1880



GEORGE WASHINGTON MARTIN
1841-1914



NOBLE LOVELY PRENTISS
1839-1900

is at stake. The statement was made there that "the Secretary was directed to draw up a memorial to the legislature asking for an appropriation of fifteen hundred dollars for the use of the Society. . . ." In the *Commonwealth* report of the meeting of the board on February 4, the language read "a memorial was adopted. . . ." Strictly interpreted the first was prospective, a directive, while the second implied the adoption of the memorial after it had been drafted. Baker advanced his arguments in support of state aid by pointing out that:

More than twenty years have gone by since the Territory was organized, and not a dollar has been contributed for the preservation of our history. . . . We are behind every Western State. The Wisconsin Society is celebrated not only all over this country but throughout the civilized world. It has a library of more than twenty-five thousand volumes, and has received from the State more than one hundred thousand dollars. Kansas does not expect to equal Wisconsin. . . .

In the minutes of the board meeting of February 4, 1876, appeared for the first time a copy of the bylaws of the Society:

The object of the Society shall be to collect, embody, arrange and preserve a library of books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary, pre-historic relics and other materials illustrative of the history and the antiquities of the state; to rescue from oblivion the memory of its early pioneers, and to obtain and preserve narratives of their exploits, perils, hardy adventures and patriotic achievements; to exhibit faithfully the past and present conditions and resources of Kansas; and to take proper steps to promote the study of history, by lectures and other means for the diffusion of information relative to the history and resources of the state.

The bylaws defined four kinds of members, corresponding and honorary, selected by the board of directors, and two paying classes, life and annual members, citizens of the state, assessed \$20 and \$2 respectively.

The statement of objects as given in the bylaws was an elaboration upon the simple formulation of the charter: "to secure past and future records of the state of Kansas, and to adopt such means as may be available to preserve the same in the future."

The campaign of solicitation for materials of Kansas history as carried on in January, 1876, and later by Baker in the *Commonwealth* and Adams by mail, yielded results in current newspapers and in books and documents. Judge Kingman, the president of this as well as of the defunct Kansas Historical Society of 1867-1868, made the first gift, one of books, January 7, 1876, according to Wilder's diary. The entry did not elaborate and the "Accession Record A" of the Society did not indicate whether these were from

his private library or from the earlier organization. Later, two files of newspapers, the *Herald of Freedom*, were contributed by David Dickinson, the state librarian. The description of these, one 1855-1859, and the other 1855, seems to justify the inference that these were the files Wilder had bought for Kingman in the name of the Kansas Historical Society, and for Dickinson for the state library, from G. W. Smith, and James Christian, respectively.³⁴ Apparently after Wilder had used them during the summer of 1875 for the *Annals*, he had turned both files over to the state library. Prouty contributed the *Freeman's Champion*, 1857, and the Burlington *Patriot*, 1864-1867, and Wilder the Elwood *Free Press* and the St. Joseph *Free Democrat*. The "Accession Record" of the society listed meticulously all these gifts. On March 7, 1876, the first anniversary of his editorship of the *Commonwealth*, Baker summarized the year's accomplishments, an impressive showing for one year of historical activity in 1875 under the several stimuli that have just been reviewed.

Baker was not disposed to permit a letting down of activity. On March 12 he wrote that the society must not be permitted to die of neglect. He regretted what he called the unwise action of the legislature in not appropriating money, but proposed a membership drive. At the moment Adams was on a trip West, but when he returned Baker hoped

that the society will be called together and a circular issued appealing to citizens to become members. . . . Meanwhile we hope the newspapers of the State will unite in bringing it to the notice of their readers. Let them continue to send the papers and have the amount applied on membership. We believe enough money could be raised to keep it on its feet.

Another point might have been made but was not, that the legislature could hardly have been expected to appropriate money for an organization without members. If the record of the board meeting of February 4 was correct, the action of that day for the first time defined the conditions of membership.

Possibly the failure of the appropriation was a blessing in disguise. At any rate a meeting of the board was held in the auditor's office March 30 that initiated an aggressive policy, although, according to Wilder's diary and the official minutes, only four men were present: Kingman, Baker, Adams, and himself. In effect, these four were the Historical Society. Wilder moved and it was adopted "that the secretary be directed to send to the editor of each

34. Kansas State Historical Society, "Accession Record A," Nos. 227, 228. For other gifts see *Commonwealth*, January 12, 20, February 15, 1876; *First Biennial Report of the K. S. H. S.*, pp. 26, 27.

of the newspapers of the state a certificate of annual membership with the request that it be accepted in lieu of the subscription price of the paper, and that the paper be still furnished the society for filing during the year." Another resolution directed the secretary "to prepare a circular of general information as to the objects and present status of the Society, and to procure its publication as far as practicable in the newspapers of the state." The third item of business was the presentation to the society by Adams of Indian artifacts, and a proposal which was adopted that the collection of such material of prehistoric vintage be included among the objects of the Society. The fourth and final act was a directive to the president and to the secretary to present certificates of membership "in consideration of such donations as may be deemed worthy."³⁵

In reporting this meeting, the *Commonwealth*, April 1, added the comment that, "The society is producing among other good results, the effect to stimulate the writers for Kansas press to the contribution of much more than the usual amount of historical matter." Also, the report on newspapers being received by the Society was brought up to date in giving the number at "about fifty." This column, as printed in the *Commonwealth*, was reprinted on 12-inch slips of paper with a heading requesting other newspapers to copy the *Commonwealth* story. In this manner, and at a minimum cost, the secretary was enabled to fulfill his directive to provide one circular. Another circular was printed on sheets five inches by eight inches, dated March, 1876, in explanation to newspaper men of the status of their relations with the society—annual membership in exchange for files—and closed with an appeal to the recipient to act as an agent of the Society in securing annual members at two dollars each.³⁶

The activity of Secretary Adams was reflected also in solicitation for historical material from outside the state and for the establishment of regular relations for exchange of publications with other institutions—state historical societies, learned institutions, geological survey, federal departments, and railroad companies.³⁷

THE CENTENNIAL, THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND LOCAL HISTORY

The subject of county histories had received some attention in 1868 when the Burlington *Patriot* and the Olathe *Central* had each sponsored a history. John Speer had taken notice of these efforts

35. Kansas State Historical Society, "Record A," pp. 6-8.

36. Copies of these documents are preserved in the Kansas State Historical Society library.

37. Kansas State Historical Society, "Incoming Correspondence," v. 1 *passim*.

in the Lawrence *Daily Tribune* April 26, 1868, and urged that "the plan [be] adopted by every county paper of the State. . . . Such histories would form a valuable basis for a history of the State, and would be more full and complete than anything of the kind out yet." No survey has been undertaken to determine how many such histories of whole counties or of communities were printed that year or for other years, but many such accounts of varying merits were published by newspapers, especially of the newer counties. If for no other reason, these were compiled and printed as an aspect of booming for immigration into their area.

In its report to the governor in January, 1876, the board of centennial managers had admitted the indifferent success of its efforts to stimulate organization of the counties to assume responsibility for exhibits for Philadelphia. In connection with the statutory requirement for a "condensed history" of Kansas, it pointed to the papers in the *Fourth Annual Report* of the State Board of Agriculture. But for 1876 and the actual celebration it recommended the delivery on July 4, 1876, at each county seat in the state of "an address, which shall be a synopsis of the history of the county." Town and township histories could also be preserved in that way. On April 25, Governor Osborn issued a centennial proclamation, incorporating the joint resolution of congress, calling upon citizens of counties, cities, and towns to assemble on the Fourth of July next to listen to a history of the city, town, or county, as the case may be.³⁸ The *Commonwealth* offered suggestions for implementing the program in each locality, among them, to "combine the duties of the historian and the orator . . .," and to season it "with as much spread eagle, red fire, and star spangled banner as can be conveniently worked in."

In order to be assured of such benefits as might accrue from these Fourth of July local histories, the Historical Society sent out printed postal cards under the date line June 21 asking for copies, whether in pamphlet or in newspaper form for permanent preservation: "Thus the entire history of the State will be revised and brought up to the present time."³⁹ Adams reported that 75 newspapers had published histories, but several were behind schedule, "notably Leavenworth, Douglas and Doniphan."⁴⁰ The *Commonwealth* published two important editorials on the subject: one July 13, describing the celebrations in many different parts of the

38. *Commonwealth*, April 25, 1876.

39. Copies of the postal cards are in "Kansas State Historical Society Circulars, Blanks, etc.," in library, K. S. H. S. The *Commonwealth*, June 23, 1876, reprinted the request.

40. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1876.

state, and one of July 25 interpreting the significance of the occasion to Kansas:

The good name of Kansas will be more dear to us hereafter, and those who cast a stain upon it will be more severely reprobated. In our formative period we were 'flockers' and 'movers,' there was the inevitable laxity in the demands made upon public officers. That day has gone by. Whoever steals, bribes, robs or swindles Kansas now, has struck a blow at each of us. We are here to stay, and will not submit to insult, outrage, or wrong doing.

In the perspective of subsequent events this was somewhat optimistic, but after two senatorial scandals in 1873 and two treasury scandals of still more recent date, there was good reason for wishful thinking about the future.

The Historical Society may justly be said to have prospered during its first year of actual operation. On July 1, 1876, or later, Adams moved the Society's belongings from the auditor's office into new quarters assigned in the state house—a room occupied exclusively by the Society under the stairway to the senate gallery.⁴¹ Under the date line October 6, 1876, a new circular was printed: "For the information of those inquiring as to the objects and condition of the Kansas State Historical Society. . . ." It contained a brief statement of the origins, the organization meeting, the names of the officers, the objects of the organization as stated in the by-laws, and a note was made of the Society's location, with a description of the materials assembled. Noted particularly were 140 newspapers regularly received and preserved for binding, and more than 100 county and local histories, "more or less elaborately written," and published in the papers during the year "relating to nearly every portion of the State. Not a little of the public interest which has led to the compilation of so many newspaper histories has undoubtedly grown out of the work of this Society." The circular closed by calling attention to the annual meeting which would occur in January, 1877.⁴²

CONSOLIDATING POLICIES

The first annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society was held in Union Hall, Topeka, January 25, 1877. In the absence of President Kingman, Vice-President George A. Crawford presided. The annual address for that occasion was to have been delivered by Crawford on the subject "Early History of Kansas."

41. Wilder's diary recorded the completion of the move July 14. The *Annals of Kansas* (1886) said July 1.

42. In the Kansas Historical Society library. This circular was printed on a single sheet of paper, five and one-half inches by eight inches.

On account of ill health he had not been able to prepare for the occasion. An address was given by Isaac Sharp, of Council Grove, on the "ethnological views of the native Indian tribes of the western plains." Adams then recapitulated the activities of the Society in much the same language as the circular of October 6. Thirty-five bound volumes of Kansas newspapers and periodicals, 1855 to date, were held by the Society.

A board of directors was then elected: T. H. Cavanaugh, G. A. Crawford, Sol Miller, J. A. Martin, John Francis, F. P. Baker, T. Dwight Thacher. This brought into the roster of officials three names new to the society; Cavanaugh, of Salina, Secretary of State Francis, and Thacher. Cavanaugh was born in Indiana and came to Kansas in 1869. The inclusion of Thacher, incidentally, brought into the official group for the first time a Lawrence man and an immigrant of 1857. Francis was English born, migrating to the United States and Kansas in 1858. The board of directors met in the office of the secretary of state, where the new officers were elected: G. A. Crawford, president; John A. Martin, vice-president; John Francis, treasurer; and F. G. Adams, secretary. A decision was reached to arrange a series of historical lectures, and a committee composed of Cavanaugh, Francis, and Adams was given the responsibility. A vote of thanks was given to Hugh Cameron, of Lawrence, for an 1855 file of the *Kansas Free State*, which had been published in Lawrence by Josiah Miller and R. G. Elliott. Also: "The President and Secretary were directed to employ a canvasser to solicit membership to the Society and gather historical material."⁴³ In reporting the meeting the *Commonwealth*, January 26, added a comment about the audience at the annual meeting—"the greater portion . . . were ladies"—which may or may not be a matter of significance. The Society of 1859 had denied them membership.

The historical lecture series for 1877 was arranged by the committee: N. L. Prentiss, "Pike of Pike's Peak," February 19; Charles Robinson, "Kansas Political Events, 1854-1858," February 26; N. F. Handy, "New Mexico and Her People," March 26; Sidney Clarke, "Lane of Kansas," April 9; S. S. Prouty, "The Kansas Emigrants of 1856," April 23; and S. N. Wood, "Early Kansas," May 14.⁴⁴ All the lectures were held at night in the Presbyterian church. So far as they dealt with Kansas topics they were generally in a eulogistic or moderate vein. Charles Robinson's appearance as lecturer was

43. Kansas State Historical Society, "Record A," pp. 8-13.

44. *Ibid.*, proceedings of the board of directors, pp. 13-16.

the first time his name was connected with the Historical Society, and he treated his controversial subject with tact and moderation. Clarke went all out in glorification of Lane, "the Garibaldi of our politics."⁴⁵ In view of the stormy record of S. N. Wood and some remarks made in the correspondence arranging his lecture, Adams' misgivings were aroused as to what Wood might say. His letter of admonition to Wood was a masterpiece, and revealed more effectively probably than anything else that can be cited the ideals and policy that actuated Adams throughout his long career as secretary of the Society, 1876-1899:

You say your lecture will be a kind of 'autobiography.' The Society will not dictate what shall be the character of lectures delivered by those who are invited to lecture before it. But it is obvious that the usefulness of the Society would be impaired by the introduction of such matters in these lectures as should arouse animosities among those who should cooperate for the sole object of recording and perpetuating the memories of history.⁴⁶

The legislature of 1877 appropriated \$3,000 for the Historical Society, for the biennium, \$1,000 of which was ear-marked for the purchase of the "Thomas H. Webb Collection" of manuscripts and scrapbooks. Incidental to the appropriation was an important enlargement of the objects of the Society. The money was authorized for the collection of material "illustrative of the history and progress of Kansas in particular and the west in general." That principle that Kansas history could not be studied effectively in a vacuum, was to become fundamental to the policy of making the Society a repository of materials for the history of "Kansas in particular and the west in general."⁴⁷ A called meeting of the board of directors was held March 13 to decide matters "growing out of the appropriation made . . . by the state [legislature]."⁴⁸ Six members were present.

Appropriately, the first expenditure authorized out of the state money was a salary for Secretary Adams—\$25 per month to be retroactive to January 1, 1877.⁴⁹ Of course, Adams' major income was still his salary as clerk in the treasurer's office, and his services to the Society were performed on borrowed time—either from the state or from his private life. Also, the *Commonwealth*, August 12, 1877, performed an act of justice in explaining to the public how

45. *Commonwealth*, April 10, 1877.

46. F. G. Adams to S. N. Wood, May 3, 1877, "Correspondence" of K. S. H. S., "Outgoing," v. 1, p. 23.

47. State of Kansas, *The Session Laws of 1877* . . . , ch. 36, approved March 6, 1877.

48. *Commonwealth*, March 14, 1877.

49. Kansas State Historical Society, "Record A," p. 14.

part of the work was done: "Mr. Adams, or rather his daughter [Zu Adams], working without pay, files all papers. . . ." Just when Zu Adams began this work for her father was not stated, but probably soon after her 17th birthday anniversary, which was January 13, 1876. She died in the service of the Society in 1911. At the second annual meeting, January 22, 1878, the financial statement accounted for only \$237.50 paid for the services of the secretary during 1877. For 1878 he received his full \$300, and his assistant, Zu Adams, \$130.⁵⁰ Still another subsidy to the Society came from certain railroads. The M. K. & T., the Santa Fe, the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf, and the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston companies granted Adams passes for official business. The *Commonwealth*, September 20, 1877, was disposed to advance this fact in evidence that "Corporations have souls—some of them at least."

In view of the success of the lectures at Topeka during the early months of 1877 the Society initiated a much more elaborate program for the winter of 1877-1878. A four-page leaflet was printed in October explaining the plan to take the historical lectures to the state. The early history of Kansas, the argument ran, rested on memories of living persons: "These persons are vanishing with each succeeding year, and the facts within their knowledge will be lost forever, unless committed to paper and preserved." The Society made an issue of the point that "it is not merely in respect to political affairs that important matters in Kansas history remain unwritten. . . . The wonderful activity and strife in political affairs in early times obscured the history of many events less exciting and yet of great importance as concerned the material, social and moral founding of the State." A list of suggested topics was printed which illustrated effectively the possibilities of historical writing other than political. The manuscripts of all lectures were to become the property of the Society. The arrangements in each town were to be in the hands of local committees. Either the circular itself or summaries of it were published throughout the state.⁵¹

While the emphasis was upon lectures, the program included historical papers to be filed with the Society. The *Commonwealth*, December 30, reported a list of 50 men and their subjects already committed for delivery either as lectures or deposited as papers. Later this list was expanded to 70 promised, and the *Common-*

50. *First Biennial Report of the K. S. H. S.*, 1879, pp. 54, 56.

51. Atchison *Daily Champion*, October 21; Topeka *Commonwealth*, October 24, 1877, are examples. An original copy of the leaflet is in the library, K. S. H. S.

wealth, January 22, 1878, on the eve of the second annual meeting reported 79. Of course not all of these commitments were fulfilled, probably only a small proportion, but a definite impetus was given to the writing out of historical stories.

The second annual meeting of the Society was held January 22, 1878. The board of directors elected included George A. Crawford, F. P. Baker, John A. Martin, F. G. Adams, John Francis, C. K. Holliday, and Charles Robinson. The last two named were the members new to the official roster of the Society. Both were of the settler vintage of 1854. The new board elected officers for the ensuing year: John A. Martin, president; F. P. Baker, vice-president; John Francis, treasurer; and F. G. Adams, secretary.

Before the third annual meeting, the board of directors decided upon a constitution for the Society, a luxury it had thus far forgone, and revised the bylaws. A board meeting December 26, 1878, approved a draft constitution prepared by the secretary "modeled after that of the Wisconsin Historical Society." It was adopted at the third annual meeting, January 21, 1879. The board of directors was enlarged from seven to thirty-six, each serving two-year terms, half renewed each year. Editors and publishers contributing their paper became active members during the continuance of such contribution. The annual meeting ordered another series of historical lectures. The new board of directors elected as officers: Charles Robinson, president; Holliday and Anthony, vice-presidents; Francis, treasurer; and Adams, secretary. At a meeting of the board, January 31, 1879, Adams was allotted a salary of \$1,500 annually, and an executive committee of five was authorized, to be selected from the board.⁵²

The legislature of 1879 appropriated \$1,000 for the remainder of the fiscal year, and \$2,500 each for the next two years. Also an act was passed designating the Society as trustee for the state, and re-defining its duties. Particularly;

It shall be the duty of the society to collect books, maps, and other papers and materials illustrative of the history of Kansas in particular, and of the west generally; to procure from the early pioneers narratives of events relative to the early settlement of Kansas, and to the early explorations, Indian occupancy and overland travel in the territory and the west; to procure facts and statements relative to the history and conduct of our Indian tribes, and to gather all information calculated to exhibit faithfully the antiquities and the past and present conditions, resources and progress of the state. . . ." ⁵³

52. Kansas State Historical Society, "Record A," pp. 31, 32.

53. State of Kansas, *The Session Laws of 1879* . . . , p. 59, ch. 167, pp. 325-327.

CONCLUSION

By these events it may be fairly said that the Kansas State Historical Society was founded as a going concern, but a few points should be reviewed by way of recapitulation. The accompanying chart may aid in visualizing perspective about the original organizing group in the Historical Society, the 12 organizers plus F. G. Adams, to whom they entrusted their Society. Conspicuously, these were not old men who had outlived their usefulness, with nothing to do but relive in memory past strife. Only three Massachusetts educated men were in the group, and only three were college men. Nine of the 13 had no formal education except what they received in the common school, in some cases supplemented by some academy experience. The two who were the product of Massachusetts common schools, Kingman and Taylor, were anything but what are usually thought of as New England Yankees. Four were the product of New York common schools, and two of Pennsylvania schools, and to each of these states one from the college men, must be credited for his common schooling. Conspicuously, the controversial characters who had played the leading roles in early territorial days were not among the founders. They were practical men of affairs centering in Topeka, at that time the intellectual as well as the political capital of Kansas.

<i>KSHS Organizing Group</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Age, 1875</i>			<i>State of Birth</i>	<i>Education</i>
D. R. Anthony.....	1824	.....	.....	51	New York	Common schools
F. P. Baker.....	1820	.....	.....	55	New York	Common schools
George A. Crawford...	1827	.....	48	.....	Pa.....	Jefferson University, 1847
S. A. Kingman.....	1818	.....	.....	57	Mass.....	Common schools
G. W. Martin.....	1841	34	.....	.....	Pa.....	Common schools
John A. Martin.....	1839	36	.....	.....	Pa.....	Common schools
Sol Miller.....	1831	.....	44	.....	Ohio.....	Common schools
N. L. Prentis.....	1839	36	.....	.....	Ill.....	Ill., Vt. common schools
S. S. Prouty.....	1835	40	.....	.....	New York	Common schools
M. W. Reynolds.....	1833	.....	42	.....	New York	University of Michigan
R. B. Taylor.....	1822	.....	.....	53	Mass.....	Common schools
D. W. Wilder.....	1832	.....	43	.....	Mass.....	Harvard college
F. G. Adams.....	1824	.....	.....	51	New York	Common schools

The newspaper membership idea dated from 1860 when it was adopted by the Kansas Scientific and Historical Society.⁵⁴ It was incorporated into the Kansas Historical Society of 1867. Wilder's proposal of April 8, 1875, that newspaper subscriptions be paid for out of legislative appropriations was the deviation from the tradition. The denial of the first request for an appropriation threw the

54. Cf. Part III of the present series, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Spring, 1955, pp. 331-378.

new Society back upon the earlier principle, and one which bound the Kansas press and the Historical Society together in mutual support and service.

A third theme that needs pointing up is that of the scope and objects of a Historical Society. The philosophical society idea has been traced through the antecedent organizations. Also, the tendency to divide the body of knowledge into compartments. The Kansas Academy of Science had set up for itself claiming jurisdiction over the science area, but it had extended its activities into social areas such as linguistics and anthropology. The Kansas State Historical Society, 1876, persisted in many aspects of the philosophical society tradition. The Goss Collection of birds is a conspicuous example. Also, the Historical Society included in its objectives the collection of material on antiquities (anthropology). Adams was a member and an active contributor to that subject in the Kansas Academy of Science. He made a gift of his collection of artifacts to the Kansas State Historical Society on February 4, 1876, and his proposal to include that subject within the scope of the Society's activities was adopted. One thing that had stimulated so much interest in the prehistoric inhabitants was a study made of materials excavated near Parkville, Mo.⁵⁵

The type of historical material collected by the Society may be traced briefly. In amplification of the definitions incorporated in the charter, the bylaws of 1876, and the statutes of 1877 and 1879, the Society issued a series of circulars. One of the earlier of these, undated, divided material desired by the Historical Society into seven classes: (1) every book, on any subject . . . relating to Kansas; (2) "pamphlets of all kinds" enumerating publication of educational, religious, and social institutions; (3) newspapers and magazines; (4) manuscripts; (5) maps, drawings, engravings, photographs, paintings, and portraits connected with Kansas history; (6) curiosities of all kinds: coins, medals, paintings, statues, and war relics; (7) Indians, contemporary and prehistoric. In the next of the series of circulars, section 1 was broken down into three, by making separate sections of matters relating to cities, and to laws, and manuscripts were combined with the first section. Educational and other institutions were given a separate section. A still later version of the circular, in ten sections, separated manuscripts from the first section making it the second section. These lists are ample testimony to the purpose of the organizing group

55. Although earlier excavations near Parkville had been made in 1853, they had been forgotten. At that time G. C. Swallow had estimated the age of the ruins at about 1,000 years.—St. Joseph (Mo.) *Gazette*, November 9, 1853.

and especially to the secretary, Franklin G. Adams, who so largely guided policy making. He wished to avoid controversies; for him the Society was not a battleground for either individuals or causes. As he told S. N. Wood, so candidly, "the sole object" was "recording and perpetuating the memories of history." And as he emphasized in the circular of October, 1877, political affairs were not the whole story of Kansas; "strife in political affairs in early times obscured the history of many events less exciting and yet of great importance as concerned the material, social and moral founding of the State."

If the present writer has been at all successful in reconstructing the point of view of the founders of the Kansas State Historical Society, and their evaluation of what was central to its functions, a rereading of the successive *Biennial Reports* prepared by the secretary should take on a fresh meaning. Adams tried persistently to put first things first. The *Third Biennial Report* restated with emphasis (p. 16): "the chief and essential feature of a historical society is its library work," and by that he meant to place first the newspaper collections, and after them reports of societies, and institutions, pamphlets, maps, manuscripts, pictures, antiquities, etc., all of which he had evaluated in some detail in the *First Biennial Report*. The first major group of manuscripts acquired had been the Thomas H. Webb and the Thaddeus Hyatt collections.

True, the historical atmosphere was changing rapidly. Already the Lecompte-Anthony libel suit had been heard at Leavenworth.⁵⁶ The Osawatimie monument was dedicated in 1877, and the Townsley confession was published late in 1879, thus reopening on a new basis the whole John Brown controversy. In spite of Franklin G. Adams, the Historical Society was soon to be turned more and more into a battleground,⁵⁷ but through all that unpleasantness he persisted in his central objective that the function of a Historical Society was to serve as the repository of historical materials, preserved in trust for use in the future.

56. James C. Malin, "Judge Lecompte and the 'Sack of Lawrence,' May 21, 1856," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (November, 1953), pp. 553-580.

57. James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six*, chs. 14-21.

Marriage Notices From Kansas Territorial Newspapers, 1854-1861

Compiled by ALBERTA PANTLE

INTRODUCTION

THE following list of marriages is a continuation of the vital statistics gleaned from the territorial newspaper collection of the Kansas State Historical Society. Previously published was "Death Notices From Kansas Territorial Newspapers, 1854-1861," which appeared in the August and November, 1950, issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*. The same general principles have been followed in this compilation as in the list of death notices. When a marriage was not performed in the community where the newspaper, in which the notice appeared, was published, the place of marriage is listed if known. Not all announcements included the site of the ceremony.

The files of the Historical Society's territorial newspapers are remarkably complete, however in some instances there are only scattered issues. This fact and negligence in reporting marriages to the newspapers necessarily cause this list to be incomplete, but it does bring together marriage records from all parts of territorial Kansas for the first time.

The recording of marriages has been required of the counties of this state since the start of county government in 1855, and many of them have such records from their beginning. One notable exception is Douglas county where records were destroyed in the Quantrill raid of August 21, 1863. Since 1913 marriages have also been recorded in the division of vital statistics of the state board of health at Topeka.

THE MARRIAGE NOTICES

ABBOTT, EPHRAIM, JR., formerly of Wyandotte, and Annette M. Wood, Springfield, Ill., mar. Sept. 14, 1858, at Springfield. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 9.)

ABERNATHY, J. J., and Lizzie Martin, formerly of Keokuk, Iowa, mar. Sept. 2, 1859, at the residence of Dr. Davis, by the Rev. J. G. Reaser. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 3.)

ACKERLY, GODELOPE, and Elizabeth A. Goodrick, both of Stanton, mar. Dec. 22, 1859, at Osawatomie, by the Rev. Z. Baker. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Jan. 13, 1860.)

ALBERTA PANTLE is acting librarian of the Kansas State Historical Society.

- ADAMS, LUCIAN R., of Wellington, Ohio, and Harriet G. Lord, of Litchfield, Conn., mar. Oct. 21, 1857, at Burlingame, by the Rev. G. W. Paddock. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 26.)
- ADDIS, ALFRED S., late of Pennsylvania, and Sarah H., dau. of T. J. Short, formerly of Lexington, Mo., mar. Mar. 27, 1856, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 29.)
- ADKINSON, WILLIAM W., and Ruth A. McClenning, mar. Jan. 1, 1856, at house of John Adkinson, by the Rev. John Evans. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Jan. 22.)
- ALLEN, LUTHER, and Jane Nugent, mar. April 24, 1859, at the Chase House, by the Rev. L. Bodwell. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, April 28.)
- ALLER, A. L., Leavenworth, and Jennie E. Winchester, mar. Mar. 24, 1859, at Allen's Prairie, Mich., by the Rev. N. Fassett. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, April 9.)
- ALLER, W. H., and Eliza H. Perkins, mar. Mar. 24, 1859, at Allen's Prairie, Mich., by the Rev. N. Fassett. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, April 9.)
- ALTEN, HENRY G., of St. Louis, Mo., and Amelia M. Randolph, of Lawrence, mar. Nov. 3, 1857, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 14.)
- ALTON, CYRUS D., and Frances C. Stewart, of Monrovia, mar. Sept. 5, 1858, at the Exchange Hotel, by the Rev. J. F. Collins. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Sept. 18.)
- ANDERSON, G. W., and D. M. Graham, mar. May 24, 1860, by G. W. Barr, Esq. (Elwood, *Free Press*, May 26.)
- ANDERSON, DR. JOSEPH, and Mary C. Clements, mar. Mar. 20, 1860, at Tecumseh, by the Rev. C. M. Callaway. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Mar. 24.)
- ANDREWS, R. S., and L. A. Ensign, mar. Nov. 12, 1859, by P. P. Wilcox, Esq. (Atchison's *Freedom's Champion*, Nov. 19.)
- ANSTAY, SIMEON, and Elizabeth Wise, Brown county, mar. Aug. 26, 1858, by J. W. Wilhoit. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Aug. 26.)
- ANTHONY, J. MERRITT, and Mary Luther, Kingston, N. Y., mar. April 2, 1858. (Osawatomie, *Southern Kansas Herald*, April 24.)
- ARNOLD, NOAH, and Julia M. Graham, both of Douglas county, mar. Feb. 8, 1860, by the Rev. H. H. Moore. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Feb. 9.)
- ARTERBERRY, THOMAS, and Caroline Anderson, mar. Aug. 13, 1857, near Franklin, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 27.)
- ASHLEY, DR. A. F., of Forest City, Mo., and Angie R. Longley, Hartford, Madison county, Kan., mar. Jan. 1, 1860, at Hartford, by S. J. Mantor, J. P. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 14.)
- ATCHISON, WILLIAM, of Clay county, Mo., and Sarah, dau. of Dr. William Robertson, formerly of Kentucky, mar. Nov. 26, 1857, in Buchanan county, Mo. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 23, 1858.)
- ATKINSON, WILLIAM, formerly of Peoria, Ill., and Mary Davenport, of Indianapolis, Ind., mar. Feb. 16, 1858, by the Rev. R. C. Brant. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Feb. 18.)
- ATWOOD, B. W., and Elizabeth S. Badley, both of Whitewater, Otoe county, Kan., mar. April 1, 1860, at Chelsea, Butler county, by the Rev. J. S. Saxby. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, April 28.)

- BACON, HENRY R., and Ellen Brittan, both of Burlington, Kan., mar. Feb. 7, 1858, at Burlington, by the Rev. P. Remer. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, Feb. 25.)
- BACON, S. S., and Ellen R. Moore, mar. Aug. 24, 1859, by the Rev. Richard Cordley. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 13.)
- BAILEY, F. A., and Hattie A. Haskin, mar. Dec. 10, 1857, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 12.)
- BAKER, EPHRAIM, and Mrs. Elmira McCartney, mar. July 22, 1860, by the Rev. C. M. Callaway. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, July 28.)
- BAKER, PETER H., and Margaretta Sebra, mar. Jan. 11, 1858, at Bloomington, Kan. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 28.)
- BAKER, VALENTINE, and Mary Litch, late of Lee county, Iowa, mar. April 6, 1858, by Mayor H. J. Adams. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 10.)
- BALDWIN, HENRY, and Ann E. Cosley, mar. Mar. 8, 1859, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Mar. 24.)
- BALDWIN, JAMES O., and Jane Vetteto, both of Le Roy township, Coffey county, mar. Sept. 20, 1860, by the Rev. E. Phillips. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Oct. 10.)
- BANKHEAD, ASCHER, and Mary Annabelle, dau. of the late Col. A. B. Chambers, St. Louis, Mo., mar. June 10, 1857, at Oakland, near Bowling Green, Mo., by the Rev. Mr. Worthington. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 20.)
- BARKER, INGLE, of Lawrence, and Frances R. Joy, of Akron, Ohio, mar. Oct. 30, 1858, at Akron, by the Rev. A. Joy. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 20.)
- BARNES, DR. EDWARD A., and Susan J. Albin, mar. ———, 1855, by the Rev. C. H. Lovejoy. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 1.)
- BARNEY, JOSEPH M., of Brimfield, Ill., and Sarah C. T., dau. of Deacon John T. Farwell, of Fitchburg, Mass., mar. Oct. 4, 1855, at Fitchburg, by the Rev. E. W. Bullard, of Royalston, Mass. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 27.)
- BARTLETT, J. KEMP, of Leavenworth Times, and Virginia, dau. of E. Cowgill, Talbot county, Md., mar. Oct. 12, 1858, at a Friends ceremony in presence of Mayor Henry. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 23.)
- BATCHELLER, J. W., and Anna E. Wade, both of Oregon, Mo., mar. Feb. 28, 1858, by the Rev. Edward Lambkin. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Mar. 11.)
- BATES, DANIEL, editor of the Evangelist, Fort Madison, Iowa, and Mrs. Martha Ann B. Whyte, relict of D. M. Whyte, mar. Dec. 15, 1858, at New Bloomfield, Callaway county, Mo., by Elder A. Rice. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 8, 1859.)
- BATES, COL. J. M., senior editor of Kansas City (Mo.) *Metropolitan*, and Mattie T., dau. of Moses Prewett, Columbia, Mo., mar. Oct. 26, 1858, by the Rev. X. X. Buckner. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 20.)
- BAY, HUGH, of Atchison, and Melinda Comstock, Jefferson county, mar. May 1, 1860, by the Rev. J. B. McAfee. (Lawrence, *Republican*, May 17.)
- BAYNE, THOMAS R., and Susannah Hatton, both of Jefferson county, mar. Feb. 1858, by the Rev. William Wilson. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 10.)

- BEAGLE, F. M., and California Hailey, mar. Nov. 18, 1855, in Kickapoo City, by T. Shaler. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Dec. 1.)
- BEEDING, W. A., Parkerville, Mo., and Martha R. Walker, Wyandotte, mar. Aug. 27, 1857, at house of William Parker, by the Rev. Nathan Scarritt. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 5.)
- BEERS, A. H. and Ann Elizabeth Minter, mar. Jan. 29, 1860, at residence of R. M. Smith, by the Rev. J. Spencer. (*Atchison, Union*, Feb. 4.)
- BELZ, JOHN, and Sophia Binde, mar. Nov. 10, 1859, by the Rev. L. R. Staudenmayer. (*Atchison, Union*, Nov. 12.)
- BENEDICT, WILLIAM F., and Eliza H. Walton, both of Douglas county, mar. Oct. 6, 1859, by the Rev. H. H. Moore. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Oct. 13.)
- BENJAMIN, HENRY, and Betsy Baysinger, mar. May 27, 1858, on Ottawa creek, by the Rev. Mr. Ingels. (*Prairie City, Freeman's Champion*, June 17.)
- BENNETT, G. W. C., Platte county, Mo., and Sallie, dau. of David and Elizabeth Black, Buchanan county, Mo., mar. Dec. 1, 1859, by the Rev. O. C. Steele. (*Atchison, Union*, Dec. 10.)
- BENZ, JOHN J., Leavenworth and Louisa M. Cole, Weston, Mo., mar. April 30, 1857, at Weston, by Jeremiah Woods, Esq. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 16.)
- BERKAU, PAUL H., of near Bloomington, and Lizzie Jonson, Cambridge City., Ind., mar. Jan. 18, 1857, at Cambridge City. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 21.)
- BETTON, FRANK H., and Susannah Mudeater, mar. Mar. 8, 1860, by the Rev. Wm. Barnett. (*Wyandotte, Western Argus*, Mar. 14.)
- BIRCH, MICHAEL, of Weston, Mo., and Mary Frances Combs, mar. May 25, 1856, by the Rev. W. G. Caples. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 31.)
- BLACKSTONE, W. C., of Mapleton, and Anna E. Enlow, of Brooklyn, mar. May 10, 1860, at the Hildreth House, Mound City, by the Rev. M. D. Tenney. (*Lawrence, Republican*, May 24.)
- BLANTON, N. B., and Harriet Crosby, formerly of Warren county, Ill., mar. ———, 1857, near Neosho City, by the Rev. Benoni Wheat. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Aug. 27.)
- BLEVINS, WILLIAM, and Martha Chandler, both of Jefferson county, mar. Oct. 25, 1860, at residence of Richard Chandler, by the Rev. H. H. Hedgpeth. (*Oskaloosa, Independent*, Oct. 31.)
- BLISS, HARMON J., Quindaro, and M. Elizabeth, dau. of Alvin Plumb, Westfield, N. Y., mar. Sept. 1, 1857, at Westfield, by the Rev. Charles Mussey. (*Quindaro, Chindowan*, Sept. 19.)
- BONIFANT, BENJAMIN, Weston, Mo., and Tillie Leachman, Platte county, Mo., mar. Oct. 29, 1855, by the Rev. O. C. Steele. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 17.)
- BOTHEL, ADAM R., and Elvira Whitney, formerly of Pennsylvania, mar. Feb. 14, 1860, at the Bratton House, Burlingame, by the Rev. A. M. Thornton. (*Emporia, Kansas News*, Mar. 10.)
- BOTTS, GEORGE W. D., and Mrs. Elizabeth Fales, recently of Boston, Mass., mar. Jan. 29, 1855, at Juniata, Kan., by the Rev. C. E. Blood. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 17.)
- BOWLES, L. S., and Miss Peteet, mar. ———, 1855, by the Rev. Thomas Allen. (*Atchison, Squatter Sovereign*, Sept. 18.)

- BOWMAN, CHRISTIAN, formerly of Millerstown, Pa., and Mary E. Sutliff, formerly of Fairhaven, Vt., mar. Aug. 15, 1860, at the residence of bride's brother, William E. Sutliff, by the Rev. Richard Cordley. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 16.)
- BOYD, A. G., Weston, Mo., and Lizzie J. Beagle, mar. Jan. 24, 1856, by the Rev. W. G. Caples. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 9.)
- BOYER, JOHN W., of Topeka, and Emily P., dau. of Anson Eddy, of Mission creek, mar. July 15, 1860, by the Rev. J. T. Holliday. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 26.)
- BOZELL, WILLIAM, and Rebecca W. Winsett, mar. Mar. 20, 1860, in Fremont, by the Rev. Calvin Meadows. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Mar. 24.)
- BRADFORD, WARD, and Mary E. Simpsons, mar. Nov. 15, 1857, by the Rev. B. C. Dennis. (Sumner, *Gazette*, Nov. 20.)
- BRAMHILL, JOHN, and Elizabeth Courtney, mar. Sept. 20, 1860, at Waterloo, Breckinridge county,¹ Kan., by John Wayman, J. P. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 29.)
- BREWER, MONTREVILLE, and Mrs. Mary Moody, mar. Aug. 2, 1858, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 7.)
- BRITTON, JOSEPH, and Mary Ellen Bacus, mar. Sept. 2, 1856, by P. P. Wilcox. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Sept. 2.)
- BROMLEY, MARTIN, and Tobiatha Berry, both of St. Joseph, Mo., mar. Mar. 2, 1860, at the Great Western Hotel, Elwood, by the Rev. E. Whitney. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Mar. 24.)
- BROOKE, DR. C. B., of Lecompton, and Jennie Mockbee, of Westport, Mo., mar. May 5, 1859, at home of bride's father, near Westport, by the Rev. Mr. Simonton. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 28.)
- BROOKS, P. R., and Mary A. Boughton, mar. Oct. 3, 1858, by Charles Reynolds. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 7.)
- BROWN, ALONZO J., and Clara M. Ingerson, mar. Oct. 29, 1857, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 7.)
- BROWN, HON. B. GRATZ, editor of the St. Louis, Mo., *Democrat*, and Mary, dau. of Calvin Gunn, of Jefferson City, Mo., mar. Aug. 12, 1858, by the Rev. S. D. Loughhead. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 26.)
- BROWN, GEORGE, and Maria Likins, both of Franklin, mar. Dec. 28, 1857, by S. N. Wood, Esq. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 2, 1858.)
- BROWN, IRA, and Emma Woodward, mar. May 8, 1860, by the Rev. R. Cordley. (Lawrence, *Republican*, May 17.)
- BROWN, SAMUEL W., and Mrs. Sarah A. Mahon, both of Johnson County, mar. April 26, by the Rev. William Bishop. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 28.)
- BROWN, WARREN, Fort Leavenworth, and Olivia N. Byrn, mar. Oct. 18, 1859, at residence of J. C. Dawley, by the Rev. J. G. Reaser. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 20.)
- BROWNE, ORVILLE H., and Mrs. Caroline Steiner, both of Douglas county, mar. Mar. 27, 1858, by the Rev. William Wilson. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, April 1.)

1. Also spelled Breckenridge, e. g., *The Statutes of the Territory of Kansas* . . . , 1855, p. 207, where the county's boundaries were first defined. However, as the county was named for Vice-President John Breckinridge, and almost all later publications use Breckinridge, that spelling has been followed in this compilation.

- BROWNING, ASAPH, and Abbie Copeland, both of Fitchburg, Mass., mar. ———, 1856, by the Rev. C. E. Blood. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 26.)
- BRUNER, SAMUEL, and Joanna Maria Chapman, mar. April 12, 1859, at Americus, by the Rev. George Perkins. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, April 16.)
- BUCK, GILES B., and Mollie E. Whelan, mar. Aug. 7, 1860, at St. Joseph, Mo., by the Rev. Mr. Nichols. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Aug. 11.)
- BUCKLEY, JAMES, and Mollie Adair, late of Kentucky, mar. Nov. 9, 1858, at residence of E. M. Rankin, by the Rev. Jonas Dodge. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 20.)
- BUDINGTON, GEORGE E., and Anne E. Shepherd, late of Albany, N. Y., mar. Nov. 11, 1858, at Quindaro, by the Rev. L. D. Storrs. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 25.)
- BULL, T. J., and Mrs. Agnes Kirkpatrick, mar. Jan. 14, 1856, at residence of Mr. Nickerson, by the Rev. Mr. Martin. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 19.)
- BULL, DR. W. D., and Sue R. Brown, mar. Jan. 20, 1858, by the Rev. Leander Ker. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 23.)
- BULLEN, J. H., and Alma E., dau. of Nathaniel Greenwood, Farmington, Me., mar. Nov. 5, 1857, by the Rev. Mr. Henderson. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, Nov. 6.)
- BUNKER, J. G., and H. A. Hartwell, mar. Jan. 1, 1857, by the Rev. L. Bodwell. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Jan. 12.)
- BURLEY, RUFUS B., of Sugar Mound, Linn county, and Sarah A. Flanders, of Northport, Me., mar. Oct. 5, 1857, at Belfast, Me., by Timothy Chase, Esq. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 5.)
- BURR, RICHARD, and Jennie Vandever, mar. Oct. 2, 1858, near Le Roy, by J. R. T. Shull, J. P. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 20.)
- BURROUGHS, EDGAR C., and Mary J. Houghton, both of Wakarusa, mar. Oct. 29, 1860, by the Rev. W. H. Hickox. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Nov. 3.)
- BUSHMAN, CHARLES, and Maria Codd, mar. July 12, 1860, at Burlington, by the Rev. Peter Remer. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, July 28.)
- CALVERT, FRANK, Kansas territory, and Beattie, dau. of Lewis Calvert, Platte county, Mo., mar. Dec. 3, 1857, by the Rev. J. B. Wright. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 9, 1858.)
- CAMPBELL, ALEX. M., and Christina A. Phillips, both of Salina, mar. Nov. 6, 1858, at Riley City, by Judge Gordon. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 9.)
- CAMPDORAS, DR. MARIE ANTONINE EUGENE JACQUES, and Eliza M. Reader, mar. Feb. 22, 1858, at residence of bride's uncle, Indianola, by the Rev. J. T. Holliday. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Feb. 27.)
- CARPENTER, C. HOWARD, and Sarah E. Jones, recently of Keene, N. H., mar. April 5, 1855, by the Rev. H. B. Burgess. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 7.)
- CARR, ALEXANDER, and Mary L. Smoot, mar. Jan. 22, 1858, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 23.)
- CARR, JOHN, and Patscilla Staly, Easton, mar. Jan. 13, 1857, at Easton, by S. H. Oliphant. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 31.)
- CARRIER, MILO, and Almira Fox, mar. Jan. 30, 1858, at home of bride's father, H. Fox, Brownville, Kan., by the Rev. J. E. Moore. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, Mar. 18.)

- CASE, DEXTER, and Mary Jane Ayers, both formerly of Ohio, mar. Dec. 6, 1859, at Spring Hill, by the Rev. R. P. Duval. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 15.)
- CASE, LAWRENCE, of Prairie du Chien, Wis., and Emily F. Avery, of Clinton, Douglas county, mar. Sept. 7, 1859, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 10.)
- CASPER, A., and Dorethea Luedeman, mar. Nov. 22, 1860, by the Rev. I. S. Kalloch. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Nov. 26.)
- CATTERSON, JOHN L., and Ellen Bundren, mar. May 30, 1860, by the Rev. J. C. Fraker. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, June 2.)
- CHADWICK, W. W., of Hamilton county, Ohio, and R. M. Williamson, of Stanton, Kan., mar. Oct. 12, 1859, at Stanton, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 26.)
- CHALLIS, GEORGE T., and Florence Imogene Bennett, mar. Nov. 13, 1856, by the Rev. Thomas Hoagland. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Nov. 22.)
- CHASE, JACOB E., and Augusta L. Stewart, mar. Jan. 23, 1859, at El Dorado, by Rev. G. Perkins. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 29.)
- CHESTNUT, JAMES, and Lydia A. Benedict, mar. Feb. 23, 1857, near Ottumwa, by the Rev. John Earnheart. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 14.)
- CHRISTIAN, M. A., and Letitia H., dau. of William H. Gage, mar. Dec. 13, 1857, near Tecumseh. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 23, 1858.)
- CHUMLEY, HENRY J., and Mary A. Roberts, both of Wathena, mar. Sept. 9, 1858, by the Rev. E. Alward. (Elwood, *Kansas Weekly Press*, Sept. 11.)
- CLARK, HENRY S., and H. Maria Felt, mar. Jan. 1, 1860, by the Rev. John S. Brown. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 12.)
- CLARKE, RICHARD W., and Cassa F. Kirkbride, mar. Aug. 7, 1860, at residence of bride's father in Wyandotte, by the Rev. William Barnett. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 16.)
- CLARKE, SIDNEY, and Henrietta Ross, mar. Nov. 29, 1860, by the Rev. Richard Cordley. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 6.)
- CLAYTON, G. WASHINGTON, of Denver City, Kan., and Letitia E. Myers, of Philadelphia, Pa., mar. Sept. 12, 1860, by the Rev. C. D. Cooper. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Sept. 27.)
- CLAYTON, GEORGE E., of Caytonville, Kan., and Mary Caswell, Upper Alton, Ill., mar. June 11, 1857, in St. Louis, Mo., by the Rev. Washington Barnhurst. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 20.)
- CLINE, JACOB K., Brown county, and Mary Ann Devolt, Doniphan county, mar. Aug. 7, 1859, in Brown county, by Isaiah P. Winslow, Esq. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Aug. 11.)
- COAT, G. W., of Mason county, Ill., and Elizabeth M. Baldwin, of Lawrence, mar. July 1, 1857, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 11.)
- COBERD, ELIAS, and Hannah Crone, both of Jefferson county, mar. Oct. 24, 1860, by the Rev. S. Brooks. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, Oct. 24.)
- COE, HENRY L., and Eliza M. Gifford, both formerly of Aurora, Ill., mar. May 12, 1858, by the Rev. R. C. Brant. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, May 13.)
- COE, J. M., of Lawrence, and Mary M. Wood, of Homer, Mich., mar. Sept. 2, 1858, at Homer, by the Rev. Mr. Faucher. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 9.)

- COLE, JOHN F., and Hettie Foncannon, both of Topeka, mar. May 10, 1860, at the Auburn Hotel, Auburn, by the Rev. F. P. Montfort. (*Topeka, Kansas Tribune*, May 12.)
- COMPTON, JOHN, and Emily Breese, mar. Mar. 24, 1858, at Hickory Grove. (*Prairie City, Freeman's Champion*, April 1.)
- CONKLIN, ENSIGN, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Anna D. C. Bowers, of Rock Island, Ill., mar. June 7, 1860, at residence of Henry J. Bowers, Rock Island, by the Rev. Mr. McMasters. (*Lawrence, Republican*, June 7.)
- CONNER, THOMAS H., and Mary A. McClelland, both of Willow Springs, mar. Mar. 15, 1860, at Willow Springs, by the Rev. R. Cordley. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Mar. 29.)
- COOK, HENRY N., of Columbia, Mo., and Hattie Scott, of Arrow Rock, Mo., mar. Mar. 9, 1859, at Arrow Rock. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 26.)
- COOK, J. W., and Mrs. E. A. Granniss, Evansville, Wis., mar. Jan. 1, 1861, at Evansville, by the Rev. C. M. Morehouse. (*Elwood, Free Press*, Jan. 12.)
- COOPER, WILLIAM, Oskaloosa, and Mrs. Almira Anderson, Leocompton, mar. Sept. 22, 1860, at Leocompton, by Mr. McKinney, J. P. (*Oskaloosa, Independent*, Sept. 26.)
- CORDLEY, THE REV. RICHARD, and Mary Ann Cox, of Hamburg, Mich., mar. May 19, 1859, at Hamburg, by the Rev. D. L. Eaton. (*Lawrence, Republican*, May 26.)
- COREY, ALFRED, and Martha Hoover, both of Pleasant Hill, Kan., mar. Dec. 25, 1855, by Elder William Hicks. (*Lawrence, Kansas Free State*, Jan. 7, 1856.)
- CORLEW, HENRY AUSTIN, and Zorelda Bledsoe, mar. April 3, 1855, at the residence of Judge John Curtiss, by J. K. Goodin, Esq. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, April 14.)
- CORRELL, JAMES, and Susan McGee, mar. Aug. 20, 1857, by the Rev. S. S. Snyder. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Sept. 3.)
- CORUM, JOHN L., and Sarah Ann Harrod, mar. April 26, 1859, by the Rev. D. Bolles. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 30.)
- COUTANT, JAMES W., and Louisa Wolford, mar. Jan. 15, 1860, at residence of Mr. Clough, by the Rev. Mr. Hale. (*Fort Scott, Democrat*, Jan. 19.)
- COX, JAMES, and Cathrine Glascock, mar. Dec. 25, 1856, near Troy, by Capt. A. Heed. (*Doniphan, Kansas Constitutionalist*, Jan. 7, 1857.)
- CRACKLIN, CAPT. JOSEPH, and Emily Dunlap, formerly of New Boston, N. H., mar. Mar. 30, 1858, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, April 10.)
- CRAIGHILL, SAMUEL J., formerly of Jefferson county, Va., and Sallie C., dau. of William D. Barrow, mar. Feb. 24, 1859, near Doniphan City, by the Rev. J. E. Ryan. (*Elwood, Kansas Press*, Mar. 5.)
- CRAIN, S. E., and Martha M. Cody, mar. Feb. 7, 1858, at residence of Mrs. Cody on Salt creek, by the Rev. B. C. Dennis. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 13.)
- CRAM, HIRAM, and Mary Brero, both of Franklin, mar. June 10, 1855, at the Union Hotel, Lawrence, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, June 16.)
- CRANE, DR. DAVID R., and Caroline Wright, mar. Sept. 30, 1857, at Kickapoo, by the Rev. H. Stone. (*Leavenworth, Weekly Times*, Oct. 9.)

- CRANE, JOHN L., and Mary Ann Hill, of North Brookfield, Mass., mar. ———, 1858, at Brookfield, Mass. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 18.)
- CRAWFORD, CHARLES T., and Sarah E. Large, mar. Aug. 18, 1855, at Delaware City, by the Rev. David Z. Smith. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Territorial Register*, Aug. 25.)
- CRAWFORD, MEREDITH BROCK, and Mary Ann O'Neal, mar. Jan. 25, 1860, by the Rev. J. T. Holliday. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Jan. 28.)
- CRESSMAN, W. H., and Tillie E. Streeter, mar. Oct. 18, 1860, by the Rev. A. W. Pitzer. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 19.)
- CRICKET, CHARLES H., and Mrs. Ellen M. Fisk, mar. Sept. 30, 1860, by the Rev. William Bishop. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 4.)
- CROCKER, EDWIN, and Caroline Barrett, both of Madison county, Kan., mar. Oct. 7, 1860, by the Rev. P. Remer. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Oct. 10.)
- CROCKETT, ALLISON, Kansas City, Mo., and Lizzie J. Bennett, Wyandotte, mar. June 12, 1860, at residence of Dr. J. E. Bennett, by the Rev. William Barnett. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 21.)
- CRUMP, JEREMIAH, and Jemima King, both Negroes, mar. June 2, 1858, at Quindaro House, by P. T. Colby, Esq. (Quindaro, *Chindowan*, June 5.)
- CUNDIFF, MAJ. JAMES H., junior editor of the St. Joseph (Mo.) Gazette, and Celia C. Keedy, mar. Oct. 11, 1855, at St. Joseph, Mo., by the Rev. Thomas Hoagland. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Oct. 16.)
- CURRY, WILLIAM A., Jefferson City, Mo., and Jennie Smith, Fauquier county, Va., mar. Nov. 12, 1857, in St. Mary's Church, Fayette, Mo., by the Rev. T. L. Smith. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Dec. 5.)
- CURTISS, ALFRED, and Clara Haskins, both of Clinton, Kan., mar. Mar. 16, 1859, by the Rev. T. J. Ferril. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Mar. 24.)
- CUTLER, DR. G. A., formerly of Nashville, Tenn., and Hattie A., dau. of C. C. Tuttle, formerly of Beloit, Wis., mar. Jan. 31, 1858, at the Garvey House, by the Rev. James Holliday. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Feb. 20.)
- DAKE, CHARLES, of Americus, and Elizabeth Anderson, of El Mendaro, Madison county, Kan., mar. June 7, 1859, at Americus, by Wesley Thompson, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, June 18.)
- DA LEE, A. G., and Martha A. Lamon, mar. April 1, 1860, at Ford's Hall, by the Rev. W. O. Thomas, pastor First Baptist Church. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 5.)
- DARLING, THOS. J., and Ellen O'Brien, of Leavenworth, mar. Dec. 15, 1860, by the Rev. A. W. Pitzer. (Wyandotte, *Commercial Gazette*, Dec. 22.)
- DARNALL, JAMES T., and Annie E. Simmons, mar. Oct. 17, 1855, by the Rev. W. G. Caples. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Oct. 23.)
- DARNALL, RICHARD T., and Sue E. Benight, mar. May 23, 1860, at residence of bride's brother, Easton, Mo., by Isaiah Williams. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 2.)
- DAVIDSON, JOHN R., and R. C. Phillippay, of Massillon, Ohio, mar. Aug. 7, 1860, by the Rev. T. J. Ferril. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 16.)
- DAY, JOHN W., and Mary J. Fairholm, formerly of Waynesville, Ohio, mar. Dec. 8, 1859, at Oskaloosa, by the Rev. William R. Ward. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 15.)
- DEACON, GUSTAVUS, proprietor of the St. Charles, and Mrs. C. McCarty, mar. Feb. 8, 1857, by J. M. Taylor, Esq. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Journal*, Feb. 12.)

- DEAN, HOMER L., formerly of Worcester county, Mass., and Marie E. Richardson, formerly of Westmoreland, Oneida county, N. Y., mar. July 4, 1860, at Hiawatha, by the Rev. G. Rice. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, July 19.)
- DEGNER, FERDINAND, and Mrs. Marie Waibel, mar. Sept. 21, 1856, by John M. Taylor, J. P. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 27.)
- DE LONG, W. H., and Maggie Carriger, mar. Dec. 8, 1857, at residence of bride's father, Elliott Carriger, near Brownville, by the Rev. F. P. Montfort. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 19.)
- DENISON, THE REV. JOSEPH, P. E. of Manhattan district, Kansas and Nebraska Conference, and Mrs. Frances A. Dennis, Baldwin City, mar. Nov. 21, 1859, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Dec. 13.)
- DENNIS, THE REV. B. C., and Melissa Earnheart, late of Greencastle, Ind., mar. Sept. 6, 1857, at Ottumwa, Kan., by the Rev. Mr. Fenimore. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 12.)
- DENNIS, JOHN H., and Nancy Thompson, both of Nemaha county, mar. May 14, 1857, by C. Dolman, Esq. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 6.)
- DE NOYER, CHAS., and Ellen E. Grant, mar. May 17, 1860, by the Rev. Father Heimann. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, May 18.)
- DEWOLF, EDWARD P., and Juliana Hall, both formerly of Illinois, mar. Oct. 15, 1856, at Topeka, by the Rev. H. B. Burgess. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 8.)
- DICKSON, SAMUEL, and Mary Frances Turner, of Platte county, Mo., mar. Dec. 7, 1856, in Platte county, by the Rev. Philip J. Burrus. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Dec. 23.)
- DIESBACH, HEINRICH, and Louise Leu, mar. Dec. 18, 1859, by the Rev. L. R. Staudenmayer, rector of St. Mary Magdalene's Church. (Atchison, *Union*, Dec. 24.)
- DINE, LOUIS, and Minnie Sessler, mar. Dec. 28, 1857. (Sumner, *Gazette*, Jan. 2, 1858.)
- DISBROW, EBENEZER, and Bethiah Bryan, mar. Dec. 19, 1858, at home of bride's father, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 23.)
- DISBROW, SAMUEL G., and Mrs. Harriet Larkin, both of Tecumseh, mar. Sept. 12, 1860, by the Rev. James S. Griffing. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 15.)
- DIX, RALPH C., and Bridgett Graham, late of Freeport, Ill., mar. May 29, 1859, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 4.)
- DODD, JOHN P., and Mrs. Eliza J. Brunner, mar. Jan. 8, 1860, at Osawatomie, by the Rev. L. C. Conrey. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Jan. 13.)
- DONAHUE, HENRY W., and Polly, youngest dau. of Joseph H. Killbuck, mar. June 3, 1855, at Shekomeko (Moravian mission), three miles from Leavenworth, by the Rev. David Z. Smith. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 8.)
- DONIPHAN, JUDGE JAMES, and Kate Doss, Weston, Mo., mar. Aug. 9, 1857, at Weston, by the Rev. W. H. Saxton. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 15.)
- DONOHO, DAVID, and Mary E., dau. of George W. and Ann C. Gist, mar. Jan. 24, 1856, at residence of Wm. H. Adams, by the Rev. H. P. Johnson. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 26.)

- DOOLITTLE, BENSON E., Coal creek, Kansas, and Vancy A. Weaver, Pioneer, Ohio, mar. Dec. 11, 1859, at Pioneer, by the Rev. C. M. Crossland. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 5, 1860.)
- DOOLITTLE, L. T., and Adalissa H. Taylor, mar. Mar. 8, 1857, by W. W. Backus. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Journal*, Mar. 12.)
- DOOLITTLE, LEWIS, and Naomi Beenpole, both of Hunter county, Kan., mar. July 20, 1860, on Walnut creek, by the Rev. G. Cosgrove. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 11.)
- DOTY, HENRY S., and Lodusky Husted, mar. Dec. 31, 1857, by the Rev. M. A. Fairchild. (Osawatomie, *Southern Kansas Herald*, Jan. 16, 1858.)
- DOUGHERTY, WILLIAM A., and Mary Ann Vallandigham, mar. Jan. 3, 1856, by the Rev. H. P. Johnson. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 5.)
- DOUGLASS, JOHN C., and Ellen R., dau. of Willard Robinson, mar. Nov. 1, 1860, at Attleborough, Mass., by the Rev. Mr. Chase. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Nov. 13.)
- DOW, SIMON, and Jane M. Kinsley,* both of Wilmington, Wabaunsee county, mar. Dec. 25, 1859, at Elmdale, Breckinridge county, Kan., by J. R. Swallow, J. P. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Jan. 13, 1860.)
- DOWELL, JOHN A., White Cloud, and Mary L. Northern, mar. Nov. 11, 1858, at the City Hotel, by Giles A. Briggs. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Nov. 18.)
- DOWNEY, JOHN G., and Mary, dau. of Tice Yocum, mar. Feb. 14, 1860, by the Rev. L. A. Alderson. (Atchison, *Union*, Feb. 25.)
- DOWNES, FRANCIS H., late of Woodbury, Conn., and Julia Ann Pryor, mar. Oct. 29, 1858, at Padonia, Brown county, by Isaiah P. Winslow. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Nov. 4.)
- DOWNES, JAMES S., and Mary E. Yoakum, mar. Mar. 10, 1859, by the Rev. A. W. Pitzer. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 11.)
- DOWNES, W. F., of Wyandotte City, and Louisa Kridle, mar. Sept. 17, 1857, at Fremont, Ohio, by the Rev. E. Bushnell. (Sumner, *Gazette*, Oct. 17.)
- DOYLE, MICHAEL J., Atchison, and Matilda, dau. of Edward and Sarah Dunn, of Salt creek, Kan., mar. June 10, 1858, at the Catholic church, by the Rev. Father Duffie. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 19.)
- DOZIER, DR. JOHN, Oregon, Mo., and Ursula Briggs, mar. Oct. 11, 1859, at Oregon. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Oct. 20.)
- DRAKE, CHARLES, and Mary Grimsley, mar. Jan. 1, 1859, by the Rev. G. Perkins. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 29.)
- DUANE, MARTIN, Atchison county, and Eliza A. Hays, mar. April 5, 1859, at the residence of Judge S. M. Hays, by the Rev. E. J. Owen. (Sumner, *Gazette*, April 23.)
- DUFFEE, LOUIS, and Margaret Sowash, mar. Jan. 31, 1860, at Mr. Pierson's, eight miles west of Lawrence, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Feb. 9.)
- DUNN, JOHN T., and Mary Ann Gilchrist, mar. April 19, 1857, by Bishop Miége. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 9.)
- EARL, GEORGE F., and Jennie L. Crittenton, mar. Nov. 23, 1857, at the home of A. H. Mallory, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 28.)
- EDWARDS, C. L., and Susie R. Powers, of North Hadley, Mass., mar. Oct. 4, 1860, at residence of bride's father, North Hadley, by the Rev. W. H. Beaman. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 18.)

- EDWARDS, R. R., St. Joseph, Mo., and Nannie, dau. of Hon. G. W. Waterson, Doniphan county, mar. Dec. 24, 1857. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 23, 1858.)
- EELS, HORACE, and Cordelia A., dau. of John A. Kimball, mar. Sept. 27, 1860, by the Rev. J. Paulson. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, Sept. 29.)
- EGLEHOFF, JOHN MICHAEL, and Mrs. Mona Hemphill, mar. April 16, 1855, by the Rev. S. S. Snyder. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, April 21.)
- ELLSWORTH, FREDERICK B., and Annie L. Metcalf, formerly of Sydney, Australia, mar. July 14, 1859, at St. Mark's church, by the Rev. J. E. Ryan. (Elwood, *Free Press*, July 16.)
- EMBRY, G. H., and Josephine A. Johnson, mar. Oct. 31, 1860, at the Johnson House, Lawrence, by the Rev. R. Cordley. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Nov. 3.)
- EMMONS, THOMAS H., Ontonagon, Mich., and Elvira Mitchell, Neosho Falls, mar. Oct. 9, 1859, by the Rev. R. Mowry. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Nov. 29.)
- EMORY, FRED, and Emma, dau. of Capt. Simon and Elvira S. Scruggs, mar. May 26, 1857, by the Rev. Leander Ker. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 30.)
- ENNIS, WILLIAM S., Walnut creek, and Susan H. Peterson, Machiasport, Me., mar. Nov. 15, 1857, at residence of Noah Hanson, by William G. Sargent. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Nov. 26.)
- FAHOLA, JOHN, and Mrs. Mary Canary, both of Quindaro, mar. Sept. 30, 1860, by Joseph Speck. (Wyandotte, *Commercial Gazette*, Oct. 6.)
- FARIER, C. W., and Mary Jessee, mar. Jan. 22, 1860, at Bloomington, at the residence of the bride's father, William Jessee, by Elder J. Elliott, of Illinois. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Feb. 2.)
- FARNHAM, REUBEN H., and Frances E., dau. of the late Hector Humphreys, Batavia, N. Y., mar. Oct. 3, 1859, at Batavia, Genesee county, N. Y., by the Rev. Richard Radley. (Lecompton, *National Democrat*, Oct. 13.)
- FARNSWORTH, JOHN W., and Nelly Jacobs, both of Topeka, mar. Mar. 4, 1858, by the Rev. C. M. Callaway. (Tecumseh, *Kansas Settler*, Mar. 10.)
- FAULHABER, GEORGE L., and Lillie Grimshaw, of Jefferson City, Mo., mar. Jan. 2, 1861, by the Rev. J. Regier. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Jan. 19.)
- FAUX, JOSEPH, and Mary Ann Keener, mar. Oct. 29, 1858, in Johnson county, by J. D. Allen, Esq. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 13.)
- FINK, KASSIMER JOHANNES, and Maria Dora Haguer, both of Diamond Springs creek, Chase county, mar. Mar. 27, 1860, at Americus, by S. S. Chapman, Esq. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 12.)
- FISHER, T. F., of Buffalo, N. Y., and Ann A. Kendall, of Worcester, Mass., mar. Feb. 8, 1860, at Buffalo, by the Rev. Dr. Heacock. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 24.)
- FISHER, WILLIAM, and Fanny Franklin, both of Burlington township, mar. July 16, 1860, by A. Holland, Esq. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Aug. 11.)
- FISHERO, DR. SERINO, and Mary Phillips, mar. June 23, 1860, at residence of bride's father, by the Rev. Strange Brooks. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, July 11.)
- FISHMAKER, C. T., and Pocahontas Hattan, mar. May 5, 1855, at Delaware, Kan., by the Rev. T. J. Ferril. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 5.)

- FITCH, EDWARD P., and Sarah A. Wilmarth, mar. April 19, 1857, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Republican*, May 28.)
- FITZPATRICK, JAMES, Topeka township, and Lucy Almira Woods, Trunau, Shawnee county, mar. Aug. 8, 1860, by the Rev. J. S. Griffing. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Aug. 25.)
- FLETCHER, SAMUEL H., and Anna M. Nance, mar. Sept. 29, 1859, at the house of John Jackson, by J. C. Miller. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 1.)
- FLOWERS, D. A. G., and Lizzie Withers, both of Delaware City, mar. May 16, 1858, by the Rev. W. Thomas. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 22.)
- FOARD, WILLIAM F., and Buckie Johnston, Platte county, Mo., mar. Oct. 5, 1859, by the Rev. S. F. Johnson. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 11.)
- FOGG, JOSHUA, St. Louis, one of the proprietors of Barnum's Hotel, and Josephine L., dau. of Merritt Brooks, Rome, N. Y., mar. Feb. 16, 1858, at Rome, by the Rev. N. Barrows. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 13.)
- FOLEY, DUDLEY, Lecompton, and Nancy Amanda Huddleson, of Buchanan county, Mo., mar. Dec. 13, 1857, in Platte county, Mo. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 23, 1858.)
- FOLTZ, CYRUS, and Helen M., dau. of Chester Thomas, mar. July 4, 1860, by the Rev. John E. Moore. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, July 7.)
- FORD, E. N., and Mary Norton, mar. Oct. 28, 1858, by the Rev. Charles Reynolds. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 6.)
- FOSTER, FREEMAN R., of Topeka, and Martha E. Bowman, of Spring, Pa., mar. Aug. 13, 1857, at Spring, by Elder Jesse E. Church. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 5.)
- FOSTER, WILLIAM, formerly of Greencastle, Ind., and Mrs. Mary B. Myers, mar. April 14, 1858, by the Rev. A. W. Pitzer. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, April 17.)
- FRAZER, ROBERT L., and Mollie A. Jewett, of St. Albans, Vt., mar. Nov. 10, 1859, at St. Albans, by the Rev. William N. Frazer. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 26.)
- FREDERICK, SOLOMON Z., and Irenia Vandeventer, mar. Oct. 10, 1858, at Waterloo, Kan., by J. R. Swallow, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Oct. 16.)
- FRENCH, JAMES CARY, and Emily C. Haskell, mar. Dec. 10, 1860, in Dover precinct, by Jacob Haskell, Esq. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Dec. 22.)
- FRENCH, SAMUEL T., and Elizabeth Brindle, mar. Feb. 27, 1859, by E. B. Kirkendall, J. P. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Mar. 5.)
- FROSS, CHARLES, Topeka, and Nellie M. Campbell, mar. Aug. 17, 1860, at Tecumseh. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 25.)
- FRY, JOHN, and Mary B. Anderson, mar. Oct. 29, 1857, near Franklin, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 5.)
- FULKS, JOHN, and Harriett McKinney, both of Butler county, mar. July 30, 1860, at Walnut creek, by the Rev. G. Cosgrove. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 11.)
- FULKS, PHENIS, and Barbara Maloy, both of Butler county, mar. July 28, 1860, at Walnut creek, by Israel Scott, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 11.)
- FULLER, JOSEPH A., and Mildred S. Payne, mar. May 16, 1860, by the Rev. G. C. Morse. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, May 19.)
- FULLER, WATSON, and Emma Evans, mar. June 13, 1860, by R. Bigsby, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, June 16.)

- FURNISH, JAMES THOMAS, and Angelina Butler, mar. Aug. 7, 1859, in Brown county, by Isaiah P. Winslow, Esq. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 25.)
- GAMBELL, W. P., Leavenworth, and Joanna A. Putnam, Adrian, Mich., mar. Oct. 15, 1857, at Adrian, by the Rev. Geo. C. Curtis. (Wyandotte, *Citizen*, Nov. 14.)
- GANT, SAMUEL, and Martha Ann, dau. of P. L. Hudgens, Savannah, Mo., mar. Jan. 24, 1858, by Elder Jordan Wright. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 27.)
- GARDNER, F. C., and Ella Adair, mar. Sept. 28, 1857, at residence of H. F. C. Harrison, Independence, Mo., by the Rev. Mr. Tilford. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Oct. 10.)
- GARDNER, HENRY W., and Clarinda Kirkendall, mar. April 29, 1858, at residence of bride's father, by the Rev. G. C. Morse. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, May 1.)
- GAYLORD, M. L., of Atchison, and Lizzie Edwards, Southampton, Mass., mar. ———, 1858, at Alton, Ill., by the Rev. Mr. Taylor. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Nov. 27.)
- GIBBS, WESLEY, and Mary Judge, Ozawkee, mar. Sept. 21, 1860, by the Rev. J. Schacht. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 29.)
- GIBSON, JOHN, and Lucinda Jones, mar. April 1, 1860, by J. W. Cook, acting mayor. (Elwood, *Free Press*, April 7.)
- GILLMORE, SAMUEL J., and Mary Ann Saltsman, both of Osage Mission, mar. Sept. 6, 1859, at the Western Hotel, by the Rev. Mr. Thompson. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Sept. 8.)
- GILMORE, THOMAS M., and Annie J. Wright, mar. Sept. 19, 1859, by the Rev. R. C. Brant. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 22.)
- GIRT, NATHAN, and Ellen W. Brander, mar. June 6, 1860, by Judge Dow. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, June 9.)
- GLASS, GEORGE A., and Elizabeth A. Carter, of Oregon, Mo., mar. June 21, 1857, by the Rev. Mr. Fulton. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, June 25.)
- GLEICH, JOHN P., and Mrs. Catherine Terrass, mar. April 16, 1857, at Mill creek, by the Rev. H. Jones, of Wabaunsee. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 2.)
- GODWIN, WILLIAM H., and Frances Park, mar. July 25, 1857, at the Shawnee House, by the Rev. D. T. Holmes. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 1.)
- GOODHUE, WALTER B., of Iowa, and Mary Halstead, mar. July 26, 1859, by the Rev. J. T. Holliday. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, July 28.)
- GORDON, DAVID S., and Nannie E. Hughes, mar. April 27, 1859, at the residence of the bride's father, by the Rev. A. W. Pitzer. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, April 28.)
- GORDON, J. C., and Mrs. Mary Fellows, mar. Aug. 4, 1857, at the Topeka House, by the Rev. C. M. Callaway. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 8.)
- GORDON, W. L., and Sarah Smith, Belmont, N. Y., mar. Nov. 15, 1860, at Belmont. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 1.)
- GRAHAM, JAMES H., and Mrs. Amanda Hollis, mar. Dec. 26, 1859, at El Mandaro, Madison county, Kan., by J. A. Williams. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 14, 1860.)
- GRAHAM, JAMES M., and Amanda, dau. of Robert Gingry, St. Joseph, Mo., mar. Feb. 21, 1860, by the Rev. E. G. Nicholson. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Mar. 3.)

- GRAHAM, JOHN H., and Mrs. Betsy Killum, mar. Oct. 25, 1859, by H. H. Moore. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 27.)
- GRAUSER, CHARLES O., and Julia Rowe, mar. Sept. 27, 1857, at Germantown, Ohio. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Nov. 5.)
- GRAYUM, JOHN J., and Martha Thomas, formerly of Platte county, Mo., mar. June 10, 1855, at Shekomeko (Moravian mission), three miles from Leavenworth, by the Rev. David Z. Smith. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 15.)
- GREEN, H. M., and Margy Manoge, both of Douglas county, mar. Jan. 26, 1860, by the Rev. J. Copeland. (Lecompton, *National Democrat*, Feb. 23.)
- GREEN, ISRAEL J., and Nancy Griffing, mar. Mar. 21, 1857, by the Rev. J. S. Griffing. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Mar. 30.)
- GREEN, JOEL C., and Gussie E. Winters, mar. April 6, 1860, at Washington, D. C. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, April 30.)
- GREEN, DR. WILLIAM T., of West Point, Ind., and Helen Marion, dau. of Hon. Otis Thacher, of Hornellsville, N. Y., mar. Sept. 14, 1858, at Hornellsville, by the Rev. F. Graves. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 7.)
- GRIFFING, THE REV. JAMES S., and J. Augusta, dau. of Silas Goodrich, mar. Sept. 13, 1855, at Owego, N. Y., by the Rev. G. H. Blakeslee. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 29.)
- GRIFFITH, DAVID, JR., and Mary Catherine Lobingier, both of Ottawa, mar. Nov. 16, 1859, by Nelson Merchant. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Nov. 29.)
- GRIFFITH, JOSHUA, and Mary Santer, mar. Sept. 9, 1858, at Greeley, Kan., by the Rev. William C. McDow. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 25.)
- GRIMES, MOSES E., and Emily S., dau. of William A. Ela, of Hampton, mar. April 15, 1858, at Hampton, by the Rev. Rodney Paine. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 1.)
- GRIMES, MOSES E., and Mrs. Frances A. Packard, both of Avon township, Coffey county, mar. Nov. 7, 1860, by the Rev. Peter Remer. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Nov. 14.)
- GRISWOLD, DANIEL, of Burlingame, and Betsey Simons, of Dryden, N. Y., mar. Dec. 16, 1857, at Dryden, by the Rev. W. G. Hubbard. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 7, 1858.)
- GRISWOLD, DR. J. F., and Helen M. Hewitt, late of Minnesota, mar. May 8, 1859, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 14.)
- GROVER, JOEL, and Emily Jane Hunt, mar. Oct. 13, 1857, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 17.)
- HAAS, CAPT. H. C., and Barbara Herboltshermer, mar. ———, 1858. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, July 10.)
- HACKLEY, SAMUEL A., and Laura High, mar. Jan. 9, 1861, by Jos. W. Robinson, Esq. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Jan. 12.)
- HADDOX, WM., and Matilda Hurst, mar. Feb. 5, 1857, by P. P. Wilcox. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Feb. 10.)
- HAFNER, MELCHIOR, and Annie Gruebel, mar. Mar. 6, 1860, by Joseph Speck, Esq. (Wyandotte, *Western Argus*, Mar. 21.)
- HAIR, JONAS, and Alice Jane Robbins, mar. Oct. 1, 1860, by the Rev. C. E. Blood. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, Oct. 6.)
- HALING, JOHN, and Mary Curtis, both of Riley county, mar. April 28, 1860, at Manhattan, by the Rev. C. E. Blood. (Lawrence, *Republican*, May 17.)

- HALL, GEORGE, and Sally Bryan, mar. June 25, 1857, at Wathena. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, July 11.)
- HALL, ROBERT, and Anna McClure, both of Cass county, Ill., mar. Nov. 10, 1859, at residence of A. J. Petfish, Esq., by the Rev. Mr. Spencer. (Atchison, *Union*, Nov. 12)
- HALLADAY, ALBERT, formerly of New York, and Elizabeth Fitzhenry, formerly of London, England, mar. Oct. 27, 1859, at Lecompton, by the Rev. William Wilson. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Nov. 12.)
- HALYARD, WM., and Kate I. Westerfield, all of Platte county, Mo., mar. ———, 1854, near Weston, by the Rev. O. C. Steele. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Dec. 8.)
- HAMMOND, THOMAS J., and Mrs. M. A. Long, mar. Feb. 17, 1855, at the Osage and Pottawatomie fork, by the Rev. A. Finch. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, Feb. 24.)
- HAMPSON, JOSEPH F., sheriff of Doniphan county, and Angeline Bashford, both of Troy, mar. June 17, 1860, at the Great Western Hotel, by the Rev. J. E. Ryan. (Elwood, *Free Press*, June 23.)
- HAMPTON, SILAS, Washington, D. C., and Mag. H. Steele, mar. Oct. 1, 1860, by the Rev. J. A. Steele. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 6.)
- HANCOCK, JOHN, and Mrs. Mary D. Dudley, both of Alexandria, Va., mar. Sept. 24, 1855, by the Rev. John C. Smith. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Sept. 25.)
- HANCOCK, JOHN, and Mrs. Rhoda Adamson, mar. May 30, 1857, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 11.)
- HANSCOM, O. A., and Anna Tappan, mar. Oct. 13, 1857, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 24.)
- HARDEN, DAVID, and Minerva Ann Harris, both of Ottumwa, mar. June 28, 1860, at Ottumwa, by the Rev. William Butt. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, June 30.)
- HARDING, JOHN L., from Roxbury, Mass., and Phebe A. Thurston, from Lowell, Mass., mar. Jan. 2, 1856, at Lawrence, by the Rev. William W. Hall. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 12.)
- HARMON, DANIEL, and Mary Jane Sandling, mar. Feb. 26, 1857, on Pottawatomie creek, by the Rev. William C. McDow. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 11.)
- HARPER, J. D., merchant of Weston, Mo., and Sallie Keller, of Clay county, mar. Oct. 30, 1855, by Elder Moses Lard. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 17.)
- HARPOLE, ALFRED, and Jane Miller, both of Chase county, mar. Dec. 20, 1859, by John P. Wentworth, J. P. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 21, 1860.)
- HARRIS, E. P., and Sarah A. F. Davidson, mar. Oct. 22, 1860, by the Rev. Richard Cordley. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 25.)
- HARRIS, LINDLEY, and Amanda Harden, mar. June 28, 1860, at Ottumwa, by the Rev. William Butt. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, June 30.)
- HARRISON, BENJAMIN F., and Mattie Wilson, mar. April 7, 1859, by the Rev. John M. Byrd. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, April 16.)
- HARRISON, THOMAS T., and Ruth T. Robbin, both of Platte county, Mo., mar. April 1, 1858, by the Rev. H. Williams. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 10.)

- HART, HENRY, of Lawrence, and Mary Churchill, of Burlingame, mar. July, 1859, at Burlingame. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 8.)
- HASKELL, J. G., Lawrence, and Lizzie Bliss, Wilbraham, Mass., mar. Dec. 22, 1859, at Wilbraham, by the Rev. J. P. Skeele. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 19.)
- HASSLER, CHARLES C., and Mary A. Morehead, mar. Jan. 26, 1860, at residence of bride's father, four miles northwest of Emporia, by the Rev. E. Phillips. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 28.)
- HATHAWAY, N. B., of Clinton, and Kate Osterhout, of Vermillion, N. Y., mar. Mar. 10, 1859, at Vermillion. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 21.)
- HATHAWAY, RIAL A., and Anne Salome French, Mission creek, mar. Mar. 24, 1859, by the Rev. J. T. Holliday. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Mar. 31.)
- HAVENS, P. E., and Tillie Moore, mar. Dec. 18, 1860, at residence of bride's father, by the Rev. Jacob Boucher. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, Dec. 19.)
- HAWKINS, H. C., and Susanna, dau. of John Wormley, Marshall, Mich., mar. June 12, 1860, at residence of bride's father, Marshall, by the Rev. S. S. Chapin. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, June 23.)
- HAY, CHESTER A., and Louisa Cosley, both of Kanwaca, mar. June 9, 1859, at Kanwaca, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 11.)
- HAYDEN, WILLIAM B., and Eliza Havens, both of Prairie City, mar. Jan. 22, 1857, at Prairie City, by the Rev. Harvey Jones. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 7.)
- HEATH, IVAN D., and Marcia Allis, of Beloit, Wis., mar. Dec. 31, 1860, at residence of S. A. Cobb, by the Rev. R. D. Parker. (Wyandotte, *Commercial Gazette*, Jan. 5, 1861.)
- HEITZMAN, JOHN, and Mrs. Mary Creavy, both of Little Wakarusa, mar. Oct. 7, 1857, near Lawrence, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 10.)
- HELLER, ABRAHAM, and Sallie Hemphill, mar. May 17, 1859, by the Rev. L. A. Alderson. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, May 21.)
- HELM, T. C., and Louisa Conway, both of Bourbon county, mar. Aug. 26, 1860, at Lath branch, by William Margrave, Esq. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Sept. 1.)
- HENDERSON, JOHN D., and Amelia Halstead, mar. Nov. 22, 1857, at residence of Dr. Hathaway, by the Rev. Leander Ker. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 28.)
- HENRY, WILLIAM, and Mary Ann Richards, mar. Mar. 4, 1858, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Mar. 18.)
- HERRING, FREDERICK, and Mary J. Woolman, mar. Nov. 16, 1860, at Neosho Falls, Woodson county, by Russell Austin. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, Dec. 13.)
- HERRIOTT, SAMUEL C., and Ada Shaffer, mar. Sept. 10, 1860, at residence of bride's father, near Milburn, Ballard county, Ky., by the Rev. Mr. Chenant. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Sept. 22.)
- HICKS, A. D., and Maria C. Vetteto, both of Le Roy township, Coffey county, mar. Oct. 14, 1860, at Le Roy, by the Rev. B. Wheat. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Oct. 24.)
- HICKS, SOLOMON S., and Mrs. Charlotte E. Saunders, mar. Nov. 18, 1857, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 28.)

- HIGBY, LEWIS H., and Kate H. Channel, Newark, Ohio, mar. Sept. 9, 1859, at the Mobley Hotel, Rushville, Mo., by the Rev. James Banton. (*Atchison, Freedom's Champion*, Sept. 17.)
- HIGDON, ALLEN, and Sarah J. Miller, both of Le Roy, mar. Sept. 30, 1860, at Le Roy by Wm. McMahon, J. P. (*Burlington, Neosho Valley Register*, Oct. 10.)
- HIGHLEY, WILLIAM, and Hannah T. Blair, mar. Sept. 26, 1858, in Doniphan county. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 9.)
- HILL, FORRESTER, and Mary Pearson, mar. ———, 1856, by the Rev. T. J. Ferril. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, April 5.)
- HILL, THOMAS C., Council Grove, and Mrs. Lucy A. Goddard, Rock Creek, mar. Oct. 3, 1858, by the Rev. G. C. Morse. (*Emporia, Kansas News*, Oct. 16.)
- HILTY, JOSEPH, late of California, and Barbury Senn, of Leavenworth, mar. April 19, 1860, at Grasshopper Falls, by J. B. Bliss. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 19.)
- HOAG, BENJAMIN W., and Mrs. Polly M. Monroe, mar. July 13, 1858, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, July 17.)
- HODSON, GIDEON F., and Clara Rowe, both of Osawatimie, mar. Sept. 14, 1857, by the Rev. S. L. Adair. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Oct. 1.)
- HOLBROOK, WILLIAM H., Rulo, Neb., and Virginia Ware, mar. Jan. 1, 1861, at Rulo, by A. F. Forney, Esq. (*White Cloud, Kansas Chief*, Jan. 17.)
- HOLLOWAY, J. C., and M. E. Roy, both of Breckinridge county, Kan., mar. Aug. 12, 1860, by the Rev. J. C. McAnulty. (*Emporia, Kansas News*, Aug. 25.)
- HOLMES, JAMES H., and Julia A. Archibald, both of Emporia, mar. Oct. 9, 1857, near Bloomington. (*Emporia, Kansas News*, Oct. 17.)
- HOLMES, LUCIUS M., and Carlin F. Adams, mar. Jan. 1, 1860, in Fremont township, Breckinridge county, Kan., by Noah Bixler, J. P. (*Emporia, Kansas News*, Jan. 7.)
- HONNELL, HENRY WILSON, and Marinda Jane Moore, both of Kickapoo Mission, mar. ———, 1857, at Kickapoo Mission, near Lodianna City, Brown county, by the Rev. Wm. H. Honnell. (*Atchison, Squatter Sovereign*, Feb. 24.)
- HOPKINS, THOMAS, and Sarah Agnes Caffrey, mar. Nov. 6, 1856, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 22.)
- HOPPER, B. F., and Nancy A. Miller, mar. April 1, 1856, near Lawrence, by the Rev. T. J. Ferril. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, April 5.)
- HOPPER, DAVID R., and Letitia Matney, mar. Feb. 23, 1860, at Williamsport, Shawnee county, by A. J. Huntoon, Esq. (*Topeka, Kansas State Record*, Feb. 25.)
- HOUGHTON, CHARLES S., of Worcester, Mass., and Mary, dau. of Deacon William B. Richardson, of Sterling, Mass., mar. Dec. 22, 1858, at Sterling, by the Rev. William Miller. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Feb. 17, 1859.)
- HOUSTON, CHARLES W., of Saline, Mo., and Frances A. Fackler, mar. Oct. 12, 1858, by the Rev. H. Stone. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 15.)
- HUBBARD, JOHN L., Highland, and Sarah A. Busey, White Cloud, mar. Feb. 15, 1859, by the Rev. C. Graham. (*White Cloud, Kansas Chief*, Feb. 24.)
- HUBBELL, P. HANFORD, Grasshopper Falls, and Sophia Still, mar. Oct. 23, 1860, at Leavenworth, by the Rev. A. W. Pitzer. (*Oskaloosa, Independent*, Oct. 31.)

- HUBBELL, WILLARD O., and Maria Gleason, mar. April 15, 1860, at the Baptist Hall, by the Rev. W. O. Thomas. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 19.)
- HUESTED, EPHRAIM, and Clarinda Goodwin, mar. Jan. 3, 1858. (Osawatomie, *Southern Kansas Herald*, Jan. 16.)
- HUFFMAN, EDWARD, and Margaret Mekeel, both recently from Pike's Peak, mar. Aug. 9, 1860, by Giles A. Briggs. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Aug. 16.)
- HUGHES, GRAHAM L., and Mary Ann Murphy, both of St. Louis, mar. Jan. 23, 1856, at St. Louis, by the Rt. Rev. Archbishop Kenrick. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 16.)
- HULL, JOSEPH L., and Mrs. Julia Ann Rowe, mar. Sept. 10, 1857, on Coal creek, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 1.)
- HUNGERFORD, SIMEON R., and Nancy Ann Tolle, both of Franklin, mar. May 13, 1858, by the Rev. William Wilson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 5.)
- HUNT, CHARLES W., and Addie L. Stimmonds, of Detroit, Mich., mar. Dec. 8, 1859, at Lawrence, by the Rev. Richard Cordley. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 10.)
- HUNTER, W. J., and Susan Aldingham, mar. April 11, 1860, by the Rev. C. E. Blood. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, April 14.)
- HUTCHINSON, JOSIAH, and Luticia Caroline Whitlock, both of Wakarusa, mar. Feb. 18, 1855, by the Rev. L. B. Stateler. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, Feb. 24.)
- HYDE, REUBEN M., and Mary E. Cavender, both of Auburn, mar. May 24, 1860, by the Rev. F. P. Montfort. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, May 26.)
- JACKSON, WADE M., and Mrs. Hannah A. Conner, of Boone, mar. Jan. 22, 1856, by Elder N. Flood. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 16.)
- JACOBS, CAPT. WILLIAM M., and Amelia McCoun, mar. Jan. 30, 1855, in Ray county, Mo. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 23.)
- JAVENS, HENSON, and Tryphosa, dau. of the Rev. James Witten, mar. Aug. 2, 1856, by the Rev. Werter R. Davis. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 9.)
- JENKINS, JAMES B., of Kentucky, and Georgia, dau. of Judge J. M. and Nancy Reed, mar. Oct. 1, 1857, by the Rev. Leander Ker. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 3.)
- JENNINGS, SAMUEL L., and Maggie Moore, mar. June 11, 1860, by Giles A. Briggs. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, June 14.)
- JESTER, GEORGE W., and Martha A. Pullam, mar. Oct. 25, 1857, at Oregon, Mo., by Mr. Renfro. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Nov. 5.)
- JOHNSON, A., and E. S. Taylor, both of Lake county, Ill., mar. Nov. 20, 1860, in Fremont, Ill., by the Rev. Mr. Freeman. (Wyandotte, *Commercial Gazette*, Nov. 21.)
- JOHNSON, B. F., Johnson county, and Sarah Armstrong, Wyandotte, mar. Oct. 17, 1855, by the Rev. William Barnett. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 27.)
- JOHNSON, JAMES W., Lexington, Ky., and Sadonia A. Eastin, Columbia, Mo., mar. Mar. 14, 1858, at Boonville, Mo., by the Rev. A. M. Painter. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 3.)
- JOHNSON, MORRIS B., printer of Middleton, Pa., formerly of this office, and Caroline Martin, Sanford, Mass., mar. July 26, 1857, at the First Methodist Church, St. Louis, Mo., by the Rev. C. B. Parsons. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 5.)

- JOHNSON, PETER, and Maria Anderson, both of Whitewater, Otoe county, Kan., mar. April 1, 1860, at Chelsea, Butler county, by the Rev. J. S. Saxby. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, April 28.)
- JONES, ISAIAH, and Sarah Ann Bennett, mar. Dec. 20, 1860, by W. F. Cloud. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 29.)
- JONES, L. L., and Harriet E., dau. of the Rev. J. C. Beach, mar. Jan. 12, 1860, at Olathe, by the Rev. Mr. Beach. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 19.)
- JONES, T. M., Pittsburgh, Pa., and Annie E., dau. of Gen. William Larimer, mar. June 24, 1857, by the Rev. W. W. Backus. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, July 3.)
- JONES, WASHINGTON, St. Joseph, and Bettie Cunningham, mar. ———, 1855, at Westport, Mo. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Sept. 4.)
- JUDD, HENRY, and Anna Hunt, mar. May 15, 1860, by the Rev. C. M. Callaway. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, May 19.)
- JUDSON, CHARLES O., and Annie E. Johnston, both of Fort Scott, mar. Nov. 21, 1860, at residence of Dr. Melich, Vernon county, Mo., by the Rev. S. W. Mitchell. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Dec. 1.)
- KASTOR, J. H., and J. Berry, mar. Oct. 30, 1859, by the Rev. Mr. Davidson. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 31.)
- KATHRENS, CHARLES JAMES, JR., "border ruffian of Atchison," and Sophia Agnes Robidoux, St. Joseph, Mo., mar. Sept. 24, 1856, at St. Joseph, by the Rev. Joseph Scanlon. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Oct. 14.)
- KAUCHER, WILLIAM, and Sarah Ellen, dau. of Judge Samuel Watson, Oregon, Mo., mar. Sept. 26, 1858, by the Rev. Joshua Bowman. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Sept. 30.)
- KAY, THOMAS, and Catherine Cottier, Holt county, Mo., mar. Mar. 8, 1860, by the Rev. W. R. Fulton. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Mar. 22.)
- KEATING, R. H., formerly of Indiana, and Charlotte Norton, later of Lowell, Mass., mar. ———, 1857, at Manhattan, by the Rev. C. E. Blood. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 24.)
- KEELER, CAPT. JULIUS, of Moneka, formerly of Norwalk, Ohio, and Annie Davenport, formerly of Indianapolis, Ind., mar. Feb. 4, 1859, in Kansas Lodge of I. O. of G. T., by the Rev. R. C. Brant. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Feb. 10.)
- KEENEY, GEORGE M., Oregon, Mo., and Sarah M. Pierce, Doniphan county, mar. Dec. 13, 1860, by the Rev. Mr. Kelly. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Dec. 27.)
- KELCH, WILLIAM P., and Elizabeth Deweese, both of Atchison county, mar. Mar. 14, 1858, at Mt. Pleasant, by the Rev. B. C. Dennis. (Sumner, *Gazette*, April 8.)
- KELLAM, CHARLES C., and Martha S. Damon, Milwaukee, Wis., mar. ———, 1857, at St. James Church, Milwaukee, by the Rev. J. P. T. Ingraham. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 22.)
- KELLEY, COL. ROBT. S., editor of *Squatter Sovereign*, and Mary Foreman, Doniphan, mar. Dec. 23, 1856, at Doniphan, by the Rev. Thomas Hoagland. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Jan. 6, 1857.)
- KELLEY, THOMAS D., and Parmelia Bell, of Lecompton, mar. Dec. 23, 1858, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 6, 1859.)
- KELLOGG, GEORGE M., and Mary Swainhart, both of Geary City, mar. Aug. 24, 1859, by the Rev. Julius Spencer. (Atchison, *Union*, Sept. 17.)

- KELLY, MICHAEL, and Mary Campion, mar. Oct. 11, 1857, by Bishop Miége. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 17.)
- KELLY, WASHINGTON D., and Helen F. Lattin, mar. July 22, 1857, by the Rev. H. Stone. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, July 25.)
- KELSOE, JOHN R., and Phebe Hellard, mar. Jan. 10, 1861, at house of Mr. Hellard. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Jan. 12.)
- KENNEDY, OLIVER P., and Martha M. Woodruff, both of Douglas county, mar. Aug. 12, 1860, by the Rev. F. R. S. Byrd, minister of United Brethren. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 16.)
- KENNEDY, THOMAS H., and Martha E. Nolen, mar. Sept. 11, 1859, by the Rev. A. W. Pitzer. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Sept. 13.)
- KERR, JOHN, of firm of Iselt, Brewster & Co., and Sue E. Haines, Rockford, Ill., mar. April 1, 1858, at residence of bride's brother, at Rockford. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 10.)
- KETCHUM, JACOB W., and Eliza H. Shockley, mar. Dec. 18, 1857, on Eagle creek, Madison county, by the Rev. George Perkins. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 2, 1858.)
- KILBY, JAMES M., Andrews county, Mo., and Ann Elizabeth Corum, of Leavenworth county, mar. Jan. 21, 1856, by the Rev. H. P. Johnson. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 26.)
- KILLOUGH, CARVALHO OGILVIE GILBERT, and Mary D. Belyou, both of Missouri, mar. Sept. 22, 1860, at residence of Thomas D. Killough, White Cloud, by Giles A. Briggs. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Sept. 27.)
- KING, B. H., and Mary E., eldest dau. of Hiram McConnell, both of Neosho Falls, Woodson county, mar. Nov. 14, 1860, by Russell Austin. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, Dec. 13.)
- KING, DR. CHARLES, and Maggie Jackson,, mar. Aug. 11, 1859, by Judge J. C. Miller. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 18.)
- KITCHINGHAM, WILLIAM, of Douglas county, and Lucy Conser, of Blair county, Pa., mar. July 5, 1859, by the Rev. E. Nute, Jr. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 16.)
- KITTRIDGE, T., Chicago, and E. M., dau. of Deacon J. Hinkle, mar. April 2, 1860, at Eckford, Mich., by the Rev. Mr. McCorkle. (Elwood, *Free Press*, April 14.)
- KLEINHANS, A. J., and Mary J. Coffman, mar. May 5, 1859, in Jefferson county, by the Rev. C. R. Rice. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, May 28.)
- KLINE, DAVID, and Rosa Sands, mar. Oct. 14, 1860, at residence of bride's brother. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 16.)
- KNUTESON, KNUTE, and Mary Olson, mar. June 14, 1858. (Sumner, *Gazette*, June 19.)
- KULLAK, HUGO, and Mary Ann McAffrey, mar. Oct. 4, 1860, at residence of the Rev. C. M. Callaway. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 6.)
- KUPPER, JOHN F., and Ella Jane Gilbert Gough Taylor, mar. July 16, 1860, at the home of J. M. Crowell, by the Rev. L. D. Price. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, July 21.)
- LADD, ERASTUS D., Esq., and Mary W. Tribou, of Middleborough, Mass., mar. Nov. 10, 1855, at Middleborough, by the Rev. Thomas P. Rodman. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 15.)

- LADD, ERASTUS D., and Eliza Jane Blackford, mar. Oct. 24, 1858, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 28.)
- LAMB, HON. A. W., Hannibal, Mo., and Mary J. McDannald, Natchez, Miss., mar. Oct. 15, 1856, at the Second Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, by the Rev. D. Rice. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 25.)
- LANTER, JOHN T., Anderson county, and Elizabeth H. Baldwin, Franklin county, mar. Sept. 27, 1860, at residence of bride's father, by the Rev. Mr. Green, Garnett. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 11.)
- LAPPIN, SAMUEL, Seneca, and Amanda C. Beilharz, mar. Feb. 28, 1860, at residence of bride's father, Bridgewater, Mich. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Mar. 8.)
- LARZALERE, WILLIAM P., and Sue Davis, Missouri, mar. Sept. 26, 1858, at residence of bride's father, by the Rev. Thomas Hoagland. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Oct. 2.)
- LASHER, WILLIAM H., Osawatomie, and Cornelia S. Babcock, of Wisconsin, mar. July 22, 1860, by the Rev. A. L. Downey. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, July 24.)
- LAWHORN, JOHN D., and Sarah Osborn, both of Doniphan, mar. April 15, 1856, by Thos. W. Waterson, Esq. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 19.)
- LENOIR, DR. WALTER T., and Fannie, dau. of President James Shannon, Columbia, Mo., mar. May 29, 1856, at Columbia, by Elder A. M. Proctor. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 21.)
- LEONARD, LOT, and Juletta Lane, mar. Feb. 4, 1860, at Bazaar, Chase county, by J. F. R. Leonard, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Feb. 25.)
- LEONARD, DR. M. J. F., Louisville, Ky., and Mrs. R. A. Hodges, dau. of the late Judge Harvey Griswold, Marthasville, Warren county, Mo., mar. Oct. 14, 1856, at residence of Mrs. M. Griswold, Marthasville, by the Rev. William Newland. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 8.)
- LESTER, EDMOND, and Mrs. Mary M. Graham, mar. ———, 1860, at residence of bride's father near Baldwin City, by the Rev. Dr. W. R. Davis. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 26.)
- LEU, JACOB, and Hester Squires, mar. June 12, 1859, by P. P. Wilcox, Esq. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, June 18.)
- LEVERMORE, WILLIAM, and Louisa F. Dickson, mar. Sept. 30, 1860, at residence of Deacon Dickson on the Wakarusa, by the Rev. Richard Cordley. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 11.)
- LEWIS, ELIPHALET, and Laura Kennedy, mar. April 22, 1858, at Ohio City, Kan., by P. P. Elder, Esq. (Lawrence, *Republican*, May 6.)
- LEWIS, DR. ISAIAH M., and Sarah W. Goss, mar. Jan. 1, 1861, at residence of G. F. Killam, by the Rev. Mr. Perkins. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 3.)
- LEWIS, JOHN H., Lecompton, and Emily H. Dryden, Frankfort, Ky., mar. Nov. 1, 1860, in Frankfort, by the Rev. Mr. Hudricks. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, Nov. 15.)
- LEWIS, STERLING, and Tabitha Davis, both of Greenwood county, mar. Feb. 26, 1860, in Greenwood county, by Wm. H. Stevens, Esq. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Mar. 13.)
- LINK, ADAM R., and Emma E. Quiett, both of Tecumseh, mar. Aug. 22, 1858, at home of Esley Quiett, father of the bride, by the Rev. F. P. Montfort. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 4.)

- LINN, JAMES M., Esq., of Osage Nation, K. T., and Sarah Frances Linn, of Sangamon county, Ill., mar. ———, 1857, at Springfield, Ill., by the Rev. A. Hale. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 14.)
- LIVERMORE, WILLIAM, and Louisa F. Dickson, mar. Sept. 30, 1860, at residence of Deacon Dickson on the Wakarusa, by the Rev. Richard Cordley. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 11.)
- LLOYD, A. J., of Burlingame, and A. E. Woodley, of New Castle, Canada West, mar. July 1, 1858, at Brownville, Kan., by the Rev. John E. Moore. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 17.)
- LLOYD, S. W., of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, and Mary C. Dunn, teacher of the preparatory department of Baker University, mar. Mar. 8, 1860, at residence of bride's father near Baldwin City, by the Rev. W. R. Davis. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 15.)
- LOCKERMAN, NICHOLAS, and Sarah F. Davis, mar. Jan. 29, 1860, near Emporia, by Benjamin T. Clark. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Feb. 4.)
- LOEB, BERNHARD, and Regina Weil, Cincinnati, Ohio, mar. May 10, 1858, by the Rev. Mr. Wise. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, May 22.)
- LONG, DAVID, and Mary J. Walker, both of Brown county, mar. June 24, 1859, at residence of B. F. Killey, Hiawatha, by Hon. W. G. Sargent. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, July 7.)
- LOUGHBOROUGH, JAMES M., St. Louis, Mo., and Mary, dau. of Dr. A. W. Webster, mar. Nov. 10, 1857, at Carondelet, Mo., by the Rev. John F. Cowan. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Dec. 5.)
- LOVEJOY, CHARLES JULIUS, and Sarah Barricklow, mar. Dec. 3, 1857, at home of Henry Barricklow, Esq., Palmyra, Kan., by the Rev. C. H. Lovejoy. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 5.)
- LUCE, B. T., and Mary J. Purdy, mar. Mar. 14, 1859, by the Rev. R. D. Parker. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, April 19.)
- LUCE, ROBERT M., and Mary J. Young, both of Topeka, mar. Mar. 10, 1859, at Lawrence, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 19.)
- LUNDY, PASCHAL F., Brown county, and Missouri Catron, Holt county, Mo., mar. April 28, 1859, by the Rev. D. C. O'Howell. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, May 5.)
- LUSK, WILLIAM H., proprietor of the Jefferson, Mo., *Inquirer*, and Abbie, dau. of J. B. Burgess, Buchanan county, Mo., mar. Oct. 2, 1856, by Elder J. J. Wyatt. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 18.)
- LYLE, JAMES M., formerly of Madison county, Ky., and Martha A. Bonnell, Delaware City, Kan., mar. Jan. 29, 1857, by the Rev. G. W. Nevill. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 7.)
- LYMOND, JAMES, and Jenette Scott, mar. Nov. 3, 1857, by the Rev. H. Stone. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 7.)
- LYON, CHARLES C., and Harriet Adams, mar. Mar. 11, 1860, by the Rev. Ira Blackford. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Mar. 17.)
- MCBRATNEY, ROBERT, and Mary E. Harbine, Zenia, Ohio, mar. Dec. 4, 1860, at St. Joseph, by the Rev. John G. Fackler. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Dec. 8.)
- MCCAMISH, RICHARD, and Mary Elizabeth Rogers, mar. Oct. 22, 1857, at McCamish by the Rev. G. Seymour. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 5.)

- MCCLELLAN, JOHN A., and Rosa Millspaw, both of Marysville, mar. May 20, 1860, at residence of bride's father, by the Rev. W. M. Robbins. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 2.)
- MCCLENNING, JOHN N., and Ellen Gettis, mar. Jan. 1, 1856, at house of John Adkinson, by the Rev. John Evans. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Jan. 22.)
- MCCCLINTOCK, JAMES, and Polly E. Wells, mar. May 24, 1855, by the Rev. C. F. Hammond. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 1.)
- MCCOMBS, JOHN, and Esther Jordan, both of Ottumwa, mar. Nov. 5, 1859, by the Rev. John Earnheart. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Nov. 29.)
- MCCONNELL, ALFRED, and Mary Holmes, mar. Sept. 25, 1860, at Le Roy by the Rev. B. Wheat. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Oct. 10.)
- MCCOOK, JUDGE DANIEL, and Julia E. Tebbs, Platte City, Mo., mar. Dec. 5, 1860, at residence of A. Sidney Tebbs, Platte City. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 7.)
- MCCORMICK, JOHN, and Mary Nott, both of Ottumwa, mar. Dec. 22, 1859, at Ottumwa, by the Rev. William Butt. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Jan. 17, 1860.)
- MCDONALD, BENJAMIN P., and Emma A. Johnston, both of Fort Scott, mar. Nov. 21, 1860, at residence of Dr. Melich, Vernon county, Mo., by the Rev. S. W. Mitchell. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Dec. 1.)
- MCDONALD, F. M., editor of the *Southern Democrat*, and Mary Taylor, Elizaville, Ky., mar. Feb. 21, 1856, at residence of Col. W. H. Summers, Parkville, Mo., by Elder S. Maguire. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 22.)
- MCGINNESS, WILLIAM E., and Rebecca Frances Hunt, mar. Nov. 7, 1860, at Hartford, by the Rev. S. Harris. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Nov. 14.)
- MACK, JOHN, and Sarah Ann Lyon, mar. Nov. 23, 1857, at home of A. H. Mallory, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 28.)
- MCLANE, T. A., and Ann Hammond, mar. Mar. 15, 1857, at residence of Elder S. W. Jackson, by Elder Jackson. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 21.)
- MCCNETT, SAMUEL, and Catherin Chambau, mar. April 26, 1860, by G. W. Barr. (Elwood, *Free Press*, April 28.)
- MCREYNOLDS, JOHN, of Osawatomie *Herald*, and Sallie Louisa, dau. of P. Gaugh, Lexington, Ky., mar. June 28, 1858, at residence of bride, Bloomington, Ill., by the Rev. Wesley Lamphier. (Summer, *Gazette*, July 17.)
- MACY, DR. H. F., and Mrs. Rebecca Jane Easley, mar. Oct. 23, 1859, by the Rev. C. Graham. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Oct. 27.)
- MAJORS, ALEXANDER, Westport, Mo., and Susan Wetzel, mar. Mar. 23, 1857, at residence of Geo. D. Foglesong, Esq., Westport, Mo., by the Rev. C. A. Davis, of Lexington, Mo. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 4.)
- MANDELL, C. L., and M. A. M. Brown, mar. Feb. 9, 1856, by the Rev. Thomas J. Ferril. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 16.)
- MANOR, JAMES A., and Eveline Hakin, both of Linn county, mar. July 30, 1859, at Mound City, by the Rev. Mr. Beedlove. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 11.)
- MARION, WILLIAM J., and Miss Ogden, mar. April 17, 1860, by the Rev. J. H. Byrd. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, May 21.)

- MARLOW, ENOCH, and Ann Connell, both of Ft. Leavenworth, mar. Dec. 27, 1855, by R. R. Rees, Esq. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 5, 1856.)
- MARONEY, RICHARD, and America Berryhile, both of Missouri, mar. Jan. 12, 1861, at Elwood, by Jos. W. Robinson, Esq. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Jan. 12.)
- MARTIN, CHARLES, Holt county, Mo., and S. E. Northern, Doniphan county, mar. Aug. 26, 1857, at Iowa Point, by Daniel Flinn. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Aug. 27.)
- MARTIN, DR. JAMES F., and Carrie James, mar. Sept. 23, 1858, at residence of the Messrs. Harrison, by the Rev. J. F. Collins. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Sept. 25.)
- MARTIN, JOHN, and Caroline Clements, mar. Nov. 12, 1860, at Tecumseh, by the Rev. A. A. Wilson. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Nov. 17.)
- MARTIN, LEANDER, of Osawatomie, and Bertha E. Blake, formerly of Greensboro, Vt., mar. ———, 1859, at Mapleton, Kan., by the Rev. J. W. Stewart. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 14.)
- MARTIN, MACK C., and Hattie O. Dodd, mar. ———, 1859, at Forest Hill, Breckinridge county, Kan., by Alex. Bailey, Esq. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Jan. 27.)
- MARTIN, DR. WILLIAM D., and Cornelia J. Clayton, mar. Aug. 5, 1860, at residence of bride's father, Dr. William Clayton, Baldwin, by the Rev. Werter R. Davis. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 9.)
- MATHEWS, J. W., and Amanda E. Baldwin, mar. July 30, 1857, by the Rev. S. S. Snyder. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 3.)
- MATHIAS, WILLIAM G., and Lizzie Watkins Miller, Weston, Mo., mar. April 8, 1857, at Weston, by the Rev. T. A. Bracken. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 11.)
- MAUCK, FERDINAND, and Jane, dau. of James F. Forman, mar. June 23, 1859, by G. A. Briggs, Esq. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, June 30.)
- MAVIS, G. W., and Jane Fuls, both of Butler county, mar. July 28, 1860, at Walnut creek, by Israel Scott, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 11.)
- MAVITY, WILLIAM, and Scynthia Ann Hall, mar. Aug. 11, 1858, at Spring Hill, Kan., by Parson D. F. Dayton. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 21.)
- MAYER, LOUIS, and Mary Deversy, of Madison, Ind., mar. June 3, 1858, in Madison, by the Rev. Leonhard Brandt. (Sumner, *Gazette*, June 19.)
- MEADE, GEORGE W., and Sallie K. Callaway, both of Virginia, mar. May 4, 1858, by the Rev. C. M. Callaway. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, May 29.)
- MEADOWS, JOHN, and N. S. Williams, both of Madison county, Kan., mar. Nov. 17, 1859, at Elmandaro, by the Rev. J. C. Fraker. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Nov. 26.)
- MECHAM, JAMES, and Adolph Rose, mar. Feb. 2, 1860, by L. Dow, Esq. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Feb. 2.)
- MERKLE, JOHN, and Mary Rhinehart, mar. April 25, 1859, by P. P. Wilcox, Esq. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, April 30.)
- MERRYMAN, JOSEPH, attorney-at-law, and Lizzie, dau. of David Hunt, mar. Mar. 16, 1858, at residence of bride's father, Platte county, Mo., by T. F. Campbell. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 3.)
- MILLER, ASA K., editor of St. Joseph (Mo.) *Journal*, and Mary Ann Hays, Boone county, Mo., mar. Oct. 29, 1857, by the Rev. B. F. Johnson. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 28.)

- MILLER, THE REV. JOHN P., of Baldwin City, and Mary M., dau. of the Rev. Jacob Feisel, mar. Sept. 3, 1860, by the Rev. George Schaz. (*Wyandotte, Commercial Gazette*, Sept. 8.)
- MILLER, WILLIAM H., Parkville, Mo., and Mollie Adöms, Weston, Mo., mar. Oct. 18, 1855, at Weston, by the Rev. Mr. Irish. (*Atchison, Squatter Sovereign*, Oct. 23.)
- MITCHELL, COL. A. M., St. Joseph, Mo., and Mrs. Mary Hibbard, Chicago, Ill., mar. May 11, 1857, at Chicago. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 13.)
- MOLKE, PAUL, and Angeline Howell, mar. Mar. 1, 1860, by the Rev. E. Whitney. (*Elwood, Free Press*, Mar. 3.)
- MOON, SILAS, and Mary A. Hammond, mar. Dec. 24, 1860, by the Rev. G. C. Morse. (*Emporia, Kansas News*, Dec. 29.)
- MOORE, H. MILES, and Linna F. Kehoe, Hannibal, Mo., late of Washington, D. C., mar. Sept. 15, 1857, at the Shawnee House, by the Rev. T. Holman, rector of St. Paul's Parish, Weston, Mo. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 19.)
- MOORE, HENRY J., and Catharine Johnston, mar. Mar. 26, 1860, by the Rev. Ira Blackford. (*Topeka, Kansas State Record*, Mar. 31.)
- MOORE, J. P., and Catharine Brandage, mar. Mar. 24, 1857, at Prairie City, by the Rev. A. Still. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, April 11.)
- MOORE, MAHLON K., and Lizzie Learned, both of Douglas county, mar. Jan. 1, 1860, at the Methodist church, by the Rev. H. H. Moore. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Jan. 5.)
- MOORE, ROBERT M., and Mollie E. Bent, mar. April 3, 1860, at the residence of Col. William W. Bent, Westport, Mo., by the Rev. R. S. Symington. (*Lawrence, Republican*, April 12.)
- MOORE, WILLIAM S., formerly of Rockford, Ill., and Bertha R. Case, late of Watertown, Wis., mar. Jan. 10, 1860, at the Merchants Hotel, by the Rev. Charles Fisher. (*Leavenworth, Daily Times*, Jan. 12.)
- MORE, JOHN, and Juliette McKinney, mar. July 30, 1857, at Springfield, Kan., by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Aug. 6.)
- MORRIS, DAVID T., and Mary Lewis, Emporia township, Breckinridge county, mar. Aug. 16, 1860, at home of the bride's father, D. T. Lewis, by the Rev. W. E. Evans. (*Emporia, Kansas News*, Aug. 18.)
- MORRIS, ROBERT, Kansas, and Mary Truex, Andrew county, Mo., mar. Oct. 25, 1856, by Elder W. R. Trapp. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 8.)
- MORRISON, JOHN, ESQ., Bath, Grafton county, N. H., and Emma S. Burritt, formerly of Vergennes, Vt., mar. Mar. 24, 1860, at Cottage Hill, near Moneka, Linn county, by the Rev. W. R. Long. (*Lawrence, Republican*, April 5.)
- MOYS, WILLIAM, and Emily J. Tabor, of Sumner township, ——— county, mar. June 5, 1859, in Sumner township, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, June 11.)
- MUELLER, FREDERICK, and Catharine Grund, mar. June 3, 1855, at Shekomeko (Moravian mission), three miles from Leavenworth, by the Rev. David Z. Smith. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 8.)
- MUIR, JAMES, and Abbie M. Wilcox, both of Salina, mar. Aug. 21, 1860, at Junction City, by Mayor R. C. Whitney. (*Topeka, Kansas State Record*, Aug. 25.)

- MUNCY, MILTON M., and Susan S. Gilman, mar. Oct. 27, 1859, by the Rev. E. Whitney. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Oct. 29.)
- MURPHY, H., Glenwood, Iowa, and Lucy Ann O'Toole, Kan., mar. Sept. 2, 1855, at the residence of M. H. Wash, Esq., St. Joseph, Mo., by Elder J. Wyatt. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Sept. 18.)
- MYERS, HENRY, and Mary Rostock, mar. June 18, 1857, at Oregon, Mo. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, June 25.)
- MYERS, JOHN, of Leavenworth, and Ellen M. Smith, of Wyoming, N. Y., mar. Oct. 6, 1859, at Chicago, Ill. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 22.)
- NACE, WILLIAM M., and Mary A. Hickox, mar. Oct. 30, 1859, by the Rev. William Wilson. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, Nov. 3.)
- NEAL, CLEM, and Fanny Fulton, mar. Sept. 6, 1859, at St. Joseph, Mo., by the Rev. Thomas Hoagland. (Atchison, *Union*, Sept. 10.)
- NEALLEY, D. H., and Elizabeth Angell, mar. May 31, 1860, at residence of Byron Jewell, by the Rev. John M. Moore. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, June 2.)
- NEET, GEORGE W., and Sarah E. A., dau. of Col. D. S. Leach, Platte county, Mo., mar. Dec. 14, 1854, by the Rev. O. C. Steele. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Dec. 29.)
- NELSON, PETER, and Lavicia Lyle, formerly of Rochester, Mo., mar. July 23, 1857, at the parsonage, by the Rev. R. P. Duvall. (Quindaro, *Chindowan*, July 25.)
- NICHOLS, WILLIAM G., and Mrs. Hester Ann Dart, both of Greeley, mar. Nov. 29, 1857, by the Rev. William C. McDow. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 3.)
- NORMAN, JAMES, and Mary Campbell, mar. Feb. 17, 1860, by the Rev. J. E. Ryan. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Feb. 18.)
- NUTT, OWEN, and Caroline Brindle, mar. Nov. 28, 1858, by Elijah Kirkendall, J. P. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 11.)
- OAKLEY, WALTER, Topeka, and Louise Thompson, Leavenworth, mar. Mar. 27, 1859, by the Rev. B. L. Baldrige. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 30.)
- OFFUTT, WILLIAM L., and Lavina Dorland, mar. Nov. 15, 1857, at White Cloud, by the Rev. A. L. Downey. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Nov. 19.)
- OGDEN, GEORGE, and Josephine Barnes, both of Missouri, mar. Nov. 9, 1856, by Justice Alexander E. Mahew. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Nov. 22.)
- OLIVER, JAMES H., DeKalb, Mo., and Elizabeth, dau. of Peter Boyle, Atchison county, mar. May 12, 1859, by the Rev. L. A. Alderson. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, May 21.)
- OLIVER, WILLIAM H., and Louisa Hopper, mar. April 29, 1855, by the Rev. William W. Hall. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 12.)
- OTT, WILLIAM J., and Emma D. Davis, both of Gardner, mar. April 21, 1859, by O. B. Gardner, Esq. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 28.)
- OWEN, ELLIS, Emporia, and Catherine Morris, mar. Oct. 4, 1860, at the Eastern House, by the Rev. Richard Cordley. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 11.)
- OWENS, DR. JOHN A., recently of South Carolina, and Mary Anne Martin, mar. Oct. 9, 1856, by the Rev. Mr. Cline. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, Nov. 22.)
- PALMER, ALPHEUS, and Martha Harris, mar. Dec. 25, 1859, in Tranaur township, ——— county, by the Rev. H. P. Robinson. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 31.)

- PALMER, N., and Mary White, both of Hunter county, Kan., mar. July 20, 1860, on Walnut creek, by Israel Scott, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 11.)
- PARHAM, ROBERT, JR., of Emporia, and Caddie A. Fryer, of Philadelphia, Pa., mar. Nov. 12, 1860, at Philadelphia, by the Rev. Joseph H. Kennard. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 1.)
- PARK, COL. GEORGE S., of Parkville, Mo., and Mary Louise, dau. of William W. Holmes, formerly of New York City, mar. July 12, 1855, at Magnolia, Ill., by the Rev. Mr. Dunn. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 4.)
- PARK, THE REV. J. S., of Tennessee, and Mary C. Steele, of Topeka, mar. Oct. 1, 1860, by the Rev. J. A. Steele. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Oct. 6.)
- PARKER, NATHANIEL, and Mrs. Sarah Gregory, both of Madison county, Kan., mar. Jan. 24, 1858, by the Rev. S. G. Brown. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Feb. 6.)
- PARKS, WILLIAM, and Irene Randall, both of Douglas county, mar. Oct. 27, 1859, by the Rev. W. Bishop. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 5.)
- PARMENTER, WALTER, formerly of Vermont, and Sarah Elizabeth Jones, formerly of Ohio, mar. ———, 1860, near Holton, Jackson county, at residence of bride, by the Rev. Martin Seiler. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 23.)
- PARMETAR, JAMES A., of Olathe, and E. J. Gray, of McCamish, mar. Oct. 13, 1859, at McCamish, Johnson county, by the Rev. J. P. Campbell. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 22.)
- PARSONS, JOHN U., and Anna Kent, both of Ogden, mar. May 15, 1860, by the Rev. W. A. McCollum. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, May 19.)
- PARSONS, WILLIAM B., and Julia W. Kinzie, mar. Nov. 13, 1860, at residence of bride's father, R. A. Kinzie, by the Rev. William H. Hickox, of Lawrence. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Nov. 14.)
- PASCHEL, LUTHER, and Elizabeth Burke, both of Paola, mar. June 7, 1860, at Paola, by Thomas Totten. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 21.)
- PEARSON, JOHN, and Amary Amanda Green, mar. Jan. 18, 1855, at house of Allen Pearson, on the Wakarusa, by J. R. Goodin, Esq. (Lawrence, *Kansas Tribune*, Jan. 24.)
- PEARSON, RICHARD N., and Mary Rosela Harris, mar. Feb. 22, 1857, at Prairie City, by the Rev. S. S. Snyder. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 14.)
- PENCE, E. F., and Jennie Bozarth, mar. Sept. 29, 1859, at residence of Colonel Burnes, by the Rev. E. L. Owen. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 5.)
- PENNOCK, CHARLES, and Mrs. Ann Soper, mar. Mar. 30, 1858, at Oskaloosa, Jefferson county. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 10.)
- PERRY, ALBERT, and Millie Leland, both of Troy, mar. Dec. 16, 1860, at Troy, by the Rev. E. Whitney. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Dec. 22.)
- PERRY, ERASMUS, and Margaret E. Dale, all of Weston, Mo., mar. June 10, 1856, by J. B. Wright. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, July 19.)
- PERRY, WILLIAM, and Lucy A. Barrett, both of Emporia, mar. June 1, 1858, at Johnson House, Lawrence, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, June 5.)
- PHELPS, EDWIN C., and Mary Irish, West Bloomfield, Mich., mar. June 16, 1858, at West Bloomfield, by the Rev. E. Mather. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, July 24.)

- PHENIS, JAMES H., and Mrs. Sebrah Way, mar. Dec. 10, 1859, by James Newlin, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 17.)
- PHILLIPS, GEORGE, and Maria Sweet, mar. Aug. 2, 1857, at Cole creek, by the Rev. Mr. Ely. (Prairie City, *Freeman's Champion*, Sept. 3.)
- PHILLIPS, ROBERT M., and Mary Ladd, both of St. Joseph, Mo., mar. Nov. 20, 1860, by the Rev. G. W. Barr, Esq. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Nov. 24.)
- PHILLIPS, DR. SAMUEL, and Annie Russell, mar. Sept. 28, 1858, at residence of Wm. H. Russell, by the Rev. E. S. Dulin. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 9.)
- PIERCE, HENRY, and Myriam Jane Faucett, mar. Feb. 28, 1860, at residence of bride's father, two miles from Emporia, by the Rev. S. G. Brown. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Mar. 3.)
- PILES, SAMUEL, and Mary Jane McCanlis, mar. Mar. 1, 1860, at Bellemont, by J. T. Braidy, Esq. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Mar. 17.)
- PIPHER, JOHN W., formerly of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Mary A. Wisner, of Batavia, Ill., mar. Sept. 10, 1857, at Manhattan, by Elder M. L. Wisner. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 19.)
- PLUMMER, WILLIAM S., and Fannie Clayton, mar. Oct. 9, 1860, at residence of bride's father, by the Rev. L. D. Price. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 10.)
- POE, ELISHA W., Clay county, Mo., and Nancy Strange, Kan., mar. April 8, 1858, by the Rev. A. L. Downey. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, April 15.)
- POLLARD, HENRY, and Julia E. Williams, Washington, D. C., mar. Sept. 3, 1857, at Baltimore, Md., by the Rev. Mr. Abbott. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 19.)
- POLLEY, JOHN, and Mrs. Mary Flinn, both of Osage county, mar. June 4, 1860, at Burlingame, by J. R. Stewart, Esq. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, June 9.)
- POND, DAVID, and Martha Hardin, mar. July 25, 1858, at Iowa Point, by the Rev. C. C. McKain. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, July 29.)
- POTTER, FREDERICK W., of Burlington, and Laura A. Stone, of Lawrence, mar. Dec. 18, 1859, at Lawrence, by E. D. Ladd, J. P. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 17.)
- POULET, ALIXIS, Iowa Point, and Rebecca Acton, mar. Oct. 14, 1860, at residence of Bolivar Beeler, on Cedar creek. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Oct. 25.)
- POWELL, JOSEPH A., Esq., and Mollie Byler, mar. Mar. 4, 1858, by the Rev. L. B. Stateler. (Tecumseh, *Kansas Settler*, Mar. 10.)
- POWER, FRANCIS M., and Caroline Jane Jordan, mar. June 27, 1858, by the Rev. M. M. Haun. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 15.)
- PRATT, C. H., Jackson township, and Mary Myers, Emporia township, mar. Oct. 31, 1860, by the Rev. G. C. Morse. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Nov. 3.)
- PREEDY, PETER W., and Sarah Jane Huyett, mar. June 19, 1859, by the Rev. H. H. Moore. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 23.)
- PRICE, JOSEPH, and Penelope, dau. of Judge Samuel Palmer, all of McDonald county, Mo., mar. Nov. 27, 1859, by the Rev. James Huffman, Jr. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Dec. 8.)
- PRICHETT, THE REV. J. H., of the Kansas Mission conference, and Mary J. Johnson, mar. April 9, 1857, by the Rev. W. Bradford. (Lecompton, *Union*, April 18.)

- PROCTOR, A. G., Emporia, and Eliza B., dau. of John C. Calef, Gloucester, Mass., mar. July 10, 1860, at Gloucester, by the Rev. Robert Rogers. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, July 21.)
- PROSSER, DR. LEWIS S., Brunswick, and Orien Shepard, Fayette, mar. Oct. 22, 1856. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 8.)
- PROUTS, PARIS, and Hattie V. Cundiff, both of St. Joseph, Mo., mar. May 8, 1855, at St. Joseph, by the Rev. T. S. Reeve. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, May 25.)
- PROUTY, SALMON S., publisher of *Freemen's Champion*, and Hannah M. Whitehead, both of Prairie City, formerly of Aurora, Ill., mar. May 31, 1858, at the Johnson House, Lawrence, by the Rev. William Wilson. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, June 3.)
- PRYOR, STEPHEN, late of Monroe county, Ohio, and Margaret Woodward, mar. Dec. 6, 1857, by Giles A. Briggs. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Dec. 10.)
- PUTNAM, BENNET, and Maria Dunmire, mar. Dec. 24, 1857, on Elm creek, Breckinridge county. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 2, 1858.)
- QUIMBY, D. J., and Frances Signor, mar. Jan. 30, 1858, at Brownville, by the Rev. J. E. Moore. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, Mar. 18.)
- RADKEE, JOHN, and Mrs. Frederica Caviere, mar. Jan. 6, 1856, at residence of Mr. Hoagner, by R. R. Rees. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 12.)
- RANDALL, DUDLEY, and Ellen Chamberlin, formerly of McHenry county, Ill., mar. July 2, 1860, at the Congregational church, Emporia, by the Rev. G. C. Morse. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 12.)
- RANDALL, WILLIAM HENRY, and Mrs. Emeline Oliver, mar. Sept. 28, 1857, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 8.)
- RANDOLPH, JOSEPH V., and Anna M. Watson, mar. Dec. 22, 1859, by the Rev. G. C. Morse. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 24.)
- RANDOLPH, P. H., and Mrs. Kate C. Malone, mar. Feb. 2, 1859, at Minneola, by the Rev. Warren Mayo. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 5.)
- RAPELYEA, WILLIAM C., of Palermo, and Susan Ann, dau. of Judge Dougherty, mar. Feb. 16, 1860, by the Rev. J. E. Ryan. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Feb. 18.)
- RATZ, CHRISTIAN, and Henriette Menger, both of Franklin, mar. Aug. 23, 1858, at Franklin, by the Rev. William Wilson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 4.)
- RAWLINGS, EDWARD H., and Lattia C. Martin, Hannibal, Mo., mar. May 11, 1858, by the Rev. H. Stone. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, May 15.)
- RAYNAIKE, CHARLES, Kan., and Catharine Lanear, Mo., mar. ———, 1858. (Doniphan, *Kansas Crusader of Freedom*, Mar. 6.)
- REDFIELD, J. C., of Geneva, Allen county, and Hannah A. Nichols, of Twinsburg, Ohio, mar. Oct. 13, 1859, at Twinsburg, by the Rev. Mr. Monks. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Oct. 27.)
- REED, JAMES, and Polly Jane McKinney, mar. Nov. 6, 1856, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 22.)
- REES, SETH, of Copper Harbor, and Eugenia Melinda, dau. of J. S. Livermore, mar. Dec. 23, 1857, at Fort Wilkins, Lake Superior, by J. S. Livermore. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 28, 1858.)
- REID, JOHN M., formerly of Liberty, Mo., and Martha Boshman, Tecumseh, mar. Dec. 4, 1856, at residence of Thomas N. Stinson, Tecumseh, by the Rev. Mr. Rice. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Dec. 20.)

- REID, SAMUEL G., and Clara M. Gerald, mar. Jan. 3, 1861, at Montgomery, Ala., by the Rev. James Heard. (*Topeka, Kansas Tribune*, Jan. 26.)
- REYNOLDS, THOMAS T., and Caroline James, mar. ———, 1856, near Lawrence, by the Rev. S. S. Snyder. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 12.)
- RICE, H. D., and Mary A. Bennett, Tecumseh, mar. Aug. 29, 1860, at Tecumseh, by the Rev. L. Bodwell. (*Topeka, Kansas State Record*, Sept. 22.)
- RICE, M. HENDERSON, Linn county, Kan., and Susan Randolph, Jackson county, Mo., mar. Jan. 6, 1858, at house of Christopher Deskins, by the Rev. L. M. Carter. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 23.)
- RICE, JEFFERSON, and Cassidonia Young, both of Hunter county, Kan., mar. July 20, 1860, at Walnut creek, by the Rev. G. Cosgrove. (*Emporia, Kansas News*, Aug. 11.)
- RICE, JOHN E., formerly of Roxbury, Mass., and L. J. Zeigler, formerly of New Waterford, Ohio, mar. Feb. 10, 1856, by the Rev. E. Nute. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 23.)
- RICH, JAMES, Mission creek, Wabaunsee county, and Mrs. Medina Pitts, Oskaloosa, mar. July 29, 1860, at Oskaloosa. (*Topeka, Kansas State Record*, Aug. 4.)
- RICHARDS, DAVID, and Ruth S. Haworth, mar. Mar. 6, 1860, in Cahola township, Breckinridge county, by Samuel S. Chapman. (*Emporia, Kansas News*, Mar. 17.)
- RICHARDS, JOHN F., Leavenworth City, and Mat. A. Harrelson, of Sibley, Jackson county, Mo., mar. June 16, 1857, by the Rev. Mr. Palmer. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 27.)
- RICKABAUGH, JOSEPH, and Lucinda Burns, mar. July 4, 1858, at residence of bride's father, by the Rev. G. C. Morse. (*Emporia, Kansas News*, July 24.)
- RIFINBURG, W. G., and Louisa E. Suits, mar. Dec. 7, 1859, at Columbus, by the Rev. James Skinner. (*Elwood, Free Press*, Dec. 10.)
- RITCHEY, J. H., and Sallie Maretts, mar. Nov. 27, 1859, by the Rev. H. H. Craig. (*Council Grove, Kansas Press*, Dec. 5.)
- ROBERTS, C. EDWARD, and Elizabeth Hays, mar. May 8, 1859, at Lebanon, Bourbon county, by David R. Jackman, J. P. (*Lawrence, Republican*, May 12.)
- ROBERTS, DAVID E., and Clarissa A. Winship, mar. May 8, 1859, at Lebanon, Bourbon county, by David R. Jackman, J. P. (*Lawrence, Republican*, May 12.)
- ROBERTSON, THE REV. ELI H., and Mrs. Caroline E. Evans, dau. of George Randolph, mar. June 26, 1860, at residence of George Randolph, on the Big Blue, Riley county, by the Rev. J. Denison. (*Manhattan, Kansas Express*, June 30.)
- ROBINSON, DR. J., Oregon, Mo., and Agnes Canon, Uniontown, Pa., mar. ———, 1857, at residence of Judge R. S. Canon, Holt county, Mo., by the Rev. W. Fulton. (*White Cloud, Kansas Chief*, Dec. 3.)
- ROBITAILLE, LOUIS EUGENE, and Elizabeth Robitaille, mar. Sept. 26, 1860, by Esquire Hudson. (*Wyandotte, Commercial Gazette*, Oct. 6.)
- ROGERS, CHARLES L., St. Louis, Mo., and Victoria, dau. of Col. Lewis Barnes, Weston, Mo., mar. Mar. 26, 1856, at Weston. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, April 12.)
- ROGERS, DARIUS, and Rose Carpenter, both of Osage City, mar. Oct. 17, 1860. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Oct. 25.)

- ROLINGS, W. C., and Mrs. Mary Withers, both of Delaware City, mar. Aug. 21, 1856, at residence of William Perry, by John Taylor. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 30.)
- ROSE, WILLIAM, and K. Peterson, St. Joseph, Mo., mar. Sept. 27, 1859, at St. Joseph, Mo., by the Rev. E. Whitney. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Oct. 1.)
- ROSENBAUM, WILLIAM E., and Maggie Phillips, mar. April 19, 1860, by the Rev. A. W. Pitzer. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, April 20.)
- ROSENQUIST, JOHN, and Rachael Vangundy, mar. Dec. 22, 1859, by the Rev. W. Bradford. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 24, 1860.)
- ROSS, ABNER L., Ohio City, Kan., and L. Virginia Burdick, Baltimore, mar. Dec. 22, 1857, at Baltimore, by the Rev. Dr. Case, of Grace church. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, Feb. 18, 1858.)
- ROSS, W. W., Esq., of the *State Record*, and Julia Whiting, mar. Aug. 13, 1860, at residence of bride's father, by the Rev. John A. Steele. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Aug. 18.)
- ROW, C., and Mary J. Dunning, both of Doniphan county, mar. Jan. 15, 1856, by T. W. Waterson. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 9.)
- RUCKER, JAMES S., Lecompton, and Nannie S., dau. of Thomas H. Scott, Campbell county, Va., mar. Oct. 21, 1857, at Washington City, by the Rev. Dr. Cummings. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, Nov. 5.)
- RUSSELL, EDWARD, and Ionia Blackiston, mar. Sept. 27, 1859, by the Rev. J. E. Ryan. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Oct. 1.)
- RUSSELL, JOHN, and Nancy Jane How, both of Douglas county, mar. Dec. 31, 1857, at Bloomington, Kan., by H. Burson, J. P. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Jan. 28, 1858.)
- RUSSELL, JOHN W., and Julia A. McCormick, mar. Sept. 28, 1858, in Atchison county, by the Rev. E. S. Dulin. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 9.)
- RUSSELL, S. C., and Rose Jenkins, mar. May 19, 1859, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Republican*, May 26.)
- ST. JOHN, EPHRAIM, JR., and Romania B. Parsons, mar. Oct. 13, 1860, by the Rev. C. E. Blood. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, Oct. 20.)
- SANDERS, JOHN, and Sarah Ann Schrimpf, mar. Oct. 25, 1860, on Little Stranger creek, by I. S. Kalloch, Esq. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 27.)
- SANDLING, GILES, and Eliza Harmon, mar. Feb. 26, 1857, on Pottawatomie creek, by the Rev. William C. McDow. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 11.)
- SANDS, JAMES G., and Susie E. Brown, mar. April 8, 1860, at the Congregational church, by the Rev. R. Cordley. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 12.)
- SARDOU, CHARLES, and Barbee Etice, mar. Feb. 13, by M. C. Brewster, J. P. (Tecumseh, *Kansas Settler*, Feb. 24.)
- SAWIN, FRANKLIN O., and Lydia M. Smith, mar. Nov. 17, 1858, at residence of Mrs. Elizabeth Sawin, Hamlin, Brown county. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Dec. 2.)
- SCHITZ, JOSEPH, and Adah Uligh, mar. Nov. 19, 1860, by Judge Wheeler. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Nov. 29.)
- SCHMIDLING, FRANCIS, and Maria L. Bundren, mar. April 4, 1860, by the Rev. E. Phillips. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, April 7.)
- SCHOFIELD, C. C., and Mary E. Norton, both of Clinton, mar. April 7, 1859, at Clinton, by the Rev. J. Copeland. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 14.)

- SEARL, A. D., and Susie J. Clapp, of Southampton, Mass., mar. Nov. 9, 1857, at Southampton, by the Rev. David Strong. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 26.)
- SEIGRIST, CHARLES, and Emilia Simon, mar. Dec. 27, 1860, by Jos. W. Robinson. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Dec. 29.)
- SEYBOLD, FREDERICK, and Sarah McCarty, mar. Mar. 5, 1856, at residence of Mr. Richardson, by Hon. William E. Murphy, mayor. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Mar. 8.)
- SEYMOUR, WILLIAM H., and Nancy Culbertson, both of Linn county, mar. Jan. 6, 1858, at house of Christopher Deskins, by the Rev. L. M. Carter. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 23.)
- SHANKS, GEORGE W., and Sabera J. Sneid, both of St. Joseph, Mo., mar. Dec. 27, 1860, at Elwood, by Jos. W. Robinson. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Dec. 29.)
- SHARPE, ISAAC B., and Nettie Bennett, both of Wyandotte, mar. June 12, 1860, at residence of Dr. J. E. Bennett, by the Rev. William Barnett. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 21.)
- SHELDON, E. P., M. D., and S. Matilda Schuyler, both of Burlingame, mar. Sept. 26, 1860, by the Rev. G. W. Paddock. (Wyandotte, *Commercial Gazette*, Sept. 29.)
- SHELDON, HON. HENRY C., Council City, K. T., and Elizabeth Piper, Seneca, Ontario county, N. Y., mar. Sept. 8, 1857, at the Shawnee House, by the Rev. G. W. Paddock. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 12.)
- SHERMAN, MAJ. W. T., U. S. artillery, and Mary H., dau. of Hon. Wilson Shannon, ex-governor of Kansas territory, mar. Aug. 4, 1858, by the Rev. C. M. Callaway. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 28.)
- SHIRE, H., and C. A. Reppart, both of Grasshopper Falls, mar. Mar. 7, 1860, at Grasshopper Falls, by the Rev. Josiah B. McAfee. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 15.)
- SHROYER, WILLIAM A., and Phebe M. Furgeson, both of Lawrence, mar. Sept. 9, 1857, at the Harris House, Westport, by the Rev. Nathan Scarritt. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 19.)
- SHULTZ, ABSALOM, and Mary Jane Lovell, both of Burr Oak bottom, Kan., mar. Mar. 9, 1856, at Columbus, K. T., by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 29.)
- SIMPSON, WILLIAM F., and Julia Holmes, Shawnee, mar. April 4, 1860, at Shawnee, Johnson county, by the Rev. J. Spencer. (Wyandotte, *Western Argus*, April 7.)
- SINEX, JACOB, and Pamela Doy, both of Lawrence, mar. April 2, 1860, by the Rev. John S. Brown. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 19.)
- SINGER, JOHN M., and Hannah McCombs, both of Ottumwa, mar. Oct. 23, 1860, by the Rev. J. W. Leard. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Oct. 24.)
- SKINNER, JAMES W., and Elizabeth Cornman, mar. June 16, 1857, by the Rev. M. M. Haun. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, July 18.)
- SLAUSEN, WILLIAM LYSANDER, Onondaga county, N. Y., and Dorcas Nesbitt, Weedsport, N. Y., mar. Mar. 3, 1859, at Weedsport. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Mar. 24.)
- SLOAN, JOSEPH W., and Ellen M. Hill, both of Leavenworth county, mar. Sept. 20, 1860, by the Rev. F. M. Williams. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Sept. 29.)

- SLOANE, STERLING B., and Mary, dau. of Cornelius Dorland, mar. Jan. 16, 1859, by Giles A. Briggs. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Jan. 20.)
- SMILEY, ROBERT W., and Victoria N. Roberts, mar. Dec. 15, 1858, by the Rev. E. Alward. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Dec. 18.)
- SMITH, ADOLPHUS, Lawrence, and Sophia Anne Osmer, of Chase county, mar. Jan. 7, 1860, by J. M. Pherson. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 21.)
- SMITH, ALLEN B., and Eliza J. Phillips, mar. Jan. 8, 1861, by the Rev. S. G. Brown. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 12.)
- SMITH, CHARLES, and Elizabeth Eger, both of Wakarusa, mar. July 31, 1856, at Wakarusa, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 3, 1857.)
- SMITH, CHARLES W., and Lucretia B. Cook, of Lowell, Mass., mar. Mar. 10, 1855, by the Rev. Mr. Foster. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 7.)
- SMITH, FRANK B., of Manhattan, and Lucy F., youngest dau. of Capt. Freeman Maybury, of Dighton, Mass., mar. July 25, 1857, at Dighton, by the Rev. Mr. Sandford. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 8.)
- SMITH, GILES, and Ellen Esther Martin, mar. April 2, 1857, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 25.)
- SMITH, HARVEY, and Lucy E., dau. of Jacob Creath, all of Palmyra, Mo., mar. ———, 1856, by the Rev. John Leighton. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 1.)
- SMITH, J. T., and Cristena Wallace, both of Freedom township, Bourbon county, mar. Sept. 28, 1859, by G. Stockmyer. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, Oct. 6.)
- SMITH, DR. JOSEPH F., and Lavina Wood, mar. Jan. 25, 1857, by the Rev. Hiram Stone. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 31.)
- SMITH, MICHAEL, and Emeline Blanden, mar. June 11, 1860, at home of A. W. Dole, by D. E. Bowen, Esq. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 21.)
- SMITH, T. B., and Sarah Ann Greenwood, both of Blue Mound, mar. Dec. 25, 1856, near Blue Mound, by the Rev. A. L. Downey. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 24, 1857.)
- SMITH, WILLIAM H., and Roxy Beardsley, mar. Aug. 13, 1857, by the Rev. R. C. Brant. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 22.)
- SMITH, WILLIAM W., and Emeline Rice, both of Coffey county, mar. Oct. 23, 1859, at residence of Dr. Manson, by H. N. Bent, Esq. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Oct. 25.)
- SNYDER, E., and Harriet, dau. of John O'Neal, mar. Dec. 28, 1858, by the Rev. C. Graham. (Highland, *Weekly Highlander*, Jan. 1, 1859.)
- SNYDER, ISRAEL, Richland county, Ohio, and Mary A., dau. of George C. Scrafford, Iowa Point, mar. Dec. 31, 1857, by the Rev. C. C. McKain. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Jan. 7, 1858.)
- SNYDER, JAMES A., and Belle Perrine, both of Blue Mound, mar. Oct. 27, 1857, at Blue Mound, by the Rev. S. S. Snyder. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 5.)
- SODEN, WILLIAM T., and Frances Jane McCormick, both of Pike township, Breckinridge county, Kan., mar. May 18, 1860, by B. T. Clark, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, June 2.)
- SPATZIER, NATHAN, and Mrs. Mary N. Hayman, mar. Feb. 21, 1860, at the home of the bride, by Judge M. S. Adams. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 23.)

- SPAULDING, A. J., and Rosanna Harris, mar. Feb. 26, 1860, by the Rev. Wm. W. Backus. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 27.)
- SPEER, JUDGE J. L., and Mrs. C. A. Newland, both of Jefferson county, mar. Mar. 17, 1859, at Leavenworth, by the Rev. A. W. Pitzer. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Mar. 24.)
- SPENCER, THE REV. JOAB, Shawnee, Johnson county, and Mary C. Munkres, Council Grove, mar. Aug. 20, 1860, at home of the bride's mother, by the Rev. H. H. Craig. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, Aug. 25.)
- SPERRY, LEVI, and Nancy Jane Anderson, mar. Aug. 13, 1857, near Franklin, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 27.)
- SPICER, ARTHUR H., and Lucinda F. Gee, mar. May 23, 1860, at Franklin, by J. B. Gilliland, Esq. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 2.)
- SPITLER, MARION L., Indiana, and Mary Emily Burnham, Maine, mar. June 28, 1859, at Padonia, Brown county, by Isaiah P. Winslow. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, July 7.)
- SPIVEY, JOHN GILL, Oskaloosa, and Lucy F. Wilkerson, Boone county, Mo., mar. Sept. 6, 1857, by Elder E. E. Chrisman. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, Sept. 29.)
- SPIVEY, JOHN GILL, and Marietta L. Havens, mar. Jan. 1, 1861, by the Rev. Nelson Alvord. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, Jan. 2.)
- SPRAGUE, JAMES, and Susan McKelvy, both of Jefferson county, mar. Dec. 30, 1860, at residence of Mr. McCleny, by the Rev. J. S. Kline. (Oskaloosa, *Independent*, Jan. 2, 1861.)
- STALEY, EDWIN, and Sarah Frances, dau. of Elder S. G. Brown, mar. July 10, 1860, by Elder W. E. Evans. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, July 21.)
- STALON, JAMES, and Cynthia A. McClintock, mar. Jan. 30, 1858, at residence of bride's father in Sumner, by the Rev. B. C. Dennis. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 13.)
- STANISFIELD, JOHN M., and Harriet Reese, mar. ———, 1859, at home of bride's brother. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Jan. 13.)
- STARK, ANDREW, Moneka, and Sue M., dau. of Capt. William Swingley, mar. Dec. 24, 1860, at residence of bride's father, Mansfield, Linn county, by the Rev. Mr. Hobbs. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 27.)
- STAUDENMAYER, THE REV. L. R., and Elizabeth Lilly, dau. of Henry W. Conner, Esq., Charleston, S. C., mar. Nov. 16, 1858, at St. Michael's church, Charleston, by the Rev. P. T. Keith. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Dec. 4.)
- STEPHENS, GEORGE W., of Burlington, and Carry M. Thurston, of Providence, R. I., mar. May 29, 1858, at Burlington, by the Rev. P. Remer. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 8.)
- STEPHENS, JOHN W., late of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Margaret A. Henry, late of Allegheny county, Pa., mar. June 21, 1855, at Pleasant Grove, Kan., by the Rev. William Butts. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, July 14.)
- STEPHENS, JOHN W., and Leonah Johnston, both of Le Roy, mar. Sept. 20, 1860, at Le Roy, by the Rev. E. Phillips. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Oct. 10.)
- STEVENS, S. N., and Emily Coffin, Bangor, Me., mar. ———, 1856, at Bangor, by G. W. Snow. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 22.)
- STEVENS, WILLIAM, formerly of Rockport, Mo., and Mary Will Griffin, mar. May 25, 1857, at Rockport, by Elder T. N. Gaines. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 20.)

- STEVENSON, THOMAS, and Sophia C. Spinning, mar. Oct. 12, 1858, by the Rev. S. M. Irwin. (Highland, *Weekly Highlander*, Jan. 1, 1859.)
- STEWART, CAPT. GEORGE H., U. S. Army, and Maria H. Kinzie, mar. Jan. 14, 1858, at Ft. Leavenworth, by the Rev. H. Stone. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 23.)
- STOKES, EDWIN, and Malvena A. Berkaw, mar. Sept. 20, 1857, at Bloomington, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 26.)
- STONE, A. D., of 2nd artillery, U. S. A., and Kate, dau. of Col. H. Rich, sutler at Ft. Leavenworth, mar. Oct. 6, 1859, at Ft. Leavenworth, by the Rev. Hiram Stone. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 8.)
- STONE, AUGUSTUS D., and Narcissa Kate Shields, mar. July 6, 1860, at Baldwin City, by the Rev. W. R. Davis. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 19.)
- STONE, JAMES M., and Lucretia A. Bradley, mar. Mar. 3, 1859, at Randolph. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Mar. 24.)
- STONE, JESSE, and Sarah C. Packard, mar. Jan. 8, 1857, by the Rev. L. Bodwell. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Jan. 12.)
- STONE, THE REV. M. W., and Mariah D. Doty, both formerly of New York, mar. Dec. 25, 1854, at the Baptist Mission, Kan., by the Rev. Francis Barker. (Lawrence, *Kansas Free State*, Jan. 3, 1855.)
- STONE, WILLIAM, and Catherine Casebere, both of Clinton, Kan., mar. Dec. 10, 1857, by the Rev. M. R. Clough. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 17.)
- STUART, JOHN, and Elizabeth Harbin, of Bourbon county, mar. Nov. 17, 1859, at Fort Scott, by the Rev. Elijah Freeman. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Nov. 24.)
- STUART, JOHN G., and Melissa Dillon, mar. July 19, 1860, by the Rev. John Hale, of Deerfield, Mo. (Fort Scott, *Democrat*, July 21.)
- STUART, LT. JAS. E. B., and Flora, eldest dau. of Col. P. St. George Cooke, U. S. dragoons, mar. Nov. 14, 1855, at Ft. Riley, by the Rev. D. Clarkson. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Dec. 1.)
- SULLIVAN, JOHN M., chief bugler, 2nd dragoons, and Malinda J. Collins, Ft. Leavenworth, mar. Oct. 25, 1855, by the Rev. L. Ker. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 17.)
- SULLIVAN, MICHAEL, and Sarah Ann Spittle, mar. Dec. 7, 1856, at Lawrence, by the Rev. C. H. Lovejoy. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 20.)
- SWARTZ, ISAAC, and Matilda Hamlin, mar. May 5, 1859, at Uniontown, Johnson county, by Dillon Pickering, Esq. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, May 28.)
- SWATZEL, JOHN, and Catherine Donnelson, mar. July 5, 1858, by the Rev. G. Seymour. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 24.)
- SWISHER, F. M., of Prairie City, Kan., and Mattie E. Calwell, of Lawrence county, Pa., mar. Sept. 1, 1857, at Pittsburgh, Pa., by the Rev. J. L. Read. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 19.)
- TAYLOR, E. L., and Mollie A. McGrath, both of Moneka, Linn county, mar. June 30, 1859, by the Rev. Josiah Lamb. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 14.)
- TAYLOR, ELLIOT, and Anna J. Johnston, mar. Dec. 25, 1860, in Manhattan, by the Rev. C. E. Blood. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, Dec. 29.)
- TEGART, JAMES, and Virette Vincent, both of Topeka, mar. Nov. 8, 1860, by the Rev. J. Griffing. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Nov. 10.)
- TELFER, DR. JAS., America, Kan., and Mary J. Jackson, formerly of Carrollton, Ohio, mar. July 27, 1859, at the Mansion House, by the Rev. Hiram Stone. (Leavenworth, *Weekly Times*, July 30.)

- TEMPLETON, J. N., and Margaret A. Hawkins, both of this city, mar. Mar. 9, 1860, at Shawnee, by the Rev. Wm. Holmes. (*Wyandotte, Western Argus*, Mar. 14.)
- TERRILL, CHAUNCEY L., and Martha E. Clark, mar. Dec. 29, 1858, at home of bride's mother, by the Rev. Joel Kneeland. (*Topeka, Kansas Tribune*, Jan. 13, 1859.)
- THACHER, T. DWIGHT, Esq., of Lawrence, and Kate Faulkner, eldest dau. of Jesse Angell, Esq., mar. Sept. 9, 1857, at Dansville, N. Y., by the Rev. S. M. Campbell. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Oct. 1.)
- THOLEN, WILLIAM, and Hannah Brown, mar. Nov. 10, 1860, at residence of bride's mother, by the Rev. I. S. Kalloch. (*Leavenworth, Daily Times*, Nov. 20.)
- THOMAS, S. J., Esq., and Harriet N. Hurd, both of Spring, Crawford county, Pa., mar. May 24, 1855, at residence of John Long, Kan., by the Rev. G. H. Poole. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, June 2.)
- THOMAS, S. M., of firm of Thomas & Lines, and Cornelia M., dau. of C. B. Lines, mar. Dec. 23, 1857, at Wabaunsee, Kan. (*Lawrence, Republican*, Jan. 28, 1858.)
- THOMAS, WILLIAM H., and Martha LaHay, mar. Feb. 12, 1857, at Bloomington, by the Rev. T. J. Ferril. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 21.)
- THOMPSON, DANIEL, and Emily T. Garrison, mar. June 6, 1860, at home of bride's father near Topeka, by the Rev. John A. Steele. (*Topeka, Kansas State Record*, June 9.)
- THOMPSON, GEORGE S., of Lawrence, and Mary A. R., dau. of Levi Farwell, of Lancaster, Mass., mar. May 31, 1859, at Lancaster, by the Rev. George F. Jenks. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, July 9.)
- THOMPSON, COL. R. T., and Hattie M. Pilcher, both of Humboldt, mar. May 6, 1860, at Humboldt, by the Rev. Isaac Knott. (*Lawrence, Republican*, May 17.)
- THOMPSON, S. P., and Mrs. Phebe M. Adams, mar. April 18, 1860, by J. C. Miller, Esq. (*Topeka, Kansas Tribune*, April 21.)
- THOMPSON, WILLIAM P., and Emily C. Young, both of Topeka, mar. Mar. 10, 1859, at Lawrence, by the Rev. E. Nute. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 19.)
- THRESHER, CHARLES A., and Sarah Frances Welker, mar. Mar. 11, 1860, by the Rev. Ira Blackford. (*Topeka, Kansas State Record*, Mar. 17.)
- TIPTON, WILLIAM, and Mary Oliver, both of Stanton, mar. Sept. 24, 1857, at Stanton, Lykins county, Kan., by L. D. Williams. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 17.)
- TODD, RILEY, and Rebecca Kelly, mar. Oct. 25, 1858, by Elder S. W. Jackson. (*Leavenworth, Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 30.)
- TODHUNTER, EVAN, and Landora Luman, mar. Aug. 28, 1859, by the Rev. Mr. Campbell. (*Lecompton, Kansas National Democrat*, Sept. 1.)
- TODHUNTER, JAMES D., and Rachael Jane Coulter, both of Lecompton, mar. Sept. 5, 1857, at Lawrence, by the Rev. E. Nute. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 12.)
- TOLLES, FRANCIS O., late of Perkinsville, Vt., and Mary B. Stone, late of Wilbraham, Mass., mar. Jan. 1, 1856, at Lawrence, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (*Lawrence, Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 12.)

- TOLLES, DR. L. C., and Caroline A. Wilbor, of Little Compton, R. I., mar. Mar. 1, 1857, at Little Compton, by the Rev. James B. Weeks. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 18.)
- TONTZ, JOHN, and Elizabeth Taylor, mar. April 6, 1858, in Johnson county, by the Rev. G. Seymour. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 17.)
- TORREY, R. U., Seneca, Nemaha county, and Frank M. Ranson, of Belleville, Jefferson county, N. Y., mar. Aug. 23, 1859, at Belleville, by the Rev. Daniel Rona. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Sept. 1.)
- TREAT, L. S., Esq., and Mary Dorothea, dau. of Hon. Joseph Cooper, Frankfort, Ky., mar. Aug. 6, 1858, at Atchison, by Mayor Samuel C. Pomeroy. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, Aug. 7.)
- TRICKAY, E. L., formerly of St. Louis, Mo., and Julia M., dau. of Gen. C. A. Partens, Jefferson City, Mo., mar. Oct. 22, 1857, by the Rev. Mr. Longherd. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Nov. 28.)
- TRUAXE, JOSEPH, and Emeline Whitaker, both of Atchison county, mar. [April 25], 1858, by the Rev. Pardee Butler. (Sumner, *Gazette*, May 1.)
- TULL, WILLIAM, and Mary A. Harmon, mar. Feb. 15, 1857, on Pottawatomie creek, by the Rev. William C. McDow. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, April 11.)
- TURNER, JAMES, Chillicothe, Mo., and Andalusia W., dau. of Thornton Myers, Princeton, Mo., mar. Jan. 27, 1855, at Princeton, by R. B. Ballew, Esq. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 23.)
- TWOMBLY, BENJAMIN H., and Mrs. Augusta A. Runyon, late of Auburn, N. Y., mar. Oct. 21, 1855, by the Rev. D. Z. Smith. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 27.)
- UMBARGER, GEORGE W., and Rosaltha Hazeltine, both of Bloomington, mar. Aug. 6, 1857, near Bloomington, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Prairie City, *Freemen's Champion*, Aug. 20.)
- UPHAM, DAVID, and Sarah Gaskins, both of Hunter county, Kan., mar. July 30, 1860, at Walnut creek, by the Rev. G. Cosgrove. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 11.)
- VANCIL, ISAAC C., and Mary E. Wood, both of Clinton, mar. April 3, 1859, by the Rev. D. J. Woodward. (Lawrence, *Republican*, April 28.)
- VAN FOSSEN, C. H., Lafayette, Ind., and Carrie Armstrong, Wyandotte City, mar. Dec. 1, 1857, by the Rev. W. Barnett. (Wyandotte, *Citizen*, Dec. 5.)
- VAN HORN, H. C., and Emily Humphrey, both of Forest Hill, mar. Dec. 20, 1858, by the Rev. G. C. Morse. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Jan. 22, 1859.)
- VAN NESS, PETER, and Eliza C. Spencer, mar. Sept. 9, 1860, at Dragoon creek, by Allen Hodgson, J. P. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 29.)
- VANSKIKE, DANIEL, Shelby county, Mo., and Tabitha Eastin, Bloomington, Macon county, Mo., mar. Jan. 15, 1856, by the Rev. Dr. S. C. Ruby. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 16.)
- VANSLYCK, A. N., and Hannah Farnsworth, both of Avon township, Coffey county, mar. Jan. 30, 1860, by the Rev. Rodney Paine. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Feb. 14.)
- VANSLYKE, J. M., and Mrs. Matilda Morgan, mar. June 11, 1857, "between a hazel thicket and the wagon" in Crawford county, Mo., by the Rev. E. H. Headlee. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 27.)
- VANSYCKLE, S. B., and Mrs. Harriet Reynolds, mar. June 26, 1860, at Lawrence, by the Rev. H. H. Moore. (Lawrence, *Republican*, June 28.)

- VANSYCKLE, S. B., and Susan Pascal Fish, mar. Sept. 9, 1856, on the Shawnee reserve, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 3, 1857.)
- VAUGHAN, CHAMPION, and Elizabeth Nickles, mar. Mar. 3, 1860, at the residence of the bride, by the Rev. J. G. Reaser. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Mar. 5.)
- VELSOR, J. N., Delaware, and S. Annie Saunders, Platte county, Mo., mar. Oct. 21, 1857. (Delaware, *Kansas Free State*, Oct. 31.)
- VIEAU, LOUIS, and Mary Louie Jonnies, both of Pottawatomie county, mar. ———, 1860, by the Rev. Pastor of St. Mary's Mission. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, Sept. 29.)
- VOGHT, JOHN, and Josephine Vinot, mar. July 17, 1859, by J. Miller, J. P. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, July 23.)
- VREDENBURG, FRANK, and Mary Spicer, both of Geneva, mar. Dec. 25, 1859, at Geneva, Allen county, by the Rev. G. S. Northrop. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Jan. 31, 1860.)
- WALKER, A. P., and Bennie Gorman, Tuscaloosa, Ala., mar. May 24, 1860, at home of bride's father, by the Rev. Robert B. White. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, June 28.)
- WALKER, R. E., and Viola L. Jones, mar. Aug. 30, 1857, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 3.)
- WALKLING, ORLANDO, and Susie, dau. of T. A. Hill, Willow creek, Greenwood county, mar. Sept. 18, 1860, in Greenwood county, at residence of bride's father, by the Rev. Rodney Paine. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Sept. 29.)
- WALLING, W. B., and Louisa C. Clough, mar. Nov. 22, 1857, by the Rev. M. R. Clough. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 17.)
- WARD, CHANDLER H., and Christina McIntyre, mar. Feb. 28, 1859, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 5.)
- WARD, CHRISTOPHER, and Louisa Brown, mar. Dec. 1, 1859, at Fremont, by the Rev. G. Perkins. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Dec. 10.)
- WATSON, FRANK, and Rebecca Denham, both of Ottumwa, mar. Sept. 29, 1859, at Ottumwa, K. T., by the Rev. H. H. Johnson. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Nov. 29.)
- WATSON, JOHN H., Columbus, Miss., and Melissa Payne, of the Junction, mar. Sept. 7, 1858, by the Rev. G. C. Morse. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Sept. 11.)
- WATSON, JOHN W., and Georgia Harmon, Rushville, Mo., mar. April 19, 1858, by the Rev. Horace Herandon, Port Williams. (Atchison, *Freedom's Champion*, May 15.)
- WATSON, S., and Mrs. M. White, both of Doniphan county, mar. Dec. 13, 1855, by T. W. Waterson. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 9, 1856.)
- WATSON, THOMAS, and Barbary Coulter, mar. May 9, 1858, at home of J. D. Todhunter, by the Rev. William Wilson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 22.)
- WAYMAN, JOHN, and Sarah Jane Putnam, both of Waterloo township, Breckinridge county, Kan., mar. Sept. 15, 1860, by J. R. Swallow. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Oct. 8.)
- WEAVER, JOHN W., and Mary Jane Burns, mar. Mar. 22, 1860, at residence of bride's father, near Emporia, by the Rev. G. C. Morse. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Mar. 29.)

- WEBSTER, THOMAS F., and Mrs. M. Picker, mar. Feb. 28, 1860, by the Rev. A. W. Pitzer. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Feb. 29.)
- WEED, DR. T. J., and Idalia, dau. of Lyman Scott, mar. Oct. 2, 1859, by the Rev. R. D. Parker. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Oct. 4.)
- WEILER, HENRY, and Amelia Fink, mar. Dec. 11, 1858, by the Rev. R. C. Brant. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 16.)
- WELCH, DR. J. W., and Mary A. Castleman, niece of Maj. B. D. Castleman, Lecompton, both of Lincoln county, Mo., mar. Nov. 27, 1859, by the Rev. T. G. Wright. (Lecompton, *Kansas National Democrat*, Dec. 15.)
- WELCH, S. K., and Mollie Ireland, both of Andrew county, Mo., mar. Sept. 17, 1857, by the Rev. William Price. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 3.)
- WELCH, WALTER J., Denver City, and Delilah Smith, Council Grove, mar. Aug. 29, 1860, at the Gilkey House, by William M. Mansfield, Esq. (Council Grove, *Kansas Press*, Sept. 1.)
- WELLER, SOLOMON, and Mary E. Hill, both of Newmarket, Platte county, Mo., mar. Oct. 30, 1860, at the Renick House, Leavenworth, by the Rev. H. D. Fisher. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Nov. 1.)
- WELLINGTON, GEORGE Y., Pacific City, Iowa, and Sue, dau. of the late Jefferson Schultze, Baltimore, Md., mar. July 29, 1857, in Baltimore, by the Rev. George F. Adams. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, Sept. 10.)
- WETHERBEE, AMORY, and Mrs. Mary E. White, both formerly of Boston, Mass., mar. Mar. 11, 1856, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 15.)
- WHEADEN, A., and Miss Rodebaugh, of Wakarusa, mar. Aug. 20, 1857, by the Rev. S. S. Snyder. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Sept. 3.)
- WHINERY, JASON, New Brighton, Jackson county, and Catherine Williams, Brown county, mar. May 6, 1860, at residence of bride's father, by Esq. Hodge. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, June 9.)
- WHISTLER, WILLIAM, and Sarah A. Goodell, Sac & Fox agency, mar. Dec. 28, 1859, at Minneola, by the Rev. Joseph Welsh. (Burlington, *Neosho Valley Register*, Jan. 3, 1860.)
- WHISTON, JESSE, and Louisa Bond, both of Washington creek, mar. Nov. 18, 1857, by the Rev. M. R. Clough. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Dec. 17.)
- WHITE, GEORGE, Leavenworth, Kan., and Jennie Strode, mar. Oct. 16, 1855, at St. Louis, Mo., by the Rev. Mr. Chevington. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Oct. 27.)
- WHITE, HIRAM, and Malinda Rowsa, both of Wathena, mar. Oct. 23, 1860, at residence of bride's father, Wathena, by the Rev. O. B. Gardner. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Oct. 27.)
- WHITE, THOMAS, and Eliza Bemis, both of Butler county, mar. April 24, 1860, by Israel Scott, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, May 5.)
- WHITEHORN, SAMUEL, late of Michigan, and Juliet L., dau. of the Rev. C. H. Lovejoy, mar. Feb. 19, 1856, at Manhattan, by the Rev. C. H. Lovejoy. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 22.)
- WHITESIDES, T. B., formerly of South Carolina, and Lizzie Moore, both of Delaware City, mar. Jan. 28, 1858, by the Rev. W. Thomas. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Feb. 6.)
- WHITLOCK, WILLIAM, and Mrs. Mindful A. Anderson, mar. April 27, 1857, by the Rev. L. B. Dennis. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, May 2.)

- WICKER, LEONARDO D., and Mrs. Arabella Z. Skidmore, both of Burlingame, mar. April 17, 1859, at Burlingame, by John Drew, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, April 23.)
- WIELEY, DEXTER, and Amandy M. Haseltine, both formerly of Hamilton, Butler county, Ohio, mar. Oct. 23, 1856, at Bloomington, by the Rev. Mr. Norton. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 15.)
- WILCOX, DR. JOHN, and Mag. H. Griffin, mar. May 25, 1857, at Rockport, Mo., by Elder T. N. Gaines. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 20.)
- WILDER, JOHN H., and Mrs. Anna M. Legg, mar. Nov. 30, 1856, by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 27.)
- WILEY, ANTON F., and Margaret A. Spraggs, mar. July 4, 1860, at Springhill, Johnson county, by James Parrish, Esq. (Lawrence, *Republican*, July 26.)
- WILHITE, E. S., and T. A., dau. of Geo. W. Givens, mar. Aug. 18, 1857, at Milton, Ky., by the Rev. Mr. Alexander. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Aug. 28.)
- WILLIAMS, ADONIJAH, of Kansas Mission conference of the M. E. Church, South, and Martha A. Dyer, Juniata, Kan., mar. May 26, 1857, by the Rev. Nathan Scarritt. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 20.)
- WILLIAMS, E. W., of Leavenworth, and Ida E. Tracy, of Elwood, mar. Jan. 3, 1858, at residence of bride's father in Doniphan county, by J. J. Wyatt, judge at St. Joseph, Mo. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 16.)
- WILLIAMS, H. H., and Mary A. Carr, both of Osawatomie, mar. Feb. 23, 1859, at Osawatomie, by the Rev. S. L. Adair. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Mar. 3.)
- WILLIAMS, HENRY, Wakarusa, and Ruth Griffith, Wakarusa, mar. Dec. 13, 1855, at Lawrence, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 19, 1856.)
- WILLIAMS, HUGH, and Annis W. Gleason, mar. Oct. 24, 1858, near Lawrence, by Mr. Nettleton, Esq. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 30.)
- WILLIAMS, JOHN S., and Abigail, dau. of Joseph H. Killbuck, mar. June 3, 1855, at Shekomeko (Moravian mission), three miles from Leavenworth, by the Rev. David Z. Smith. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, June 8.)
- WILLIAMS, L. P., of Mississippi, and Lydia, dau. of John Ash, of Kentucky, mar. Sept. 14, 1857, at Ft. Leavenworth, by the Rev. Leander Ker, chaplain, U. S. A. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 19.)
- WILMARTH, LEWIS C., and Carrie Whiting, mar. Aug. 12, 1860, by the Rev. Lewis Bodwell. (Topeka, *Kansas State Record*, Aug. 18.)
- WILSON, JAMES T., Platte county, Mo., and Emily T. Wilson, late of Washington county, Ky., mar. Mar. 21, 1856, in Calhoun county, Kan., by the Hon. Judge Kuykendall. (Atchison, *Squatter Sovereign*, April 1.)
- WILSON, JOHN L., probate judge of Pottawatomie county, and Mrs. Zoa E. Ducharme, Louisville, mar. Dec. 26, 1860, at Louisville, by A. C. Rewell. (Manhattan, *Kansas Express*, Jan. 5, 1861.)
- WILSON, LEVI, and Mrs. Hedwig Thurman, both of Leavenworth, mar. Sept. 17, 1854, at Weston, Mo., by the Rev. Frederick Starr. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Sept. 22.)
- WINANS, H. K., of Williamsport, Shawnee county, and Carrie S. Brooks, of Florence, Ohio, mar. Aug. 9, 1858, at residence of bride's mother, at Florence, by the Rev. Mr. Van Waggoner. (Lawrence, *Republican*, Aug. 26.)
- WINANTS, A., Esq., and Mrs. P. Maria Adams, mar. Nov. 28, 1858, by the Rev. C. M. Callaway. (Topeka, *Kansas Tribune*, Dec. 16.)

- WINGET, JACOB, and Margaret L. Cloyd, both of Holt county, Mo., mar. April 23, 1860, at White Cloud, by Giles A. Briggs, Esq. (White Cloud, *Kansas Chief*, April 26.)
- WINTERS, M. S., and Mary E. Brooke, both of Lecompton, mar. Oct. 30, 1856, at Brooke's Hotel, by the Rev. G. J. Rice. (Lecompton, *Union*, Nov. 6.)
- WINTON, JOHN R., and E. A. Dobbins, both of Prairie City, mar. Oct. 22, 1857, by the Rev. G. W. Hutchinson. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 31.)
- WOODWARD, BRINTON W., and Lucie M. Wilder, mar. Oct. 9, 1859, near Lawrence by the Rev. E. Nute. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Oct. 15.)
- WRIGHT, CHARLES W., and Anna A. Wright, Americus township, Breckinridge county, Kan., mar. Aug. 11, 1860, at home of Benjamin Wright, by S. S. Chapman, Esq. (Emporia, *Kansas News*, Aug. 25.)
- WRIGHT, WILLIAM, of Ringgold county, Iowa, and Nancy Ann, dau. of William Millsapps, Elwood, mar. Feb. 29, 1860, by the Rev. J. E. Ryan. (Elwood, *Free Press*, Mar. 3.)
- WRIGHT, WILLIAM, JR., Kickapoo City, and Jane Kilby, mar. Nov. 2, 1857, at Elizabeth Town, Canada West, by the Rev. Joseph Bryant. (Leavenworth, *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Jan. 9, 1858.)
- YOUNG, ROBERT, and Sarah Jane Hopper, mar. Mar. 20, 1856, near Lawrence, by the Rev. S. Y. Lum. (Lawrence, *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 29.)
- YOUNG, WILLIAM, and Margaret H. Bell, Paris, Ill., mar. Dec. 20, 1860, at residence of bride's parents, by the Rev. A. W. Pitzer. (Leavenworth, *Daily Times*, Dec. 21.)
- ZIMMERMAN, JOHN CALVIN, and Catherine Lee, mar. May 25, 1860, at residence of bride's father on Rock creek, by the Rev. J. E. Ryan. (Elwood, *Free Press*, June 2.)

Bypaths of Kansas History

SIMPLE ADVICE FOR THE PREVENTION OF RAILROAD ACCIDENTS

From a newspaper bearing the name *Santa Claus*, published at Leavenworth, Christmas, 1865.

Let an enclosed box be put in front of the Cowcatcher, and put the President or Vice President of the road in it.

A COME-ON FOR DELINQUENT SUBSCRIBERS

From the *Seneca Weekly Courier*, May 16, 1873.

The editor of the *Marysville News* is bound to hit some of his delinquents, and hence states he will take any of the following articles on subscription:

"Wheat, oats, cross-eyed cats, old dogs, county seat petitions, bran, second hand coffins, old shoes, defeated candidates, one cord of the candidates for sheriff, county scrip, brass rings, knuckles, old barrels, shingles, checks of Frank Schmidt's or Burtis, Powell & Burtis' banks, fish, buzzards, crows, cigars, tobacco, whisky, gin, cocktails, bustles, frogs, toads, hand organs, canes, John Wells' kind of mules, garters, ladies' worn-out hose, old shirts, fish worms, hens' teeth, board at hotels, hash, codfish balls, paper collars, fish hooks, old soldier tobacco, one-eyed spectacles, cigar stumps, old boots with the straps off, black cats, a limited number of shares in the Blue Rapids town company, castoff toothpicks, pills, purgative quinine, rattlesnakes, rails, saw-logs, hand saws, worn-out suspenders, pianos, woodchucks, coons, quail on toast, soft-shell turtles, bull frogs, Credit Mobilier, maple sugar, old billiard balls, glass eyes, second-hand false teeth, smeercase, cold beans, cross-cut saws, hoop poles, rotten mackerel, sorghum, old clothes, second-hand nightcaps, old stockings and socks, cold slap-jacks, and other luxuries."

SURPRISE! THIS WAS WRITTEN IN 1876

From the *Ellis County Star*, Hays City, May 18, 1876.

Every day we see long lists of names appearing in the accounts of the proceedings of the divorce courts. What does it mean? It means that the youth of this day are not properly reared. The daughters, especially, are not taught any practical or useful knowledge that fits them to make a home what it should be. No matter if you are as rich as Croesus, teach every one of your girls the art of housekeeping. Teach them to bake, to cook meats, plain food, to keep the house in order, and all else pertaining to housekeeping. Then when father's or husband's wealth takes wings, your daughter may be able to make two rooms as comfortable and homelike as that place was, in other days. Also fit your girls for life, by teaching them some trade or profession, by which they may, if need be, live independent of the aid of others.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Dr. Robert Taft's series, "A Century of Kansas History," in *The Kansas Teacher*, Topeka, began the 1954-1955 school year with "Cyrus K. Holliday and the Founding of Topeka," in the September, 1954, issue. Articles appearing later were: "Emigrant Guides for Kansas Settlers," October; "First Kansas Counties," November; "Early Churches in Kansas," December; "Troubled Days," January, 1955; "Abraham Lincoln in Kansas," February; "John Brown Days," March; "Gold in Kansas Territory," April; and "Statehood," May.

The Columbus *Advocate* printed a history of the Spring River Academy, Cherokee county, February 11, 1955. The school was opened in 1880 and operated until 1912.

An article on the Grant Avenue Baptist church, Chanute, was published in the Chanute *Tribune*, February 11, 1955. The church was organized in May, 1869, as the First Swedish Baptist church of Neosho county. The Rev. Arvid Johnson was the first pastor.

The visit of Abraham Lincoln to Kansas in 1859 was the subject of articles by L. E. Valentine in the Clay Center *Dispatch*, February 12, 1955, and the Clay Center *Times*, February 17. The articles are centered around his father's diary in which the elder Valentine recorded his impressions of Lincoln and his speeches in Kansas.

Some of the early history of Rossville was printed in the Rossville *Reporter*, February 24, 1955. The site of the village was purchased from Anthony Navarre and his Indian wife in 1871 by the town promoters. In 1881 Rossville became a city of the third class.

Oswego's pioneer merchants and early history were the subjects of an article by Wayne A. O'Connell in the Oswego *Independent*, February 25, 1955, and in the Oswego *Democrat*, March 4.

The Coffeyville *Daily Journal* published its fourth annual progress edition February 27, 1955. The 144-page issue traced "the progress which has been made in Coffeyville and the trade territory which it serves . . . during the last year."

In 1870 Dr. J. W. Kerr and two other men, all of Ottawa, located the townsite of Longton, and later that year the first buildings were erected, according to a history of Longton in the Longton *News-Reflector*, March 10, 1955.

E. D. Baugher, Kinsley, 100 years of age, has lived in Edwards county 77 years. A biographical sketch by Everett Brown was printed in the Great Bend *Daily Tribune*, March 13, 1955.

The Independence *News* published a 20-page "Historical-Progress" edition March 13, 1955, using the theme "Retail History Then and Retail Business Now."

Hutchinson in 1889 was described by Albert Thomson in a column-length article in the Hutchinson *News-Herald*, March 14, 1955. On April 10 the *News-Herald* printed an article by Bill Bork entitled "Beautiful Rose Creek Influenced Kansas History." Over the water from this Wallace county stream arose one of the first legal controversies concerning water rights in Kansas. Another article by Bork appeared in the *News-Herald*, April 24, "Ashland Hotel Decorated With Kansas Historic Pictures." J. E. Godley's hobby is collecting pictures illustrating Clark county's history and agriculture and displaying them in his hotel lobby.

Recent historical articles in the Emporia *Daily Gazette* included: "First Newspaper, the Kansas News, Started in 1857," by Tom S. Howell, March 15, 1955; "Children of a Pioneer [Cavallo J. Andrews] Treasure His Old Yarns," by Mrs. John E. Gunkel, April 22; "Free Staters' Raided and Killed in Neosho Rapids," April 29; and "Old Stories Say Quantrell Had a Hand in Slaying [of Judge A. I. Baker] at Agnes City," by Howell, May 26.

Historical articles continue to appear in the Hays *Daily News*. Among recent ones were: "Fifty Dollars Bought 160 Acres Good Land 1874 for Mrs. [E. H.] Mullen's Father [Henry Purdy]," and "Hays Played Big Part in Founding of Dodge City Back in 1872," March 20, 1955; "Pioneer Plainsman [Joe Hutt] Told Tales of Wild Bill's [Hickok] Shooting Feats," March 27; "Hays Once Lost College, Station, Park but Got Them Back Again," and "Fabulous Plans for Developing Victoria Made by George Grant," April 13; "Buffalo Hunt for Hides, Bones Far From Good Sportsmanship," April 10; "Alex Grant, Henry Knoche Used 1st Headers in 1881," April 24; "Dick Parr Scouted for Generals Custer, Sheridan From Ft. Hays," and "'Wild Bill' [Hickok] Was Real Two-Gun Lawman; Stories, Movies Have Not Done Justice," May 1; "Antonio [Catholic] Church Celebrates 50th Anniversary May 30," May 22; "Threshing Machine Canyon Long Been Mystery as to Location," May 29. Parts of Elizabeth Custer's book, *Following the Guidon*, were printed by the *Daily News*, May 22, 29, June 5, 12. The *Ellis County News*, March

3, printed "Jordan Massacre One of Dark Spots in History of Early Ellis County," and also published several of the articles listed above: the article on the Hays college, station, and park, April 7; the story on the first header, April 28; and the Antonio church history, May 26.

A 132-page Norton area progress edition was published by the Norton *Daily Telegram*, March 26, 1955. Included were articles on the development of the agricultural, mineral, business, cultural, and recreational phases of the community.

One of the series of local stories currently being published by the Council Grove *Republican* is a biographical sketch of the John Schmidt family, printed March 29, 1955. The Schmidts moved to Council Grove in 1864 from Junction City where they had settled after Schmidt was discharged from the army at Fort Riley in 1856.

Recent historical articles in the *Herington Advertiser-Times* included: a description of Herington 70 years ago, by Claudia Rose, March 31, 1955; conditions in Herington in 1888 were recalled by the city's first school head, F. D. Carman, May 5; "'Millionaire Cowboy' [Grant G. Gillett] of '90's Had Colorful Career" and "M. D. Herington [City's Founder] Believed in City's Destiny, Built Well," May 12.

On March 31, 1955, the Oskaloosa *Independent* began reprinting articles on the history of Jefferson county from its early issues, the Oskaloosa *Times*, and other early newspapers. The first was from the *Independent's* initial issue, July 11, 1860, and dealt with the history of Oskaloosa. The title of the series is "Early Days in Jefferson County."

A history of the Amherst Evangelical church, Russell county, was published by the Russell *Record*, March 31, 1955.

The Columbus *Advocate*, April 2, 1955, printed a biographical sketch by Fayette Rowe of Harold Bell Wright, author of *The Shepherd of the Hills* and other well-known books, who was pastor of a small church in Pittsburg before he reached his fame as a writer.

Floyd Wendell Nyquist's "The First Half Century of Randolph, Kansas, and Community," which began appearing October 21, 1954, in *The Blue Valley News*, Randolph, ended with the issue of April 7, 1955.

Heinie Schmidt's column, "It's Worth Repeating," long a regular feature in *The High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, included the following stories in recent months: "Pioneer Southwest Kansan, Cousin of

Wyatt Earp [George W. Earp], Tells of Old Ulysses," April 7, 1955; "‘William Tell’ Shooting Which Rocked the Frontier Retold by George Earp," April 14; "Andy Myers Notes Interesting Sidelights in Development of Ravanna, Kalvesta," April 21; "A. J. Myers Locates Some Ghost Towns in Early Day Ravanna Neighborhood," April 28; "Wild Range Bull Nearly Ruins Pioneer Family in Story Told By John Van Riper," May 5; "Old Newspaper [Orwell *Times*] Records the Pulse Beat of Orwell, Hodgeman County Ghost Town," May 12; "A Grandfather's Clock Makes Journey to Home on Ness County Pioneer Claim," by Minnie Dubbs Millbrook, May 19; "Ness County Pioneers Practice Thrift, Industry to Build Home in the West," also by Mrs. Millbrook, May 26; and "Grant County Pioneer [R. R. Wilson] Tells Stories of Early Day Struggles of the Settlers," June 2, 9.

Two historic homes were recently featured in the Independence *Daily Reporter*: "Funston Homestead May Become State Memorial," by Estelle H. Funston, April 10, 1955; and "Old [Henry] Baden Mansion Steeped in Family Memories," by Keith Noll, June 5.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans recently published in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included: "Frenchman's [Hilaire du Berrier] Letter Debunks Stories About Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill [Cody]," by Marcel Wallenstein, April 12, 1955; "Manhattan 100 Years Old, Prepares a Big Celebration," by John Alexander, and "Charlie Harger's Pen and Personality Leave a Heritage of Kansas Stories to His Friends," by C. G. Wellington, April 24; "Celebration of 100 Years Starts in Junction City Today," by John Alexander, May 1; "Dead of Early Border Skirmishes Lie in Fort Scott, Kas., National Cemetery," by Charles S. Stevenson, May 30; and "The Great American Heritage—An Intimate Story of the Eisenhower Family," by Bela Kornitzer, printed serially beginning June 26. "Little Remains of Fort Wallace, Last Post in Kansas to Protect Route West," by Suzanne E. Trull, appeared in the *Weekly Star Farmer*, Kansas City, Mo., April 6.

Several historical articles appeared in the April 14, 1955, issue of the Frankfort *Index*: "History of Major Frankfort Floods," "Disasters That Have Tried the Old ‘Frankfort Spirit,’" "Frankfort's Early Day Merchants," and "Frankfort in 1880."

An article on Kellogg, a Cowley county community, by Alice L. Mohler, was published in the Winfield *Daily Courier*, May 12, 1955. The town was started in 1884 by D. D. and Anna D. Kellogg.

Kansas Historical Notes

Brace Helfrich was elected president of the Wichita Historical Museum Association at the annual meeting March 17, 1955. Other officers chosen were: Mrs. C. H. Armstrong, first vice-president; Owen C. McEwen, second vice-president; Charles K. Foote, secretary; and Dr. Harold Scheer, treasurer. Elected to the board of trustees were: Dr. G. G. Anderson, Mrs. Schuyler Jones, R. M. Long, Mrs. Frank Kline, Eva Minnich, Herman Quinius, Mrs. Effie Parrott and McEwen. A building at 3751 E. Douglas will soon house the museum, which has been located at the Forum.

At the annual meeting of the Augusta Historical Society March 29, 1955, the officers were re-elected for another year. They are: Stella B. Haines, president; Mrs. J. E. Mahannah, vice-president; Florence Hudson, secretary; and Mrs. H. H. Bornholdt, treasurer.

Officers re-elected by the Finney County Historical Society board of directors at a meeting in Garden City in April, 1955, were: Gus S. Norton, president; Kate Smith, first vice-president; C. L. Reeves, second vice-president; Josephine Cowgill, third vice-president; Ella Condra, secretary; Eva B. Sharer, treasurer; and Mabel Brown, custodian. The only new officer was Jean Kampschroeder, historian.

The Hollenberg Ranch Pony Express Station, a state historical museum near Hanover, will be open to the public from April 1 to November 1 this year. The station received an appropriation from the 1955 legislature for improvements.

L. D. Wooster, Hays, gave an illustrated talk at a meeting of the Lane County Historical Society in Dighton, April 11, 1955. The development of Kansas during the past 75 years was his subject. Mrs. Robert Jennison is president of the society.

Several historical markers have been erected and dedicated by the Manhattan centennial committee in recent months. On April 12, 1955, a marker in memory of H. A. W. Tabor, one of Riley county's most colorful pioneers, was dedicated at Tabor Valley school. A historical marker commemorating the landing of settlers near Manhattan from the steamboat *Hartford*, June 1, 1855, was dedicated April 28 on Bluemont Hill. A third monument was dedicated May 8 at Wabaunsee, honoring the Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony.

Mrs. E. G. Peterson was re-elected president of the Edwards County Historical Society at its annual meeting in Kinsley, April 19, 1955. Other officers elected were: Lavina Trotter, first vice-president; Harry Offerle, second vice-president; Mrs. Leonard Miller, third vice-president; H. J. Daut, secretary; Mrs. Joe Vang, treasurer; Mrs. Myrtle Richardson, historian; Mrs. Lloyd Britton, assistant historian; Beulah Moletor, custodian; and A. G. Phillips, assistant custodian.

The Northwest Kansas Historical Society was organized at a meeting in Colby, April 21, 1955. Officers elected included: Mrs. J. B. Kuska, president; Mrs. G. W. Beery, vice-president; and J. B. Kuska, secretary-treasurer. The possibility of establishing a museum was discussed.

George Green, Oklahoma City attorney and son of a pioneer Manhattan family, was the principal speaker at a centennial dinner in Manhattan, April 27, 1955, sponsored by the Manhattan Chamber of Commerce and the Riley County Historical Society. A brief history of the historical society by C. M. Correll was published in the *Manhattan Mercury*, April 27. The society was organized May 28, 1914. Present officers are: Mrs. C. M. Slagg, president; John Holmstrom, vice-president; William Koch, secretary; Sam Charlson, treasurer; E. M. Amos, historian; and Carl Pfuetze, curator.

Activities of the Wyandotte County Historical Society the past several weeks include voting to incorporate, at a meeting, April 28, 1955, and conducting a tour of historic places in the county, June 5. The society decided to incorporate as a step toward opening a museum. A recent speaker was Alan W. Farley who presented a paper on "The Delaware Indians of Kansas."

A business meeting of the executive committee, the township directors, and other committees of the Clark County Historical Society was held in Ashland, April 30, 1955. Among the projects planned were the making of picture slides of historic places and objects in the county and the rebuilding of the "living water marker," a pile of stone with the top stone pointing to a well. The marker was originally built by the Indians.

Junction City observed its centennial with a three-day celebration May 1-3, 1955. Highlights were a parade and the centennial pageant, "Ten Nights in a Barroom." Other features included a horse show, baseball game, square dance, and motion pictures.

Charles E. Holman was elected president of the Shawnee County Historical Society at the annual meeting of the board of trustees in Topeka, May 4, 1955. Other officers named included: Roy A. Boast, vice-president; Mrs. Harold Cone, secretary; and Mrs. Frank Kamback, treasurer. Judge Beryl Johnson was elected a member of the board.

Herington's diamond jubilee anniversary was celebrated May 13-16, 1955. The town's history was reviewed in parades, window displays and the "prairiedrama," Herington's story in "pantomime, action and song."

The Kansas State Historical Society was the subject of a talk by its secretary, Nyle H. Miller, at a meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society in Pittsburg, May 17, 1955.

Allen county observed its centennial with celebrations: at Elsmore, with Savonburg joining in, May 14, 1955; Humboldt, May 26; Moran, May 27; and Iola, June 2. Beginning June 2 with a centennial ball, the six-day county-wide observance was held at Iola. Featured event was the centennial pageant "Prairie Cavalcade," presented four times.

On May 29, 1955, the Ft. Wallace Pioneer Memorial Museum at Wallace was opened to the public by the Ft. Wallace Memorial Association. Officers of the association are: E. M. Beougher, Grinnell, president; Bill E. Pancake, Sharon Springs, vice-president; John Lock, Wallace, secretary; Frank Madigan, Wallace, treasurer. Directors are: R. F. Brock, Goodland; Harold Fleckenstein, Oakley; Warren Pates, Sharon Springs; John Lucas, Wallace; Bill Ward, Sharon Springs; and the officers listed above.

The sod house at Colby was opened to visitors June 1 for the 1955 season. Since it was first opened to the public in June, 1954, over 10,000 persons have inspected it.

Ness county celebrated its 75th anniversary with a three-day reunion June 1-3, 1955, at Ness City. Oldest old settler present was 91-year-old O. L. Lennon, of Ness City, who has lived in western Kansas 77 years.

The Rev. F. W. Lange, a Lutheran missionary, preached the first Lutheran sermon on Kansas soil, August 17, 1861, in the log-cabin home of Christian F. Wetzel and his family near Junction City. On June 5, 1955, the cabin was dedicated as a Lutheran memorial by the Rev. W. H. Meyer of Topeka. The restoration of the cabin was

a project of the Kansas District, Lutheran Layman's League. The league also formed the Kansas Lutheran Historical Society.

Holton's centennial celebration took place June 9-11, 1955. Featured events included a parade, the centennial pageant, "Ours to Remember," and the centennial dance.

The Minnesota Historical Society has established the Solon J. Buck Award, to be granted each year to the author of the best article published in *Minnesota History*, the society's quarterly magazine. The award carries with it a grant of \$50 from a special fund provided by a friend of the society. The winner for 1954, Dr. Francis Paul Prucha of St. Marys, Kan., was selected by a committee of three, with Dean Theodore C. Blegen of the graduate school in the University of Minnesota as chairman. Dr. Prucha was thus honored for his article on "Minnesota 100 Years Ago as Seen by Laurence Oliphant," which appeared in the Summer, 1954, issue of the quarterly. In the future, all authors whose contributions appear in *Minnesota History* become eligible for the award. Anyone writing in the field of Minnesota and Northwest history is invited to compete. In naming the award for Dr. Buck, the Minnesota society appropriately honors the scholar who founded its quarterly magazine in 1915 while he was superintendent of the society. Later he became archivist of the United States and was recently retired from a position as assistant librarian of the library of congress.

Ness Western County Kansas, by Mrs. Minnie Dubbs Millbrook, recently printed by the Millbrook Printing Co., Detroit, Mich., is a 319-page history of Ness county, beginning with the climate and soil, progressing to the plants and animals, to the Indians, and finally to the white settlers and their way of life as they built homes, brought the soil under cultivation, started industries, and established schools, churches, and government.

Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial, a 205-page paper-bound volume recently published by the committee on social science studies, University of Kansas, Lawrence, is composed of the following essays: "Political Geographical Aspect of Territorial Kansas," by Walter H. Schoewe; "The Kansas-Nebraska Act and Territorial Government in the United States," by Robert W. Johannsen; "The Topeka Statehood Movement Reconsidered: Origins," by James C. Malin; "The Role of the Military in Territorial Kansas," by W. Stitt Robinson, Jr.; "Some Phases of

Currency and Banking in Territorial Kansas," by George L. Anderson; "The Overland Trade and Atchison's Beginnings," by Peter Beckman, O. S. B.; and "Continental Europeans in Rural Kansas, 1854-1861," by J. Neale Carman.

The Years on Mount Oread, by Dr. Robert Taft, published in 1955 by the University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, is a 228-page revision and extension of Taft's *Across the Years on Mount Oread*, published in 1941.

A 331-page volume entitled *The Great American Heritage*, by Bela Kornitzer, was published by Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, New York, in 1955. It is the story of the five Eisenhower brothers. The author states that "this family is an example of the greatness of the American heritage."

Published in May, 1955, by the League of Kansas Municipalities was the sixth edition of *Kansas Government—A Short Course*, a 139-page booklet. This text on state and local government is revised after each regular legislative session.

Ralph Richards' history of early Fort Scott, printed in the Fort Scott *Tribune* serially, beginning in May, 1954, has been published in a 76-page pamphlet entitled *Headquarters House and the Forts of Fort Scott*. Headquarters House, completed in 1843, now houses the Fort Scott Historical Museum.

A 16-page pamphlet by H. William Lieske entitled *Log Cabin Memorial—A Lutheran Historical Building* was issued by the Kansas Lutheran Historical Society in June, 1955. It is the story of the log cabin where the Lutheran church, Missouri Synod, had its beginning in Kansas, and of other early Lutheran endeavors in the state.



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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CONTENTS

PAGE

LETTERS OF THE REV. AND MRS. OLOF OLSSON, 1869-1873,
PIONEER FOUNDERS OF LINDSBORG,

Translated and Edited by *Emory Lindquist*, 497

With photographs of the Rev. and Mrs. Olof Olsson, and of Main street
in Lindsborg in the 1870's, *facing* p. 504; Sandzén's lithograph of
the Olsson homestead, and Malm's etching of the first church at
Lindsborg, *facing* p. 505.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TOWN AND COUNTY HISTORIES

OF KANSAS Compiled by *Lorene Anderson* and *Alan W. Farley*, 513

THE OLD GHOST TOWN OF LINDSEY IN THE SOLOMON VALLEY,

Theo. H. Scheffer, 552

Reproduction of C. E. Hollingsworth's sketch of Lindsey as it appeared
in 1872, *facing* p. 552.

A ROBBERY ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL, 1827,

Edited by *James W. Covington*, 560

BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY 564

KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS 565

KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES 568

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THE COVER

A school in Thomas county, Kansas, about 1900.

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Number 7

Letters of the Rev. and Mrs. Olof Olsson, 1869-1873, Pioneer Founders of Lindsborg

Translated and Edited by EMORY LINDQUIST

INTRODUCTION

THE history of Lindsborg is intimately associated with the Rev. and Mrs. Olof Olsson, who came to the Smoky valley of central Kansas with a large group of Swedish immigrants in June, 1869.¹ Only a few Swedes had settled in the area when the Olsson party arrived. On April 17, 1868, the First Swedish Agricultural Company of McPherson county had been organized in Chicago, Ill., by individuals who had been closely associated with Olsson in Sweden. This company purchased land in southern Saline and northern McPherson counties. Olsson was urged by the leaders of this company to come to Kansas and settle in the Smoky valley. Approximately 250 people from various parishes in Värmland joined the Olsson party, although less than half of them finally settled in the Lindsborg area.

Olsson was 28 years old when he arrived in the future Lindsborg settlement. Mrs. Olsson was a little younger than her husband. The young couple identified themselves completely with their people and with pioneer life in Kansas. Olsson, a graduate of Uppsala University in Sweden and a former student at Leipzig University in Germany, was a man of many talents. He was a fine organist and his devotion to music prepared for the establishment later of the famous Lindsborg "Messiah" by Dr. and Mrs. Carl A. Swensson. Olsson founded the Bethany Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Lindsborg, on August 19, 1869. He served as the first superintendent.

DR. EMORY LINDQUIST, a former president of Bethany College, Lindsborg, is dean of the faculties and dean of the Fairmont college of liberal arts and sciences at Wichita University.

1. The original letters of the Rev. and Mrs. Olof Olsson, in Swedish, are in the possession of Karin Weinberg, Jönköping, Sweden. Copies were supplied by Dr. Sam Rönnegård, Carpenberg, Sweden. The letters were made available for publication by permission of Hannes and Lydia Olsson, Rock Island, Ill., a son and daughter of the Reverend and Mrs. Olsson.

ent of public instruction of McPherson county and as a representative for two terms from McPherson county in the Kansas legislature. He left Lindsborg in 1876 to become a professor at Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill., and later served as president. Olsson had a distinguished career as an educator, theologian, and writer. He died in 1900. Mrs. Olsson passed away in 1887.²

THE LETTERS, 1869-1873

Salina, Saline Cy., Kansas, North America, via Hamburg,

September 11, 1869.

Brother C. W. Weinberg!

A letter from Mrs. Weinberg gave us much joy in providing news from Sunnemo.³ I believe that my wife wrote to Mrs. Weinberg about our trip. . . . The stay in New York was the worst of the whole trip. I walked around one evening on the finest as well as on the poorest streets. What scenes during that little journey! As soon as I came out of New York, I began to breathe better. The further I came into the West, the more pleasant I found it. The West is best for the person who is seeking a home. The East's large cities offer a rich field for clever money lovers. The West with its large stretches of fertile, unclaimed land is a rich field for the industrious farmer, who is not afraid in the early years to subject himself to toil and difficulties.

You should see our settlement out here.⁴ It is a beautiful sight. Prairie and still more prairie. Here and there a line of green trees on both sides of the winding Smoky Hill River or in the small valleys where the water seeks an outlet. The view of the prairie is at the outset dismal. Many who come, overwhelmed by this dreary prairie, do not take time to dig a hole in order to observe the rich soil, which nourishes the luxuriant grass. They turn back immediately, or devote themselves to idle sorrow. The only thing they do is to write long lamentations to Sweden. Others, with greater maturity, stay over night where best they can, secure later a spade, dig a cave, cover it as well as they can, secure some food for the family,

2. Ernst William Olsson, *Olof Olsson. The Man, His Work, and His Thought* (Rock Island, Ill., 1941). This volume contains a full-length biography of Olsson.

3. Sunnemo is a village and parish in the province of Värmland, Sweden. The Rev. Olof Olsson was serving as the pastor of this parish when the Olsson party immigrated to Lindsborg in May, 1869. The letter designates Salina as Olsson's address since a post office was not established at Lindsborg until December 1, 1869.

4. The First Swedish Agricultural Company of McPherson county, which was organized at Chicago on April 17, 1868, had purchased 13,160 acres of land in the southern part of Saline and in the northern part of McPherson counties. This land and available areas under the Homestead act furnished the basis for the Lindsborg colony.—Emory Kempton Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People, a History of Lindsborg, Kansas* (Lindsborg, 1953), pp. 33-39.

leave them in the dugout, and go in search of work. If only they keep well, it goes forward one year after the other. It has been wonderful this summer to see the large seeded fields, which a few years ago belonged to the buffalo and Indians. The crop in Kansas has really been excellent this year, although our settlement has not profited much from it, since all of us have just arrived.⁵

We are using Winter wheat here for the first time. Plowing and harrowing are going on with all strength. Maize, which some planted in the Spring on newly plowed soil, is wonderfully beautiful. I stood one day and examined the soil, which my brother is now plowing for the second time (it was broken for the first time in May and June). It looks like a well-worked and fine garden plot. Here houses are being built with all possible haste, and we all heartily rejoice over all the neighbors' houses that we see. Thus we work here, each in his own way, we meet often and encourage one another with the Word of God, and consult together on various mundane things. We do not dig gold with pocket knives, we do not expect to become bountifully rich in a few days or in a few years, but what we aim at is to own our own homes, where each one has his own property, which with God's blessings will provide him with the sustenance which he and his family need. We are like the old Swedish yeoman in our freedom and independence even with respect to a dwelling house and equipment. The advantage which America offers is not to make everyone rich at once without toil and trouble, but the advantage is that the poor, who will and are able to work, secure a large piece of good land almost without cost, that they can work up little by little and become after a few years the owners of property, which rival large estates in Sweden when one takes into account the labor costs and income. The difficulties at the outset are so great that not every person has the courage to overcome them. The best plan is for several acquaintances to settle in a tract, where they can encourage and help each other. That is the situation here.⁶

We have no fear of Indians here. It is not impossible that they could attack, but if God protects us, we are without danger. Moreover, our settlement is so large and we are surrounded on all sides by settlers, that the Indians will not gladly venture among us, es-

5. Olsson arrived in the Lindsborg community on June 27, 1869. The *S. S. Columbia* of the Anchor line, on which the Olsson party booked passage from Scotland, arrived in New York on June 8. Olsson spent some time in Chicago, Moline, and Rock Island, Ill., before proceeding to Lindsborg. The majority of his party arrived in Lindsborg before the middle of June.—*Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

6. The Olsson party included many relatives and friends from various parishes in Värmland. Entire family units immigrated to the Smoky valley. Included in the Olsson party were his parents and a brother, Carl.

pecially since there are not many woods for a hiding place. We live south of Salina. The massacre you read about in the newspapers occurred many miles northwest of Salina in the outlying districts, where they say that the Indians had been irritated by buffalo hunting.⁷ The buffalo has not been seen where we are for many years. Some friendly Indians used to come and beg in the Autumn along the river. I haven't seen any yet. We see the river as a green half-circle some few English miles away.⁸

My travelling companions from Sunnemo and Ransäter went to work in Missouri, since I did not venture to advise them to go to Kansas immediately. There is now plenty of employment in Kansas. They have taken land in Missouri. Land is expensive there. They have had to pay money for land and have therefore had a hard time during the first year. They would have done better to come here in the Autumn and take homestead land. That was my intent for them. They were in too big a hurry, I think, and were misled by greedy land agents, who are a real plague in America. These men praise their land in order to sell it and run down other places for great damage to the immigrants. I haven't had time to visit Missouri.⁹

Greet all. Write soon. How are my affairs in Sunnemo? You can expect letters at the outset expressing dissatisfaction, but wait a year and you will hear another song! America can be described according to preference and taste. Here is much evil, but also much good. Here are great difficulties, but also great advantages. . . . Greet Svanberg and tell him that I shall write to him.

With affection and esteem.

O. Olsson

Salina, Kansas. September, 15, 1869.

Mrs. Ulrika Weinberg

Hearty thanks for the letter to Anna. Anna planned to write, but early this morning the Lord sent us a little, healthy girl, which development hinders Anna from writing. Through the Lord's wonderful mercy everything went especially well at the delivery, and

7. The Indian massacres referred to occurred in May, 1869, when 14 settlers, including several Danes, were killed by Indians in Lincoln county about 40 miles northwest of Lindsborg.—C. Bernhardt, *Indian Raids in Lincoln County, Kansas, 1864 and 1869* . . . (Lincoln, Kan., 1910), pp. 28-33, 53, 54.

8. The reference to "English miles" is to distinguish this unit of measurement from the "Swedish mile," which is the equivalent of seven "English miles." The Olsson home was approximately three "English miles" from the Smoky Hill river.

9. The majority of the 250 members of the Olsson party failed to reach Lindsborg. They settled in Linn county, north of Bucklin, Mo. It was planned that they should work on the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad until autumn and then come to Lindsborg. Instead they purchased land in the Bucklin area and settled there permanently.—Emory Lindquist, "The Swedes of Linn County, Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 45 (1950-1951), pp. 138, 149.

Anna is very well under the circumstances. Anna thrives especially well here. We live for the time being in a two room stone house, which Anna finds so pleasant that she does not want to move from it. Meanwhile, we have now begun to build our own stone house with three rooms and so high that we can have a gable room. The kitchen is always built here next to the house proper, since the heat in the summer makes a fire inside the rooms unbearable. We have no plantings yet around our house, since we are surrounded on all sides by what is called flat prairie, that is fields with long, luxuriant grass. If we live until next year, we intend to plant trees and grow flowers as much as possible. We have here the advantage that everything grows with unusual haste. There are also found here a mass of different kinds of trees and flowers, which encourages planting. From the river, which lies a few English miles from our place, we can bring home various kinds of trees for planting. Among other things wild grapes and good plums grow here.

We find it really very pleasant here, although everything is still in its beginning. The life of the pioneer is truly difficult in many respects. His work-wagon is for a long time during the first year his hotel, kitchen, salon, bedroom, and church. Such is often the situation among the Americans. We Swedes are more comfortable. One often sees a wagon covered with canvas going through the towns or unoccupied tracts. Therein the pioneer transports his family several hundred miles. There is never a question of renting a house. He says like the philosopher: "All I own I take with me" and thus he takes care of himself. Having arrived at his land he places some logs, one upon the other, on which he places sod. This he calls his home and lives there with his family many years.

I have seen many farmers with such extensive fields and such large herds of cattle that one should be ready to say: "Here must be a Count's estate," but when one looks for the castle, one finds a house that Mrs. Weinberg would look upon at her farm as suitable for a pig-sty at best. One might think that swinish men lived in such swine houses, but that is not the situation. There one meets often men with knowledge and refinement so that they hold a position in the State's legislative assembly. People in Sweden look upon the Americans as a crowd of wild men and barbarians. This is an error. True, barbarians are found here, bandits of the first class, but I have already met many Americans, for whom I hold the highest respect as men. Although the real American is in his manner forward and unceremonious, so is he nevertheless pleasant and friendly in his associations. I have already enjoyed with many

an obliging hospitality which has astonished me. Always when I ask Americans how they like it when so many other nationalities come to their country, they answer in such a manner, that even in this situation they wish to acknowledge the principle of equality. America has its bright sides, but it also has its dark sides; now it depends on opinion and degree of contentment which of these things one paints black or white. There are few who can express a moderate opinion. However, life in America is never so pleasant under any circumstances as in a settlement where a man has good friends and neighbors. Those who lack this advantage are terribly lonesome at the beginning and wish to return home immediately, that is some of them.

Whatever may be the situation relative to earthly advantages in America or Sweden, there is one advantage which is equally great in both countries, and that is the grace of Jesus Christ for poor sinners. Without Jesus we are ruined, wherever we are in the world, or however fortunate our outward circumstances may be. Think what it is to be a poor, unworthy sinner, but at the same time to be blessed and holy in Jesus Christ through grace. Who is there that can compensate or pay back the reward of having a firm hope of eternal blessedness, based on Jesus, Saviour? Hearty greetings from all of us.

Affectionately.

O. Olsson

Adr. Lindsborg P. O. McPherson C, Kansas,
North America, via Hamburg, May 13, 1870

Esteemed Brother Weinberg!

Thanks for the letter, which I received a long time ago. I often think of you and have many times planned to write, but I have negligently delayed and delayed. Time goes so fast here, that I hardly have time to turn around, as they say, before a month has fled by. That situation is based largely upon the many occupations which I have here. I am a clergyman, "farmer"—, yes, the enumeration of my different activities should make an announcement just as strange as the auction announcements that one many times has the honor to read from the pulpit in Sweden.¹⁰

We have had a very beautiful winter here, dry, wherefore the

10. It was customary for pastors in Sweden to read many items from the pulpit. Included were official documents, auction announcements, declarations of intention to immigrate to America, marriage bans, etc. It has been pointed out that these many announcements were read so rapidly that the expression "as fast as the reading of an official announcement in church" was in current usage.—George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1932), pp. 3, 4.

general work could proceed almost without interruption. Occasionally we have had a few days of the most penetrating north wind, but most of the time the temperature has been about right so that one is well dressed with a vest and coat. The Kansas climate is really pleasant in the word's full meaning although certain days in the Winter are highly unpleasant on account of the cold wind. The Summer is warm with almost always a constant fresh breeze, the evenings and nights pleasantly cool, the Autumn dry and clear with cool air almost until Christmas, the Winter changeable with some days of violent snow storms and several weeks of clear, calm, just right cool air. The Spring is sometimes violently stormy with enormous rain storms which you could not possibly imagine and after the rain, delightful greenness. We have had the most favorable weather for the crop year. All the crops now have the most promising prospects. What the Summer and harvest time will bring, we naturally do not know yet. Rye is fully headed out by the beginning of May. The Winter wheat now begins to show some heads. The rye appears astonishingly beautiful. All the work we do with it is to plow the virgin prairie in the Summer, plow it again in September, seed, harrow, and roll.

What has been most distressing for me is that the majority of my party stayed in Missouri, where a few bought railroad land and paid 10 dollars an acre.¹¹ Here they could still secure the most beautiful land without woods for 20 dollars for 160 acres including everything. My intention was that they should remain in Missouri over the Summer, until I got established here in Kansas. Awful rumors about Indians made it so I did not dare to advise them to come here immediately. Meanwhile, predatory, greedy land agents had fooled them to take railroad land in Missouri. The soil is undoubtedly good in Missouri, but the climate is not as good as here and all that they had to pay for the land there they could put here upon cultivation and similar things. Meanwhile, it will take much more time in Missouri than it would here until they can get things under control.

I must truthfully say that I view the prospects here as much brighter than in Sweden, but in no case do I wish to persuade anyone to come over here, since the trip and the first period here have so many incalculable difficulties that weaker spirits can become completely distraught. American life presents very many differences in contrast with life in Sweden. Since I have already partici-

11. The situation of Olsson's friends is described in Lindquist, "The Swedes of Linn County, Missouri," *loc. cit.*, pp. 140-143.

pated in several civic meetings (or should we call them political), where equality prevails, Sweden should, if I returned there, seem to me quite out of date relative to the question of the right to vote. It seems very strange to me here to reflect on Sweden's election meetings, where the votes must be counted with so much trouble. One wonders how it is possible that such an enlightened country as Sweden can retain such a monstrosity as in the troublesome, divisive voting system. It will be interesting to hear the news that every Swedish citizen is equal to every other one at the ballot box.¹²

Greet all heartily from me. Especially greet Brors family.

In brotherly friendship

O. Olsson

Lindsborg, August 11, 1870.

Dearly beloved Ulrika

It is now a long time since I have received a letter from Ulla, but since we wrote on May 12 and sent it to Sweden, I thought that the letters crossed, and if I should write again, perhaps I would receive another letter. I think it is real fun to receive letters from Ulla in Sweden and learn some news from dear Sunnemo. Ulla wrote on May 11. I remember that sad day a year ago.¹³

Dear Ulla! Believe me, I have it very good here, and Olle even better in one sense, namely, there is a brighter outlook for the future for him here than in Sweden; but Sweden still lives in life-like memory for me. Beautiful Sweden, whose forests, mountains, and valleys, in a word, everything is more pleasant there than here. . . .

I shall now tell you about the harvest we have had. Olle has had seven acres of Winter wheat, but we haven't threshed it yet so I do not know how much it will be, but it looks like it will be very much. We had planted only one bushel of rye and we received 25 bushels which are threshed and some remains yet. We have had many vegetables. The maize is now very tall, it is certainly ten feet high. Did Ulla plant the corn which I sent? I have sent two ears of corn to Ulla and one to Mrs. Louise Kolthoff and one to Mamsell Jianna Geijer. I thought it was fun to show you how large maize is. I asked an acquaintance who visited us last Spring (he was from Örebro) to take these ears to Sweden. He was a pro-

12. The reference is to the pattern of voting in Sweden, which by a decision in 1866 was granted to males only with an annual income of 800 crowns or more. Universal suffrage prevails today for adults 21 years of age and older. General suffrage for males was introduced in 1909 and for females in 1921. The year 1909 witnessed the inauguration of the system of proportional representation. In 1918 all property qualifications for local suffrage were abolished.—*Nordisk Familjebok*, 1923-1937 (Stockholm, 1937), p. 830.

13. This reference is associated with the date of departure from Sunnemo for Kansas.



THE REV. AND MRS. OLOF OLSSON
McPherson County Pioneers and Founders of Lindsborg



MAIN STREET IN LINDSBORG IN THE 1870's



THE REV. OLOF OLSSON'S HOMESTEAD

A Birger Sandzén lithograph reproduced by courtesy
of Mrs. Birger Sandzén.



THE FIRST CHURCH AT LINDSBORG

This church was built in 1869 under the supervision of the Rev. Olof Olsson. The etching, by G. N. Malm, is reproduced through the courtesy of Mrs. G. N. Malm.

fessing Christian and if any one wants to know how it goes for us here, he would give a description which would be true. If Ulla could meet Colporteur Nyvall, it might be possible that he had paths to Örebro and could bring the ears of corn.¹⁴ The man who was with us became much enthused about Kansas, and thinks of coming here and take land. Dear Ulla! It is a time of unrest in Europe now. Perhaps the Swedes will become involved in the war.¹⁵ If times become full of anxiety I think that it is best to come here and take land so perhaps I will thrive better, if my dear old friends and neighbors come here!!!

I should surely tell you how we have it in our home. It hasn't gone fast to get furniture. I do not yet have a chest of drawers, but I hope to receive one soon. Windows and doors have been painted a beautiful brown oak and the floor in Olle's room is even painted, and all the floors are to be painted, since that will protect the floors (which are so expensive), so that they don't need to be scrubbed. I have asked Olle to get us a brick fire-place for our living room, which would mean much to me, otherwise we use stoves made of iron. Now I must close my careless letter for this time. Hearty greetings from Olle and Christin.

Your devoted friend

Anna Olsson

I am waiting for a letter from Ulla!!! Greet Gerda when you meet her, as well as Kolthoffs. Memory verse: David's Psalm 119. Olle has now received a riding horse as a present so that he can ride when he visits the members of his congregation. I now have 32 baby chicks together with 10 full-grown hens so I soon hope to get some eggs.

Lindsborg, December 17, 1870

Dearly beloved Ulla

Hearty thanks, dear Ulla, for your most recent letter as well as for the gifts of love which followed soon. It was altogether too much dear friend to sacrifice so much work and trouble for us. However, they have been of great value to us. Olle wears the beautiful sweater every day of the week and it is not at all too warm here in the Winter to have wool under the other clothes; since it is very changeable weather here, one must be very careful

14. Colporteur Karl Johan Nyvall was an intimate friend of Olsson's in Sweden. They were both *läsare* (readers) in the pietist movement. Karl Johan Nyvall was the father of the Rev. David Nyvall, well-known leader in the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of North America and a president of North Park College, Chicago. David Nyvall was president of Walden College, McPherson, during the brief history of that institution under the sponsorship of the Mission Covenant Church.—A description of the *läsare* is found in Stephenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-48.

15. The Franco-Prussian War broke out on July 19, 1870.

when it comes to clothes. And my skirt, it is invaluable to me. It was, I say, again, great joy for all of us when the letter and package arrived; most of all because we see that we are not forgotten by the dear friends in Sunnemo. How wonderful it would be if we could see one another in this life. That should be my hearty wish. Christin and I often talk about Sunnemo and how much fun it would be if we could travel silently to that dear church. Thanks be to the Lord for the time which has passed. He will not leave us from this time forth is His promise.

It is now Sunday evening. Olle had thought of travelling to Salina today (several Swedes live around there and he goes there occasionally) but it snowed (for the first time this year) so much that it was impossible to travel by wagon, and to ride was even hard since the snow was the kind which stuck to the horses' hooves. The snow has been on the ground for three days, it usually doesn't last longer than 4-5 days so quickly does it melt away here. Instead he held a prayer meeting in the town which is an English mile from here and later in the evening there is to be choir practice.¹⁶ They have started one here! and it appears that people are very glad to participate in it. Do you still sing in Sunnemo? . . .

The 22nd. Now there is severe Winter here so that I have scarcely known more severe in Sweden.

Affectionately
Anna Olsson

Lindsborg, June 28, 1871

Dearly beloved Ulla!

I should have written to you a long time ago, but I have always been prevented from doing so, since we now have harvest time and that involves a few more people. I also have only one young girl to help me so I must share very much myself in the work. Excuse my delay. My dear friend! I take this time the boldness and will say "*du*" to Ulla.¹⁷ Ulla has herself suggested it, but I have not looked upon it as being suitable for me to say "*du*" to Ulla. I am really convinced of Ulla's friendship toward me, I rejoice over it, and I wish now with this "*du*" more personally and heartily to establish our bond of friendship. First of all I thank you so personally and heartily for all the gifts which you have sent all of us through Gustaf Olson. He came here on June 9. Dear Ulla! What

16. Olsson was a fine musician and organist. Shortly after his arrival in the Smoky valley a choir was organized. The great "Messiah" tradition at Lindsborg, which traces its origin to 1881, was based on this early interest in music, which was developed by Olsson.

17. The Swedish language provides two terms—*Ni* and *Du*—for the English pronoun *you*. *Ni* is a term of respect; *Du* is an intimate usage.

does it mean that you sacrifice so indescribably much for old friends who are so very far away? Oh dear, my eyes moisten with tears of joy when I know that we are still remembered in the dear homeland. In Ulla I have definite evidence of it. But I say once again, you should not have given us so much—if it had only been a pair of stockings this would likewise have been evidence that we were still in your memory; but now such a large present, and it looks as if it was all hand-made. I said when I saw the beautiful scarf and stockings that if Ulla made all that herself, I think that she hasn't had time to do anything more than work for us. A pair of stockings have already been tried by Olle who thinks they are just right. The red piece of goods was enough for dresses for both Anna and Mia, and they wore them for the first time on Midsummer Day. The woolen goods will be just right if we live until Winter. There is enough for both of them. I know also that you my dear friend wish to share in the spirit which is motivated by love. Then shall the Lord say to you as He did to Cornelius in the Acts of the Apostles, Chapter 10.

I must tell you, praise the Lord, that we are in good health. The small girls are well. Little Mia speaks as clearly as I do. Some-time ago both she and I were in poor health but it was because I was still nursing her. I decided then to wean her, but that was not so easy, since she was so large. I didn't think that children at that age had sorrow but I really got to see it with Mia. She sorrowed so that at times she wrung her hands. On Sunday when all were at church and the children and I were alone, Mia begged me that I "take her a little." I took her and she had sorrow alright. When I went away from her she said so distressingly: "Poor Baby! Poor Baby!" (pronounced Bebi). The Americans call their children "Baby." Since she is now weaned we are in good health.

You will want to know how it looks out here in Kansas. There has been such ample rain that the soil is soaked so that this year the grass is green and tall, but yet is not so tall as the first year we were here, since then it was taller almost everywhere than I am, but now it scarcely reaches to my stomach. Almost every day they go past here with thousands of cattle from Texas. I wish that you were here and could see a line which we saw an hour ago when there was such a long stretch of cattle that it was more than an English mile in length and wider than the main road at Sunnemo. They went the route past here since they were driving the cattle to the town of Ellsworth which is located 12 miles from here, in

order to ship them on the railroad.¹⁸ The maize is also very beautiful and already much taller now than I am, you know it gets so tall it looks like a large forest in the Summer where there is maize and one is close to it. We have also planted "molasses corn" or sugar-cane. We will see if we get much this year. One presses such stalks when they are almost ripe and the juice is sweet, and then it is cooked until it is well thickened and it is the same as syrup in Sweden. I tell about this for fun because I can imagine that you think it interesting to know how it is done, although one does not grow such things in Sweden. I now have 37 chickens but expect more soon. The other day we lost 16 chickens one night presumably rats or snakes which are found on the prairie took them.

Do you know that I have been deceiving in one case when I wrote a letter to you. I said in the first letter that we have 4 rooms in addition to a kitchen but we have used one room for a kitchen; but just now there is a man here who is building us a neat kitchen out of boards, so that we can move out the stove since it is too warm to have it inside in the Summer. Day before yesterday was the warmest day we have had this Summer; one could really fear getting sun stroke if one went outside. It is generally very warm here in the Summer and almost impossible to go out in the middle of the day. Olle went to Missouri a week ago today and will be gone 14 days. He is going to travel around and preach. He is going to call on the people from Munkfors who settled there.

. . .¹⁹

Pray the Lord to give us His grace, that we might once meet at God's right hand, with those He has given us. I must now close my letter with a hearty and warm greeting to all of you from all of us. The Lord Jesus be our light and strength!

Your true friend

Anna Olsson

Last week they cut both Winter wheat and rye here and since it is cut by machine many people are needed for binding and putting up the crop. They help one another around here, so it goes quickly. Excuse my poor writing.

18. Mrs. Olsson often was in error in reference to distances in Kansas. Ellsworth is approximately 45 miles from Lindsborg.

19. Olsson carried on an extensive itinerant ministry in various parts of Kansas and in some Swedish settlements in Missouri and Colorado. His "Baptismal Book," 1869-1876, shows that he baptized 440 children during that period. The parents of only 159 were members of the Bethany Lutheran church, Lindsborg, where Olsson was pastor.—Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People*, pp. 53, 54.

Undated letter²⁰

Dearly beloved Ulla

Greet Mr. Weinberg and say that if he comes here he can join in a buffalo hunt. The other day several people here went on a buffalo hunt with several horses and wagons—they shot 12. Soon they are going out again and my father and brother John will go with them.

Kind Ulla! Write soon and tell me if Ulla has written to me and if my letter was received (that of June 29). We have had beautiful maize this year, enough so that we can amply feed horses, hogs, and chickens. We have also had an abundant harvest of wheat, rye, and oats.

They are now in process of building a water mill here so soon we will not be forced to go so far to a mill.²¹ I have such poor ink which accounts for such poor writing. Ulla will excuse me? Olle has gone to a settlement called Mariadahl, where Swedes live who have been there for 18 years.²² They say they are very rich. Now I must close for this time. Hearty greetings from us.

Anna

Lindsborg, McPherson Co, Kansas, July 7, 1873

Dear brother Weinberg!

Having just arrived home after a journey of several weeks I have just now read your welcome letters. Since the mail is just now leaving, I must curtail my letter to just a few lines. I shall soon write again. I shall send the newspapers next week.²³ I will pay the postage. You can believe how dear it was for us to hear something from you. I very often remind myself of Sunnemo. I must also acknowledge that I experience a longing to see my old friends again, but such weak feelings must be stricken away. Nevertheless my heart experiences an inner joy, when I hear something from the

20. This letter was undoubtedly written in November or December, 1871. Another letter under date of October 23, 1871, refers to an unanswered letter of June 29, so it must have been after October 23, 1871. The reference to the age of the Mariadahl community would make it in 1873. The earlier date is more likely on the basis of internal evidence.

21. Financial support for the mill project was apparently inadequate. On January 17, 1872, Olsson introduced house bill No. 116 in the Kansas house of representatives, "An Act to Authorize Smoky Hill Township, McPherson County to aid a flouring mill." On February 16, 1872, it passed the house on third reading by a vote of 69 to zero, but no action was taken in the senate. The closest mill was 20 miles away at Salina.—Lindquist, *Smoky Valley People*, p. 157.

22. Mariadahl, near Cleburne, Kan., was founded by John A. Johnson on June 20, 1855.—Emory Lindquist, "The Swedes in Kansas Before the Civil War," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Topeka, v. 19 (1951), pp. 255, 256.

23. The newspaper referred to was *Nytt Och Gammalt* (*New and Old*) which was written, edited, and published by Olsson. The first issue of this religious publication of 30 pages appeared in April, 1873. Six issues were published from April to November, 1873. It was printed in Salina, with German type. *Nytt Och Gammalt* was the first Swedish journal to be published in Kansas. It was merged in 1873 with the Swedish religious periodical *Augustana*, founded in 1868.—Olson, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 106.

district which is so dear to me. Meanwhile, I have a large field of labor here and must by God's grace do something while it is still day. You have assumed altogether too much trouble for my sake, and it really disturbs me that I cannot show my gratitude, such as I gladly would do. If my little paper would be of some little use even in Sunnemo, that would truthfully be a great joy to me. It cannot but give me joy that you still remember me. I wish to acknowledge that such tokens of remembrance and love cause me to feel a childish joy.

We are all in good health. Greet all heartily from us! I will write more next time and my wife plans to write. We have often spoken of you, after we last heard from you.

With friendship and love.

O. Olsson

Lindsborg, August 12, 1873

Dearly esteemed Friend!

The Lord is our light and strength!

For your last letter (which I received Midsummer's Eve) I wish to thank you most heartily!²⁴ . . . I certainly have not forgotten you dear friend, while I am always slow in writing; but I have often written to you in my thoughts. Yes, we often speak about you here and I wish that the distance was not so great but that we could see one another sometime. Little Anna said once when we first arrived here that it was 3 Swedish miles to Sunnemo. How wonderful if that were true since then truly we could call on one another often. If it is God's will we will get to see one another once in this life. Nevertheless time rests in God's hand. You are welcome at our home first!!! Then perhaps we will journey to dear Sunnemo and call on you. If we live and God wills it. "With God nothing is impossible."

I must now begin by saying that the Lord has by His grace led and supported us to this hour. It goes nevertheless wonderful with God's guidance toward us when I really think that it goes completely against what I wish, but "God's ways are not our ways." I wish to tell you especially that the Lord God gave us a healthy son Midsummer's Day a year ago. It was then our great joy to see this dear child, since he showed himself to have good understanding and I felt that I attached myself so much to him. He received in holy

24. Midsummer day, June 24, was a festive day in Sweden. It often was a point of reference in dating events in that season of the year. The traditions associated with Midsummer day were maintained in the early period of Lindsborg's pioneer history. The origin of Midsummer day is described in R. Chamber's, *Book of Days* (London and Edinburgh, N. D.), v. 1, pp. 814-817.

baptism the dear name Johannes (according to the day).²⁵ But the Lord loved him still more and took him to Himself when he was only a month and two days old. I lacked so in judgment and grieved so much that I became ill as a result. I had really wanted to write to you about it, but I grieved so much that I could not gather my thoughts and write. Later the girls became ill and I really thought that the Lord would take little Maria from us since she was in poor health the entire Autumn, but now both girls are well and spry. The Lord be thanked and praised. . . .

I will now say that the Lord has not yet tired of us but we can say that His mercy and grace are new over us every morning. We are dealt with not as we deserve but we receive everything by grace. If you dear friend will look up David's Psalm 103 you will recognize that the Lord deals with us as it is stated in the Psalm. Yes, now you will likely wish to hear something further how we have it. Therefore I will tell about various things although it is perhaps only in vanity.

We now have a new house built for us.²⁶ Our former house was cold and unpleasant, so we could not live there since it was so poorly built. The congregation realized this and offered to build a better house at their own expense. We now live in the new one and it was finished a year ago. There are warmer and more pleasant rooms in this house. It is the same size as the one at Noretorp, exclusive of the hall, hence, 3 rooms and kitchen on the lower level and one upper room (Olle's is ready) and so there will be such a room in the other gable together with closets on the sides. We also have an excellent basement under the house. You should come here soon and call on us and see something here in America. I mean it seriously! You would not regret it!

This year it has rained much, so that everything which grows has been very beautiful, the grass is very tall this year, but not so tall as the first Summer. All the farmers here in Kansas have received an abundant harvest of rye and wheat, and the maize (corn) is very beautiful. I used to say I did not know why I was in America before this year but now has the Lord blessed our crops and animals in all ways so I do not have great troubles as mistress of the household. You will surely not make fun of me if I in all simplicity

25. The days of the year are given names in Sweden. For instance, January 16, Hjalmar; January 17, Anton; January 18, Hilda, etc. June 24, the date of the birth of the Olssons' son, was the day of John the Baptist, hence the name in Swedish, Johannes.

26. This house still stands on the southwest quarter of sec. 6, Smoky Hill township, three miles northwest of Lindsborg. The late Dr. Birger Sandzen made a fine lithograph of the house. It is reproduced in Charles Pelham Greenough, III, *The Graphic Work of Birger Sandzen* (Manhattan, 1952), No. 69.

speaking of how we have it here. We now have 3 milk cows (3 of our best milk cows died 3 years ago when we lost 6 cattle from Texas sickness) but the 3 we now have milk easily, 3 pigs for butchering, and 4 small ones, 3 dozen hens, so we got a score of eggs a day for a long time and sometimes more but now we get only 10-12 a day. We now have 47 chickens but we have had many more which have died, but I have the luck to get many roosters. I want us to get so many that we can butcher the year around since it is so cheap to feed chickens here. Last year we pressed 52 gallons (a gallon contains 3 stop in Swedish measurement) of molasses (syrup) out of sugar cane so we do not plan to press any this year. You should come here sometime and see how sugar-cane grows. I had a few of several kinds of vegetables. Next year I think we will have peaches. That is the same as "*persikor*" in Swedish. Our fruit trees have grown quite beautifully.

The Lord guide us by His spirit in all truth to His heavenly kingdom. Hearty greetings from Olle.

Anna

Write soon! I do not want to wait such a long time as this time.
Good-by!!!

A Bibliography of Town and County Histories of Kansas

Compiled by LORENE ANDERSON and ALAN W. FARLEY

INTRODUCTION

SINCE an accurate and reasonably complete bibliography is a necessary tool in any field of research or collecting, this list should be of value to historians, collectors, writers, teachers, librarians and genealogists who seek the representative books of Kansas local history.

No attempt has been made to include all forms of local history in this bibliography. Histories of individual clubs, schools, churches, etc., have been omitted and emphasis has been placed on histories of towns and counties. Even then much material has been arbitrarily excluded: such as reminiscences, theses and all typed material, brief histories contained in city directories, magazine articles, and purely descriptive and promotional pamphlets. Special newspaper editions issued as pamphlets or books have been included, but not histories appearing in regular newspaper form. The first history of Wyandotte county, for example, appeared in the *Wyandotte Herald* for July 6, 1876, as one of the stated projects urged everywhere in celebration of the nation's centennial. The first history of Johnson county is found in E. F. Heisler's *Atlas Map of Johnson County, Kansas* (1874); it and other atlas histories have been mentioned in the list of county atlases, which is a part of this article.

Two important general histories of Kansas deserve special mention: W. G. Cutler's *History of Kansas*, published by A. T. Andreas in 1883, includes histories of the counties then organized, and F. W. Blackmar's *Kansas, a Cyclopedia of State History* (1912) gives a brief account of each county and town.

Unless otherwise stated all entries in this admittedly incomplete list are a part of the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society. Exceptions are several additional histories to be found at the University of Kansas (KU) and one which is owned by Alan Farley. In cases where no history of a county was found, further effort to locate one was made by writing to local newspaper editors.

LORENE ANDERSON is a cataloguer for the Kansas State Historical Society Library.

ALAN W. FARLEY, of Kansas City, an attorney, is a director of the Kansas State Historical Society.

No new histories were unearthed in this brief checking, but the Society would appreciate hearing from anyone who can help add to its collection.

Localities which have no adequate printed histories should take steps to collect and publish before local records become lost, and while pioneer recollections are still obtainable. Several projects in this field have been started and others are urged. The Historical Society has many clippings, census records, newspaper files, archives, manuscripts and other materials which will be of value to local compilers whenever they are ready to undertake such work.

No doubt some of the following entries are rare and almost unobtainable, but an industrious search may uncover many of them and possibly others of equal value.

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STOTLER, JACOB, *Annals of Emporia and Lyon County. Historical Incidents of the First Quarter of a Century, 1857 to 1882*. Emporia [1898?] 100p.

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LINDQUIST, EMORY KEMPTON, *Smoky Valley People, a History of Lindsborg, Kansas*. Lindsborg, Bethany College, 1953. 269p.

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McPHERSON REPUBLICAN, comp., *New Century Pictorial Edition*. McPherson, March 1, 1901, and May 23, 1902. 2 parts.

MOUNDRIDGE JOURNAL, comp., *Golden Jubilee Edition, 1887-1937*. Moundridge, October 7, 1937. [34]p. Cover title.

NYQUIST, EDNA, *Pioneer Life and Lore of McPherson County, Kansas*. McPherson, The Democrat-Opinion Press, 1932. 184p.

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FOWLER COMMUNITY CLUB, *Fowler, Kansas, Presenting in a Brief Way Her Farm Homes, Schools, Churches and Business Houses*. [Fowler, *The News*, 1928?] [72]p. Cover title.

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DUNCAN, LEW WALLACE, *History of Montgomery County, Kansas*. Iola, Iola Register, 1903. 852p.

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- BRIGHAM, LALLA (MALOY), *The Story of Council Grove on the Santa Fe Trail*, N. p., 1921. 168p. On cover: *Second Edition*.
- BURCH, C. S., PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Hand-Book of Morris County, Kansas*. Chicago [188-?] 24p. Title from other Burch handbooks. No copy located.
- Hand-Book of Morris County, Kansas*. Kansas City, Mo., *Modern Argo Print* [1882?] 20p. Cover title. May have been printed as Burch *Hand-Book* above.
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- CREVECOEUR, FERDINAND F., *Old Settlers' Tales. Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Early Settlement and Settlers of Northeastern Pottawatomie and Southwestern Nemaha Counties, Kansas, From Earliest Settlement to the Year 1877*. [Onaga, Republican, 1902.] 162p.
- TENNAL, RALPH, *History of Nemaha County, Kansas*. Lawrence, Standard Publishing Company, 1916. 816p.

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- DUNCAN, LEW WALLACE, *History of Neosho and Wilson Counties, Kansas*. Fort Scott, *Monitor Printing Co.*, 1902. 922p.
- GALESBURG ENTERPRISE, comp., *Souvenir Edition, Containing the History of Galesburg, and Copy From the First Number of The Enterprise*. Galesburg, April 18, 1907. [39]p. Cover title.
- GRAVES, WILLIAM W., *Annals of Osage Mission*. St. Paul, Author, c1935. 489p.
- , *History of Neosho County*. St. Paul, *Journal Press*, 1949-1951. 2v.
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- MILLBROOK, MINNIE (DUBBS), *Ness, Western County, Kansas*. Detroit, Mich., Millbrook Printing Company [1955]. 319p.
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- BOWERS, DARIUS N., *Seventy Years in Norton County, Kansas, 1872-1942*. Norton, *The Norton County Champion*, 1942. 238p.
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GREEN, CHARLES R., *Early Days in Kansas* . . . Olathe, Author, 1912-1914. 5v.

HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY, KANSAS, *Inventory of the County Archives of Kansas*. No. 70. *Osage County (Lyndon)*. Topeka, The Kansas Historical Records Survey, 1941. 210p. Mimeographed.

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DOWNES TIMES, comp., *Downs, Its Location, Advantages, History, Etc.* Downs, July 27, 1885. [32]p. Caption title.

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MOORE, LOUISE, and others, *Downs, Kansas, 75th Annual Celebration*. [Cawker City, *Ledger*, 1954.] 24p. Caption title.

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OLNEY, C. C., & Co., *Hand Book of Ottawa County, Kansas*. [Minneapolis, *Solomon Valley Mirror*, n. d.] 36p. Cover title. KU.

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FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT, KANSAS, *The Larned City Guide* . . . Larned, Chamber of Commerce, 1938. 34p.

PAWNEE COUNTY IMMIGRATION BUREAU, *Pawnee County, Kansas, a Statement of Facts Concerning Its Resources, Conditions and Prospects* . . . Larned, Larned Printing Company, 1890. 32p.

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HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY, KANSAS, *Inventory of the County Archives of Kansas*. No. 74. *Phillips County (Phillipsburg)*. Topeka, The Kansas Historical Records Survey, 1941. 208p. Mimeographed.

MATTES, MERRILL J., *Historical Aspects of Kirwin Reservoir, North Fork, Solomon River, Kansas, February, 1947*. Prepared by Region Two, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, for Bureau of Reclamation, Region 7, Denver, Colorado. N. p. [1947]. 18p. Cover title. Mimeographed.

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- BIEHLER, J. E., *One Hundred Years in Rock Creek Valley; a History of the St. Joseph Parish at Flush, Kansas*. [Topeka, Central Press, 1954.] 149p.
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- CREVECOEUR, FERDINAND F., *Old Settlers' Tales. Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Early Settlement and Settlers of Northeastern Pottawatomie and Southwestern Nemaha Counties, Kansas, From Earliest Settlement to the Year 1877*. [Onaga, Republican, 1902.] 162p.
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- HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY, KANSAS, *History of Pottawatomie County*. No impr. 265p. Caption title. Mimeographed.
- Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson, Jefferson and Pottawatomie Counties, Kansas*. Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1890. 782p.
- POTTAWATOMIE, COUNTY, HISTORICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE, *Early History of Pottawatomie County. Centennial Edition, 1854-1954*. N. p., 1954. 40p. Cover title.

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- Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church, Pratt, Kansas, 1884-1924*. N. p. [1924]. 124p. Cover title. Title is misleading. Contains county history and biographical sketches.

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- FEHR, JOSEPH ANTHONY, *Arlington*. [Wichita, The Wichita Eagle Press, 1937.] 93p.
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- , *History of the City of Hutchinson and Reno County, Kansas*. Hutchinson [1896?] 126p. Cover title. Same as above except for omission of first six pages.
- PLOUGHE, SHERIDAN, *History of Reno County, Kansas, Its People, Industries and Institutions*. Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen & Company, Inc., 1917. 2v.
- VALDOIS, INEZ, *History of Haven, Kansas, Its People, Industries and Institutions*. Haven, The Haven Booster Club, 1946. [54]p. Cover title.
- WELSH, WILLARD, *Hutchinson, a Prairie City in Kansas*. [Wichita, McCormick-Armstrong Co.] 1946. 166p.

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- SAVAGE, ISAAC O., *A History of Republic County . . . From Its First Settlement Down to June 1st, 1883 . . .* Topeka, Daily Capital Printing House, 1883. 106p.

- , *A History of Republic County . . . From Its First Settlement Down to June 1, '01* . . . Beloit, Jones & Chubbic, 1901. 321p.
- WARREN, ELLEN MORLAN, *White Rock Historical Sketches*. N. p., 1933. (Reprinted from *The Superior Express*, Superior, Neb.) [45]p.

RICE

- BUSHTON NEWS, comp., *A Special Edition Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the City of Bushton*. Bushton, April 29, 1937. [72]p. Cover title.
- JONES, HORACE, *The Story of Early Rice County*. [Wichita, Wichita Eagle Press] 1928. 135p.
- Sterling, Kansas. *The Actual Advantages and Resources of a Grand Young Town Candidly Discussed*. [Sterling, The Sterling Land & Investment Co.] 1887. 46p.

RILEY

- BURCH, C. S., PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Hand-Book of Riley and Pottawatomie Counties, Kansas*. Chicago [188-?] 32p. Title from other Burch hand-books. No copy located.
- GRIFFIN, ALBERT, *An Illustrated Sketch Book of Riley County* . . . Manhattan, *The Nationalist*, 1881. 140p.
- Hand-Book of Pottawatomie and Riley Counties, Kansas*. No impr. 15p. Cover title.
- JONES, CAROLYN, *The First One Hundred Years; a History of the City of Manhattan, Kansas, 1855-1955*. [Manhattan, *The Manhattan Tribune-News*, 1955.] [96]p.
- OGDEN CENTENNIAL, INC., *Ogden Centennial, 1854-1954, July 3, 4, 5*. N. p. [1954]. 40p. Cover title.
- Portrait and Biographical Album of Washington, Clay and Riley Counties, Kansas* . . . Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1890. 1231p.
- RILEY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Log Cabin Days*. [Manhattan, Artcraft Printers] 1929. 88p.

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- DREILING, B. M., *Golden Jubilee of the German-Russian Settlements of Ellis and Rush Counties, Kansas, August 31, September 1 and 2, 1926*. [Hays, *Ellis County News*, 1926.] 128p.

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- FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT, KANSAS, *A Guide to Salina, Kansas*. Salina, *Advertiser-Sun* [1939]. 55p.
- Portrait and Biographical Record of Dickinson, Saline, McPherson and Marion Counties, Kansas* . . . Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1893. 614p.

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BENTLEY, O. H., *History of Wichita and Sedgwick County, Kansas* . . . Chicago, C. F. Cooper & Co., 1910. 2v.

Biographical Record . . . of *Sedgwick County, Kansas*. Chicago, Biographical Publishing Company, 1901. 474p.

DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, KANSAS, EUNICE STERLING CHAPTER, WICHITA, *Illustrated History of Early Wichita; Incidents of Pioneer Days*. [Wichita, The Grit Printery] 1914. [48]p.

Portrait and Biographical Album of Sedgwick County, Kan. Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1888. 1123p.

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HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY, KANSAS, *Inventory of the County Archives of Kansas* . . . No. 88. *Seward County (Liberal)*. Topeka, The Historical Records Survey, 1938. 186p. Mimeographed.

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BERRETT, HOWARD D., *Who's Who in Topeka*. Topeka, Adams Brothers, 1905. 139p.

BIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, *The Blue Book of Topeka 1910*. Topeka, 1910. 236p.

CONE, WILLIAM W., *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County, Kansas* . . . Topeka, The Kansas Farmer Printing House, 1877. 16p.

CROW, BLAINE, *A Community of Silver Lake Rural High School District*. Silver Lake, Mirror Print [1925]. 80p.

[GILES, FRYE WILLIAMS], *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County, Kansas*. Topeka, Commonwealth Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1876. 68p.

———, *Thirty Years in Topeka, a Historical Sketch*. Topeka, Geo. W. Crane & Co., 1886. 411p.

HENNESSEY, LOLA, *Tecumseh, Kansas, 1854-1954, Centennial*. No impr. 19p. Cover title.

HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY, KANSAS, *Inventory of the County Archives of Kansas*. No. 89. *Shawnee County (Topeka)*. Topeka, The Kansas Historical Records Survey, 1940. 655p. Mimeographed.

JACKSON, MARY ELLEN, *Topeka Pen and Camera Sketches*. Topeka, Geo. W. Crane & Co., 1890. 192p.

KING, JAMES LEVI, *History of Shawnee County, Kansas, and Representative Citizens*. Chicago, Richmond & Arnold, 1905. 628p.

Leading Industries of Topeka . . . *Together With an Historical Sketch*. Chicago, Reed & Company, 1882. 110p.

MARKLEY, WALT, *Builders of Topeka*. Topeka, The Capper Printing Co., 1934. 368p.

MORRISON, HELEN (ROSEN), ed., *Topeka's 100 Years of Inspired Leadership*. [Topeka, 1954.] [29]p. Cover title.

OBER, DAY & CO., *The Commerce of Topeka . . . A Glance at the Past; Impartial Pen-Picture of the Present, With Anticipations of Her Future Prosperity.* Topeka, Commonwealth Steam Printing House, 1880. 29p. Cover title.

REICHERTER, EMMA (CONES), *A History of Silver Lake, Kansas.* [Topeka, Topeka Printing Co., 1910.] 19p.

Topeka Illustrated, Its Progress and Importance . . . Topeka, Illustrated Publishing Co., 1887. 150p.

Who's Who in and Around Topeka. Kansas City, Mo., Continental Publishing Co., 1926. 160p.

SHERIDAN

Early Northwest Kansas History, Written by People Who Lived It and in Their Own Words. Selden, The Selden Advocate, n. d. [38]p.

SHERMAN

SHERMAN COUNTY DEMOCRAT, comp., *A Brief History of Sherman County, Kansas . . . Together With an Account of the Town of Goodland.* [Goodland] 1888. 21p. Cover title.

SHERMAN COUNTY IMMIGRATION ASSOCIATION, *Sherman County, Kansas, an Authentic Description of Its Natural Features, Resources and Prospects.* [Goodland, Stewart & Company, 1893.] 32p.

SMITH

BEARDSLEE, ETTA, *Lebanon's Golden Jubilee, Fifty Years of Living in a Little Kansas Town, 1887-1937.* [Lebanon, Lebanon Times, 1937.] [20]p. Cover title.

City of Gaylord, a Glimpse Into the Past, 1886-1936. [Smith Center, Pioneer Printers, 1936.] [16]p.

SMITH COUNTY OLD SETTLERS HOMECOMING ASSOCIATION, *Souvenir.* Smith Centre, 1912. [66]p.

STAFFORD

STANTON

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SUMNER

CALDWELL NEWS, comp., *Golden Anniversary Edition.* Caldwell, March 23, 1937. [32]p. Caption title.

FREEMAN, GEORGE D., *Midnight and Noonday; or, Dark Deeds Unraveled . . . and Incidents Happening in and Around Caldwell, Kansas, From 1871 Until 1890.* Caldwell, 1890. 406p. Alan Farley.

—, *Midnight and Noonday; or, The Incidental History of Southern Kansas and the Indian Territory . . . and Incidents Happening in and Around Caldwell, Kansas, From 1871 Until 1890.* Caldwell, 1892. 406p.

Portrait and Biographical Album of Sumner County, Kansas. Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1890. 458p.

THOMAS

REXFORD NEWS, comp., *The Golden Jubilee Anniversary of Thomas County and Its Neighbors.* Rexford, August 23, 1935. 188p. Cover title.

[WORCESTER, EUGENE], *A Brief Sketch of Thomas County, Kansas, and the City of Colby.* [Colby] *Thomas County Cat*, 1887. 92p.

TREGO

CLARK, MRS. HARRIET RIDGWAY, and MRS. NORAH YETTER TAWNEY, *In Remembrance: Early Pioneer Settlers of Ogallah and Community, 1877-1881.* [WaKeeney, World Print, 1939?] [57]p. Cover title.

WARREN, KEENEY & Co., *Trego County, Kansas: Its Soil and Climate* . . . Chicago, J. J. Spalding & Co. [1878]. 20p. Cover title.

———, *Trego County, Kansas: Its Soil and Climate* . . . *Third Edition.* Chicago, J. J. Spalding & Co. [1878]. 23p. Cover title.

WABAUNSEE

Business Directory and History of Wabaunsee County. Topeka, Kansas Directory Company, 1907. 104p. On cover: *Wabaunsee County Folks.*

MAGEE, R. SORREN, *History of Wabaunsee County* . . . Winchester, Argus Job Printing Office, 1885. 15p.

THOMSON, MATT, *Early History of Wabaunsee County* . . . Alma, 1901. 368p.

WALLACE

MONTGOMERY, MRS. FRANK C., *Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier.* No impr. (Reprinted from *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17.) 95p.

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Portrait and Biographical Album of Washington, Clay and Riley Counties, Kansas . . . Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1890. 1231p.

WASHINGTON COUNTY REGISTER, comp., *70th Anniversary Edition.* Washington, September 16, 1938. 84p.

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BURCH, C. S., PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Hand-Book of Wilson County, Kansas.* By the editor of *The Dairy World.* Chicago, 1886. 40p. Cover title.

DUNCAN, LEW WALLACE, *History of Neosho and Wilson Counties, Kansas.* Fort Scott, Monitor Printing Co., 1902. 922p.

STRANGE, LEW A., *La Fontaine and Those Who Made It.* Parker, Parker Message, 1938. 95p.

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BURCH, C. S., PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Hand-Book of Woodson County, Kansas.* Chicago [188-?] 32p. Title from other Burch handbooks. No copy located.

DUNCAN, LEW WALLACE, and CHARLES F. SCOTT, eds., *History of Allen and Woodson Counties, Kansas*. Iola, Iola Register, 1901. 894p.
Hand Book of Woodson County, Kansas. No impr. 20p. Cover title. Possibly published in Chicago by *Modern Argo* in 1883.

WYANDOTTE

COWICK, KATE L., *The Story of Kansas City*. [Kansas City] Central High School Press, n. d. 30p.
 HARRINGTON, GRANT W., *Historic Spots or Mile-Stones in the Progress of Wyandotte County, Kansas*. [Merriam, The Mission Press] 1935. 360p.
 MORGAN, PERL W., *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas, and Its People*. Chicago, The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911. 2v.
Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas, Historical and Biographical. Chicago, The Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1890. 895p.

THE COUNTY ATLASES OF KANSAS

As in the making of books, the making of maps has no end. Maps have been made by primitive peoples and by skilled cartographers. The oldest surviving maps are those of the ancient Babylonians. Credit for giving the name "atlas" to a collection of maps is said to belong to the geographer Mercator, who used that term because the picture of Atlas supporting the world usually appeared at the front of the collections.

Atlas publishing in the United States began between 1790 and 1795. Probably the first state atlas to make its appearance was Robert Mills' *Atlas of the State of South Carolina* (1825). The first state atlas of Kansas was published by L. H. Everts in 1887.

The publishing of county atlases began about the time of the Civil War. L. Fagan's *Map of Berks County, Pennsylvania*, published at Philadelphia by H. F. Bridgens in 1861, is the earliest known atlas of a county in the United States. The earliest known Kansas county atlases are Frederick W. Beers' *Atlas of Douglas County* (1873) and his *Atlas of Shawnee County* (1873).

A number of companies specialized in publishing county atlases, which proved to be popular and attained a wide distribution. Foremost among these publishers was the firm of George A. Ogle & Co., Chicago, which is said to have produced some 500 county atlases between 1893 and 1923. At least 90 of these were for Kansas counties.

Because of their size and the difficulty of caring for them, county atlases are of somewhat less interest to a collector than to a library, where they form a vital part of the local history collection. In recent times atlases have become simply small volumes of surveyors' plats, but formerly they contained a wide variety of informa-

tion. In addition to maps of every unit, from the world down to the smallest town in the county, one might find a historical sketch of the county; biographical data; portraits of leading citizens; pictures of farms, houses, etc.; directories of farmers, atlas patrons, or businesses; and other useful information. Attention has been called to the county histories found in the atlases in this list.

Entries for the atlas list have been obtained from three main sources: the Kansas State Historical Society library, the library of the University of Kansas, and a bibliography of United States atlases published by the Library of Congress.¹

The list contains several atlases not found in the Historical Library (KHi) and there are 13 counties for which no atlas has been located. The Society would be glad to hear from anyone who has or knows the location of a county atlas which it does not own.

The following symbols have been used to indicate the location of the atlases in this list:

- CoD Denver Public Library
- CtY Yale University
- DLC Library of Congress
- ICHi Chicago Historical Society
- ICN Newberry Library
- ICU University of Chicago
- KHi Kansas State Historical Society
- KWi Wichita Public Library
- KU Kansas University
- MiD Detroit Public Library
- NIC Cornell University
- NN New York Public Library
- NNA American Geographical Society
- NbHi Nebraska State Historical Society

ALLEN

IOLA DAILY REGISTER, pub., *Atlas and Plat Book of Allen County, Kansas, Containing . . . Also, History and Atlas of the World War and Allen County Honor Roll and County War History*. Iola, 1921. 36, [52]p. Maps by the Kenyon Company, Des Moines. DLC. KHi. KU.

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Allen County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Des Moines, 1906. 47p. KHi. NIC.

ANDERSON

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Anderson County. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1901. 54p. DLC. KHi.

1. *United States Atlases. A Catalog of National, State, County, City, and Regional Atlases in the Library of Congress and Cooperating Libraries*, compiled by Clara Egli Le Gear, Map division (Washington, Library of Congress, Reference Department, 1950-1953). 2v.

ATCHISON

ANDERSON PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Atlas of Atchison County, Kansas, Containing Maps of Townships of the County* . . . Des Moines, 1925. 2v. in 1. DLC.

BOOTH, R. C., ENTERPRISES, *The 1949 Atlas of Atchison County, Kansas, With Township Plats Corrected to December 30, 1948.* Harlan, Iowa [1949]. 33p. DLC. KHi.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Atchison County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1903. [61]p. KHi. KU. NN.

BARBER

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Barber County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1905. 67p. KHi.

———, *Standard Atlas of Barber County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1923. 61p. DLC. KU.

BARTON

BARTON COUNTY DAILY DEMOCRAT, pub., *Atlas and Plat Book of Barton County, Kansas* . . . Great Bend, 1916. 55p. Maps by the Kenyon Company, Des Moines. DLC.

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Barton County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys.* Minneapolis, Minn., 1902. 67p. DLC. KHi. KU.

BOURBON

EDWARDS BROTHERS, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Bourbon County, Kansas.* Philadelphia, 1878. 58p. Contains James H. Brown's "History of Bourbon County, Kansas," pp. 9-12. DLC. KHi. KU.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Bourbon County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1920. 55p. DLC. KHi. KU.

BROWN

DUNHAM, J. R., *Meacham's Illustrated Atlas of Brown and Nemaha Counties, Kansas.* Compiled by J. R. Dunham, Engineer and Surveyor. Sabetha, J. H. Meacham, 1887. 127p. KHi. KU. MiD. NN.

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Brown County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys.* Minneapolis, Minn., 1904. 58p. DLC. KU.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Brown County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1919. 57p. DLC. KHi. KU.

BUTLER

MCGINNIS, WALTER F., and I. C. THOMAS, *Historical Atlas of Butler Co., Kansas* . . . El Dorado, 1885. 83p. Contains a brief history of Butler County, p. 9. KHi.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Butler County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1905. 121p. DLC. KHi. KU.

CHASE

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Chase County, Kansas*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1901. 51p. KHi has microfilm of a copy in the possession of George Miller, Cottonwood Falls.

CHAUTAUQUA

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Chautauqua County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1903. 67p. ICU. KHi. KU.

———, *Standard Atlas of Chautauqua County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1921. 75p. DLC. KHi. KU.

CHEROKEE

MISSOURI PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Cherokee County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. N. p., 1902. 56p. NN.

CHEYENNE

BROCK AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Cheyenne County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1928. 57p. CtY. ICU. KHi. NN. NNA.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Cheyenne County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1907. 81p. KHi. KU.

CLARK

MACKEY, DICK, *Plat Book of Clark County, Kansas*. Ashland, 1909. 78p. DLC. KHi.

CLAY

BIRD AND MICKLE MAP COMPANY, *Historical Plat Book of Clay County, Kansas*. Chicago, 1881. 89p. Contains "History of Clay County," pp. 15-28. ICHi. KHi.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Clay County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1900. 83p. ICU. KU.

———, *Standard Atlas of Clay County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 57p. KHi.

CLOUD

EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Edwards' Atlas of Cloud County, Kansas*. Quincy, Ill., 1885. 69p. Contains W. E. Reid's "Historical Sketch of Cloud County, Kansas," pp. 7-11. DLC. KHi.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Cloud County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1901. 87p. KU.

———, *Standard Atlas of Cloud County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1917. 93p. DLC. KHi.

COFFEY

EDWARDS BROTHERS, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Coffey County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1878. 58p. Contains Burton L. Kingsbury's "History of Coffey County, Kansas," pp. 9-11. DLC. KHi. KU.

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Coffey County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1901. 58p. DLC. KHi.

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Coffey County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1919. 57p. DLC. KHi.

COMANCHE

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Comanche County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1909. 73p. ICU. KHi.

COWLEY

- EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Historical Atlas of Cowley County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1882. 79p. Contains D. A. Millington's "History of Cowley County, Kansas," pp. 7-10. KHi.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Cowley County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1905. 129p. DLC. KHi. KU.

CRAWFORD

- EDWARDS, JOHN P., *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Crawford County*. Philadelphia, 1878. 74p. No copy located.
- NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Crawford County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Des Moines, 1906. 66p. ICU. NN.

DECATUR

- NELLANS, GEORGE, *Atlas of Decatur County, Kansas*. Oberlin, 1949. 69p. DLC. KHi.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Decatur County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1905. 85p. KHi. KU.
- , *Standard Atlas of Decatur County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1921. 73p. DLC. KHi.

DICKINSON

- BENSON, NOEL MILTON, *Dickinson County Atlas; Property Owners and Rural Routes*. [Salina, Consolidated] 1950. [60]p. DLC. KHi.
- MORSE, F. W., and others, *Plat Book and Complete Survey of Dickinson County, Kansas* . . . Topeka, Arthur Capper, 1909. 63p. Maps by the Kenyon Company, Des Moines. KHi. KU.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Dickinson County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1901. 101p. CoD. KHi.
- , *Standard Atlas of Dickinson County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1921. 73p. DLC. KHi.

DONIPHAN

- ANDERSON PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Atlas of Doniphan County, Kansas, Containing Maps of Townships of the County* . . . Des Moines, 1927. 2v. in 1. DLC. KHi.
- BIRD, J. S., *Historical Plat Book of Doniphan County, Kansas*. Chicago, 1882. 94p. Contains "History of Doniphan County, Kansas," pp. 17-56. ICN. KHi. KU. NIC.
- BOOTH, R. C., ENTERPRISES, *The 1949 Atlas of Doniphan County, Kansas, With Township Plats Corrected to December 21, 1948*. Harlan, Iowa [1949]. 29p. DLC. KHi.

HIXON, W. W., AND COMPANY, *Plat Book of Doniphan County, Kansas*. Rockford, Ill. [1931]. [12] maps. Cover title. KHi.

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Doniphan County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1904. 56p. KHi.

DOUGLAS

ARMSTRONG, A. W., and D. B. M. SOUDEA, comps., *Plat Work and Complete Survey of Douglas County, Kansas*. Published for Frank M. Shanklin, Des Moines, The Kenyon Company, 1909. 50p. KHi. KU.

BEERS, FREDERICK W., *Atlas of Douglas County, Kansas*. New York, 1873. 68p. DLC. KHi. KU.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Douglas County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1902. 79p. KU.

———, *Standard Atlas of Douglas County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1921. 73p. DLC. KHi. KU.

EDWARDS

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Edwards County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1906. 65p. KHi. NN.

ELK

[DAVY MAP AND ATLAS COMPANY], *[Atlas of Elk County, Kansas.]* [Chicago, 1885?] 61p. Title page missing. Contains R. H. Nichols' "Historical Sketch of Elk County," pp. 7-9. KHi.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Elk County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1903. 75p. NN.

OSBORN, FRED P., *Osborn's Pocket Map of Elk County, Kans. 1921 Edition*. Howard, F. P. Osborn [1920]. [29], 12 maps. DLC.

ELLIS

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Ellis County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1905. 87p. KHi.

———, *Standard Atlas of Ellis County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1922. 61p. DLC.

ELLSWORTH

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Ellsworth County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1901. 55p. KHi. KU.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Ellsworth County, Kansas. Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 59p. DLC. KHi.

FINNEY

None located.

FORD

DODGE CITY JOURNAL, pub., *Atlas and Plat Book of Ford County, Kansas* . . . Dodge City, 1916. 78p. Maps by the Kenyon Company, Des Moines. DLC. KHi. KU.

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Ford County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1905-1906. 93p. DLC. KHi.

FRANKLIN

- HIXSON, W. W., AND COMPANY, *Plat Book of Franklin County, Kansas*. Rockford, Ill. [1931]. [20] maps. Cover title. KHi.
- NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Franklin County, Kansas. Compiled from County Records and Actual Surveys*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1903. 51p. DLC. KHi. KU.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Franklin County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1920. 57p. DLC. KHi. KU.

GEARY

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Geary County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1909. 65p. KHi.
- SCOTT, MARLIN E., and EDWIN L. WALKER, *Property Map of Geary County, Kansas* . . . [Manhattan] 1938. 9p. DLC.

GOVE

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Gove County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1907. 91p. ICU. KHi. KU.

GRAHAM

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Graham County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1906. 87p. DLC. KHi.

GRANT

None located.

GRAY

None located.

GREELEY

None located.

GREENWOOD

- NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Greenwood County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1903. 75p. DLC. KHi. KU.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Greenwood County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1922. 67p. DLC. KU.

HAMILTON

None located.

HARPER

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Harper County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1902. 85p. KHi. NN.
- , *Standard Atlas of Harper County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1919. 65p. DLC. KHi. KU.

HARVEY

EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Historical Atlas of Harvey County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1882. 55p. Contains R. W. P. Muse's "History of Harvey County, Kansas," pp. 7-11. KHi.

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Harvey County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1902. 47p. KU. NN.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Harvey County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 59p. DLC. KHi. KU.

HASKELL

None located.

HODGEMAN

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Hodgeman County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1907. 77p. KHi. KU.

JACKSON

BIRD, J. S., *Historical Plat Book of Jackson County, Kansas*. Chicago, 1881. 98p. Contains "History of Jackson County," pp. 21-40. KHi. KU.

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Jackson County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1903. 50p. DLC.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Jackson County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1921. 53p. DLC. KHi. KU.

JEFFERSON

ACME PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Descriptive Atlas of Jefferson County, Kansas*. Chicago, 1899. No copy located.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Jefferson County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1916. 83p. DLC. KHi. KU.

JEWELL

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Jewell County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1908. 85p. KHi. KU.

WESTERN ADVOCATE, pub., *Atlas and Plat Book of Jewell County, Kansas* . . . Mankato, 1921. 55, [52]p. Maps by the Kenyon Company, Des Moines. ICN. NbHi. NN.

JOHNSON

HEISLER, E. F., and others, *Atlas Map of Johnson County, Kansas*. Wyandotte, E. F. Heisler & Co., 1874. 101p. Contains Oliver H. Gregg's "History of Johnson County," pp. 9-87, interspersed with maps. KHi. KU. NIC.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Johnson County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1922. 71p. DLC. KHi.

SHOCKLEY ENGINEERING COMPANY, *Atlas of Johnson County, Kansas, With Official Township Zoning*. Kansas City, Mo., 1940. 53 maps. DLC.

KEARNY

None located.

KINGMAN

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Kingman County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys.* Minneapolis, Minn., 1903. 56p. DLC. KHi. KU.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Kingman County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1921. 61p. DLC. KHi.

KIOWA

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Kiowa County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1906. 75p. KHi. KU.

———, *Standard Atlas of Kiowa County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1922. 49p. DLC.

LABETTE

EDWARDS, JOHN P., [*Edwards' Atlas of Labette County, Kansas.*] [Philadelphia, n. d.] Mentioned in *Edwards' Atlas of Saline Co.*, 1884. No copy located.

KENYON COMPANY, *Atlas and Plat Book of Labette County, Kansas* . . . *Compiled From the Abstract Records of C. A. Wilkin & Co.* Des Moines, 1916. 51p. DLC. KHi.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Labette County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1906. 87p. DLC. KHi.

LANE

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Lane County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1920. 49p. DLC. KHi. KU.

LEAVENWORTH

MISSOURI PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Atlas Map of Leavenworth County, Kansas.* N. p., 1878. 44p. Contains Miles Moore's "History of Leavenworth County, Kansas," pp. 6-10, and "Biographical Sketches," pp. 22, 24. KHi. KU.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Leavenworth County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1903. 67p. DLC. KHi. KU.

LINCOLN

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Lincoln County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys.* Minneapolis, Minn., 1901. 51p. DLC. KHi. KU.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Lincoln County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 59p. DLC. KHi.

LINN

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Linn County. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys.* Des Moines, 1906. 66p. KU.

LOGAN

None located.

LYON

- EDWARDS BROTHERS, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Lyon County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1878. 65p. Contains Jacob Stotler's "History of Lyon County, Kansas," pp. 5, 8, 9, 11-14. DLC. KHi. KU.
- , *An Historical Plat Book of Lyon County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1879. 49p. DLC.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Lyon County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1901. 99p. KU.
- , *Standard Atlas of Lyon County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 77p. DLC. KHi.

McPHERSON

- EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Edwards' Atlas of McPherson County, Kansas*. Quincy, Ill., 1884. 83p. Contains H. B. Kelly's "History of McPherson County, Kansas," pp. 7-9. KHi. KU. NIC. NN.
- HIXSON, W. W., AND COMPANY, *Plat Book of McPherson County, Kansas*. Rockford, Ill. [1928]. [27] maps. Cover title. KHi.
- NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of McPherson County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1903. 64p. DLC. KHi.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of McPherson County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1921. 73p. DLC. KHi.

MARION

- DAVY MAP AND ATLAS COMPANY, *Atlas of Marion County, Kansas* . . . Chicago, 1885. 87p. KHi.
- HIXSON, W. W., AND COMPANY, *Plat Book of Marion County, Kansas*. [Rockford, Ill., 1928.] 31p. KHi.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Marion County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1902. 103p. KHi. KU.
- , *Standard Atlas of Marion County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1921. 77p. DLC. KHi.

MARSHALL

- ANDERSON PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Atlas of Marshall County, Kansas, Containing Maps of Townships of the County* . . . Des Moines, 1922. [70]p. DLC. KHi.

MEADE

- ICE, R. P., AND COMPANY, *Plat Book of Meade County, Kansas*. Ashland, 1909. 82p. DLC. KHi.

MIAMI

- BROCK AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Miami County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1927. 77p. DLC. KU.
- EDWARDS BROTHERS, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Miami County*. Philadelphia, 1878. 58p. Contains E. W. Robinson's "History of Miami County, Kansas," pp. 9-12. DLC. KHi. KU.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Miami County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1901. 83p. KHi.

MITCHELL

GILLEN & DAVY, *Atlas of Mitchell County, Kansas*. Chicago, 1884. 83p. DLC. KHi.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Mitchell County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1902. [55]p. Contains "Historical Sketch of Mitchell County, Kansas," pp. 53-54. KU.

———, *Standard Atlas of Mitchell County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1917. 61p. DLC. KHi.

MONTGOMERY

EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Historical Atlas of Montgomery County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1881. 45p. Contains Ebenezer E. Wilson's "History of Montgomery County, Kansas," pp. 7-9. KHi. KU.

RICHMOND, H. J., *Atlas and Plat Book of Montgomery County, Kansas* . . . Independence, 1916. 49p. KU. NN.

MORRIS

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Morris County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1901. 76p. KHi. NN.

———, *Standard Atlas of Morris County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1923. 53p. KHi.

MORTON

None located.

NEMAHA

ANDERSON PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Atlas of Nemaha County, Kansas, Containing Maps of Townships of the County* . . . Des Moines, 1922. [61]p. DLC. KHi.

BOOTH, R. C., ENTERPRISES, *The 1949 Atlas of Nemaha County, Kansas, With Township Plats Corrected to February 11, 1949*. Harlan, Iowa [1949]. 43p. DLC. KHi.

DUNHAM, J. R., *Meacham's Illustrated Atlas of Brown and Nemaha Counties, Kansas*. Compiled by J. R. Dunham, Engineer and Surveyor. Sabetha, J. H. Meacham, 1887. 127p. KHi. KU. MiD. NN.

STINSON, A. R., *Plat Book of Nemaha County, Kansas*. Seneca, 1908. 49p. KHi. KU.

NEOSHO

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Neosho County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1906. 79p. DLC. KHi. KU.

NESS

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Ness County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1906. 93p. KHi. KU.

NORTON

NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Norton County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. [Minneapolis, Minn.] 1900. 59p. DLC. KU.

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Norton County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1917. 59p. DLC. KHi.

OSAGE

- EDWARDS BROTHERS, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Osage County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1879. 64p. Contains James Rogers' "History of Osage County, Kansas," pp. 7-10. DLC. KHi.

- HENNESSEY BROTHERS, *Descriptive Atlas of Osage County, Kansas*. Chicago, 1899. 1v. KU. NN.

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Osage County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 77p. DLC. KHi.

OSBORNE

- NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Osborne County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1900. 58p. DLC. KHi.

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Osborne County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1917. 69p. DLC. KHi. KU.

OTTAWA

- NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Ottawa County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1902. 55 (i. e. 56)p. DLC. KU.

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Ottawa County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 63p. DLC. KHi.

PAWNEE

- TILLER AND TOILER, pub., *Atlas and Plat Book of Pawnee County* . . . Larned, 1916. 49p. Maps by the Kenyon Company, Des Moines. NN.

PHILLIPS

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Phillips County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1917. 67p. DLC. KHi. KU.

POTTAWATOMIE

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Pottawatomie County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1905. 93p. DLC. KHi.

- ROHRBECK, L. F., *The Onaga Courier's Sectional Township Map of Pottawatomie County, Kansas. Supplement to the Onaga Courier, Sep. 14, 1899*. Onaga, 1899. [23] maps. KHi.

PRATT

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Pratt County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1922. 53p. DLC. KHi. KU.

RAWLINS

- BROCK AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Rawlins County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1928. 61p. DLC. KHi.

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Rawlins County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1906. 93p. KHi. KU.

RENO

- NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Reno County. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys.* Minneapolis, Minn., 1902. 98p. DLC. KHi. KU.

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Reno County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 101p. DLC. KHi. KU.

REPUBLIC

- GILLEN AND DAVY, *Atlas of Republic County, Kansas.* Chicago, 1884. 85p. KHi. KU.

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Republic County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1904. 81p. DLC.

RICE

- NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Rice County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys.* Minneapolis, Minn., 1902. 67p. DLC. KHi. KU.

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Rice County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1919. 61p. DLC. KHi.

RILEY

- BIRD AND MICKLE MAP COMPANY, *Historical Plat Book of Riley County, Kansas.* Chicago, 1881. 80p. Contains "History of Riley County," pp. 15-34. ICU. KHi.

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Riley County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1909. 89p. KHi.

ROOKS

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Rooks County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1904-5. 87p. KHi.

RUSH

- NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Rush County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys.* Minneapolis, Minn., 1901. 50p. DLC. KHi.

RUSSELL

- NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Russell County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys.* Minneapolis, Minn., 1901. 58p. DLC. KHi.

SALINE

- EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Edwards' Atlas of Saline Co., Kansas.* Philadelphia, 1884. 67p. Contains William Bishop's "History of Saline County, Kansas," pp. 7-9. KHi. KU.

- NORTHWEST PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Saline County, Kansas. Compiled From County Records and Actual Surveys.* Minneapolis, Minn., 1903. 50p. DLC. KHi. KU.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Saline County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1920. 59p. DLC. KHi.

SCOTT

None located.

SEDGWICK

EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Historical Atlas of Sedgwick County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1882. 61p. Contains D. B. Emmert's "History of Sedgwick County, Kansas," pp. 7-11. DLC (incomplete). KHi. KWi. NN.

MUELLER AND COE, *Atlas of Sedgwick County, Kansas. Record Data Furnished by the Guarantee Abstract Company, Wichita, Kansas* . . . Winfield, 1931. 102p. DLC. KWi.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Sedgwick County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1905. 127p. ICU. KU.

SEWARD

None located.

SHAWNEE

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STANTON

None located.

STEVENS

None located.

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- EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Historical Atlas of Sumner County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1883. 87p. Contains Albert A. Richards' "History of Sumner County, Kansas," pp. 7-10. DLC (incomplete). KHi.
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- , *Standard Atlas of Sumner County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1918. 97p. DLC. KHi.
- ROGERS ABSTRACT AND TITLE COMPANY, *Land Ownership Atlas With Directory of Names and Addresses Sumner County, Kansas*. Compiled by Wilbert J. Mueller. Wellington [1930]. 118p. KHi.

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- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Thomas County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1907. 92p. KHi.

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WABAUNSEE

- GILLEN AND DAVY, *Atlas of Wabaunsee County, Kansas*. Chicago, 1885. 77p. DLC. KHi. KU.
- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Wabaunsee County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1902. 81p. DLC. KHi. KU.
- , *Standard Atlas of Wabaunsee County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1919. 83p. DLC. KHi. KU.

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- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Wallace County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1908. 71p. KHi.

WASHINGTON

- BIRD, J. S., *Historical Plat Book of Washington County, Kansas*. Chicago, 1882. 90p. Contains "History of Washington County," pp. 19-42. KHi. KU.
- BROWN-SCOVILLE PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Plat Book of Washington County, Kansas* . . . Des Moines, 1906. 119p. Contains "Historical Sketch of Washington County," pp. 101, 106-107, 112-113. KHi. KU.

WICHITA

- OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Wichita County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1920. 47p. DLC. KHi.

WILSON

- EDWARDS, JOHN P., *Historical Atlas of Wilson County, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1881. 55p. Contains John S. Gilmore's "History of Wilson County, Kansas," pp. 7-10. KHi. KU.

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Wilson County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1910. 81p. DLC. KHi.

WOODSON

OGLE, GEORGE A., AND COMPANY, *Standard Atlas of Woodson County, Kansas, Including a Plat Book* . . . Chicago, 1904. 61p. KU. NN.

WYANDOTTE

HOPKINS, GRIFFITH M., *A Complete Set of Surveys and Plats of Properties in Wyandotte County, and Kansas City, Kansas*. Philadelphia, 1887. 23 plates. DLC. KHi.

RASCHER INSURANCE MAP PUBLISHING COMPANY, *Atlas of Kansas City, Kansas, Formerly Wyandotte, Kansas City, Kans. and Armourdale, Including Argentine, Rosedale, Etc.* Chicago, 1893. 150 (i. e. 151) maps. DLC. KHi.

COUNTY AND CITY DIRECTORIES OWNED BY THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Historical Society wishes to add to its collection of directories of the cities and counties of Kansas. Some directories contain town or county histories; they are useful in locating names of individuals, tracing histories of public buildings and providing records of businesses. Many city directories also include lists of some or all of the county residents.

Farm, tax, business, telephone and other special directories have not been included in this list for want of space, but they are of no less importance than those listed.

There are many directories not in the Society's collection which we would like to obtain. The Society would also welcome duplicates to replace those in bad condition.

The following city and county directories were in the Kansas State Historical Society library as of October, 1955:

ABILENE: 1904-05, 1906, 1926-27, 1928.

ALLEN COUNTY: 1901-02.

ARKANSAS CITY: 1898, 1906-07, 1925, 1930, 1932, 1936, 1938, 1952.

ATCHISON: 1859-60, 1860-61, 1865, 1870-71, 1872-73, 1876, 1878, 1880, 1882-83, 1884, 1885, 1887, 1888, 1891, 1893-94, 1899-1900, 1903, 1906, 1910, 1913, 1917, 1926, 1928, 1941, 1947.

CALDWELL: 1941.

CHANUTE: 1903-04, 1905, 1929, 1931, 1936, 1938, 1949.

CHENEY: 1930.

CHERRYVALE: 1901, 1907.

CHETOPA: 1871.

CLAY CENTER: 1906.

COFFEYVILLE: 1900-01, 1918, 1925, 1930, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1949, 1951.

COLBY: 1949.

- COLUMBUS: 1926.
CONCORDIA: 1906.
CRAWFORD COUNTY: 1901-02.
DAVIS COUNTY: 1883-84.
DICKINSON COUNTY: 1886-87.
DONIPHAN COUNTY: 1868-69.
EL DORADO: 1885, 1906, 1929, 1931, 1935, 1937, 1941, 1949, 1951.
ELK COUNTY: 1888.
ELLIS: 1931.
ELWOOD: 1860-61.
EMPORIA: 1883, 1885-86, 1887-88, 1890-91, 1896, 1900-01, 1926, 1930, 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938-39, 1940-41, 1949, 1951.
FINNEY COUNTY: 1886.
FORD COUNTY: 1920, 1924.
FORT SCOTT: 1865-66, 1869-70, 1875, 1879, 1885, 1888, 1889-90, 1891-92, 1896-97, 1898, 1902-03, 1905, 1925, 1930, 1938, 1948.
FRANKLIN COUNTY: 1895.
FRANKLIN AND DOUGLAS COUNTIES: 1920.
FREDONIA: 1925.
GALENA: 1900.
GARDEN CITY: 1927, 1952.
GEARY COUNTY. *See* Davis county.
GOODLAND: 1948.
GRAY COUNTY: 1920.
GREAT BEND: 1947, 1952.
HARPER: 1887.
HIAWATHA: 1892, 1900, 1903, 1908.
HUTCHINSON: 1900, 1924, 1935, 1939, 1941, 1949, 1951.
INDEPENDENCE: 1907-08, 1926-27, 1931, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1950, 1952.
JUNCTION CITY: 1905, 1908-09.
KANSAS CITY: 1886-87, 1894, 1922-23, 1927, 1930, 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1945, 1950, 1952.
KINGMAN: 1887.
LABETTE COUNTY: 1901-02.
LAWRENCE: 1871, 1879, 1883, 1890-91, 1893-94, 1896, 1898, 1900-01, 1902-03, 1905, 1909, 1911, 1913-14, 1915, 1917, 1919, 1923, 1925-26, 1927-28, 1929-30.
LEAVENWORTH: 1859-60, 1860-61, 1862-63, 1863-64, 1865-66, 1866-67, 1870-71, 1871-72, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878-79, 1879-80, 1880-81, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891-92, 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95, 1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1900-01, 1902-03, 1903-04, 1905-06, 1907-08, 1909, 1911-12, 1913-14, 1915-16, 1925, 1930, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1949, 1952.
LIBERAL: 1948.
McPHERSON: 1948-49.
McPHERSON COUNTY: 1881.
MANHATTAN: 1886, 1939, 1942, 1949, 1951.
MEDICINE LODGE: 1949.
MITCHELL COUNTY: 1898, 1899, 1907.

- NEWTON: 1902, 1905-06, 1907-08, 1948, 1952.
NORTH TOPEKA: 1923.
OLATHE: 1908-09.
OSAGE CITY: 1887.
OTTAWA: 1900-01, 1926, 1933, 1936, 1938, 1941, 1950.
PARSONS: 1878, 1880, 1882, 1930-31, 1943.
PITTSBURG: 1896-97, 1926-27, 1930, 1933, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1949, 1951, 1953.
PRATT: 1926.
RILEY COUNTY: 1884-85, 1890-91.
RUSSELL COUNTY: 1920, 1936.
SALINA: 1898, 1915, 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1946, 1950, 1952.
SALINE COUNTY: 1882, 1885.
SEWARD COUNTY: 1936.
SHAWNEE COUNTY: 1927, 1928.
SHAWNEE, WABAUNSEE AND OSAGE COUNTIES: 1887.
TOPEKA: 1868-69, 1870, 1871, 1872-73, 1874-75, 1876-77, 1877, 1878-79, 1880, 1882, 1883-84, 1885-86, 1887-88, 1888-89, 1890-91, 1893-94, 1896-97, 1899-1900, 1902, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1910, 1912, 1916, 1921, 1924 (Hall), 1924 (Radges), 1925 (suppl.), 1926, 1927-28, 1929-30, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1946, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954.
WELLINGTON: 1886, 1900-01, 1907-08, 1929.
WICHITA: 1878, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1894, 1896, 1898-99, 1900, 1902, 1903-04, 1904-05, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1946, 1949, 1951, 1952, 1953.
WINFIELD: 1906-07, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1946, 1948, 1950, 1953.

The Old Ghost Town of Lindsey in the Solomon Valley

THEO. H. SCHEFFER

THE name of the town of Lindsey, unhappily, can be accounted for only by reference to Cutler's history of Kansas, published in 1883, in which he chronicles as follows:

In 1857-'58 the hunters and trappers who visited Solomon Valley gave names to many of its creeks. For some unexplained reason these wayfarers left a wagon-load of plunder behind them, just above Minneapolis, for the ownership of which a lawsuit was subsequently tried in the District Court, at Junction City. Judging from the evidence there produced, the "gentlemen" who gave Fisher, Lindsey, Brown and Chriss creeks their names, were not the most savory morsels of humanity in the world. Most of the names of these Solomon Valley creeks have since been changed—in respect to the living.¹

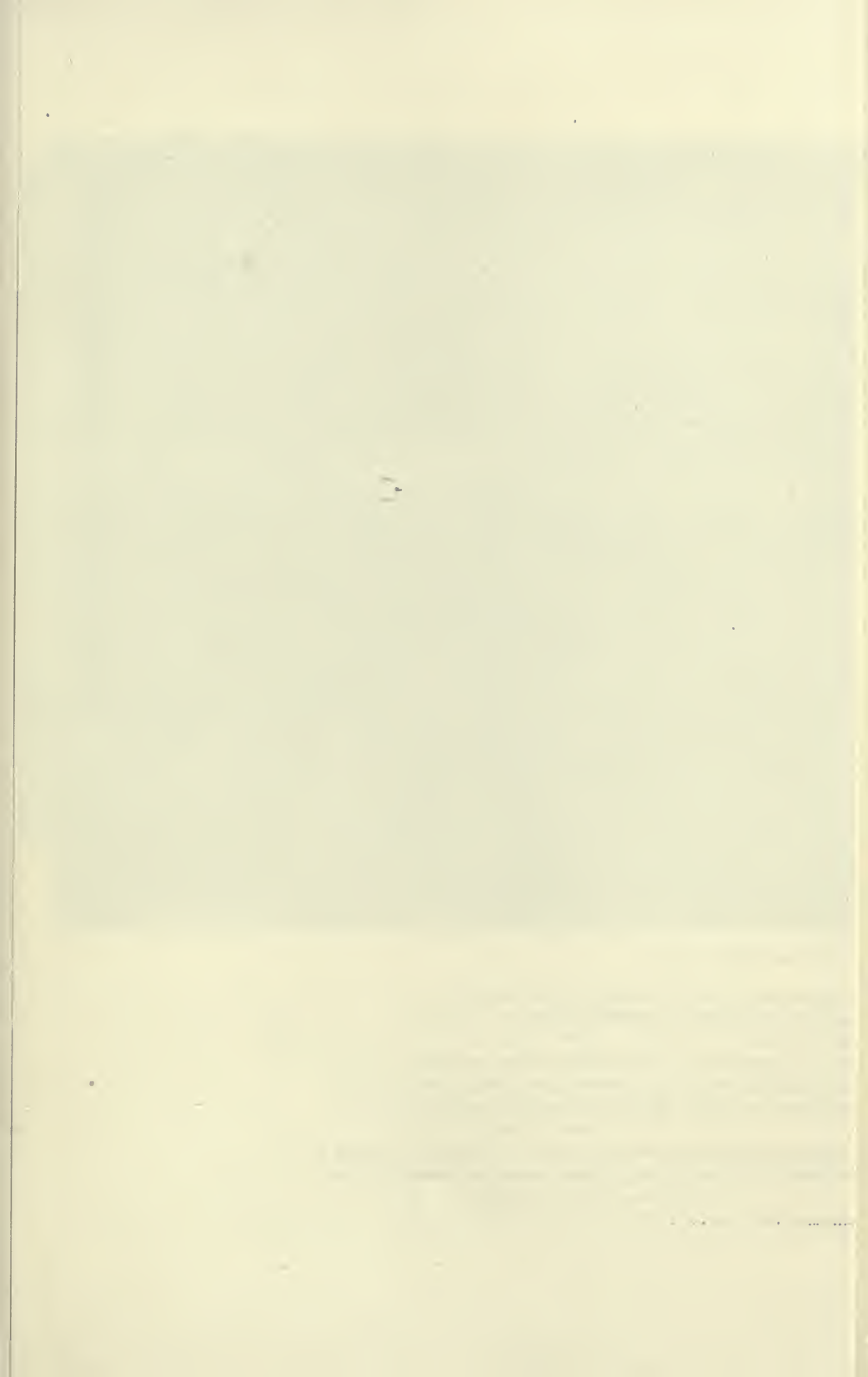
Not so brave a start for the pioneer town of Lindsey in Ottawa county of the valley. Cloud county, adjoining, was apparently stuck also with the name of one of these "gentlemen"—"Fisher" creek, entering the Solomon near Glasco. Capt. Zebulon M. Pike crossed the river there, September 23, 1806, on his way to the Pawnee Republic, of the Indian people.

The governor of Kansas territory signed the bill creating Ottawa county—and two others—on February 27, 1860. Section 2 appointed county commissioners for these counties, to wit: ". . . for the county of Ottawa, R. C. Whitney, Henry Martin, and _____ Branch, of Pike Creek." (Probably Pipe creek as now known.)² Though thus created, the county of Ottawa was not formally organized until six years later, 1866. Ayersburg was designated as the temporary county seat. However, on May 21, 1870, an election of the local settlers on the river was held and the permanent county seat was established at Minneapolis. (If they could make it stick, which they eventually did.) Thereby hangs a tale of community rivalry, which we may not recount here for lack of space. The standard bearers of this conflict were the *Solomon Valley Pioneer*, first published at Lindsey in September, 1870; editor, W. Goddard; and its "mendacious contemporary," the *Minneapolis Independent*, first issued in October, 1870; editor, George Mackenzie. It may be

THEO. H. SCHEFFER, formerly of Ottawa county, is a collaborator with the United States Department of Agriculture. His present address is Puyallup, Wash.

1. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1425.

2. *Laws of Kansas*, 1860, ch. 44.



noted here that in the election just cited the vote had stood at 146 for Minneapolis and 139 for Lindsey, the small majority for Minneapolis being attributed to "Pipe creek vote."

Ayersburg, originally designated by the governor as the county seat of Ottawa county, was a cabin in the fringe of timber on the banks of Lindsey creek, some little distance west of the old stage hotel in pioneer Lindsey. The site of this civic center, the Best Hotel, may now be located by a large cement slab covering the old brick-lined well at the hostelry, which once stood on the west side of the north-south highway where it is intersected by the section-line road coming down from the east.

A post office was established at Ayersburg on July 16, 1864, with one John Boblett as first postmaster. He lasted a little more than a year, when he was succeeded by Seymour Ayres, the only burger of Ayersburg, on September 12, 1865. He, in turn, was replaced by Thomas Waddell, of Lindsey, on July 5, 1867. And that was the last of Ayersburg, so far as official recognition was concerned, though the name appeared on Keeler's map of Kansas, in 1866-1867, and on Colton's map in 1867. George Washington never slept there, but we did, on a rainy night when fishing on the Solomon. The cabin must have been pretty leaky then, for we could not find enough dry material about or in the place to kindle a fire on the hearth.

The Ayers family later moved up to Pipe creek on a farm, and established there a neighborhood of descendants, in school district No. 10. Lindsey was in school district No. 9. In the second issue of the *Solomon Valley Pioneer*, September 17, 1870, appeared an advertisement of the Ayers House, on Main street, Lindsey. This advertisement was accompanied by a picture of the hostelry, which Charlie Hollingsworth, still living at 95, says did not exist. He ought to know, for he came there the next year, and has prepared the sketch map of the old ghost town accompanying this story. Probably the picture was a "stock cut," for photographers were mighty scarce in those days.

A post office was established at Lindsey, on July 7, 1868, with Harry Makee (McKee?) as first postmaster. This appointment followed discontinuation of the office at Ayersburg cabin, little more than a quarter of a mile away. The new community grew up about the Lindsey House, as first advertised, a stage hostelry at the intersection of two roads. This place was conducted by Francis W. Best, and in later years by his widow, Mrs. O. B. Potter. It had

commodious livery barns across the road (Main street), and was a relay and stopping place overnight on the stage run from Solomon to Beloit.

The Lindsey village grew apace, as land-hungry settlers came in to take up farms in the valley and on near-by uplands to the east; some also to seek business opportunities. In the fall of 1870, John Henry was advertising in the new local paper as a dealer in "dry goods, clothing, hardware, groceries, and agricultural implements of every description." Richard (Dicky) Knight announced "Blacksmithery, in all its various branches." He had been flooded out in his pioneer establishment at a dugout in Bennington. George W. Shaw, harness maker, advertised "Double and single Harness made to order."

There was an M. D. also at Lindsey; in fact two of them, one, J. K. Osborn, with an office in the drug store on Main street. This drug store was operated at the time by O. E. Martin, who had at least a good line of "patented medicines" on his shelves. In the spring of 1871, Erwin Hollingsworth came with his family into the community and shortly established himself in the mercantile business in the new Lindsey. The next year he purchased the farm, just south of town, on which was the site of the settlers' Fort Solomon, 1864-1865.

There were other establishments on Main street, of course, but these given will serve to indicate early activity in business. C. C. Olney, later a prominent realtor at Minneapolis, was doing a "land office business" in Lindsey during its formative years. Many of the advertisements in the local paper, the *Pioneer*, were of firms and establishments at Salina and Solomon City, on the new Kansas Pacific Railway (U. P.) which had headed through these budding towns for Denver in 1867—three years previously. Also, Easley, Seymour & Co. were advertising a general store, at Delphos. And somebody, outside the city limits of Lindsey, was ready to produce sorghum molasses at his "Climax Cane Mill, one and a half miles south of Corning and Dalrymple's Steam Saw Mill." This, at option, on shares, or by the day.

We should mention here a suburb of Lindsey that was sprouting across the creek toward its rival town Minneapolis. Eaton, on the rising ground north of the Lindsey creek crossing, had a few homes but no business establishments. Eaton was sponsored by a blind minister, the Rev. T. C. Eaton, and others, who had dreams of a compromise town there between Lindsey, and Minneapolis, two

miles farther up the river, at the Markley mill site. Eaton's own statement concerning the founding of the town was published in the *Pioneer*, March 4, 1871:

I was put under \$6,000 bonds for the faithful appropriation of the money awarded to my youngest daughter, (Grace) for injuries received on the New York and Erie Railroad. . . . My bondsmen advised me to purchase lands in some part of the West. . . . I purchased with the funds two hundred and forty acres, lying at the center of the County of Ottawa. . . . Twenty acres are set apart for college grounds. . . . [There] is a public square . . .; streets are . . . one hundred feet wide. . . . lots will be given to those who will erect business houses or residences.

And so we find the following in an issue of the *Pioneer*, dated March 25, 1871: "We understand that the lumber is bought, and the teams are engaged to haul it, for the erection of four large buildings at Eaton, and that some ten or twelve mechanics are engaged to erect them forthwith. E. E. Eaton, Esq., and Mr. S. Y. Woodhull have each bought a fourth of the townsite." This issue of the *Pioneer* carried cards of S. Y. Woodhull, attorney and counsellor, at Eaton, and of Thomas Waddell, justice of the peace, "Office at his new building in Eaton."

Again, in the *Pioneer*, April 15, 1871, "Mr. Eaton is now building a large dwelling house in Eaton, which will probably be the largest house in the county. He has gone to Solomon, to contract for lumber to build a large Store at Eaton." The store never materialized. The requiem: July 1, 1871, "Lindsey and Eaton have joined hands and are united under one name—LINDSEY." This was a defense merger in the county-seat conflict.

There had been a little pioneer log schoolhouse at the northeast corner of the Hollingsworth homestead, on which the settlers' "fort" was located. But when the writer came to the nearly abandoned Lindsey townsite in October, 1879, he matriculated in the grades in a pretentious two-room building—only there were no grades; and the smaller, wing-room, was not then used, though it once had a teacher. As advertised for bids, in the *Solomon Valley Pioneer*, Lindsey, March, 1871, the original school building was to be 30 by 40 feet in dimensions. Charles Hollingsworth, who attended school there from the first, relates that a few years later, when A. B. Crosby was teacher, the school board added the wing-room to the schoolhouse, to accommodate the smaller children. Crosby's wife became assistant teacher.

Shorn of this wing-room, its porches, and the anteroom where we ate frozen lunches in season, the schoolhouse took flight, in the

winter of 1898-1899, to a new site a half mile south. Here its flag floated on the breeze—and on the county map—until 1910, when the building was abandoned as a hall of learning and sold to a farmer who moved it to the home premises of Vincent Pieschl, where the Lindsey highway turns east toward Bennington, and here it now serves as a granary, 30 feet by 40 feet as previously stated.

At the site whence this old schoolhouse took flight the second time, a new building was erected, which served for school sessions until 1945, when children of the community found their way to classes at the county seat. This newer schoolhouse was struck by lightning at one time, and in repairing the tower, the old bell—probably the first to ring in the Solomon valley—fell to the ground and was broken. The metal was sold for junk and the proceeds were given to the 4-H club, which has fitted up the building for its present quarters. The bell clapper, minus the ringbolt, is reported in use for shot putting. It is now in the custody of Mrs. Vincent Pieschl.

There was never any church edifice in Lindsey, although services were held at one time or another in the schoolhouse. A minister of the Luthern church dispensed the gospel there for a time in the early 1880's, to a small band of that faith. This mission preacher was the Rev. W. C. Seidell, who lived in Eaton at the time. His manse, or parsonage, is the only residence still standing in that little ghost suburb of Lindsey. The Presbyterian church undertook to build at Lindsey in the late 1870's, but the framework of their sanctuary was blown down twice in successive storms, and abandoned for construction in Minneapolis. Some zealous partisans of another creed declared this "Act of God" was judgment for proposals to raise money by sponsoring dances. We can't picture the Rev. H. C. Bradbury, a pioneer missionary of the day, in this role.

Bradbury had come into the Lindsey community in March, 1872, with the following "send-off" by the *Solomon Valley Pioneer*, March 23:

We are pleased to learn that the Rev. H. C. Bradbury, has this week arrived, and in future will look after the spiritual wants of Lindsey and vicinity. Mr. Bradbury comes under the auspices of the Presbyterian society and is to reside at Lindsey, we hope to see much good done through his instrumentality. We extend to the . . . gentleman a cordial welcome, and know we but speak the sentiments of the entire community. On to-morrow Rev. Mr. Bradbury in conjunction with Rev. Mr. Cary of Solomon, will hold services, both morning and evening. Let there be a large turn-out.

The Presbyterian church had been organized in Lindsey as per the following, appearing in the *Pioneer*, July 22, 1871:

NOTICE. There will be preaching in Odd Fellows' Hall, on Sunday the 30th July, at 11 a. m. by Rev. Mr. Carey of the Presbyterian Church, and immediately after service the organization of the church will be completed by the election of officers. All members of the church will please be present, and all those who desire to unite with the church, either by letter or profession, will have an opportunity to do so.

A community name is on most maps only so long as the name of its post office is on government records. Following the brief tenure of Harry Makee (McKee?) as previously recorded in this account, John Henry, a pioneer merchant, took over as the second postmaster at Lindsey, May 16, 1870. Then the office went to Ezra Crosby, a druggist of the town, on September 3, 1872. After that, on April 14, 1874, Mrs. Mary G. Best (Potter) became postmistress at Lindsey. Mail was dispensed in the lobby of the old stage hotel until May 9, 1881, when the mail bags were carried by M. C. Boyle to his little store across the tracks from the box car that for a time served as a "depot." That little store is still standing in the weeds and in advanced stages of disrepair.

Hopes of the three rival communities, Lindsey, Eaton, Minneapolis, for county-seat honors continued to confuse the settlers' minds, even into the later 1870's. Land owners of the Lindsey community probably had the most at stake, for the three sites were so close together that any trade center would serve all equally well. To be nonpartisan, Minneapolis had the better site, in that it was on higher ground, well drained, and with a topography that lent itself to the construction of a dam for water power. Markley's gristmill there was in fact a drawing card.

Business firms began to move out of Lindsey from time to time, some to relocate in Minneapolis. John Henry established at the county seat, in the brownstone building which later became the Blue Store, illuminated in 1887, as facetiously reported, by both "electric lights and Israelites." Arc lights were new in the town that year, and boys were hoarding souvenir pieces of the discarded carbon sticks. The Crosby drug store interests of pioneer Lindsey were identified throughout the 1880's, at least, by a similar establishment in Minneapolis. George Shaw's harness shop also continued to serve the public at the new county seat for many years. Godfrey Schur, the shoemaker and cobbler of Lindsey, moved to a farm near Sand creek and the present state lake, where his children and grandchildren have since figured prominently in the neighborhood and

beyond. The Hollingsworth family stuck to their farm interests on the border of the Lindsey townsite and did not continue in mercantile business elsewhere.

Uncle Dicky Knight was perhaps the last business man to hang on at the ghost town of our story. When we came on the scene, in the fall of 1879, he was still shoeing horses and setting wagon tires at the old stand in Lindsey. But the railroad had come in that year, and there was a revival of local interest in business down by the tracks, a half mile south on "Main Street." Knight established himself there for a time, but later abandoned the forge for his farm, a mile or so east, at the source of a small branch of Lindsey creek—the "Knight Ponds." Sometime in the 1890's, or thereabouts, Uncle Dicky bought a long-barreled rifle and hit the Oregon trail, by rail, for the Pacific Northwest. He had two sons out there. Later a grandson, Henry G. Knight of Seattle, became chief of the bureau of chemistry and soils, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Before leaving this part of the ghost-town story, we may remark that there had been a little pioneer cemetery at the first rise east of Lindsey, on the farm of W. B. Bennett. We recall that the interments there were removed in the early 1880's; among them the remains of Francis W. Best, proprietor of the old stage hotel, originally built by Seymour Ayres.

With the coming of the railroad, in 1878-1879, there was a revival of business, down by the tracks, that for some years was quite complimentary to this new community. This new Lindsey clustered mainly about the Hollingsworth corners, where a short east-west road led from "Main Street" to a bridge across the Solomon river, quite near the old fort site. Lindsey was re-established there by a transfer of the mail bags to that place, from the old stage hotel, on May 9, 1881. Michael C. Boyle was the first postmaster, dealing out news and communications of sorts from his little store, already mentioned in this account.

In the early 1880's, Elias Kapp, relative of the Wolferspergers who later purchased the Hollingsworth farm, built a large elevator north and east of the tracks. To this he added later a grist mill and, still later, a small saw mill. In a couple of years another grain merchant, J. M. Smyser, built a second elevator across the Lindsey highway, almost opposite the Kapp establishment. Smyser was killed on his premises there in a railroad accident about Thanksgiving time, 1885.

The Lindsey post office at this railroad site was discontinued on

March 7, 1896, and re-established in January, 1899, with Ida M. Haddock as postmistress. She was succeeded by Jerome Hollingsworth, who dispensed mail for a few months, when the office was again discontinued, August 31, 1901. Once more the office was revived, May 16, 1902, to live this time for some 40 years. During this period ten office holders held forth, among them, Vesta Wolfersperger, September 18, 1907, to January 3, 1910; and John N. Wolfersperger, June 9, 1911, to March 29, 1916. This family lived on the old Hollingsworth farm, which was the site of Fort Solomon, alias Fort Podunck, in the middle 1860's. The last postmaster was Donald Joseph Lane, who took over on November 28, 1936, and held forth until June 30, 1942. Since then Lindsey has been, officially, only a memory. There is still, however, a flagstop at the place, with a little cubicle for freight, and a designation on the Union Pacific time table.

Only a few old-timers of the Minneapolis community will recall disappearance of the ghost town's first and last landmark, the old stage hostelry, which was burned in the late 1890's. And by these it would be remembered only as one of the neighborhood's farm premises. Its two-acre site, though submerged by wheat fields, still holds proudly aloof on the county maps, at the extreme S. E. corner of the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 8, T. 11, R. 3, as added to the G. M. Hamilton estate. The old town well, which also supplied the school for many years, is still intact on this site, in an alfalfa field. But it has lost its rope and buckets and is covered by a protective slab of concrete.

A Robbery on the Santa Fe Trail, 1827

Edited by JAMES W. COVINGTON

INTRODUCTION

AFTER William Becknell had led 21 men and three wagons from Missouri to Santa Fe in 1822 and reaped a rich harvest on his second visit to the Mexican city, many traders were eager to make the trip and exchange their supplies of dry goods for livestock, furs, silver, and gold. The market for the gloves, plain and fancy prints, blue jeans, combs, looking glasses, scissors, and various other articles, was one that was to expand for many years. The amount of goods brought to Santa Fe from Missouri jumped from \$2,000 in 1823 to \$65,000 in 1825.

There were some hazards attached to this very lucrative business. Disasters could result from dangerous water supplies, prairie fires, and attacks by wild Indians. The Santa Fe trail wound its way through some of the most war-like tribes that could be found in North America. These tribes included the Osages, Kiowas, Pawnees, Comanches, and Apaches.

Many of the merchants hoped that the United States government would encourage the trade by marking the route, making treaties with the Indians, and the establishment of military posts in the immediate neighborhood. Sen. Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri introduced a bill in the senate which provided for the marking of the Santa Fe trail and negotiation of treaties with the Indian tribes. This measure was passed and became law on March 3, 1825. Benton had to overcome much opposition to his proposal because it provided for the surveying and marking of a road which was partly in non-American territory.

The task of surveying the road and making treaties with the Indians was begun, and by 1826 the trail had been surveyed and marked to Taos, N. Mex. Treaties were concluded with the Kansa and Osage tribes of Indians.

Traffic moved along the marked route, but, soon other difficulties arose. The Pawnees, Kiowas, and Comanches gave the traders some trouble when the caravans moved through their respective territories. The Pawnees were just as warlike as their neighbors, the Kiowas and Comanches, but they did not make war against

JAMES W. COVINGTON is professor of history at the University of Tampa, Tampa, Fla.

the white man. Instead, these astrologers and philosophers of the Great Plains graded their station in life by the number of horses that they could steal.

All of the Plains Indians were great horse stealers, but the Pawnees were the masters. They knew every trick in the art of camouflage, psychological warfare, sudden attack, and quick retreat with the spoils.

The flow of horses, jacks, jennies, and mules on the Santa Fe trail was a most tempting sight for the Pawnees. It was not long before they began to attack the caravans and steal their livestock. The following letter is the story of how seven traders from Missouri lost many of their animals to the Pawnees. They were among the first traders to make the trip along the surveyed road, and they became so angry at being robbed on this government-built route that they wrote a letter to the Congress of the United States.

THE LETTER

*To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.*¹

The Petition of Thomas Talbot, Elisha Stanley, William Wolfskill, James Collins, Edwin M. Ryland, James Fielding and Solomon Houck, all citizens of the State of Missouri and of the United States, humbly represents, that your Petitioners being desirous of participating with their fellow citizens in the trade carried on between the citizens of the United States especially those of Missouri, and the inhabitants and leading towns, and villages of Taos, Santa Fe etc. in the province of New Mexico, in the Republic of Mexico, did for that purpose make outfits in lawful merchandize suited to said leading towns and villages and having associated themselves together with sundry others for the purpose of safe handling mutual assistance and self defense, whilst passing from the State of Missouri Taos and Santa Fe through the Indian Countries between Missouri and Mexico, your Petitioners in company with a number of other traders left Fort Osage, a point on the Missouri River, sometime in the month of August in the year of 1828, on their journey to Taos and Santa Fe or for the purposes foresaid and pursued the beaten trace along the route lately surveyed and laid out by George C. Sibley and other commissioners of the United States, to survey and lay off a public road from Fort Osage in Missouri to Santa Fe, without any material deviation from the same.² . . . And passing peaceably and quietly through all the Indian tribes on the way your petitioners arrived safely with their merchandize in Taos and Santa Fe, where they paid the duties imposed on imported merchandize by the Government of Mexico, and bartered and sold their said merchandize in Santa Fe, Taos, Sonora and other villages, to the inhabitants and people of Mexico, for horses, mules, asses, and specie—

1. Petition of Talbot, *et al.*, to the United States Congress (no date), National Archives, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Letters Received, Pawnee," 1928.

2. Fort Osage was located on the south side of the Missouri river in present Jackson county, Missouri.

That your petitioners after having spent near one year in said towns and villages in Mexico, having collected a large number of mules, asses, some horses and specie, left Santa Fe on their journey homeward by the same surveyed road by which they had traveled to Santa Fe etc. and that they arrived safely with their stock at a certain point on said surveyed road, about twenty five miles west from the place where said road crosses the *Panis* fork of the river Arkansas³—where your Petitioners encamped with their said stock of mules, asses, etc. during the night of the 12th October 1827 having taken the usual precaution to secure their stock, by placing sundry sentinels to guard near said stock, to prevent losses, your petitioners reposed in a short lived security, based upon the known amicable relations existing between the United States and the Indian tribe, particularly the tribe known by the name of *Panis*, who sometimes hunt on the waters of the Arkansas where your Petitioners then were, as your Petitioners have heard.⁴ And your Petitioners represent that a band of Indians (then unseen and unknown impelled by their love of plunder, and being regardless of the rights of American citizens with whose government they professed to be in amity) amounting to about thirty in number, about the middle of the night of the said 12th of October approached the encampment of your Petitioners in a warlike and deadly manner, and when within one hundred yards of the stock of your Petitioners the said Indians fired several guns, supposed to have been aimed at your Petitioners and those in company with them—that said Indians continued to approach said encampment and stock of your Petitioners until they came within some 25 or 30 yards of said stock, when they again fired several guns and raised an appalling and well known war whoop and by divers strange noises with rattles and shaking of Buffalo hides and the said Indians immediately succeeded in scaring the stock of your Petitioners in such a manner as to cause them to run away all together in a drove with great speed: and continued to scare and chase said stock and whip the mules and asses with their bows and bowstrings in such [unreadable] as to facilitate their speed greatly. And your Petitioners represent that being left with but three gentle animals tied and hobbled they were unable, either by speed or foot, or physical force to detain or retake any part of said stock in their pursuit of several miles and that said Indians succeeded in capturing and carrying away during said night as foresaid the whole of said stock (three excepted) amounting to *one hundred and sixty-six* in number. And your Petitioners represent that they continued their pursuit after said Indians and stock on the next day (October 13th) for several miles and until your Petitioners lost the trail and deemed it unsafe to venture further in their attempt to regain said stock. And your Petitioners represent that by great good fortune they regained *sixty-six head* of said stock on the 13th October which had been abandoned by, or had escaped from said Indians during the chase, and that said Indians despoiled your Petitioners of *one hundred* head of said stock which your Petitioners have never been able to regain. And your Petitioners represent that said stock has been valued and proved by witnesses, as by vouchers herewith presented with fully mentioned in a list or schedule of the same hereunto annexed. And your Petitioners represent

3. The Panis fork of the Arkansas is the Pawnee river. The attack probably took place on the north side of the Arkansas river in present Edwards county, Kansas.

4. The Pawnees or Panis signed a treaty of amity with the United States government in 1825.

that the said band of Indians who have thus lawlessly and violently despoiled and robbed your Petitioners as aforesaid, have since said robbery, been ascertained to be of the tribe of the *Panis*, who are said to inhabit the Platte and Cow Rivers, and are in amity with the United States, which ascertainment has been made by means of certain facts, peculiarities and circumstances, which are fully set forth in the affidavits of witnesses herewith presented. And your Petitioners represent that they have sustained great damage in consequence of said robbery, and inasmuch as your Petitioners believe that government is able and willing, as well as bound in good faith to protect every citizen's lawful rights and property, whether the same be found upon the bosom of the ocean, or in the heart of the wilderness there lawfully taken and possessed: And inasmuch as your Petitioners were at the time of said robbery pursuing a lawful commerce between the United States and Mexico, upon a highway laid out and sanctioned by the public authority of the government of the United States and being unable to retrieve their losses in any other way, your Petitioners humbly conceive that they are in justice and equity entitled to relief, *there being no act of Congress expressly authorizing renumeration for losses sustained from Indians under circumstances like these.*⁵ Wherefore your Petitioners, replying your justice, and protecting care, humbly pray relief in the [unreadable] by being allowed such sums as may be found just, to be paid them respectively by authority of a law making an appropriation in their behalf.⁶

[Signed by]

THOS. TALBOT

WILLIAM WOLFSKILL

ELISHA STANLEY

JAMES COLLINS

SOLOMON

HOUCK

EDWIN M. RYLAND

JAMES FIELDING

5. Military escorts were infrequently provided and the traders soon learned how to protect themselves.

6. There is a penciled note on this request that it was denied by action of a committee.

Bypaths of Kansas History

FIGHT WITH A BUFFALO

From the *Ellis County Star*, Hays City, June 15, 1876.

We learn from Mr. H. C. Allen of this city the following facts concerning a rough and tumble fight between W. N. Morphy, late of this city, and a nearly full grown buffalo calf, which for cool daring beats any thing we have as yet heard of. On Tuesday last, while Messrs. Allen and Morphy were driving along the prairie between Buckner and the Saw Log a herd of buffaloes were seen approaching. As soon as the animals came in sight a thirst for blood was aroused within the minds of the two travelers. The only weapons in the outfit were a thirty-two calibre revolver and a ripping knife. Morphy jumped on his pony with the revolver, and struck out for the game, Allen following with the ripping knife as soon as he could detach one of his horses from the wagon, and secure the other. Morphy soon had a victim singled out and fired at him five times; but the pony jumped up and down in such a manner that not one of the shots took effect. Soon getting tired of running, the animal turned and charged on the pony. He tried this several times, until the matter becoming somewhat monotonous to the recipient of its attentions, he charged on the buffalo. They collided, and pony, buffalo and Morphy were scattered all over the ground. All three regained their footing at the same time, and each commenced business: the buffalo to butting the pony, and Morphy to kicking the buffalo. While busily engaged in this pleasing entertainment the animal, turning quickly, made for Mr. M. The latter seized him around the neck in a loving embrace and they went to the earth together, the man uppermost. Just at this stage of affairs Mr. Allen arrived and while the bison was down thrust his knife into its vitals, thus ending one of the most novel struggles ever heard of outside of a ten cent novel.

THOSE DODGE CITIANS AT IT AGAIN

From the *Dodge City Times*, May 12, 1877.

Wm. Meyer, the boneologist, had a runaway last Wednesday. He had put his shoulder to the wheel, as it were, and was hauling bones himself with a hired team. The horses got frightened at some Russian remarks Mr. Meyer got off, and started to run. At every jump they made Meyer sent a volley of Hessian invectives after them, which only served to increase their speed. They stopped a mile up the Arkansas, after running into the water. The wagon was a total wreck, and Mr. Meyer says he is more than ever inclined to the opinion that cheese made of milk is superior to that which grows on trees, and has decided not to take stock in Dick Evans' bacon quarry. In fact, he has so far lost faith in our Western institutions as to almost doubt the existence of carpet tack trees and snuff mines.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Included recently in Elizabeth Barnes' series, "Historic Johnson County," in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, were an article on the Lone Elm camping ground, April 14, 1955, and a history of the Merriam post office, June 2. The Lone Elm camping ground was an area on the Santa Fe trail southwest of Olathe where travelers often spent the night. During the summer histories of the following volunteer fire departments of Johnson county were featured: Lenexa, June 16, 1955; Lake Quivira, June 23; Shawnee, June 30; Mission No. 1, July 7; Merriam, July 14; and Mission No. 2, July 28.

A biographical sketch of Calvin W. Floyd, 82-year-old cattleman and banker of Sedan, appeared in the April 17, 1955, issue of the Coffeyville *Daily Journal*. The old iron bridge that spanned the Neosho river near Oswego, built 69 years ago, was the subject of an article in the *Journal*, June 7.

A history of the Pony Express mail service, established in April, 1860, and a brief description of the Hollenberg Ranch Pony Express Station, near Hanover, were published in the *Hanover News*, April 18, 1955. This station is one of the historic sites now preserved by the state.

On April 21, 1895, the Canton Christian church was organized under the leadership of the Rev. P. H. Guy. In connection with the celebration of its 60th anniversary, the history of the church was printed in the *Canton Pilot*, April 21, 1955.

The Manhattan *Mercury* published a 100-page centennial edition April 27, 1955. Included were historical articles on the town, the surrounding community, Kansas State College, and other Manhattan institutions.

A 64-page centennial edition was published by the Junction City *Union*, April 29, 1955. Many articles on the events, persons and institutions that make up Junction City history were included. During the months of March, April and May, the *Union* published dozens of pictures illustrating the history of the city.

Mrs. Margaret Curry's part in guiding her son, John Steuart Curry, toward success as an artist was the theme of "Portrait of a Mother," by Oren Arnold, in the *Farm Journal*, Philadelphia, May, 1955. Curry is probably best known for his murals in the state house and his painting "The Line Storm."

The story of Clay Center's two Negro churches, by L. F. Valentine, was printed in the *Clay Center Times*, May 5, 1955. Methodist and Baptist Negro congregations thrived in Clay Center 70 to 50 years ago. Neither exist now.

A history of the post office at Park, Gove county, was printed in *The Gove County Advocate*, Quinter, May 19, 1955.

The Ness County News, Ness City, printed an article by Ellen Maguire on the history of Ness county, May 26, 1955. The *News* published the reminiscences of the late J. W. Topping, June 2, covering the period 1883-1888, when Topping was a Ness county rancher.

A 68-page centennial historical edition was published by the *Iola Register*, May 30, 1955. The publisher stated "that it contains a substantial amount of original research revealing facts and pictures never before published, and that it does represent a reasonably comprehensive summary of the highlights of Allen County's 100-year history." One section was devoted to Humboldt and also appeared as a part of the Humboldt *Union's* centennial issue, May 26.

The Holton *Recorder's* 26-page issue of June 9, 1955, included historical sections printed in observance of Holton's centennial. Articles and pictures told the story of Holton's history.

Horton history is included in a report by J. W. McManigal in the *Horton Headlight*, June 16, 1955, on a study of a photograph collection. The pictures are views of Horton in 1886 and 1887.

The life of Charles Alger, pioneer in the Douglass community, was reviewed in the *Douglass Tribune*, June 16, 1955. Alger came to Douglass in 1870 when he was two years old.

Bennett Cerf, publisher and columnist, took note in his syndicated column, "The Cerfboard," recently, of the demise of the Dalton gang in Coffeyville, October 5, 1892. His story was published in the *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, June 16, 1955.

Among the many historical articles published in recent months by the *Hays Daily News* were: "A Second Fight With 800 Cheyennes Came Shortly After Gen. Custer's Last Stand," June 19, 1955; "Three Gun Salutes, Balloon Ascensions, 'Jolly Good Time' Filled July 4th 1878," and "Gen. Custer Never Commanded Ft. Hays Despite Tradition," July 3; "Even the Most Vicious Bad Men of Early West Had Some Hidden Redeeming Qualities," July 10; "H. P. Wilson Wrote Thrilling Story of Black Kettle's Last Raid," July 17; "D.

C. Nellis Wrote First-Hand Early History of Hays in 1907," July 24, 31, August 7; and "Everyone Wants to Write About Nicodemus, Only All-Negro Community in the State," by Mrs. Bernice Brown, July 31.

The early history of the Dow creek (Lyon county) community by John A. Scheel was printed in the *Emporia Gazette*, June 22, 1955, and the *Weekly Gazette*, June 30. Lorenzo Dow and R. H. Abraham were the first settlers, arriving in 1855. The history was read at the centennial celebration of the community's pioneers and descendants, June 19, 1955.

"Battle of Indian Rock Played an Important Part in Salina's History," is the title of an article by Bob Chesky in the *Salina Journal*, June 26, 1955. The information was compiled by G. S. Ripley, assistant curator of the Saline County Historical Museum. Chesky states that this fight in 1857 was between the "blanket," or more civilized, Indians to the east and the wilder Indians to the west. The "blanket" Indians were victorious.

Two articles about Mrs. Lalla Brigham were published in the *Council Grove Republican*, July 1, 1955: a biographical sketch by Mrs. R. R. Cross, and an autobiography entitled "My Story," written in 1942. July 2 was "Lalla Brigham Day" in Council Grove, honoring her on her 88th birthday. Another story about Mrs. Brigham, by Ruby Osborn, was printed in the *Pratt Daily Tribune*, June 30. Mrs. Brigham came to Council Grove in 1871 when her father, John Maloy bought the *Council Grove Democrat*. She developed an interest in history early in life and became the leader in the Council Grove community in promoting historical monuments, celebrations, and observances. For years she served as the town's historian, writing extensively about the history of Council Grove and the Santa Fe trail.

Newspapers taking note of the 100th anniversary of the initial meeting of the first Kansas territorial legislature, July 2-6, 1855, in a stone building in the town of Pawnee, included the *Junction City Union*, July 2, 1955, and the *Manhattan Mercury*, July 3, which published accounts of the meeting.

Dodge City history found a place in a recent issue of *Western Mobile Home News*, Long Beach. The article, written by Hal Sackett, was reprinted in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, July 4, 1955.

A series of articles on Olathe churches by Bill Miller was published through the summer by the *Johnson County Democrat*, Olathe. Included were: Episcopal church, July 7, 1955; First Methodist church, July 21; Assembly of God, August 11; and Nazarene church, August 18.

Kansas Historical Notes

A Fort Leavenworth Historical Committee has been preparing plans to bring the story of Fort Leavenworth to the attention of the nation. Among the results are a study of the post museum, designed to improve the exhibits and gain additional space, and the recent organization of the Fort Leavenworth Historical Society. At its first meeting the society was addressed by John Feller, president of the Leavenworth County Historical Society.

The commissioners of Sherman county have given the Sherman County Historical Society permission to install display cases for pictures and relics in the first-floor lobby of the courthouse. A small grant was made to help finance the project.

Formal dedication of the Ft. Wallace Memorial Museum, at Wallace, took place July 4, 1955, with a Western-type celebration, including a rodeo and a chuck-wagon feed.

U. S. Sen. Frank Carlson was the principal speaker at the dedication and opening of the old Ft. Hays blockhouse and museum, July 4, 1955. The Chamber of Commerce and Lions Club of Hays had been working for months renovating the historic building and starting the museum.

Formation of the Capper Memorial Association was completed July 11, 1955, with the granting of a charter by the secretary of state. Purpose of the association is the restoration and preservation of the house in Garnett where Arthur Capper was born, July 14, 1865. Incorporators are: Gwinn G. Shell, Garnett, Leland H. Schenck, Topeka, and Curtis Koch, Welda. Directors include: Shell, Schenck; C. H. Oman, Marguerite Stevenson and Florine Velthoen, Garnett; Fred Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg; and Jess Denious, Jr., Dodge City.

Officers of the Douglass Historical Society are: Mrs. Gladys Sherar, president; Walter Martin, vice-president; Mrs. Viola Dennett, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. Turia Bolington, reporter; and Mrs. Eunice Martin, historian. The fifth annual report of the society appeared in the Douglass *Tribune*, July 28, 1955.

The annual picnic of the Riley County Historical Society was held in Manhattan August 3, 1955. Plans were made to decorate and furnish a room in Manhattan's new auditorium for the society's collection of records and museum pieces.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PATROLLING THE SANTA FE TRAIL: Reminiscences of John S. Kirwan, Introduction by Merrill J. Mattes, 569	
RANGE BALLADS	John Clifford, 588
NOTES ON THE WRITING OF GENERAL HISTORIES OF KANSAS: Part Five—The "Vanity" Histories (This is the concluding article of the series which began in the Autumn, 1954, number of the <i>Quarterly</i>)	James C. Malin, 598
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	644
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	646
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	647
ERRATA AND ADDENDA, VOLUME XXI	650
INDEX TO VOLUME XXI	651

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THE COVER

Forest Avenue (now Broadway) in Parsons on August 4, 1873, as sketched by Jules Tavernier. Parsons was then about three years old. The original picture, in water colors, is owned by the Kansas State Historical Society. For biographical information on Tavernier see *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 14, pp. 1-35.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Number 8

Patrolling the Santa Fe Trail: Reminiscences of John S. Kirwan

Introduction by MERRILL J. MATTES

THE Kirwin reservoir project, on the North Fork of Solomon river, in Phillips county, Kansas, brings into prominence the name of a soldier who fought valiantly in the Indian wars of the Kansas frontier. In 1859-1861 Pvt. John S. Kirwan of Company K, 4th U. S. cavalry, based at Fort Riley, helped to patrol the Santa Fe trail. After an interruption of four years, occasioned by the Civil War, Col. John S. Kirwan of the 12th regiment, Tennessee Volunteer cavalry, returned to Kansas to deal once again with the Indians, setting up a stockade on the North Fork of the Solomon called Camp Kirwan. This encampment was obscure, short-lived, and historically inconsequential, but it did inspire the naming (but not the spelling) of the new settlement of "Kirwin" in 1871.

Although Phillips county was created by the Kansas legislature in 1867, Indian alarms deterred its settlement until 1870. In December of that year the townsite of Benton was located at the mouth of Deer creek, on the left bank of Solomon river, by William Swanson and John McBride. By June, 1871, prospective settlers had appeared in numbers, the Kirwin Town Company was formed, and a city of ambitious proportions, named for the abandoned army camp across the river, was plotted. One of the earliest structures was a log stockade, frequently used during a succession of Indian "scares."

Kirwin is now a modest village ranking fourth in population in Phillips county, behind Phillipsburg, Logan, and Agra. With many large and substantial abandoned buildings, it has obviously seen better days. Indeed, despite the fact that Phillipsburg became the county seat in 1872, Kirwin was for several years the largest

MERRILL J. MATTES is regional historian of Region Two, National Park Service, Omaha, Neb.

town in the county, due to its capture of the government land office in 1875 and the arrival of the Atchison, Colorado and Pacific railroad (now a branch of the Missouri Pacific) in 1879. Its decline began in 1887 when the Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska (now the Rock Island railroad) reached Phillipsburg. In 1893 the land office was removed to Oberlin.¹

Kirwin retains the distinction of being the first permanent settlement in Phillips county and the locale of the Kirwin *Chief*, which contained the earliest publication yet found of the immortal ballad "Home on the Range."² The Kirwin reservoir project is restoring growth and new prestige to the community.³

Construction of the Kirwin dam by the Bureau of Reclamation, United States Department of the Interior, is part of an all-embracing water control plan for the Missouri river basin, launched by the Flood Control Act of 1944. The National Park Service, another agency of the Department of the Interior, co-operates with the bureau by making surveys of historical and archeological features of proposed reservoir areas, by authority of the so-called historic sites act of 1935. In the Missouri river basin this is the specific responsibility of the history division of the Region Two office of the National Park Service, at Omaha, Neb., in collaboration with the Missouri river project, river basin surveys, Smithsonian Institution, headquartered at Lincoln, Neb.

In 1946 archeologists of the Smithsonian Institution reported evidence of "a small military post" in the Kirwin reservoir area on the edge of a low bluff on the south bank of the Solomon, about one half mile above the mouth of Bow creek and one and a half miles southwest of Kirwin village. In December of that year, the writer made a field investigation, examining the site and obtaining data from local residents who had a wealth of tradition but few solid facts regarding "old Camp Kirwan." This was later supplemented by meager data from published sources available in the libraries of the Kansas State Historical Society and the State His-

1. "Inventory of County Archives of Kansas, No. 74, Phillips County," Kansas Historical Records Survey, W. P. A., 1941; Kirwin *Kansan*, September 26, 1940, and August 20, 1942; Albert R. Greene, "U. S. Land-Offices in Kansas," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. 8 (1903-1904), p. 11; Merrill J. Mattes, "Historical Aspects of Kirwin Reservoir North Fork, Solomon River, Kansas," prepared by National Park Service for Bureau of Reclamation, Region 7, Denver, Colo., February, 1947 (manuscript copy in files of Kansas State Historical Society); Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas, a Cyclopaedia* (Chicago, 1912), v. 2, pp. 77, 78; A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1514.

2. Kirke Mechem, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 17 (November, 1949), p. 319. Words of the song were published in the *Kirwin Chief*, February 26, 1876.

3. The reservoir behind Kirwin Dam will spare Kirwin but will inundate the site of Camp Kirwan. Construction of the dam is tentatively scheduled for completion in December, 1955.

torical Society of Missouri, and disappointing but somewhat more substantial data from the National Archives in Washington, D. C.

The discovery of Kirwan's reminiscences of adventures along the Santa Fe trail in 1859-1861 was a by-product of efforts by the National Park Service to gather data relating to the doomed site of Camp Kirwan, 1865.

John M. Gray, citizen of Kirwin and an authority on local history, informed the writer that on June 24, 1946, he was visited by John S. Gregory of Lynwood, Cal., a great-grandson of Colonel Kirwan. An inquiry directed to Mr. Gregory led to correspondence with his aunt, a granddaughter of Colonel Kirwan, Mrs. M. Schuring, also of Lynwood. After consultation with relatives living in Missouri, Mrs. Schuring came up with "a copy of the autobiography that had been made up out of a diary Colonel Kirwan kept in his youth and written down some 50-odd or more years ago by one of the children." The original diary itself is apparently missing.

The rather impressive career of John S. Kirwan is outlined in the now scarce *History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps and Dent Counties, Missouri*.⁴

Kirwan was born in Lempster, Sullivan county, N. H., June 22, 1840. His parents, Hugh and Bridget (Hanigan) Kirwan, were born in the counties of Galway and Roscommon, Ireland, respectively, and were the parents of ten children, five boys and five girls, John being the eldest. John nearly missed being an American citizen for it was not until May, 1840, that his father immigrated to America, to engage in farming.

In 1851 Hugh Kirwan died, at age 65, and his widow and children moved to Manchester, N. H., where John attended school and worked part time in the factories. In 1855 he entered the dry goods house of H. Doherty & Company, Boston, as a salesman, but in 1856 he returned to Manchester to act as a salesman for Wright & Gill, and W. A. Putney & Company. In 1858, at age 18, John "ran away from home" and enlisted in the regular army at Boston.⁵ He was shortly sent to the school of instruction for cavalry, "the mounted service," at Carlisle Barracks, Pa. His subsequent adventures as an enlisted cavalryman on the Kansas frontier in 1859-1860 are the theme of the appended reminiscences.

In the fall of 1861 his company was ordered from Fort Leaven-

4. The Goodspeed Publishing Company, Chicago, 1889. The writer is indebted to Dr. Floyd C. Shoemaker of the State Historical Society of Missouri for a transcription.

5. The statement in the "reminiscences" that he was 19 at the time of his desertion is apparently an error.

worth to campaign with Union armies in the South. Kirwan participated in many hard-fought engagements during the next few years. He was colonel of the 12th Tennessee cavalry at Eastport, Miss., when ordered with his regiment to St. Louis, Mo., on May 1, 1865.

The 12th Tennessee cavalry left Eastport May 11 by steamer and arrived at St. Louis May 17. The official report on the summer's campaign is given in the report of Bvt. Brig. Gen. George Spalding, regimental commander, who did not personally accompany the expedition:

. . . The Regiment was remounted and refitted and sent to Fort Leavenworth to report to General Mitchell. Left St. Louis May 30th, and arrived at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, June 7th. On the 18th the Regiment started as an escort for a party of surveyors with orders to establish camp on the North Fork of Solomon River, west of the 2d Guide meridian, which point it reached July 10th, 1865. The Regiment furnished the surveyor's a sufficient escort and the rest of the Regiment scouted the country through Southern Nebraska and Northern Kansas, as far as the Colorado line. Sept. 3d, orders having been received to return to Fort Leavenworth for muster out, the Regiment started to Fort Leavenworth where it arrived Sept. 18th. Oct. 7th, the Regiment was mustered out by Capt. Hubbard, 13th Mo. Cav., and A. C. M., and started to Nashville Oct. 9th, where it arrived the 19th, and was finally paid and discharged Oct. 24th, 1865.⁶

Relationship of the Kirwan expedition to the general military strategy against the Indians is given in the November 1, 1865, report of Maj. Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, Hdqts., U. S. Forces Kansas and the Territories, Fort Leavenworth, to Bvt. Lieut. Col. Jos. McC. Bell, Asst. Adj. Gen., Department of the Missouri, at St. Louis:

In forming my plans for the campaign my understanding was that the hostile Indians were to be punished at all hazards, and this I intended to do, knowing if I was allowed to press the campaign according to my plans that before another spring a satisfactory and durable peace could be obtained. My general plan of operations was marked out as follows, viz: General P. E. Connor, commanding District of the Plains, was to move against the northern Indians in three columns; General J. B. Sanborn, commanding District of Upper Arkansas, to move with three columns against the southern Indians, and two separate columns, small and light, were to move, respectively, up the Republican and Smoky Hill Forks of the Kansas River, and keep the country between the Platte and Arkansas Rivers free from Indians, and aid in keeping the great overland routes unobstructed. In addition to these dispositions troops had to be kept posted on the Platte stage and telegraph lines from Fort Kearny, via both Denver and Fort Laramie to Salt Lake City and along the Arkansas route to New Mexico. . . .

The column sent up the Republican was under Lieutenant-Colonel Kirwan,

6. Photostated excerpt from a published history of Tennessee during the Civil War furnished by Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, state librarian and archivist, State Department of Education, Nashville, Tenn.

Twelfth Tennessee Cavalry, and was about 350 strong. It kept that country clear of Indians during the entire summer, and protected the Government surveyors who were employed in completing the work they were driven from the year previous. The force sent up the Smoky Hill route under Major Pritchard was about 250 strong. While scouting that country it at the same time opened that route to Denver, which is now traveled with a daily stage, and is about 100 miles nearer to Denver from all points south of Saint Joseph than the Platte route. . . .⁷

In a report of several pages, given over mainly to the unsuccessful "Powder river expedition" under General Connor, the sortie "up the Republican" is thus revealed as a minor operation, but an essential part of the grand strategy designed to suppress the Sioux, Cheyenne, Comanche, and their allies who had been staging a rebellion of their own out on the Plains while the Civil War was in progress.

Three related documents from the National Archives will serve to throw light on the hitherto obscure history of Camp Kirwan, the focal point of Colonel Kirwan's campaign "up the Republican":

Head Quarters District North Kansas
FORT LEAVENWORTH June 12th, 1865

Special Order
No. 118

- 2 The commanding officer 12th Tenn. Cav. will detail two Companies of his command to report to *Lieut. Col. Heinrichs* comdg. Post Fort Leavenworth for duty with the garrison at this Post
- 3 The remaining companies of the regiment will proceed as soon as the regiment is paid to the north Fork of Solomons Fork west of the 2d Guide meridian and will under the command of the regimental commander be encamped at such point as will enable the command to carry its orders into execution
- 4 Three escorts will be furnished one to accompany surveying party with *Mr. Angell*, one with party under charge of *Mr. Chester Ruthruff* and with *Mr. Hugh McKee*
- 5 *Hugh McKee* will have general supervision over the surveying parties and his suggestions and directions as to the movements of escorts so far as they may relate to the movements of the surveying parties
- 6 The encampment of the command will be made at such central point in the country to be operated and with such reserves as to enable the detachment to concentrate if necessary for offensive or defensive movements
- 7 The commanding officer will make the prescribed reports and returns to these Head Qrs.
- 8 *John W. Smith* will be placed upon the Q. M. rolls as a scout

7. *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 1, v. 48, pt. 1 (Washington, 1896), pp. 335-348. See, also, *Frederick H. Dyer, Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, 1908), p. 1,641.

with compensation at the rate of six (\$6) and one ration per diem from the 21st ult. and will accompany the 12th Tenn. Cav.

- 9 The commanding officer 12th Tenn. Cav. will furnish *John Smith* Guide with a horse and equipments.

By Order of

Brig. Genl. ROBT. B. MITCHELL
J. W. PRATT
A. A. G.

Comdg Officer
12 Ten Cav⁸

Headquarters United States Forces,
Kansas and the Territories,
FORT LEAVENWORTH, July 30th 1865

Brig Genl C. J. Stalbrand
Com'dg District of Kansas.
Fort Leavenworth.

General:

I am directed by the Major General Commanding to instruct you to cause the 12th Tennessee Cavalry to make a scout up the Republican and back on the Solomon, watching close for any Indian signs, and whipping any party of Indians there may be in that country. They will leave a sufficient force to take care of their camp and protect surveying parties, which need not be very large, as it is said there are no Indians near their present camp, and their movement will attract the attention of any Band between Smoky Hill and the Platte.

They should make a rapid march, and reconnoiter thoroughly, going beyond Big Timbers on the Republican. On their return they will send to Kearney and telegraph to the Commanding General, wherever he may be, the result of their reconnaissance, and make their written report to you.

I have the honor to be, General,

Very Respectfully, Yr Ob Svt.

J. F. BENNETT
A. A. Genl⁹

Hd. Qrs 12th Tenn Cavy.
CAMP KIRWAN KAN Aug. 22d 1865

Captain

I have the honor to state that I received your dispatch Aug 6th inst and proceeded according to instruction to the Republican up the Republican ten miles above the Big Timber thence south to North Fork of Solomon thence down Solomon to Camp

The only Indian signs I could see any where was at the Big Timber and that appeared to be nearly a year old (about the time General Mitchell made his scout last fall)

The command with me numbered one hundred and sixty strong. We were

8. Records of the War Department, Headquarters District of North Kansas.

9. *Ibid.*, U. S. army command, letter of July 30, 1865, "K" 98 District of Kansas.

about sixteen days and marched a distance of three hundred and forty seven miles

Very Respectfully Your Obt Servt
JNO. S. KIRWAN
Lt. Col. Comdg.

To

Cap John Pratt
A. A. G.¹⁰

From these records it appears that Camp Kirwan was clearly a temporary summer encampment from which the troops embarked on patrols to scout out the country for Indian predators, and to protect the surveyors.¹¹ It seems equally clear that Indians were scarce in that region, no engagements took place, and the surveyors were unmolested. This documented picture is quite different from the picture of "Fort Kirwan" based on a quite unreliable source painted by Garfield in an early issue of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*:

Somewhat different from that of other forts in Kansas is the history of Fort Kirwan. Built to meet the necessity of frontier defense, it failed to meet that need and consequently was abandoned. The fort was established in 1865 by Colonel Kirwin and a company of Tennessee volunteers who were sent to protect the Kansas frontier. The site chosen was near the confluence of Bow creek with the North Solomon river in what is now Phillips county. Colonel John Kirwin, its builder, finding the country swarming with the hostile Indians, judiciously decided to vacate. There were no settlers needing protection within one hundred miles of the fort.¹²

Kirwan must have been favorably impressed with the Solomon river valley, for immediately after being mustered out of service with his regiment he filed on a homestead in Ottawa county, Kansas, soon opening the first store in the budding community which be-

10. *Ibid.*, U. S. army command, District of Kansas, K 123, 1865.

The regimental records for the year 1865 include the usual muster rolls and returns. Ordinarily the returns would show the detailed movements of this regiment, but the "Record of Events" column is not filled out.—Letter of August 14, 1952, to the writer from Richard G. Wood, for Dallas Irvine, chief archivist, War Records Branch.

11. "Camp Kirwan" appears in the SE¼, SE¼, Sec. 32, T. 4 S., R. 16 W., 6th P. M., original township plat issued by the surveyor general's office. Roads from Camp Kirwan to Fort Riley and Fort Kearney are indicated.

Lyman H. Perkins, who originally homesteaded the quarter section which embraces the "Camp," apparently respected the historic site for he refrained from cultivating it. Today the shallow outline of a ditch or trench, roughly 65 feet square by actual measurement, survives, bordered on the east by a grassy plateau, on the south by a cultivated field, on the west by deep gully, and on the north by the cottonwood-lined Solomon river. Evidence supports the theory that Camp Kirwan consisted only of a few tents within a stockade or enclosure, probably composed of upright cottonwood poles. The site was well selected, commanding an excellent view of the river and adjacent plain. Reconnaissance by a Smithsonian Institution field party in 1953 failed to reveal further significant evidence. The reputed near-by grave of a soldier who died of cholera in 1865 remains unconfirmed.

12. Marvin H. Garfield, "The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1 (November, 1931), pp. 58, 59, whose source was Z. T. Walrond, "Annals of Osborne County, Kansas, 1870-1879" (a bound volume of clippings in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society), p. 21.

came present Minneapolis. Again demonstrating qualities of leadership, in 1866 he was elected a delegate from Ottawa county to the state Republican convention at Topeka, and was there elected one of the vice-presidents of that convention.

For reasons not made clear, Kansas must somehow have lost its charm for Colonel Kirwan, for in 1867 he moved to St. Louis, Mo., and became a member of the police force of that city, first as a sergeant, then as a captain. In 1870 he resigned from the force and took the stump with other liberal Republicans, in favor of the enfranchisement of Confederate soldiers.

In 1871 he entered the St. Louis post office and worked there for over 16 years, resigning on December 1, 1887. On January 1, 1880, he purchased a farm near Raymondville, Mo.¹³ Here he died in 1908.¹⁴ His only child, Ella Cecelia Kirwan, married Benjamin Osborn Holt of Raymondville, having four children, one of them being Mrs. M. Schuring of Lynwood, Calif., to whom we are indebted for the following reminiscences of the Santa Fe trail in 1859-1861.

REMINISCENCES OF JOHN S. KIRWAN

When I was a youngster, on the farm where I was raised on Lempster Mountain, Sullivan County, New Hampshire, I read a novel written by Charles Lever, called "Charles O'Malley, or the Irish Dragoon." This fixed my ambition to become a soldier, when I was old enough to be one.

My father died when I was eleven years old; my mother sold the little farm and the family moved to Manchester, N. H. I worked in the mills there for a short time, until a friend managed to place me in a Wholesale & Retail Dry Goods House in Boston, Mass. where I stayed for about a year. A member of the firm opened a store in Manchester, N. H. and I was more than glad to return there with him and be at home again. I remained there until I was nineteen years old, when I ran away to Boston and enlisted in the Mounted Service, U. S. Army.

Lt. Ramson [Hyatt C. Ransom] of the Mounted Rifles was recruiting Officer and informed me, that he could not accept me, unless I had my mother's consent. The recruiting Sergeant noticed my disappointed looks and followed me out to the sidewalk. He told me to come back the next day late in the afternoon as by that time

13. *History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps and Dent Counties, Missouri.* See Footnote 4.

14. From supplemental biographical data supplied by Mrs. M. Schuring, Lynwood, Cal.

in the day Ransom would be so intoxicated, that he would not know how old I was and that he (the Sergeant) would put my age down as twenty two. I did not like the idea of the deception, but solaced my conscience thinking the Sergeant was doing the deceiving.

In about ten days we had about twenty recruits and started for Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. At New York and Philadelphia we received quite a number of recruits and numbered over a hundred on leaving Philadelphia. We arrived at Carlisle Barracks at about 4 P. M. as hungry a set of boys as you ever saw. As we arrived between meals there was nothing to be had but some hard tack and cabbage soup and this did not agree with me. Some of the boys were very much disappointed until the next day when they found out that the regular fare was all right. After we rested a day we were assigned to different squads and started to drill.

Carlisle Barracks at that time was the General Rendezvous for recruits of the Mounted Service. Approximately 500 men were there, divided into Companies of about 80 men each and lettered alphabetically. The post was commanded by Lt. Col. [George B.] Crittenden of the Mounted Rifles (who afterwards went with the South). Among the Officers I remember were Capt. J. B. Gordon [?], of the 1st Dragoons, 1st Lt. and Brevet Capt. McRea [Alexander McRae?] of the Mounted Rifles, 2nd Lt. Joe Wheeler, Mounted Rifles, 2nd Lt. Fitzhugh Lee of the Dragoons, and 2nd Lts. [Andrew] Jackson [Jr. ?] and [Lunsford L.] Lomax of the 1st Cavalry, and several others that I cannot remember just now.

Lee, Wheeler, and Lomax appeared to be the brightest and most athletic of the lot of young officers there and were foremost in picking up handkerchiefs from the ground, their horses on the run, vaulting on and over their horses on a walk, trot, or gallop, and cutting heads placed on posts on the drill grounds. We were drilled constantly when the weather permitted during the fall and winter of 1858 and '59. At this time the Army was composed of 5 Mounted Regiments. (1st & 2nd Dragoons, the Mounted Rifles and 1st and 2nd Cavalry) 4 Regiments of Artillery, and 10 Regiments of Infantry.—Cavalry and Infantry, [comprised] 10 Companies to a Regiment. [There were] 12 Companies in a Regiment of Artillery (2 Light Batteries and 10 Companies of heavy Artillery). The heavy Artillery were drilled in infantry tactics. [I] do not remember the name of the Colonel of the 1st Dragoons; Col. Philip St. George Cook[e], commanded the 2nd Dragoons; Col. [William W.] Loring, Mounted Rifles; Lt. Col. Crittenden, 1st Cavalry (now 4th); and

Col. E. V. Sumner and Lt. Col. Jos. E. Johnston, Wm. H. Emory, Senior Major and John Sedgwick, Junior Major [also with 1st cavalry]. The 2nd Cavalry (now the 5th) had Albert Sidney Johnston, Colonel; Robert E. Lee, Lt. Colonel; Earl Van Dorn, Senior [Junior?] Major and Geo. H. Thomas, Junior [Senior?] Major.

About the 1st of May 1859 about 50 recruits were assigned [to] 4 Companies of the 1st Cavalry, stationed at Ft. Riley, Kansas Territory; Lt. Ransom of H Company of that Regiment was in command of the squad, and we travelled by rail to St. Louis and from there by steamboat "War Eagle" to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. We had to foot it from Leavenworth to Fort Riley, 125 miles and arrived there very footsore and tired on the last day of May. There we were divided among the four Companies F, G, H and K. I was assigned to K. They were all ready to go on the plains and only had awaited our arrival to start, which we did the following morning, June 1st, 1859.

The different Companies of the Regiment were located as follows: F, G, H and K at Fort Riley, Kansas, E and D at Fort Smith, Arkansas, C and I at Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory and A and B at Fort Cobb, Indian Territory. The Officers of the 1st Cavalry were Col. E. V. Sumner, commanding the Department of the West, Headquarters at St. Louis, Mo., Lt. Col. Joseph E. Johnston, detailed as Quartermaster General of the Army, Washington, D. C., Sr. Major Wm. Emory, Bvt. Lt. Col., Jr. Major John Sedgwick. The line Officers were:

Co. A	Wm. Beal [I]	Captain of Va.
" B	[Delos B.] Sackett [Sacket]	" North
" C	Thos Woods [Wood]	" North
" D	[James M.] McIntosh	" Miss.
" E	[Samuel D.] Sturgis	" North
" F	[W. D.] Desasuer [De Saussure]	" S. C.
" G	[William S.] Walker	" Fla.
" H	[Edward W. B.] Newby	" North
" I	Eugene Carr	" North
" K	Geo. H. Stuart [Steuart]	" Maryland

The First Lieutenants that I can remember were [George?] Bell of K; D.[avid] Stanley of C; J. E. B. Stuart of G; Ransom of H; Elmer Otis of F; [Philip] Stockton of B; [Oliver H.] Fish of I. As the Regiment was never to-gether before the war it is hard to remember all the names but I remember the following Second Lieutenants: Joe Taylor of K; [George D.] Bayard of G; [John A.] Thompson of F; Eli Long of H; [Edward] Ingraham of I; Lomax of D; Ives [Alfred Iverson?] of C; Jackson was at Ft. Arbuckle in A or B

Company. Some of these names became very well known during the war.

Leaving Fort Riley we crossed the Kaw River near the Fort and marched in a Southwesterly direction until we reached the Santa Fe trail at Lost Springs; and followed this to the Big Bend of the Arkansas River. As you will remember '59 was the year of the discovery of gold at Pike's Peak. There were two routes that the Peakers followed, the Northern one from Omaha along the Platt River and the other from Independence, Mo., along the Santa Fe Trail to the Arkansas River and along the north side of that river to the Raton Crossing, thence north by way of Pueblo to the new town of Denver. We were ordered to the Arkansas Valley to protect the emigrants going that way, from any Indian attacks, as there were five tribes of them roaming through that country, viz: The Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Apaches. All were supposed to be at Peace or said to be, and we had very little to do during the summer, moving camp short distances as the grass was fed short, and for sanitary reasons.

We remained there until the latter part of September when we started back to Fort Riley. Everything appeared lovely and we all anticipated a nice comfortable time the following winter at the Fort. We reached the Little Arkansas River on the evening of September 30th. About 2 A. M. the 1st Sergeant laid his hand on my shoulder and whispered in my ear: "Get up quick and make no noise, the Indians have broken loose and killed Peacock and burned his ranch"; this ranch was about 30 miles back on the road we had just travelled, at the point where the Santa Fe Trail crossed Walnut Creek a short distance from the Arkansas River. Two of the Companies G and K, were started at once; the other two F and H were to start at daylight. We made the 30 miles in two hours, and found the ranch partially burned up and the contents scattered everywhere. After killing Peacock, they scalped him, and three or four men employed by him ran away.¹⁵ It was one of them that rode to where we were and informed us of the murder.

We found one Indian only and he was so beastly drunk he could not get away and his pony was standing near him, apparently as sound asleep as its master. Just as day was breaking that Indian seemed to raise from the ground as if by magic, jumped on his pony and started away for the Bluffs. No one waited for a command but jumped on his horse and took after him. We thought

15. Although George H. Peacock's trading post was attacked September 20, 1859, no one was killed. However, a year later, on September 9, 1860, Peacock was killed there by the Kiowa chief Satank.—*Western Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., October 13, 1859; *Emporia News*, September 22, 1860.

that he had gotten away from us when suddenly Lt. Bayard came through the crowd like a whirlwind on a racer, that his uncle Senator Bayard had sent him before leaving Fort Riley. Bayard gradually lessened the distance between him and the Indian until he got within range of him, when he fired two shots over his head to stop him. This however seemed to put fresh energy in the pony, who made a fresh burst of speed. The Indian evidently thought Bayard was not a good shot; he leaned forward on his pony and slapped his back with his hand in derision. Just as he straightened up again, Bayard put a bullet in his back between the shoulders and he dropped off his pony, dead.

We immediately started back to the ranch, about 5 miles distant. We knew that an Indian war was now certain, as an Indian had been killed and from all appearances a chief of considerable prominence. Capt. Desasuer, who was in command, called a Council of his officers and it was decided to immediately hunt for the Indians. A guard was detailed for the wagons and we took 3 days rations in haversacks. We started over the Bluffs and after scouting for four days we were unable to overtake them and found that we were then only about 15 miles from Peacock's ranch, as the trails crossed and recrossed in every direction. After returning to the ranch we found that Major [James] Longstreet, Paymaster of New Mexico had camped there for the night with his escort, and I saw him the next morning. He was then a man of middle age, large and fine looking, and he left us the following day. [The next time Mr. Kirwan saw Major Longstreet was at the Banquet of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, at the Planters Hotel, 1892.]

It was decided that the command should return to Fort Riley as instructed. Just as we were ready to start, the monthly mail for Santa Fe and Albuquerque came up; they had a covered wagon drawn by four mules which made the distance from Independence, Mo. to Santa Fe, approximately 800 miles in an average time of 16 days. There were three men with the wagon, Larry Smith, the conductor and his brother Mike, the driver and an extra hand by the name of Cole. They wanted to go through without an escort, but Capt. Desasuer would not allow them as he did not consider it safe and decided to send an escort with them part of the way or until Smith thought he was out of danger. A detail was made up of seven men from each Company, one commissioned officer, Lt. Otis, and two non-commissioned Officers, Sgt. Cavenish and Corporal Richmond, a total of thirty. I was one of the

detail of my Company and the next morning as the command started East towards Fort Riley, we went West with the mail. We passed Pawnee Rock (about 15 miles) at 10.30 A. M. and reached a creek called Pawnee Ford at 2 P. M. where we made camp for the night. Smith was very impatient at the slow travelling and said he didn't believe there was an Indian in the country. Otis tried to reason with him but to no avail and at 4 P. M. the mail pulled out. That was the last time we saw Larry and Mike Smith alive.

The next morning, just as we were ready to start back, a man bareheaded and covered with blood rode into camp. We at once gathered around him and found that it was Cole, the extra hand, who was with the mail wagon the day before. He was weak from the loss of blood and suffering intense pain from wounds. His shoulder and arm were broken and the top of his head was nearly scalped. He told us, that as they crossed a dry run called Jones Dry Fork about six miles from where we were, the Indians came out of the dry creek bed and surrounded them, crying: "wano Americano." The wagon was stopped and conductor Smith ordered Cole to get out and give them whatever they wanted; he gave them a large box of sugar crackers, coffee, bacon, hams and some flour. After they had eaten what they wanted, the chief or the one acting as such, motioned for Cole to get up behind him on the pony. When Cole refused to do so, two of them jumped off their ponies, grabbed him and tried to force him to get on the pony. He jerked loose and ran around to the other side of the wagon and climbed in. In the mean time the Smiths had been turning the wagon around and got ready to start back towards our camp, but just then they opened fire, killing both brothers at the first volley. Larry was shot and killed with arrows, one going right through his heart, Mike was shot through the head.

When Cole got into the wagon, he picked up the lines from the dead man's hands and started the team. Just then he was shot and although suffering terribly, he held the lines with his right hand. The firing frightened the horses and they ran a good gait. One Indian tried several times to run in front of them but failed in the attempt and Cole decided to shoot him the next time he tried. The mules kept up the pace until they passed the bottom of the dry creek, when they came to a walk and as they got on top of the bank, the same Indian rushed forward again, but just as he got in front of the mules Cole fired his Sharp's carbine, killing him. He rolled off

his pony in front of the mules, which caused them to turn from the road and make a curve towards a large cottonwood tree standing near the creek. By this time it was getting dark and as the team turned, Cole jumped out of the wagon and laid flat on the ground. No one had seen him jump and when the Indians got up on the bank of the creek, they did not follow the curved tracks made by the wagon wheels, but went straight from the creek bed to the cottonwood tree, where the mules stopped. They undoubtedly expected to find the bodies of the Smiths and Cole in the wagon and their disappointment at not finding the latter was plainly told by their howls. Two of them started back on the trail of the wagon wheels, while the others scalped poor Smith and plundered the wagon. The two on the trail of the wagon wheels kept together until about two hundred feet from where Cole was, when one circled to the right and the other to the left, leaving him in the middle between them. They met on the road and followed it down into the creekbed. Cole from his prone position could see them, while they on their ponies could not see an object on the ground and naturally supposed that he had hid somewhere along the bank of the creek.

As soon as they [the Indians] disappeared down the creek bank, Cole commenced dragging himself along on the ground, by catching the Buffalo grass with his good hand. He kept this up until he fainted from pain and loss of blood. How long he laid there he does not know, but the pain of his wounds and the cold night air caused him considerable suffering. He crawled up on his feet and looked around but could not tell where he was. He had seen a campfire a long ways off and thinking it was our campfire started in that direction until after a long wearisome tramp he got near enough to it, to hear dogs barking. He nearly fainted again, as he knew, that there were no dogs in the soldiers camp and that it must be an Indian camp. He immediately turned back to get as far away from that campfire as possible, and trudged along reaching the Santa Fe trail a little before daylight, where he was lucky enough to meet a party of returning Pike's Peakers, consisting of 15 wagons, 21 men, 16 women and 10 children, to whom he told what had happened. They dressed his wounds as well as possible and as he knew we were to start back in the morning, he insisted that they let him have a mule and rode as fast as he could to reach us.

Lt. Otis decided to proceed to Jones' Creek, bury the Smith boys and escort the Pike's Peakers back to the settlements. He picked

two men with best and fastest horses to take a dispatch to Capt. Desasuer to report what had happened. These two men rode 90 miles that day and overtook the command at Cow Creek, where it went into camp to wait for us. We went on to Jones Creek and met the Peakers, who had made camp near a waterhole in that creek. We borrowed some picks and shovels from them and they helped us dig a wide deep grave and buried the Smiths. We then made another start for the command. The Peakers all had small rifles and plenty of ammunition; the women also had small rifles and were not afraid to use them, making in all over 60 carbines and rifles, besides each cavalry man had a heavy revolver and a saber, so we felt perfectly safe.

When we got to Ash Creek about 5 miles East of Pawnee Fork, we saw an Indian talking to a greaser, who was jerking Buffalo meat, but as soon as the Indian spied us he galloped off. One of our men could talk Mexican and the greaser told him the Indians were massed on the ridge or bluff running from Ash Creek to Pawnee Rock, about ten miles distant, where the road ran parallel to and about a quarter mile from the bluff. We placed the wagons in the center and moved on; the women or larger children drove, while the men walked on the side of the next bluffs and the cavalry front and rear of them. The women were brave and even the children were plucky; poor Cole, whom we had placed in a wagon insisted that he would fight too, so we propped him up on a bed, with his Sharp's carbine which was found at the place where he jumped out of the mailwagon. This was the same kind of carbine, we were using.

Pretty soon we came in sight of the Indians scattered along the bluff as far as we could see, moving up and down the sides of the slope. They did everything possible to draw us on, and away from the wagons, but Otis gave positive orders, that we were not to fire a shot unless attacked and under no circumstances to leave the wagons. They did not attack us and we moved along as rapidly as possible, until we arrived at a crescent-shaped pond about 5 miles East of Pawnee Rock, where we made Camp for the night. The wagons were placed so as to make a barricade from one point of the crescent-shaped pond to the other, making a pretty good defensive position in case we were bothered.

The next day we reached the Big Bend of the Arkansas River and the day thereafter found our command at Cow Creek, where K Company awaited us, the other Companies having gone to Fort

Riley. Lt. Otis and the men of the other Companies left us the next morning, taking Cole with them to the Hospital at the Fort where he eventually recovered, and the Peakers went on to the settlements. We remained until the 27th of November, guarding the mail between Cow Creek and Fort Union, New Mexico (600 miles), when we were relieved by Lt. Bell and a detail of 40 men, who made their headquarters at Pawnee Fork, and started to build Fort Larned.

We reached Fort Riley on the 29th and the next day I was detailed for guard duty. The guardhouse was a two-story building and like all the buildings there was built of rock, the lower story being used as a guardhouse while the upper part was an Assembly-room for the reserve guards, reached by a wide stairway. I was placed on Post number One and part of my duties were to guard a couple of soldiers, who were sentenced to walk in front of number one and carry a knapsack with 30 pounds of brick in it for 30 days. One of them asked to be allowed to take off his knapsack and draw a bucket of water from the well at one end of the Post, and as the day was cold, I did not want to call any of the men out, so allowed him to do as he requested.

They had their drink and just as he was putting on the knapsack, the officer of the Day, Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, came in sight, so I called out: "Turn out the Guard, Officer of the day." He answered, angrily and sharply: "Never mind the Guard," so I called out: "Never mind the Guard" and came to a proper salute. He paid no attention to the salute, but walked straight up to me and asked: "How long have you been in the service, sir?"

You learn fast in the Army, and quick as a flash it occurred to me, that a batch of recruits had arrived at the Fort about two weeks before and some of them were assigned to K; so I answered: "A little over two weeks sir." He asked the Sergeant of the Guard, Lon Stokes, who belonged to K if that was true and he promptly lied like a gentleman for me and said it was. He then turned to me and said: "It is a good thing for you, that you are a recruit, or I would punish you properly, sir, for letting that prisoner take off his knapsack, sir."

This was the first time I had seen the Captain, but I knew of him well by reputation and that was, that he was the most tyrannical officer in the Army. It was reported of him, that one time a batch of recruits came to his Company and he got them in line and commenced with the man on the right as follows: "How long have you been in the service, sir?" The man would tell him. "Have you

ever been punished, sir?" The man said "No." "Well, I will punish you, sir, I will punish you properly, sir." The next one told him he had been punished, and Lyon said: "You were not punished properly, sir, I will punish you properly, sir," and so on. Every one had to be punished and no one knew how to punish properly excepting Captain Lyon himself. His after career showed, that he was fitted for a large command, not a small one, and his patriotism showed bright when the opportunity offered. He never had the softening influence of a home, as he was an old bachelor and therefor cranky. But issues raised by the War gave his brain sufficient material to work on and made him a great General. I at least had no cause for complaint, as I considered I got off easy.

Lyon commanded B Company and Capt. and brevet Major [Henry W.] Wessel[1]s, commanded G Company, 2nd Infantry. Lyon and his Company were sent to St. Louis Arsenal in April of 1860 and Wessels to the new Fort Larned. Colonel F. W. Schaurte was then 1st Sergeant of Wessels Company G.

Preparations were made for a general crusade against the Indians as soon as the grass started, as our horses as well as the Indians' had to subsist on it. There were two columns put in the field; our 4 Companies of the 1st Cavalry and two Companies of the 2nd Dragoons, commanded respectively by Capt. [William] Steel[e] and Lt. [Francis C.] Armstrong. 2nd Lt. Merell [Lewis Merrill] was also with them. Major John Sedgwick, 1st Cavalry in command. The other column was composed of the six Companies of the 1st Cavalry, stationed at Fort Smith, Ancheta and Cobb, under command of Capt. Sturges.

We left Fort Riley about the 1st of May 1860, marched to Fort Larned and there completed our outfitting with pack mules; we did not take any wagons, except an ammunition wagon and one ambulance. We crossed the Arkansas River near Fort Larned and struck for the North Fork of the Canadian River. We scouted through that country for some time, stopping now and then for a few minutes to allow the men to get off their horses and stretch, as is the custom. My horse had a sore back and I was riding a pet mule we had. At one place where we stopped to stretch, I dropped the reins on the mule's neck, lazily swung my carbine over my shoulder, and placed my right foot on the ground. My spur caught in the coil of the lariat rope as I drew my foot from the stirrup, and as I stooped to release it, the carbine slipped off my shoulder and struck the mule. This made her jump, which drew my foot

in the coil of rope and threw me on my back. The mule seeing me fall, became frightened and ran, dragging me behind her. The carbine was fastened to my shoulderbelt by a swivel and every now and then gave me a whack on the head. Lt. J. E. B. Stuart hollered out: "Stop that mule, or she'll drag that pack to pieces." About that time, the ring holding the lariat broke and I was released, but I never forgave Stuart for his joke.

We moved through part of New Mexico, called the Salt or Sand desert and recrossed the Arkansas River at Anberry's [Aubrey's] Crossing, Colorado Territory. Company G was sent scouting while the remainder stayed on the river bank to rest the horses, as they were pretty well fagged out. Company G struck the trail of a band of the Kiowas about 40 miles North of the Arkansas. Lieutenants J. E. B. Stuart and Bayard immediately charged them and had a running fight until they reached a creek, called Black Water. The Indians were hampered with their squaws and children and were compelled to make a stand. Stuart charged again, killing about twenty. The Indians broke, leaving their squaws, teepees and a hundred ponies. Lt. Bayard was hit by an arrow in the cheekbone just below the eye. Sergeant Ockleston was shot in the left arm and two privates slightly wounded. Two days later they returned to camp. About the same time Sturges caught up with their main body on the Republican River above where Concordia, Kansas, now stands and gave them battle, killing a large number. Their chiefs then sued for peace.

The Government appointed a commission to meet the five tribes at Bents Fort, 60 miles above Anberry's [Aubrey's] Crossing. At this point the Government decided to establish Fort Wise, named in honor of Governor Wise of Virginia. Major Sedgwick was assigned as commander and our four Companies as a garrison. We used Bents old Fort as a quartermaster department and erected the officers and Company quarters, about one-half mile above. We remained there until the latter part of October 1861, when we were ordered to Fort Leavenworth.

There was an intense political feeling, especially among the officers who were nearly all democrats; the enlisted men had little to say, but the officers talked freely, especially those from the South, who predicted that Breckenridge [Breckinridge] would surely be elected. As we received our mail only once a month and sometimes six weeks, the result of the election was not received until about the middle of December 1860, and it caused considerable consterna-

tion among the officers. The southerners talked treason while the northern ones commenced to hedge. In the early part of 1861, several of them got leave of absence and returned to the States. Among them Major Sedgwick and Capt. Geo. H. Stuart.

In the latter part of May a large party of traitors came through from New Mexico, officers and their families from the Mounted Rifles. They had twelve ambulances and fifteen Government wagons, with an escort of 50 men from the mounted rifles, all supplied with Government provisions. They were royally received by our officers and as they marched on to the parade ground, our band was ordered to play "Dixie" for them. They remained two days to rest up and then went on to attempt to destroy the Government and Flag, they had sworn to protect, using Government troops, ambulances, wagons and provisions in doing so. J. E. B. Stuart accompanied them for which the enlisted men were not sorry. Major Sedgwick went East shortly after the election and the command devolved on Capt. Desasuer of South Carolina, an ardent rebel. Some of us were afraid, that he would start with the Companies south to Texas and surrender us. The feeling among the enlisted men was intensely loyal and some of each Company got together and organized a lodge of "Good Templars," sworn to secrecy, ostensibly for the promotion of temperance, but really to capture Desasuer, should he attempt to take us South. He must have suspected something like that for he never made the attempt, and for the honor of the old 1st Cavalry, not one of the enlisted men ever went South or left the flag to my knowledge. On leaving Fort Wise, K Company had only 36 enlisted men and of these 10 were commissioned in the regulars or volunteers.

When the traitor, General [David E.] Twiggs, surrendered the Department of Texas, the six Companies of the 1st Cavalry in the Indian Territory were included, but the noble, loyal Captain Sturgis, who was in command, disregarded the order, gathered his scattered Companies together and marched from Fort Cobb in the Ancheta Mountains, 800 miles to Leavenworth, taking over 200 six-mule wagons loaded with Commissary and quartermaster stores, 25 ambulances and \$300,000. [*sic*—in gold. Of our officers who remained loyal and gained distinction were General Sedgwick, General Thomas Wood, General David Stanley, General W. H. Emory, General Eli Long and General Bayard (Gettysburg, only one killed). Of those who went South are General J. E. B. Stuart, who was killed by Sheridan's troops, General Lomax, whom Sheridan licked so badly in Virginia and Generals Jackson and Ives.

Range Ballads

JOHN CLIFFORD

THE absence of sophistication, so essential to the production of an indigenous balladry, certainly obtained in that vast region where there was no law west of Dodge City and no God west of Fort Worth. In this raw, harsh land, during the latter part of the 19th century a distinctive type of American folk music was born. It owes its origin to no dim time in the past when history slides off into legend. The image of its creator is indistinct—a composite—the only thing of which we can be sure is that he has both feet in oxbow stirrups and a good Texas pony under him as he sings his lonesome cattle call.

Probably no figure in American history has been so thoroughly enveloped in the mists of romanticism as the cowboy. Years after the last long drive has ended his latter day counterpart rides majestically on to glory through media of fiction, radio, television, and screen; generally bedecked in trappings that would have astounded his authentic predecessor and often to the accompaniment of a musical tribute to the glories of the Old West.

Frederic Remington's cowhand thundered Hell-for-leather across 30 years of the history of the West before the changing times reduced him to a drab rider of line fences and a farmer cutting hay for winter feeding. In a sentimental nation the memory of his robust years lingers on. By 1924 Charlie Siringo, grown old and saddle weary, waiting, as he said for "Gabriel to toot his horn" could look around him at Hollywood's version of the cowboy and find little faithful representation except the never-changing landscape of his beloved Southwest.¹ In 1934 "Boots and Saddles" was the year's most popular song; a few years later "Stagecoach" won the motion picture industry's highest award. In mid-20th century pseudo-cowboy songs capture the public fancy and are broadcast across the nation by "name" bands. The folk music crowd tend to lump the "hill-billy" ballad and the Western song together and present the two types from a stage cluttered with performers garbed to fit their respective repertoires.

Stage and screen have given the American public a nostalgic

DR. JOHN CLIFFORD is a cataloguer in the library of the State University of Iowa, Iowa City.

1. Charles A. Siringo, *Riata and Spurs* (Boston, 1927), pp. 274, 275.

version of cowboys grouped around a dying campfire, singing in harmonious though untrained voices the incomparable songs of the Old West. However fetching this illusion may be, it has little foundation in fact. When his long day in the saddle was over the cowboy was prone to build a few smokes around the campfire and tell a few tales of another drive before rolling into his blankets. He liked to hear the faint strains of some old song sung by some less fortunate hand who rode his lonesome guard around the herd.² As long as he heard singing the cowhand knew all was well with the cattle.

In uncommon circumstances, however, such as when several herds grouped close together waiting to cross a swollen stream and consequently there was little work to be done, songs might be sung around the campfire. While half a dozen herds waited to cross the flooded Canadian river the cowhands not on night herd visited around other campfires, renewing friendships and listening to the newest verses added to some favorite old tunes.³

At the end of the trail, with the cattle sold, the cowboy sought release for his pent-up feelings and the satisfaction of appetites long denied. In the saloon, with the trail dust cut from his throat by proper refreshment, he was anxious to offer for the approval of his comrades and acquaintances the old trail ballads with whatever modification or addition he might have learned since their last meeting, and willing to listen to an unfamiliar song from either friend or convivial stranger.

Back on the home range, any near-festive occasion might produce its share of vocal effort. The spring roundup, when possibly a hundred men from far and wide might gather and renew friendships before the actual work began, offered an opportunity for the exchange of ballads. On a Kansas ranch, when winter came and there was little work to be done outside, the hands "pile-d up the blazing logs, s-a-ng songs, and forg-o-t the weather outside."⁴

Much of the singing on the trail was done by the night guard. Partly to keep themselves awake, and partly for its lulling effect on the herd, the riders sang as they swung their slow arc around the bedded down cattle. A rider on one side of the bed ground sang a verse of a familiar song, then his partner on the other side added the next. When the existing verses were exhausted, it was

2. I. H. Elder, "Listened to the Chant of the Night Songs," p. 524, in John Marvin Hunter, *Trail Drivers of Texas*, 2d ed., rev. (Nashville, 1925); J. Frank Dobie, *Vaquero of the Brush Country* (New York, 1929), p. 91.

3. Charles A. Siringo, *A Lone Star Cowboy* (Santa Fe, 1919), p. 44.

4. Reginald Aldridge, *Ranch Notes in Kansas, Colorado, the Indian Territory and Northern Texas*, 2d ed. (London, 1884), pp. 158, 159.

only natural that the singers should add lyrics to the extent of their inclination and ability. If we are to accept the verdict of one who made many long drives, the singer's enthusiasm often made up for lack of ability, for he says that in all his years on the trail he never heard a really good singing voice.⁵

Not only were the cattle soothed by songs, but instrumental performances occasionally took place. One old-timer relates with gusto how, while a comrade led his horse, he "agitated the catguts," and a very reassuring spectacle he must have been to a bedded-down herd. At any rate, he solemnly assures us that "those old long-horned Texas steers actually enjoyed that old-time music."⁶

Coming, as many cowboys did, from the more thickly settled portions of the country, it was natural that they brought along the songs they had sung in their former surroundings. Such old favorites as "My Bonny Lies Over the Ocean" and "When You and I Were Young, Maggie" permitted the singer to linger lovingly over each well remembered phrase. Hymns, whose cadence meshed with the rhythm of a slowly walking horse, were particular favorites. One widely known lad was dubbed "the Pilgrim" because his repertoire consisted of the old favorite "I'm a Pilgrim and a Stranger."⁷

Parodies of existing songs enjoyed a wide popularity. "Backward, Turn Backward" appeared as a revamped version of Eliza Akers Allen's "Rock Me to Sleep."⁸ One of the best known of all cowboy ballads, "Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie," bears a sharp similarity to a sailor chanty "The Ocean Burial," which appeared about 1850. The resemblance is striking and one of the best-known authorities has commented at length on the connection between the two.⁹ At least it poses the interesting possibility that even the balladry of the West got its bit of the salty tang that flavored Western vocabulary.

Some of the songs may have been brought from Europe by young men eager to share in the fantastic West. These importations, whether from Europe or from some near-foreign Eastern newspaper, underwent the same transformation to provinciality. They were sung to some well-known tune, or to one created by some

5. E. C. Abbott ("Teddy Blue") and Helena Huntington Smith, *We Pointed Them North* (New York, 1939), p. 262; Jo Mora, *Trail Dust and Saddle Leather* (New York, 1946), p. 149.

6. Lake Porter, "Played the Fiddle on Herd at Night," Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 838.

7. Will C. Barnes, *Tales From the X-Bar Horse Camp* (Chicago, 1920), p. 63.

8. J. Evetts Haley, "Cowboy Songs Again," pp. 203, 204, in *Texas and Southwestern Lore*, No. 6, J. Frank Dobie, ed. (Austin, 1927).

9. J. Frank Dobie, "Ballads and Songs of the Frontier Folk," *Texas and Southwestern Lore*, No. 6, pp. 174, 177-183.

gifted but nameless composer. A great many of the songs exhibit a fine disregard for the niceties of grammar and poetic metre, but here and there a song shows that the composer must have had more than a nodding acquaintance with the schoolroom.

Some dramatic or amusing incident often provided the stimulus for a new song. A trail crew in Denver to "whoop 'er up Liza Jane" was prevented from seeing a stage show because someone stole the leading lady's tights, a catastrophe which forced the theater to suspend performances. A wit in the group composed a song "There'll Be No Show Tonight," unprintable, of course, but shortly popular from Texas to the Canadian border.¹⁰

A singular feature of the authentic cowboy ballad is that it deals with things in the immediate time and surroundings of the composer, or projects itself into the future. Paul Bunyan dwelt and performed his deeds in some mystic past and remote region, but cowboy ballad heroes like Cole Younger and Sam Bass were contemporaries of many trail cowboys. Though impossible to prove except by a process of rationalization, it seems reasonable to suppose that this immediacy stemmed from the fact that the cowboy lived an extremely precarious and nomadic life within a given geographical area.

Beneath the cowboy's traditional swagger and bravado there always lurks the spectre of a haunting loneliness which occasionally breaks to the surface, as in

I'm a poor lonesome cowboy
And a long ways from home.¹¹

With family ties severed, the cowboy's thoughts easily wandered back to his old home. Especially on the long night herd did he have opportunity to compare his present existence with the one he had deserted to come to the cattle country.

Imbedded deep in the cowboy's songs is the knowledge of the ever-present probability of violent death. While the cowhand, with his thigh-riding Colt's Peacemaker, was indeed an itinerant arsenal, his longevity was by no means contingent on his ability to defend himself from his fellows similarly armed. Every time he mounted one of those skittish, half-broken horses, he did so at jeopardy of life and limb. In the branding pens a misstep or an incautious moment might be paid for by a rip from an enraged beast's horn.

10. Dobie, *A Vaquero of the Brush Country*, p. 172.

11. "Poor Lonesome Cowboy," pp. 32, 33, in John A. Lomax, *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads* (New York, 1910).

Trail accidents were commonly commemorated in song. Of these, the worst feared were plunging headlong to death over a cutbank, or being pitched under the hooves of a running herd when a horse put a foot in a prairie dog hole. An English visitor who had been particularly impressed by an impromptu rendition of "The Cowboy's Lament" mentions that the singer shortly met death in just such a fashion.¹²

Will James probably gave voice to a general attitude towards outlaws, at least that expressed in ballads, when he said "To my way of thinking, anybody with a lot of nerve is never real bad all the way."¹³ Certainly Sam Bass, Jesse James or Cole Younger do not appear as vicious and cold blooded killers who took human life to satisfy sadistic appetites. Bob Younger, brother of Cole, is described as anxious to return to his homeland to fight against the "anti-guerrillas until the day we die."¹⁴ The ballad describes a train robbery in Nebraska and says that "the crimes done by our bloody hands bring tears into my eyes." Jesse James is described as "a man a friend to the poor," and it was "that dirty little coward that shot Mr. Howard [and] laid poor Jesse in his grave."¹⁵

Possibly the cowboy, aware of his own risks, appreciated unbridled daring in others. Again, the outlaws were contemporaries of the composers, and many a cowboy claimed unabashed acquaintance with the whole formidable roster. From the many who later came forward to claim familiarity with the various outlaws, one begins to suspect something akin to the host of oil field hands of another generation who volubly attest to their personal friendship with "Pretty Boy" Floyd when he was an Oklahoma oil field roughneck. Unkind criticism might imply that the cowboy tended to identify himself with the heroic deeds of the miscreants. Certainly the 20 or 30 dollar-a-month cowhand had little reason to fear for the safety of his own purse, and was sufficiently impressed with the outlaw's reputation as a gunfighter to prudently refrain from a test of his own skill unless suffering acute alcoholic hallucinations.

A corollary to the Robin Hood treatment of outlaws is the cycle of wrongdoing, retribution, and admonition often times expressed. Even so virile a character as the cowboy did not refrain from an occasional flyer at moralizing. The unfortunate, dying on the streets of Laredo, and realizing the approach of the penalty for his misdeeds, rhythmically warns others of the folly of wrongdoing.

12. Mary A. Jaques, *Texan Ranch Life; With Three Months Through Mexico in a "Prairie Schooner"* (London, 1894), p. 229.

13. Will James, *Cowboys North and South* (New York, 1924), p. 76.

14. "Cole Younger," in Lomax, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 107.

15. "Jesse James," *ibid.*, pp. 27-[31].

After detailing the circumstances of the shooting affray, the expiring man pleads with his hearers to

Go gather around you a crowd of young cowboys
And tell them a story of this my sad fate;
Tell one and the other before they go further
To stop their wild roving before 'tis too late.¹⁶

In other instances the cowboy exhibited a studied indifference to formalized religion. The itinerant clergyman, with his incongruous clothing and fervent promises of Hell-fire-and-damnation was apt to receive short shrift at the hands of these boisterous nomads—a circumstance which often hastened the preacher's departure for the East, there to add the weight of the cloth to the belief that here on the Western Plains dwelt a race of men as wild as the horses they rode and the cattle they herded.

This indifference towards religion was frequently expressed. Charlie Siringo's dying mother pleaded with him to make peace with his God, a plea he says he was too busy to heed.¹⁷ "Teddy Blue" Abbott had no use for preachers "hollering hell-fire and brimstone," but adds that during those long nights in the saddle "you get to thinking of those things."¹⁸

Some other cowhand did not only think of those things but expressed them in a manner profound in its simplicity as

Last night as I lay on my pillow
And looked at the stars up above
I wondered if ever a cowhand
Had gone to that great land above.¹⁹

In terms of his own provincialism he pondered goodness and justice and expressed man's eternal speculation on the afterlife, when the "Boss of the Riders" will make a tally on that final roundup day.

Faced abruptly with a situation which transgressed his tangible grasp, the cowhand often fell back on a song to bridge the gap. Searching for cattle lost in a stampede, a trail crew came unexpectedly upon the body of a cowboy who, together with his horse, had perished in last night's wild melee. Awed by the stark circumstances, and in the absence of any religious services, the rough and tumble crew uncovered while that one amongst them with the best singing voice, sang "Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie" before the nameless unfortunate was lowered into an unmarked grave.²⁰

So, where the visible symbols of institutionalized religion were

16. "The Cowboy's Lament," *ibid.*, pp. 74-76.

17. Siringo, *A Lone Star Cowboy*, p. 37.

18. Abbott and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

19. "The Cowboy's Dream," Lomax, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

20. Alfred Iverson (Babe) Moye, "Buried a Cowboy in a Lonely Grave on the Prairie," pp. 457, 458, in Hunter, *op. cit.*

virtually absent, and while many of the vocal principals expressed an indifference to it, the cowhand seems to have carried his share of moral precepts which often found expression in his balladry.

In a section **so** predominately masculine it is not surprising to find women in an honored place in the ballads, even though contemporary wits claimed there were only two things a cowboy was afraid of—a decent woman and being set afoot. In the songs of sufficiently refined taste to be printed, the women mentioned are of the immediate family or a comely young lady, vaguely identified as “another.”

Mother, as is to be expected, is surrounded with the tenderest of sentiments, whether she is still living in a distant land which the cowboy dreams of revisiting, or is no longer living. The “old cowpuncher . . . dressed in rags” told a “group of jolly cowboys, discussing plans at ease”

I'm going back to Dixie once more to see them all
Yes, I'm going to see my mother when the work's all
done this fall. . . .

My mother's heart is breaking, breaking for me
that's all,

And with God's help I'll see her when the work's all
done this fall.²¹

Certain it is that there was no surer way to arouse the full measure of the cowhand's fury than by an injudicious reference to one's immediate female ancestor. It is easy and in some measure probably justifiable to attribute these tender expressions to “Momism,” supposedly a peculiar trait of Americans. But it must also be admitted that part of this reverent attitude towards mother might well stem from the extreme youth of many lads who worked cattle on the home range and made the long drive. Responsible accounts claim that many a boy went up the trail to Abilene when he was no more than 12, 14, or 16. In the early 1880's one of the most experienced of the trail bosses, represented as having been many, many times along the way, was then “about thirty.”²²

The sister at home is the recipient of generous compliments on her beauty and purity; and gratefully remembered as a congenial playmate in a now remote past. The ranger, dying far “from his home in Texas,” recalled

A fair young girl, my sister,
My only joy, my pride,
She was my friend from boyhood,
I had no one left beside.²³

21. “When the Work Is All Done This Fall,” Lomax, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55.

22. Jack Potter, “Coming Up the Trail in 1882,” Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

23. “The Dying Ranger,” Lomax, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-[218].

On occasion the cowboy ballad spins a golden dream about "another," upon whom fond remembrance has bestowed the utmost in charm and beauty. These delicate, wistful, and indeed bashful references reveal still another facet of this fleeting horseback troubador.

There is another whose tears may be shed
For one who lies on a prairie bed. . . .
There is another more dear than a sister
She'll weep when she hears I am gone.²⁴

Again, in a light and bantering vein, he warns the Mississippi girls not to marry those Texan boys, and in a painfully realistic manner recounts the privations which will be their due when deposited as brides in log shacks on the live oak prairie. "They will take you out to live on a live oak hill," where

They live in a hut with a hewed log wall,
But it ain't got any windows at all;
With a clap board roof and a puncheon floor,
And that's the way all Texas o'er.²⁵

Not all cowboy ballads are permeated with the shadows of sorrow or wistful memories of dear faces. The rider with "his hat . . . throwed back and his spurs . . . a jinglin'" exuded his full measure of the gusto and zest for life which Frederic Remington and Charlie Russell have so admirably perpetuated in paint and bronze.²⁶ Though surrounded by grim and often harsh realities, his effervescent animal spirits found welcome release in some of his most attractive ballads. There was always the state of Texas, to whose glories the glass could always be proudly lifted high. His peculiar clothing and accoutrements set the cowhand apart from the plodding plowman and pedestrian townsman with whom he occasionally came into contact, and whose fears and suspicions he was not above fanning with a wholesale recounting of cowboy characteristics. Small wonder the shopkeeper looked to his shutters when informed

I'm a howler from the prairies of the West.
If you want to die with terror look at me.
I'm chained lightning—if I ain't, may I be blessed.
I'm the snorter of the boundless prairie. . . .
I'm the snoozer from the upper trail
I'm the reveler in murder and gore!
I can bust more Pullman coaches on the rail
Than anyone who's worked the job before.²⁷

24. "The Dying Cowboy," *ibid.*, pp. 3-8; "The Cowboy's Lament," *ibid.*, pp. 74-76.

25. "Mississippi Girls," *ibid.*, pp. 108, 109.

26. "Whoopee Ti Yi Yo, Git Along Little Dogies," *ibid.*, pp. 86-[91].

27. "The Boozer," *ibid.*, p. 304.

Even when he

Popped my foot in the stirrup and gave a little yell,
The tail cattle broke and the leaders went to hell,

he very soon added that he didn't "give a damn if they never do stop."²⁸

With a wink and many a broad nod it has been widely suggested that the best and most characteristic of all cowboy ballads are those of such shocking obscenity that they could never be printed. That many were probably of this variety can be partially accounted for because in so virile a society so wholly lacking in respectable female complement, a great deal of the talk turns on sex. The obscenity of some may be attested to by anyone who has ever heard a rendition of "The Pride of the Prairie," whose lyrics are well calculated to burn the ears of the most calloused dance hall queen. To lull such intriguing suspicion, J. Frank Dobie, certainly qualified to give an opinion, reports that the finest of all cowboy ballads are those most thoroughly printable.²⁹ While the cowhand scattered his obscenity and profanity with abandon, it usually fell on impersonal objects. He might refer to a "damned cowhand," but never to a friend as a "damned cowboy."

Strangely enough, the cowboy seldom memorialized his horse. Without pausing to detail the quarrel that constantly brews over how well the rider treated his horse, it is sufficient to observe that when the mount does enter the ballad, the horse is relegated to a position subsidiary to the main thread of the story. The exception to the rule is "My Bonny Black Bess," an English importation which eulogized the feats of a famous mare and her outlaw master.³⁰

The range cowhand has disappeared. In his place an overdressed fop caters to the whims of dudes. The range pony has crossed equine social barriers and become the world's finest polo pony. The longhorn steer is now usually found indoors, where his horns adorn the backbar of every saloon worthy of the name between El Paso and Calgary. Even the cowboy ballad has suffered adulteration and is played over the air from records made in New Jersey or sung by a singer whose connection with the West is confined to his sartorial affectations.

When the musical "Oklahoma!" received critics' acclaim the Western theme slipped from the celluloid horse opera into new

28. "The Old Chisholm Trail," *ibid.*, pp. 58-[63].

29. Dobie, "Ballads and Songs of the Frontier Folk," *loc. cit.*

30. "Bonny Black Bess," Lomax, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-196.

areas of respectability. To be sure, no star of that production sang any authentic ballad of the trail. But the essential dramatic and emotional elements of the Western did appear, albeit in a light vein. The themes for the classical music of any people have evolved from the simple annals of its folk music.

Inherent in the cowboy ballads are the elements of an indigenous American musical tradition. For the cowboy brought the songs of his homeland, refashioned them to his new surroundings, and finally generated a song peculiar to his occupation and land—resounding with the hoofbeats of flying cattle and horses; sobered by the death of a peerless comrade. Over much of the music hangs the pall of sorrow and loneliness, only to be relieved by the cowboy's bubbling gusto and joy of living.

Notes on the Writing of General Histories of Kansas

JAMES C. MALIN

PART FIVE: THE "VANITY" HISTORIES

INTRODUCTION

THE financing of history is always a problem, but the costs of local history, because of the limited audience of readers, makes its publication through conventional channels very nearly prohibitive. Some types of books using more or less of historical material may sell on the commercial market in a volume sufficient to pay for themselves. Highly popularized history, thrillers, or sensational fictionalized stories of several varieties, seldom are good history, and more often are not history at all. Of course, history may be subsidized, but that presents problems also. When interested parties provide the costs, they usually control the results.

The experience of Holloway and Wilder, related in earlier essays in this series, is the fate that overtook most projects of serious local history launched independently regardless of quality. In spite of the artificial enthusiasm about history during the centennial celebration agitation of 1875 and 1876, and all of the friendly publicity provided gratuitously by Wilder's fellow journalists, few of his friends and admirers proved their interest in Kansas history to the extent of the five dollar purchase price of the *Annals of Kansas*.

One method devised for financing local history was found in what is sometimes called "Vanity" histories, sometimes called subscription histories. The latter term is not exact, because Holloway had announced that his history was sold only on subscription. By that he meant only that it was marketed by agents or canvassers who sold it by personal house-to-house calls. His agents offered for sale, on its merits, a printed book. The procedure of the vanity histories was different. Whether a single volume or several volumes, such a project included two categories of material; history and biography. The feature of special interest here is the biographies. The persons included were not selected upon the basis of their importance to the area whose history was being presented, but on the test of whether or not they placed an order for the

DR. JAMES C. MALIN, associate editor of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, is professor of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

history. With a few possible exceptions, the only biographical sketches included were those of contracting purchasers. The principal attraction offered to convince a prospect that he should place his order for the forthcoming history was that the purchaser would see his own biographical sketch in print. As a further inducement to appeal to his vanity, at an additional price, his portrait might appear also. On account of this feature, the derisive name "Mug Books" was often applied. So far as the history proper was concerned the purchaser was contracting only for a promised history, of unknown quality, to be delivered at some future date and to be paid for in full on or before delivery. Details about conditions and payments varied with the several projects. Whether the history would be of any value as history depended upon the reliability of the company promoting the enterprise. In any case, the outcome must be judged upon individual merits, but as highly speculative commercial ventures, the companies that produced them must of necessity place the profit motive first.

I. TUTTLE'S *History of Kansas*

In Kansas the first venture in the vanity type of history was that of Charles Richard Tuttle, *A New Centennial History of the State of Kansas, Being a Full and Complete Civil, Political and Military History of the State*. According to the title page, it was published at Madison, Wis., and Lawrence, Kan., in 1876, by the Inter-State Book Company. However, it was stereotyped, printed, and bound at Madison. The exact date when the first copies were delivered to subscribers is uncertain, as are many other of the basic facts about the production and marketing of the book.

THE AUTHOR

Among other things, Tuttle represented himself as a professor and as a minister, apparently of the Methodist denomination, born in 1848. The Library of Congress card catalogue includes 24 book titles under his name, in a few cases in admitted joint authorship. Another title, not found in this catalogue, is a *History of Indiana*, which must be added, or 25 in all. These books included eight histories of states, of regions, or of the United States, 1873-1876. Among the state histories were Michigan, 1873; Wisconsin, 1875; Indiana, 1875; Iowa, 1876; and Kansas, 1876. Besides the Iowa and Kansas books, two other histories were issued under the date 1876. Another group of historical and descriptive works were four dealing with Canada, 1877-1897, and one with Alaska, 1914. Five

inspirational and reform books appeared between 1878 and 1896. During the early years of the 20th century Tuttle became interested in the Oriental cult "Yang," or "new idea" philosophy, and produced four books in seven editions, 1904-1908. "Yang" represents the male principle or good, while "Yin" stands for the female or evil principle in Chinese philosophy from which the cult was derived. In 1916, Tuttle produced a book on World War I, and then in 1917 and 1918 two books on co-operatives.

Additional information about Tuttle's background and intentions was alleged by the Madison (Wis.) *State Journal*, October 6, 1875, upon the eve of the distribution of his *History of Wisconsin*: "He left the position of managing editor of the Boston Daily News, five years ago, to undertake the project of bringing out a history of the United States, in state volumes, and the end of the present year will carry him to the end of the fifth volume, making one volume a year . . .," besides other works.¹

As Colorado was admitted in 1876 as the centennial state, 38th state in the Union, Tuttle had 33 volumes, still ahead of him in order to complete the projected series of state histories credited to him by the *State Journal* story. This summary of publications and announced intentions is somewhat indicative of the type of man whose name appeared on the Tuttle, *History of Kansas*. Further details will emerge in due course.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HISTORY PROJECT

The earliest mention found thus far of a Kansas history emanating from Madison, is an entry in D. W. Wilder's diary July 17, 1875: "[Governor] Osborn received a letter from one Davis, in Madison, Wis., who proposes to publish an illustrated history of Kan. & biographical dictionary of Kansas men. Such books will sell better than mine."² Scattered references to Tuttle and his *History of Kansas* leave much to be desired as to the chronology of the project. In his *Annals of Kansas* (1886) Wilder recorded under a date line of January 19, 1876, that the "Rev. Charles R. Tuttle comes to Kansas from Wisconsin to write a Kansas history." This entry was not accurate, as other records show, and besides the body of the history must have been written already. The reasons for this last conclusion will develop later.

The first explicit evidence found of Tuttle's activities in Kansas is

1. Reprinted in the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, January 11, 1876.

2. D. W. Wilder, "Diary," manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. A search of Governor Osborn's official correspondence, in the K. S. H. S. archives division, has not turned up such a letter.

a letter to Gov. Thomas Osborn dated September 18, 1875. It was written on the printed letterhead of B. B. Russell & Company, publishers, which listed many histories by Prof. Charles R. Tuttle. Without any of the usual formalities of salutation, the letter ran as follows:

Dr Sir: I desire to secure the services of a man in your state in connection with my History, to travel from town to town, not to canvass, but to talk business to leading men. He must be a man of influence, generally known in the state, and exceedingly energetic—

I write this letter to you, hoping you can place it in the hands of such a person. To the right kind of a man I will pay \$200 per month. An ex-congressman did the work for me in Mich. It is a chance for some man of influence who can spare the time to travel through the state for a few months to make a \$1000—or more, in a work that is in every way pleasant and suited to the tastes and scruples of the most particular.

You may have a friend or an acquaintance that you can aid by putting him in correspondence with me.

Please excuse the liberty,

Yours etc.,
C. R. Tuttle.

There must have been an enclosure or another communication not mentioned, because the governor's private secretary, Ward Burlingame, replied October 6 on two points. First, the governor had no suitable person in mind. Secondly, a memorandum of material for a biographical sketch and the photograph requested were enclosed. Furthermore, the rather indiscreet permission was granted to put the data in such a form as Tuttle might think proper.³

What happened next is not clear, but on January 11, 1876, the Leavenworth *Times* carried a story about a new "History of Kansas," saying:

We were shown yesterday a prospectus copy of the new "Illustrated History of Kansas," by Prof. C. R. Tuttle, author of several state histories. The work is being published by R. S. Peale & Co., who, for the purpose of extending the work of canvassing the State, have opened an office in Leavenworth, at 236 Delaware street. Prof. Tuttle is now in the city, making his headquarters at the above office. He is collecting materials for the completion of the Kansas history, which will be ready for delivery to subscribers in about sixty days.

In the same "news" story the *Times* quoted the *State Journal* (Madison, Wis.) account of the *History of Wisconsin*, by Tuttle, assisted by D. S. Durrie, of the Wisconsin Historical Society and published by B. B. Russell & Company. The Kansas volume was to be similar to the Wisconsin book, but there was no explanation about the difference in the name of the publisher, or of the fact

3. Tuttle to Osborn, September 18, 1875.—Governor Osborn's incoming correspondence; reply, Governor Osborn's letterpress books, v. 5, p. 491, K. S. H. S. archives division.

that Tuttle was using B. B. Russell & Company stationery which represented his *History of Kansas* as one of its books.

As already explained Tuttle had failed in his effort to maneuver Governor Osborn into a position of appearing to sponsor his history. Why Tuttle established his headquarters in Leavenworth instead of in Topeka during the legislative session is not clear. It could have been because Leavenworth was the metropolis of Kansas at the time, but other factors may have operated. Apparently he had arrived during the first week of January, because, on Sunday, January 9, he occupied the pulpit of the First Methodist church, of which the Rev. Dr. T. H. Phillips was pastor. He assisted Phillips in the services of January 16, preached the evening sermons on January 23 and 30, and after an absence from the city, again on February 20. On Sunday, January 30, the *Times* printed a sermon on "Preachers and Preaching," which apparently he had delivered earlier.⁴

In the "Personal" news column of the *Times* for February 1, 1876, two paragraphs appeared separately, one reporting that: "Rev. Charles R. Tuttle, who is at present engaged in writing a history of Kansas, went to Topeka yesterday." The second stated that the Rev. T. H. Phillips, pastor of the Methodist church had gone to Topeka yesterday (Monday) for about a week. He was in his pulpit, however, Sunday, February 6. The *Times*, February 15, reported that: "Prof. C. R. Tuttle, the Kansas historian, has gone to Madison, Wis., to move his family to this place to complete his history. He will be here about Saturday next." He was in the pulpit of the Methodist church Sunday evening, February 20, but no information is available about his family. This was his last appearance in Kansas for some time.

During the first week of February, while he was in Topeka, Tuttle apparently made the most of his opportunities, probably with the aid of the Rev. Dr. Phillips who was in a position to introduce him. Just what did occur must be drawn inferentially from a few authentic documents. His return to Madison, which the *Times* had reported, afforded the background for a letter to Governor Osborn, dated Madison, February 9, 1876, relative to the reprinting of material from the *Fourth Annual Report* of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture:

4. The church news appeared each week in the *Times* in the Sunday and the Tuesday issues, if reported to the paper in time. Often the Tuesday reports summarized some of the sermons. If a report for any church did not appear, it was assumed that the data was not furnished by the interested parties.

Gov. Thos A. Osborn

Sir:

Please send me an order from the proper authorities worded about the same as the enclosed

We shall bring out the first edition of Kansas in about 6 weeks and I would like the order as soon as possible as I wish to return to Ks before the legislature adjourns, and desire to attend to the printing of whatever matter we take from the Report before I leave. I think now of embodying all the Co. sketches and all the engravings in my work. I would not trouble you in the matter but feel confident that notwithstanding the state should issue even 100000 copies of the report, further benefit will arise from its partial republication in my work. I will give the proper credit both to the Board of Agri, and to the contributors to the work in every particular. Please confer with Mr Gray and get me the order as soon as you can

Truly yours

C. R. TUTTLE.

P.S. Called on Rand McNally & Co in Chi. They have no objection.

The draft of the order asked was as follows:

Mrs Rand McNally & Co.

Gentlemen

Please give C. R. Tuttle permission to have electrotype plates made from any or all pages of the Kansas Fourth Agricultural Report, including engravings or letter press, and also permit him to make such changes in said plates in electrotyping them as will show that they have been incorporated in his work, and will give the proper credit to the Board of Agriculture: or print for him in any quantity he may desire from any or all plates, with such changes as he may indicate. Provided in all cases, however that no expense or cost shall be made against the state of Kansas or the Board of Agriculture. etc.

The endorsement entered on the back of the letter was dated February 12, 1876—"referred to Hon. Alfred Gray," but the heading of the entry indulged in a bit of facetiousness—"Prof (?) Tuttle."

Under the same date as his letter to Osborn, Tuttle wrote one to Alfred Gray, secretary of the State Board of Agriculture:

I have written Gov. Osborn in relation to an order for the use of those plates. Please confer with him on the subject, and send me an order as soon as you can oblige.

In all places proper credit [?] to you and to the Board

Please send me in a letter *to this office*, your photo, and data for a sketch and autograph. I will send you proofs of portrait and sketch before they are finally printed. There will be no cost to you whatever for the portrait or sketch. Please let me have them soon. I obtained all the other state officers photos before I left, but did not get to see you again.

If I did not believe that it was for the interests of the state of Kansas, to have those plates in my book I would not ask for them. I have concluded to make Kansas my home and want to make the book the *best one* as it will probably be.

truly Yours,

CHARLES R. TUTTLE.

Gray did not respond to Tuttle's letter, who wrote again:

March 2, A.D. 1876

Mr Gray

As I have had no response from you, I write again to ask you now, if you will send me an order on Rand McNally & Co. to permit me to have them make electrotype plates for me from the engravings of the cities, and towns only [?] Please send me this order at once.

Truly yours

C. R. TUTTLE.

PS. Am not I to have your portrait and sketch.

What conferences were held between Osborn and Gray are not a matter of record, but all of the correspondence was filed with the governor, and no record has been found of replies.

The correspondence has been presented in full that the reader may gauge for himself what the Rev. Prof. Tuttle recorded by his own hand. The kindest thing that can be said about these letters is that they revealed him as inept and tactless. In view of the man's experience in the world, however, it is difficult to be so charitable.

Further light on Tuttle's mission to Kansas is derived from Topeka sources. The *Daily Commonwealth*, February 1, 1876, reported that Tuttle was spending the week in Topeka "in the interest of his new history of the state of Kansas. . . . upon which he has been engaged for some time. . . ." According to this story the publisher was to have been the Chicago house of H. S. Peale, and the book was to have been issued in March. This was in accord with the story printed in the *Leavenworth Times*, January 11. Again Wilder's diary supplies important clues. On February 1, 1876, the diary recorded that he "Refused picture to Tuttle." Apparently he reconsidered the following day: "Photo to Tuttle." On February 9 the entry read: "Photo taken." Later, May 3, an entry read: "Sent \$20 to Phillips & Tuttle, Kan History." The Phillips referred to in this entry was the Methodist minister at Leavenworth.⁵

Three points emerge from the foregoing evidence about Tuttle's activities in Kansas during these early months of 1876. The office opened in Leavenworth was the base from which the subscription campaign was being conducted for a book not yet completed. The correspondence addressed to Osborn and Gray demonstrates that the county sketches were to be derived from the *Fourth Annual Report* of the State Board of Agriculture. As the necessary permission was not forthcoming, those had to be written. Lastly, the

5. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, May 4, 1877.

solicitation of Gray and Wilder shows that material for the biographical sketches and the photographs were still being collected.

As printed, the *History of Kansas* contained 708 pages, 581 of which were text of the history. The county sketches covered 78 pages, and the biographical sketches 49 pages. The photographs were inserted and were not assigned page numbers. It is possible that the prospectus copy shown the *Times* in January contained the 581 pages of text and a dummy layout for the remainder as planned for a proposed 800 page volume. At any rate, the main text must have been in type and printed soon thereafter. Otherwise the six weeks specified within which the books were to be delivered would not allow time to prepare the county biographical sketches and photographs and print such additional pages. In any case, the timetable was not met.

In his diary entry for May 30, 1876, Wilder wrote: "Saw Tuttle's History of Kansas, now nearly completed; it is Holloway over again & to [too ?] a very poor affair—but will sell." This comment would imply that Wilder either saw the manuscript of the book, or a dummy prospectus copy. In 1886 the *Annals of Kansas*, under the same date line, May 30, 1876, recorded: "Rev. Chas. R. Tuttle's History of Kansas, comes out . . ." There can be little question but that this entry was an error, and that the diary entry was correct. On June 3, and following, the *Daily Commonwealth* carried an advertisement for the Inter-State Book Company, Lawrence, soliciting agents to sell histories of South America, of America, and of Kansas. On June 4, the *Daily Commonwealth* reported that the agent of Tuttle's *History of Kansas* was soliciting orders: "It is a book that will be much sought after and often referred to." Again, note should be made of the wording which read only that the agent was soliciting orders for the book. Tuttle's preface was dated Madison, April, 1876, which would suggest also that the book was not yet ready for delivery in Kansas in either May or June of 1876. Thus far the present writer has not established a date for the "publication" of the books; that is, the actual delivery to subscribers of the completed volume.

On May 4, 1877, the Tuttle *History of Kansas* exploded into a scandal, reported by the Leavenworth *Daily Times*:

That's a bad story that comes to us from Wisconsin about our good Brother Tuttle—the clerical, literary, historical genius who flashed like a pious meteor across the moral horizon of Leavenworth about a year ago. You remember him, don't you? Brother Phillips, who was Pastor of the Methodist church at that time, will remember him if you don't—he will remember him, probably,

about five hundred dollars' worth. If we might be permitted to speak of Bro. Tuttle in the same terms usually applied to the unregenerated, under the same circumstances, we should say he is a fraud, of the first water.

Apparently the exposure of Tuttle's financial dealings had been precipitated by the arrival in Leavenworth of a man from Wisconsin to sell the book for which Tuttle had been securing data the year before, who found that the latter "had drawn against the work pretty largely in advance" at \$35 each for biographies and portraits. Some bills had been left with Phillips as security for a loan of \$500, part of which Phillips had collected. Only three or four biographies, according to the *Times* story, had been reported to the publisher and had appeared in the book. Under the circumstances Phillips was called upon to reimburse the victims.

Furthermore, Tuttle's dishonesty extended also to authorship, the charge being made that the *History of Kansas* had been written by Charles E. Jones, of Chicago. Also, Tuttle was charged with appropriating Jones' lectures which he delivered as sermons at the church where he was assistant pastor. The charges against Tuttle had been heard by his church. Tuttle's alleged defense in the matter of the history was that as he had gathered most of the data and had superintended publishing it, he thought he was entitled to put his name on it as author. As for the sermons, Tuttle declared before his congregation that he had never plagiarized Jones' lectures, and Jones had withdrawn the charges. But the *Times* story asserted that the sermon Tuttle had delivered in Leavenworth the year before and which the *Times* had published—"Preaching and Preachers"—had been "borrowed" from Jones' desk and "read in the pulpit from Jones' own manuscript!" In addition, the *Times* story declared that Jones was not a Christian, but a Huxley Materialist, and thus the sermon palmed off on the Leavenworth congregation by Tuttle was the work of an infidel.

The effect, if any, of the exposure of the Tuttle scandal is a puzzle. Even in Leavenworth, where the *Times* told the tale, there is no evidence of the effect upon the principals in the case, nor upon the sale of the history. The newspapers of other Kansas towns appear to have ignored the whole matter. Although supposedly the book had been published in Madison and Lawrence, the papers of the latter city seem to have been blind to the whole episode.

No explanation is available about the several company names involved as publisher of the Tuttle history. He had used the printed letterheads of B. B. Russell & Company, which advertised his several histories, including the *History of Kansas*. The new stationery

upon which the letters of February and March, 1876, were written, contained also a photograph of Tuttle himself. At the same time, Tuttle's publicity given out to the *Leavenworth Times* and to the *Topeka Commonwealth* had credited the publication responsibility to R. S. Peale & Company. The book was actually issued under the imprint of the Inter-State Book Company of Madison and Lawrence, with the copyright held in Tuttle's own name.⁶ In view of Tuttle's financial involvements, this last named firm may have been set up for the occasion.

CONTENTS OF THE TUTTLE HISTORY

In Wilder's *Annals of Kansas* (1886) the entry of May 30, 1876, which announced the supposed publication of the Tuttle *History of Kansas* continued by alleging that on page 29 Tuttle said: "The forest must be cleared to make room for the cornfield. For the accomplishment of this the pioneer prepares his axe, and day after day he toils on. Tree after tree bows its lofty top." Apparently, Wilder intended this supposed extract to stand as a self-evident condemnation of the competence of Tuttle as author and of the reliability of the history of Kansas, a grassland state. If the quotation had been accurate it would have accomplished that purpose, but the facts appear otherwise. No such statement appeared on page 29, has not been found in the book, and is out of harmony with the text of the history, which recognized fully the prairie setting of Kansas history. The problem becomes not one of condemnation of Tuttle, but one of explaining how Wilder made such a blunder.

Regardless of who authored the text of the history, probably Tuttle wrote the preface or introductory statement. In this he asserted in language similar to 20th century relativism: "The writer has striven to avoid prejudice in preparing these sheets for the press, but every man is a partisan in some degree, and with his utmost efforts cannot prevent his constitutional leanings finding utterance in his written and spoken words, when his feelings as well as his judgment become interested." Tuttle explained further, and in a contrasting philosophical spirit, his attitude toward his task: "History should be for society and man . . . a faithful presentation of every fact and feature. . . ." But he confessed that: "Such a design could not be fulfilled for Kansas, except in a rudimentary and incomplete way at the present era. . . [p. 3]."

6. Confusion exists in the bibliographical data available about Tuttle's other publications. The *American Catalogue*, 1876, of books in print lists the Peale firm of Des Moines, Iowa, and Dan S. Durrie is given as publisher of the Wisconsin history.

In recognizing the importance of the physical setting of history, Tuttle asserted that:

It is . . . of some importance that our readers should know that Kansas contains none of the precious metals, and that its geological formation forbids the expectation of any such discoveries. It is of greater significance for the industrial future of the state that coal and lime and building stone abound, that salt springs are numerous, that layers of pure salt can be found embedded among the strata, and that the soil is rich in just such principals as will continue for a long time to keep this region in the front rank among the most fertile agricultural countries of the world. Gypsum, alum and native sulphur, brown hematite and petroleum, porcelain clay and fire clay, indicate wide fields of enterprise which will not fail to build up a great community. . . .

Besides a brief description of the drainage system of the state, located in the center of the United States, Tuttle asserted that "nearly 95 per cent of its area is prairie. . . ." He commended as a whole the climate, admitting that a limited knowledge was available of the laws of atmosphere, but repudiated the great American desert myth. The first two chapters of the history, or 70 pages, were devoted to these matters of the setting of history. Although in the spirit of the day, prolix and ornate in language, the most of the material of these two chapters was intelligently chosen and presented. To be sure, the boomer spirit was conspicuous, and there was a commitment to the erroneous idea of favorable climatic change in response to settlement, the planting of trees, and the stoppage of prairie fires. On the last point, the role of fire, something more should be said. Possibly the author's relatively high batting average on this subject was pure accident, but however that may be, mid-20th century ecologists will go a long way with the Tuttle history in the evaluation of prairie fires.

The red man had allowed fires to sweep over the country year after year unchecked, if not caused by his operations, denuding the prairies of every tree and bush and blade of grass . . . Examine a patch of grass under your feet and you will find not only grass, but shrubs of a thousand kinds, in miniature, trying to find room for expansion . . . The white man assists nature, because he has a home to protect . . . He bends all his energies to avoid conflagrations . . . Then from the willing soil the earth once again gives out its teeming forests. . . . [pp. 38, 39.]

Of course, the extent to which this role of fire was correct was limited to the eastern or tall grass area. The book scored other hits also. While most agricultural evaluations of Kansas were emphasizing that "Corn is King" in Kansas, the Tuttle book said: "The special fitness of Kansas for the growth of winter wheat is one of the established facts [p. 30]." Furthermore, on the spine of the

cover, a bundle of wheat was shown. Too much must not be made of these more favorable aspects of the book, because the general lack of discrimination in the work as a whole created a distinctly unfavorable impression of the author's adequacy of information and soundness of judgment.

Chapters 3-22 recounted the political and military history of territorial Kansas and of the American Civil War in much the conventional extreme antislavery-abolition spirit. Chapter 23 was devoted to education; chapter 24 was a catchall, and chapter 25 told the story of "The Plague of Locusts." Chapter 26 was "County Sketches" and chapter 27 was "Biographical Sketches," 21 in all. The photographs were not indexed and were scattered indiscriminately throughout the text as unnumbered inserts. Six of the biographies were without portraits; S. S. Benedict, H. C. St. Clair, C. G. Bridges, George W. Fox, Byron Judd, and Brev. Maj. Gen. Carr. Nine photographs appeared without biographies of their subjects: S. C. Blanchard, R. W. P. Muse, M. C. Willis, W. P. Barnes, George H. Weaver, Sam R. Peters, N. D. Ingraham, H. D. McCarty, and Josiah Kellogg. All these are virtually unknowns so far as Kansas history is concerned, and illustrate in that sense the "vanity" aspect of the Tuttle enterprise. The book was provided with a few illustrations, but as a reviewer remarked in the case of the Holloway illustrations, they were of "such a character as to make us thankful there were not more."

The literary padding of the narrative ranged all over the area of Biblical history, classical ancient history, modern history, Shakespeare, Robert Burns, and other literary figures. Anything was called upon except a systematic statement of the facts of Kansas history. Had this padding been eliminated, the history instead of 708 pages would have been a very slender volume indeed, and its inadequacy as history would have been more apparent. The claim of authorship as between Tuttle and Jones was no compliment to either man.

Some specific points of fact and interpretation should be recorded. The Tuttle book denounced the Democratic party as the tool of the slavocracy, and the Whig party as "afraid to express an opinion of any kind on a question so debatable. . . . The men who formed the free soil party were alone consistent, but they were as yet only a handful. . . . [p. 84.]" This commentary was applied to the period of the Kansas-Nebraska act. David R. Atchison was the one man singled out for particular vituperation in connection

with the history of the organizing legislation. In early territorial Kansas, Secretary Daniel Woodson was the principal target (p. 246). The Branson rescue was credited to S. F. Tappan rather than to S. N. Wood, or James B. Abbott, the usual rivals for that honor (pp. 255-259). The secret society of Free-State men, the Kansas Legion, was represented as not "inimical to good government. . . . [p. 248.]" The whole Wyandotte constitution movement was covered in one page (pp. 436, 437), and no account was given of the admission of Kansas into the Union, or of the organization of the state government. James H. Lane and Charles Robinson were given scant attention, and of Robinson as governor the book said: "Gov. Robinson's term in office was very brief, and the war record [of Kansas] mainly arose during the rule of his successor, Gov. Thomas Carney. . . . [p. 449.]"

The hero of Tuttle's *History of Kansas* was John Brown. Three chapters (14-16 inclusive) were devoted to "John Brown's War," which dealt with a part of the years 1856-1857. Of the Pottawatomie massacre of May 24, 1856, it was written (pp. 340-342) that:

The belief was common that the whole settlement, and the Browns more particularly, would be destroyed by an act of simultaneous assassination. [A war council of Free-State men decided, supposedly, upon a plan whose execution awaited more specific evidence of provocation.] On the 24th of May, 1857 [1856], during the absence of the leader [John Brown] of the little band, five men . . . [who] had committed outrages . . . were . . . killed. The event was one of the shocking incidents of a warlike time, and it is not easy to determine where the blame primarily belonged. . . . Apart from the criminality of this cold blooded line of conduct, it was a blunder, because it cooled the ardor of their own best friends, . . . and infused greater rage into the hearts of the dominant faction. . . . It is however only fair to the participants in those executions to say that old Capt. Brown, who was absent at the time, fully indorsed the action of his command when he returned. . . .

The foregoing account is an example of the legend about John Brown that had been constructed, dependent particularly, without specific credit, upon James Redpath's biography of John Brown published in 1860. Tuttle had in his possession a far more reliable account of these events from James Hanway, but did not modify the text account in that direction. The biographical sketch of Hanway (pp. 677-681) contained a version of his account already in print since 1868. The Tuttle version read (p. 679), that Hanway "gives it as his opinion, contrary to the received versions, that John Brown was the commander on the expedition out of which the

massacre grew . . . that he was present at the time, and gave the orders necessary for the execution of those men.”⁷

Why did the Tuttle history attract so little attention? It was neither praised nor condemned as history, and except for the Leavenworth *Times* exposé, the questionable business practices of the publishers were ignored. A major conclusion would seem to be unavoidable, that few people in Kansas were actively interested in the history of the state. That verdict is based, not only upon the apathy shown toward the Tuttle project, but was evident in relation to Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*, to the centennial history agitation, and to the organization of the Kansas State Historical Society, all of which paralleled each other in time 1875-1877.

II. *United States Biographical Dictionary: Kansas Volume*

The second book of the vanity type in Kansas history was *The United States Biographical Dictionary: Kansas Volume, Containing Accurately Compiled Biographical Sketches, Into Which Is Woven the History of the State and Its Leading Interests* (Chicago and Kansas City: S. Lewis & Company, Publishers, 1879). It was illustrated by steel-plate portraits. Although no editor was indicated, contemporaries always credited the task to John Speer of Lawrence. A further fact should be noted, that although the main title specified biography, and the contents bore out that description, the explanatory sub-title made a bid for reader interest by alleging that the history of the state was actually told through the medium of biography. This point of view was elaborated further in the publisher's preface which quoted seven prominent writers on the subject of biography as history. The argument was extended in the following context:

A new era, a new civilization has sprung up, which furnishes a different material for history. There has been enough written of kings, feudal barons, and the turbulence of unbridled power. It is the social condition of the people that makes the history of the United States. . . .

The interests of the United States demand that her history should be modeled after her institutions, and viewed from that stand-point, honor should be given to those who have made the country great. A man is a constituent of a community. So is the history of an individual a constituent of the history of a country; and that history which best represents the lives of prominent individuals, will best represent the social condition of a country.

A contrasting literature written for another type of civilization was

7. For James Hanway's long campaign for revision of the Pottawatomie massacre story, see James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six* (Philadelphia, 1942), ch. 12.

particularly in the writer's mind, dealing with monarchy, aristocracy, and privilege, such "a European literature is not an unalloyed blessing." The United States required something different, and the publishers insisted that:

The BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY will furnish this material. It is purely an American idea, and is in the direction of assimilating American literature with American civilization. A sound public opinion is essential to the permanency of a stable government. . . . A national literature must represent the national sentiment; should be in accordance with the principles and a support to the institutions of the country.

The publishers then proceeded to explain their interpretation of the basis used in the selection of biographees "who would be representatives of the various interests of the State." If they had failed, they alleged that the fault lay with those who for various reasons had not co-operated, "thereby accepting the humiliating position of being supernumeraries in society, who have no share in the common intellect. . . ." Furthermore, the allegation was made "that not one cent has been asked or received from the parties, whose biographies have been given to this work; nor has it been intended to pander to the vanity of the weak. . . . We have aimed to seek out merit. . . ."

The business side of the *Biographical Dictionary* was handled from Kansas City and from Topeka. To this end blank contracts on pink and green paper were printed, the pink for purchase of a copy of the book at \$25, and the green for the steel-plate engraving from a photograph at \$175. The wording of the contracts is important, and should not deceive anyone. The form of the purchase agreement made one party "The Publishers of the U. S. Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery, Kansas Volume, Kansas City and Topeka." No firm name or officer was specified. The Eastern office was designated as New York. The book of about 600 pages was described and the publishers were directed to "deliver to my address _____ copies of the above named work, and I will pay to you or your order the sum of twenty-five dollars per copy." The paper was to be signed and dated by the purchaser.

The portrait contract was more subtle:

Gentlemen:

Please execute for me, a STEEL PLATE ENGRAVING, from Photograph furnished, and upon receipt of fifty impressions from the plate as good as the average samples shown, I agree to pay to you or your order One hundred and Seventy-five Dollars; and I hereby authorize you to print, copyright and insert the required number of impressions in the U. S. Biographical Dictionary and Por-

trait Gallery published in "Parts," and complete in one volume, after which send the plate to my address.

On its face the subscriber was merely buying 50 prints of the steel engravings made from his own photograph. But the essential part of the arrangement was the "permission" to "print, copyright and insert the required number of impressions in the U. S. Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery. . . ." The condition was not specified in the contract, but obviously the privilege of inserting the portrait was contingent upon the purchase of a copy of the book at \$25, and the inclusion in it of the biographical sketch to accompany the portrait.

The occasion for these printed contracts being preserved is that the Kansas State Historical Society was a prospective client, and in fact did subscribe, August 6, 1877, for a copy of the *Dictionary*. Just prior to this the publisher's representative had prepared a special contract covering a prospective order for three group engravings, a copy of the *Dictionary*, and 100 copies of the "Part" containing the engravings and their accompanying biographical sketches bound as pamphlets. The three engravings were to be composed of groups of men: six governors of the territory, four acting-governors, and six governors of the state. A biographical sketch of each of the governors, 1,000 to 3,000 words in length, was to be prepared and printed. The cost to the society was set at \$564 for each engraving if all three were ordered, or \$575 each for two. This offer was made to the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society in behalf of the publishers on August 2, 1877, under the authority of J. W. Hodge, managing editor, and was signed by William F. Gordon, for the company. The proposition was declined by the society, and only the order for one copy of the dictionary was authorized. The form of the special contract made explicit what was omitted from the printed pink and green contracts and left to inference. The order for the book, the biographical sketches, and the portraits were linked together as a "package" deal. The individual biographee might have his sketch included at the purchase price of \$25, and his portrait for an additional \$175.

In all, about 750 names were included in the *Dictionary*, mostly singly, but the Kennedys appeared as a family group. A number of Missourians were included. No women found a place in their own right. The question must remain unanswered whether this represented prejudice on the part of men against women, or whether it meant that women were less vain than men. Fifty-six of the men

were represented by the full-page steel engravings, two, James H. Lane, and John Brown, being among the dead who were thus honored. There is no way to determine whether or not any living person was included in the *Biographical Dictionary* who did not subscribe. The omissions of important persons then living were conspicuous, and included two Kansas governors, Carney, and Osborn. A number of men who were dead were included, but upon what terms they were chosen has not been established. The inclusion of James H. Lane and John Brown would appear obvious. Josiah Miller was present, but his living partner in the *Kansas Free State* newspaper enterprise of 1855, R. G. Elliott, was omitted.

JOHN SPEER, EDITOR

In view of the fact that John Speer was credited by contemporaries with the editorial responsibility for the *Biographical Dictionary*, he must be given particular attention. No manuscript evidence has been found relating to his agreement with the publishers of the book, S. Lewis & Company, and to the extent of responsibility entrusted to him. Under such conditions, all conclusions about his editorial role are circumstantial.

John Speer (1817-1906) was of Scotch-Irish descent, born in Pennsylvania, educated in a printing office, and for a large part of his career followed journalism. With his brother Joseph he came to Kansas and established a Free-State newspaper, the *Kansas Tribune* at Lawrence during the winter of 1854-1855. After many vicissitudes he was again editor of a paper of the same name at Lawrence from October, 1875, to March, 1877, when he resigned to engage in "literary pursuits," according to the account in his own biographical sketch in the *Dictionary*. This was about the time that the Lewis company launched the *Biographical Dictionary*, and the implication of the sequence of events is that Speer's editorship began at that point.

During the agitation of 1876 about local history, John Speer had undertaken what appears to have been his first extended writing of Kansas history. This is all the more important as a key date, because he had not been represented in the several prior history and historical society enterprises. Yet, Speer had been among the prominent men of Kansas from the time of his first arrival, and his career in Kansas politics had been stormy. In the series of historical articles which he published in the *Daily* and *Weekly Tribune* during June and July, 1876, his major commitments on Kansas history were clearly in evidence, although not yet in their extreme form; his

admiration for James H. Lane, and his own personal tragedy suffered in the Quantrill raid on Lawrence. Both of these subjects became virtual obsessions that warped and embittered his whole outlook and eventually made him vindictive. Besides these, other personal bereavements of 1876 added to his gloom. His son-in-law was killed in a railroad accident in April, and his wife died, October 9, of cancer after a long period of suffering.

In the Quantrill raid of August 21, 1863, two of Speer's sons, John M., aged 19, and Robert, aged 17, were killed. The extent to which this tragedy weighed upon him is indicated somewhat in the fact that he mentioned the boys four times in the course of his own biographical sketch in the *Dictionary*. In later years, when he came to look upon himself as a guardian of Kansas history, he made bitter attacks upon Prof. F. H. Hodder for the historical introduction to his little book, *The Government of the People of Kansas* (1895), and upon Frank W. Blackmar for his biographical work on Charles Robinson. It was in connection with the latter incident, in particular, that he wrote to F. G. Adams, September 2, 1898: "I cannot let a history go to the world undisputed which dooms my children to everlasting condemnation as justly put to death."⁸ Of course, such a conclusion drawn from the work of either Hodder or Blackmar was quite unwarranted, but it is an index to the depth of the emotion that dominated John Speer and others like him as they came to relive in their memories the days of the Kansas troubles.

Chronologically, the editorial work on the *Biographical Dictionary* lay between the time of Speer's writing of the articles of 1876 and his embittered tirades of 1898. The articles of 1876 revealed clearly that during two decades of political and journalistic activities his memory of early events had become impaired, and he had not kept records necessary for its refreshment. Consequently both factual statements and interpretations were faulty, and so seriously so as to do himself an injustice. Also, between 1876 and 1879, the John Brown controversy was entering a new phase. The quarter centennial celebration of the organization of the territory of Kansas had been held at Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, September 15, 16, 1879. The tension between the Emigrant Aid Company group and

8. Speer's public attack upon Hodder was read before the Kansas State Historical Society, January 18, 1898, "Accuracy in History," and printed, *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. 6, pp. 60-69. See, also, James C. Malin, "Frank Heywood Hodder, 1860-1935," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 5 (1936), pp. 115, 116. The Blackmar article, "A Chapter in the Life of Charles Robinson, First Governor of Kansas," to which Speer objected was published in the *Report of the American Historical Association*, 1894, pp. 213-226. In 1898 Blackmar was engaged in writing the biography of Charles Robinson under the supervision of Mrs. Robinson.

the combined Lane-Brown admirers was becoming more and more strained. Speer's devotion to Lane, even if no other considerations had been involved, put him in the John Brown camp also. These were the years when the editorial work on the *Biographical Dictionary* was being done, the book being issued in September, 1879. Between September and December, 1879, when the so-called Townsley confession was published, the Brown controversy exploded. Among other things, the Speer-Robinson feud was aired in the public prints, and both men demonstrated the frailty of human memory. These men hated with a virulence that was appalling.⁹ Of course, prior to this last unfortunate turn of events the *Biographical Dictionary* was already in print.

CONTENTS

The opening biography in the *Biographical Dictionary*, or position of honor, was assigned to Charles Robinson, the first state governor of Kansas, as well as governor-elect under the Topeka constitution during territorial days. The authorship of the sketch is unknown, but it did more than justice to its subject. The second position was assigned to the current governor of Kansas, John P. St. John. The remainder of the personal sketches followed no determinable plan.

The biography of James H. Lane was brief, but also in the hero spirit. In view of Speer's unrestrained worship of Lane, a question arises about the moderation and generality of the sketch. The *Tribune* article of July 4, 1876, had made Lane the hero of the Sandbank convention of July 17, 1855, but without specifying the date. Only a vague reference, and not by name of the event or date appeared in the *Dictionary*. Neither the Lane nor the Robinson biographies attracted particular attention from the public. In view of the circumstances already explained, it was the references in the *Biographical Dictionary* to John Brown that virtually monopolized attention.

The sketch of John Brown was one of the longest in the book and was written in the heroic tradition, but made unusual admissions. The "Pottawatomie tragedy" was utterly repudiated by Free-State men, and was generally believed to have been perpetrated by John Brown; but his immediate Free-State neighbors justified it as a necessity "for the preservation of their own lives." An eyewitness, a Mr. T [Townsley] was quoted as repeating John Brown's justification, and then the writer asked the rhetorical question: "Who

9. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six*, chs. 15, 16.

can say that the freedom of a race . . . did not hang upon that very act?" Thus, in this sketch the admission of John Brown's responsibility was strongly suggested, but without making the matter explicit.

James Hanway's biographical sketch was probably written by himself, with little if any editorial revision because the language is what he had used. He made an issue of John Brown's responsibility, but justified the deed as necessary—a matter of striking first.

The fullest treatment of the Pottawatomie massacre was attached, however, to the biographical sketch of Johnson Clark, who insisted that "John Brown planned and executed the killing, and was present and a participant." In support of this view Clark submitted a detailed statement based upon the story of a Mr. T who was a member of the John Brown party and in whose wagon all but one of them rode on that eventful night. These three challenges of the legend of John Brown's innocence in the matter of the Pottawatomie massacre contributed to forcing the issue which resulted in James Townsley admitting publicly that his wagon carried the John Brown party and that the "Old Hero" was present, was in command, and participated in the murders.

In view of John Speer's position in the Kansas controversies, there was a strange irony indeed in the fact that a book, supposedly under his editorship, should have played the unpremeditated role in publicly establishing John Brown's guilt. If Speer actually exercised full editorial authority, he imposed upon himself a most unusual restraint in publishing these accounts of Brown and the laudatory sketch of Robinson. Furthermore, there was no attempt to reconcile direct contradictions in the conflict of claims for credits and honors. For instance, the James B. Abbott biography claimed the credit for Abbott in the Branson rescue which S. N. Wood claimed in his biographical sketch.

III. ANDREAS-CUTLER

History of the State of Kansas

INTRODUCTION

In 1891 N. L. Prentiss chose to give the Andreas-Cutler *History of the State of Kansas* a facetious though complimentary notice in his Kansas City *Star* column. His story revealed that a substantial legend about the book had accumulated during the eight years since it was first published. After summarizing the main facts

which emphasized the great size and cost of the work, Prentis continued humorously:

But when the book was ready and the publisher should have gathered in his sheaves, Kansas took a freak and suddenly landed on the great book with both feet. The frisky commonwealth turned on "Andreas's History of Kansas," just as she has turned on several "favorite sons," and on one occasion on a favorite political party. The agreed price of the book—which it was well worth—was \$12. A country justice of the peace decided that it was worth \$3, and the decision was heralded all over the state. But this was not last nor worst; somebody attached to the great work the name of "The Kansas Herd Book" and the joke "took." When anything is made ridiculous in Kansas its day is done. In Kansas men have been "pilloried," and "ventilated" and "nailed to the counter," and all that, but the man who is laughed at is lost. The state is a trifle wild on the question of fun. It is doubtful if in any other state a burlesque syllabus would have been preserved in the supreme court reports. At any rate it was moved and seconded that the biggest and most elaborate book ever published about Kansas be called the "Herd Book," and the motion carried.

In the loud guffaw that rolled over Kansas on the adoption of the motion the sale of the book by any publisher seems to have ceased . . . Justice travels with heavy shoes, but her arrival can be safely calculated upon. The merits and value of the book with the unlucky nickname are being recognized . . .

Prentis' reputation as a humorist and literary artist betrayed him in several ways. People came to expect him to be funny regardless of the occasion or subject, and he felt obliged not to disappoint his public. Also, his facility with words misled him into over-emphasis upon literary form. Under the impulsion of these drives, Prentis lost sight of the primary importance of accuracy in facts and interpretation. For contemporaries, what Prentis wrote so entertainingly, was accepted as true. In cold print, separated by two thirds of a century from the charm of the Prentis personality, there is reason to ask some questions, and to test his allegations against verifiable facts.

THE PREPARATION

The *History of the State of Kansas*, or "Herd Book," was published by the Western Historical Company, of which Alfred Theodore Andreas (1839-1900) was proprietor. Andreas had embarked upon a formidable program of preparation and publication of state and other local history. This was in the early 1880's after some experience in a related field. His Western Historical Company was the outgrowth of the Andreas Atlas Company, which among other things had published in 1874 *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota*, and in 1875 a similar one of Iowa. Also, he

published several county histories of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The first enterprise of the state history series was a *History of the State of Nebraska* . . . issued in 1882, a quarto book of 1,506 double-column pages in minion type, with notes and documents in nonpareil, a still smaller font.¹⁰ The *History of the State of Kansas* . . . in 1883 came next, and then a *History of Chicago* in three volumes in 1884-1886, a total of 2,304 pages using the same page format.

The editor in charge in the field and the principal author of the Nebraska enterprise was William G. Cutler. Upon completion of that work he was assigned to Kansas, arriving in Topeka during the first days of February, 1882, to organize his work. After some negotiations, the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society, at a special meeting February 8, at which time Cutler presented his program, granted him permission to make use of the materials owned by the Society under such regulations as the secretary might direct.¹¹

Cutler's staff of assistants mostly recruited in Kansas, but including his son, H. G. Cutler, was put to work under uniform instructions preparing county histories and interviewing subscribers for their biographical data. Cutler and his wife, Mary, with some additional help, worked intensively from February to December, 1882, studying, taking notes from manuscripts, newspapers, and public documents assembled there, and in public offices in the Statehouse, and writing the general history of the territory and state of Kansas. The quantity of work done and the degree of thoroughness with which it was performed in approximately 11 months in Kansas was all but incredible. The task the Cutlers had performed in Nebraska had provided some background for their Kansas work, but so far as Kansas itself was concerned, in February, 1882, they had virtually started from scratch. Necessarily, working under such pressure over so short a time, they had little choice but to follow essentially the beaten paths. Time did not permit original thinking and the investigations essential to its verification even where the source materials calling for such revision were met at every turn.

In the general state history section a few biographies appeared. One group was the state governors since admission of Kansas as a state. Another group, 14 in number, were listed under the head-

10. These are the type sizes specified by the *Daily Kansas State Journal*, Topeka, July 27, 1883, in its review of the Kansas history, which was in the same format. In current 20th century terms these would be approximately, if not the exact equivalents of, six point and eight point. Both were set solid without leading.

11. "Proceedings" of the board of directors, K. S. H. S., "Record A," pp. 56, 57.

ing: "In Memoriam," most of whom were entitled to inclusion in any moderately extensive list of distinguished Kansans. The question that was disturbing was why some of these were chosen to the exclusion of others obviously more important. One word more is in order: Kansas was so young as were most of its leaders, that the majority were still present, and many were actively and acrimoniously disputing honors and credits. To make a selection for distinction among them was hazardous.

The theory of history under which the Andreas enterprises were operating and rationalizing their activities requires some attention. The word history as defined by "the acknowledged authorities, quite imperfectly defines the scope of an American history of to-day," is the dictum found in the preface to the Nebraska history. Among the reasons listed for the change in meaning were "the widespread dissemination of intelligence; the marvelous increase in printed records . . . ; the quick . . . growth of States," and the fact that under American conditions the whole history of a state might lie within the lifespan and memory of living persons, "to be subject to the hot and merciless criticism of the still living survivors, whose lives make the page."

More was involved in this definition than might be apparent, because it provided the transition to a justification of the role of biography, invoking the authority of Carlyle and Macaulay in support of the dictum that: "True history is biography."

In consequence, the Andreas creed was represented in the boast that:

We have undertaken, for the first time in the annals of literature, to cover the entire domain of history, and to publish a history of a Commonwealth, embracing its full scope as to time and detail . . . even down to the present time. . . . Never before has a work of like magnitude been undertaken and performed. It combined the labor of more than a single life, and has required the investment of more capital than was ever before risked in a single literary enterprise of its kind in this country.

In conclusion emphasis was placed upon the fact that the county sketches were written by different authors under uniform instructions. This gave to them a status supplementary to the general state history although in bulk overshadowing it.

The Kansas history was similar in plan to the Nebraska history, but proved even more elaborate, 1,616 pages. Again the claim could be made that: "It is the most complete and exhaustive history of a single State ever published . . . ," as well as the most expensive, in the United States. But Kansas was represented as

being a special case: "Kansas is richer in historic lore than any other region of the Great West. Its traditions go back to the time of the Montezumas and the Spanish conquest of Mexico." Included were the French, the Indian, and the America relations. Also, in the spirit of the day, the American Civil War was reviewed as a conflict between two types of American civilization: "In Kansas the war was begun; and there the first victories, presaging the full triumph of Liberty, were won." In telling this story, especially of the territorial period, "the editors were not embarrassed from lack of material so much as overwhelmed by a superabundance of conflicting and often untruthful accounts. . . ." Andreas differentiated three principal categories. First,

each tale, as now read through the perspective of retreating time, shows most plainly the tinge of that subtle yet mischievous form of falsehood which comes from an unconscious perversion of facts on the part of the earnest writers. In addition to this, unscrupulous newspaper correspondents, instructed to write only for the northern or southern political markets, sent broadcast over the country, contradictory or false reports of every new phase of the exciting contest as it developed. [Third,] Many books on Kansas affairs were published during the territorial troubles, some of great merit and of rare historic value, as furnishing corroborative testimony; but of the whole, it is not believed that a single volume is now acknowledged as authoritative, or even approximately accurate, in a historic sense.

Against these adverse factors, however, Andreas enumerated "advantages" which he insisted "were not inconsiderable." First, Wilder's *Annals of Kansas* provided a chronology of events 1854-1875. Second, the Kansas State Historical Society's materials on Kansas and the West was "more varied and complete . . . than can be found in the repository of any like society in the Great West." The co-operation of Secretary F. G. Adams was acknowledged. Next mentioned, were the Kansas State Library, the *Biennial Reports* of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, and other state agencies, and for military history, the archives of the state adjutant general. Defects in the history, the readers were assured, derived from other considerations, and it "is only so far complete as to point the way to future historians."

The relation of the county histories and the biographies to the general history received more specific attention than in the preface to the Nebraska volume:

The County histories are supplementary. They have been written by historians who have visited each county, and are made up more directly from the remembrance of old residents, and less from documentary sources than is the general State history. They have been written by different authors,

each having his peculiar style, but all working under one general supervision. No attempt has been made to force a correspondence or agreement between the statements concerning the same general occurrences as detailed in the general history and the sketches of the counties. . . . Where differences appear they should be attributed to the different sources from which the information has been obtained, and treated as two honest versions of the same story, rather than reviewed as a proof of the unreliability of the whole work. In all cases the proof-sheets or manuscripts of the County histories have been submitted for revision and correction to old and reliable citizens of the County before going to press.

The subject of the biographies, was given special attention and theoretical justification, but without any admission that primarily they were limited to subscribers to the history. "The data from which they were written," Andreas insisted, had been "gathered from personal interviews with the subjects of the sketches, or from their immediate relatives." To insure accuracy, "the biographies of Kansans still living" were "submitted for revision . . . to those most interested. . . ." He argued that they showed "what manner of men make up the population, from whence they came, and what experiences or circumstances drove, drifted or lured them thither. . . . It matters little that many of them are poor, or that a few of them are rich." A history of Kansas, "containing no record of their lives, would be incomplete indeed." Of course, this fit into the Andreas theory of history, and of the manner in which American history differed from European—a history of the people themselves in the whole of their range of interests. In a new state this meant that history dealt not only with the remote past, but was brought down in time to the present including the people whose stories were told by the biographies.

The arrangement of the biographical sketches of subscribers is important to an understanding of the adverse criticism at the time of publication. They followed in each case the historical sketch of the locality, city, town or township, with which the subscriber was identified. Thus the history of the locality and of the individual biographee were linked. That association was in accord with the Andreas theory of history and of the relation of biography to history.

It is clear that Andreas as publisher determined the policies and wrote the prefaces to both the Nebraska and the Kansas histories, explaining his point of view. Cutler's role was that of managing editor and chief author in charge of the execution of the writing program. In spite of these essential functions, Cutler's name did not appear on either book.

THE RECEPTION GIVEN "THE BIG HISTORY"

At the end of 1882 Cutler and his wife returned to the home office of the Andreas establishment in Chicago where the manuscript was put into final form, the type set, the proof read, and the book printed, the typesetting and printing being divided among three printing companies listed on the reverse of the title page. The final revision of the county histories during the early months of 1883 was done in co-operation with local people, although the efficiency of the operation varied with the personal equation.¹²

The task of delivering the Andreas history began in July and appears to have been completed during October or November, 1883. In the northeastern counties, the most heavily populated area, the first releases occurred simultaneously on or about July 25, notices occurring in the daily papers of Atchison, Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Topeka, July 25, 26, and 27 or soon thereafter.¹³ The range of delivery expanded west, southwest, and south. In early September, deliveries were made in Bourbon, Riley, and McPherson counties; and by early October, in Crawford, Montgomery, and Sedgwick counties. By November 1, the job must have been practically complete.

In order to sample the reception given the Andreas history a spot-check has been made of 54 newspapers, representing nearly every county in the eastern one third of the state, but including also cities as far west as Salina, McPherson, and Wichita. After the range of delivery dates was established, the papers in question were surveyed for that period, July-October, inclusive. In the course of determining the range of delivery dates and of testing out special problems involved, several papers were studied for the whole of 1882, 1883, and part of 1884. Only 25 of the 54 papers noticed the publication of the history. Of these 25, four were neutral or noncommittal, eight were hostile, and 13 commended the enterprise as worth while although not every aspect of it. Regardless of the verdict on the history proper, the biographies of subscribers usually called forth some adverse remarks.

Appropriately, the feature of the book most commented upon was its size, it was "immense," and the most frequent comparison was with Webster's unabridged dictionary. In his *Hiawatha*

12. Sol Miller in the *Troy Kansas Chief*, August 23, 1883, described his participation. The revision by H. Miles Moore of the Leavenworth county history was acknowledged p. 420, Footnote.

13. The *Leavenworth Times*, July 24, announced it was being delivered but did not review it. The *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 20, announced that A. T. Andreas had visited Topeka August 19, and that F. G. Adams, at the Kansas State Historical Society, had received notice that the history was ready.

World, August 9, Wilder named it "The Big History" and that name was the most widely adopted nickname among other reviewers, but also he referred to it as "an imperial volume" and this phrase had some following.

Of the four newspapers noticing the book that have been classified as noncommittal, or neutral,¹⁴ the Leavenworth *Times* merely announced that it was being delivered; the Coffeyville *Journal* disqualified itself to judge the historical part but pronounced the biographies "a lot of gush," and not representative of its community; the Cherokee *Sentinel* printed only a paragraph reference to an allegation that the history of Cherokee was a reprint of the one compiled by the *Sentinel* the first of the year; and the Fort Scott *Daily Monitor* made no comment of its own but reprinted, August 11, a most favorable review by the Hiawatha *World*, erroneously credited to the Hiawatha *Herald*, and September 9, an extreme denunciation by "A Victim."

The North Topeka *Times* was the only one of the Topeka papers to condemn the Andreas *History of Kansas*: "A Fool and his money are soon parted. . . .—A 'History of the Humbugged' would be a more appropriate title." The editor recognized that "much of it is authentic," but he insisted also that "a good deal of it is the product of somebody's fertile imagination." The feature of the book that irked him most was the biographies of the subscribers.¹⁵ Sol Miller of the Troy *Kansas Chief* had a grievance because he did not receive his copy paid for by advertising: "Besides, we gave their men the use of our files, and spent some time giving them information in person, and afterwards read and corrected a large amount of proof relating to this County." To the *Chase County Leader*: "The new history, of which so much was promised by the publishers, is not very satisfactory."

In downright denunciation, the letter of "A Victim" in the Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, September 9, outdid the North Topeka *Times*:

MR. EDITOR:—It is not sweet to be called a fool, nor nice to be looked upon as an idiot, but when, way down in his inmost soul a man knows he is both—he feels, well, he feels just exactly as those feel who subscribed for the above named book. In an unlucky hour they signed their names and then the blessedness of forgetfulness kindly hid their liability until in an hour still more inauspicious was delivered the History of Kansas. This botched

14. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, July 24; Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, August 11, September 9; Coffeyville *Journal*, October 18; Cherokee *Sentinel*, January 18, 1884.

15. North Topeka *Times*, August 3, 1883. The other newspapers that condemned the book were the Wyandotte *Gazette*, August 10; *The Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, August 23; the Cottonwood Falls *Chase County Leader*, August 30; the Manhattan *Republic*, September 14; the Marion *Record*, September 21; the Manhattan *Industrialist*, September 22; and *The Smelter*, Pittsburg, November 3, 1883.

up mess of compilations, statistics, hideous photographs and ridiculous biographical sketches, in little type and poorly bound. This is what some crank recently called an "imperial volume." It is a bulky, cumbersome nuisance and a most humiliating monument to the assinity of the victims who thoughtlessly subscribed for what they supposed would be a valuable work. I feel rather free to express myself, for I am one of the unfortunates. Misery loves company and is not a bit lonely just now.

Indeed, it does seem that running through the American character is a vein of greenhornism that is ineradicable. Our New England fathers bought wooden nutmegs and basswood pumpkin seeds—and we buy the history of Kansas. The book agent is a standing joke—our eyeteeth were cut long ago—we warn the unsophisticated to beware of him, we write jokes and read puns about him and look upon him as a fraud and a snare—and yet we buy the history of Kansas.

Sometimes, after reading the last stanza of Burns' "Address to the Deil," I feel as if I could forgive the devil for most anything except for creating and scattering abroad the itinerant book agent. But since I have thought it over, I believe I can freely forgive him for that, if he will agree to forgive me for signing for the history of Kansas.

A VICTIM.

The Manhattan *Republic* recognized "much valuable historical reading matter" but insisted that the book was "too big to be handy," and that it would have been better if "consolidated one-half." E. W. Hoch, in the *Marion Record*, reported that "a sicker lot of book-buyers you never saw."

The two most notorious episodes came late in the season. At Manhattan, the *Industrialist* was a weekly paper published by the Kansas State College of Agriculture and edited by the faculty, E. M. Shelton, managing editor. At the head of the editorial column of the issue of September 22, and without any heading, appeared the following paragraph:

"The herd-book" is what the irreverent call the big history. But for the fact that every man wrote his own autobiography, we should have suspected, in looking over the pedigrees, that some of the remarkable careers here blocked out, must have given a thrill of astonishment, as well as joy, to the subjects of these biographical sketches.

Note should be made of the fact that Shelton did not claim that either he or his associates had originated the name. The inventor has not been identified, but, so far as the present investigation has been able to determine, the *Industrialist* was the first to make the term a matter of record in print. Nevertheless, the agricultural college animal breeding interests afforded a suggestive atmosphere for such a label and possibly also "the irreverent."

In reprinting September 28, the *Industrialist* paragraph, the *Marion Record* commented: "That big history business is creating a

good deal of fun for the newspaper boys all along the line." Of the newspapers included in this survey, however, only one other picked up the "Herd Book" tag,¹⁶ yet over the years it stuck. The second edition of Wilder's *Annals of Kansas* (1886) reported (p. 1,031) that the Andreas *History of Kansas* "soon comes to be called the 'Herd Book,' and the 'Stud Book.'" Probably the Wilder perpetuation of the "tag" rather than the original printing in the *Industrialist* was responsible for its survival. Neither Wilder nor Prentis identified the origin, and the first printing of the term by the *Industrialist* was discovered in the present investigation only after a long search that lent realism to the proverbial quip about hunting for a needle in a haystack.

The lawsuit over payment for the Andreas *History of Kansas* occurred in Crawford county, November 1, 1883. The first hint of any difficulties of such a drastic nature that has been found was a note in the *Chase County Leader*, September 20, about the publisher of a history of St. Louis bringing suit against a subscriber who objected to biographies instead of a history of the city. The *Leader* believed, erroneously, that the publisher was Andreas. Such a suit was, however, brought by a representative of Andreas in justice of the peace court (Justice J. P. Hamlin) in Pittsburg and heard November 1, the defendant being W. H. Larimore, a farmer and stockman. The Pittsburg *Smelter*, November 3, reported that a number of prominent men were in the city on that case: "The boys are having plenty of fun over this history business." The verdict was not reported by that paper. The Girard *Press*, November 8 said: "The plaintiff got judgement, but the jury assessed the value of the book at \$3.00, which is quite a reduction from \$12.50."¹⁷

The time has come now for an appraisal of the Prentis story of 1891. The two leading incidents related by him, but without date or place, did occur, the application of the "Herd Book" tag and the lawsuit. But what about the conclusions or interpretation of those facts? The *Industrialist* paragraph using the term "Herd Book" was not published until September 22. By that time the deliveries of the book had been completed in all the more populous counties. The Fort Scott *Daily Monitor*, September 12, reported completion in Bourbon county. The lawsuit occurred November 1, when deliveries were completed in most of the more distant counties. Even

16. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, October 25, 1883, January 3, 1884. The Topeka papers, the *Capital*, the *State Journal*, and the *Commonwealth* did not pick up the term.

17. The *Smelter*, Pittsburg, November 17, 1883, reprinted the *Press* paragraph, and so did the *Chase County Leader*, January 3, 1884. Larimore's biography is found in the history, p. 1,125.

in Crawford county there were no reports of other "incidents." Prentiss' allegation seems unwarranted, that as a result of these facts "the sale of the book by the publisher seems to have ceased. . . ." Furthermore, there is no evidence that Kansas failed to appreciate with a fair degree of accuracy both the merits and weakness of "The Big History." Wilder's verdict in the *Annals* (1886, p. 1,031) was an ever-present reminder: "The completeness of the work is amazing. Without a full index, the true value of the History will be known only to the few who really read it." But the strictly contemporary record of reviewers who took the more favorable side must be given full consideration.

Although not chronologically first, Wilder's review is entitled to first place.¹⁸ In introducing "The Big History" August 9 he asserted that:

Nobody will ever read it through, but whoever wants to know anything and everything about Kansas will find it here. . . . The book can be compared to nothing but itself. It is all of Kansas, 200 miles wide and 400 miles long, and all here. We are overcome with wonder and give up the attempt to write a notice of such an imperial volume.

The following week confirmed the first impression: "No one can examine this work without admitting that it is the most complete history that we have." In adverse criticism, Wilder called attention to a Massachusetts state history in which each writer of a section in a co-operative work was

eminent in his department—a real historian. . . . The object of that work is to make the best history, by the best men living at the time. The purpose of the Big History is to make money for the publishers. The biographies are put in to float the volume. And yet the publisher has not sought to distort history, to misrepresent or conceal facts . . . its real history could be condensed into one-tenth of the space and one-twentieth of the type, with no loss; with a real gain. That is what the real historian will do within twenty years, taking this book, and all of its predecessors, with the newspapers of the day, as his ample repository of facts.

Wilder was concerned about the anonymity of authorship and rendered his own verdict on where he thought credits belonged:

No credit is given in the Big, for any writer of the Big, and this is hardly fair. But the army of writers were doubtless well paid. We judge, from internal evidence, that the State history proper was written by Judge F. G. Adams and Col. S. S. Prouty, and two more competent men could not have been selected. The history of the Indian tribes, most admirably done, we

18. *Atchison Daily Champion*, July 25; *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 26; *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, July 26; *Topeka Daily State Journal*, July 27; *Emporia Weekly News*, August 2; *Hiawatha World*, August 9, 16; *Junction City Union*, August 25; *Lawrence Daily Kansas Herald*, August 1; *Marion County Democrat*, Marion, August 30; *McPherson Republican*, September 6; *Girard Press*, October 11; *Girard Herald*, October 11; *Wichita Beacon*, October 17, 1883.

credit to Adams. The Territorial Conflict is Prouty-Adams, the Erckmann-Chatrian, of the Big. The picture of Lane, and the great speech in Chicago, is Prouty's, of course, and is the first worthy laurel placed upon the tombstone of the Grim Chieftain by any Kansas writer. And yet Lane's Chicago triumph was only one of a hundred similar Jim Lane victories and ovations. Looking the matter all over we can understand very well why we were a "Lane" and not a "Robinson man" up to 1864—when we ratted, and went over to the Opposition.

Wilder's speculation about the authorship of the principal part of "The Big History" brought a prompt denial, August 17, from F. G. Adams, the letter being printed in full in the *World*, August 30:

You are not correct in your surmises. . . . I did not . . . prepare any part of the book, and there is no writing of mine in it. [The authorship of the general history was credited to William G. Cutler, of Milwaukee, Wis.] By him or under his direction all investigations were made, and by him, according to the best of my information, most of the writing was done, though he was constantly assisted while here, by his wife, a lady of excellent literary ability. They resided here in Topeka, for about ten months, from February to December 1882. Mr. Cutler was assisted more or less by Colonel Prouty and J. C. Hebbard, who I think, assisted somewhat on the general history, as they, and many others did upon county and local work.

Credit for the planning and financing of the Kansas history project was given, of course, to A. T. Andreas, the publisher, who told Adams, upon his visit to Topeka July 19 that the cost was \$90,000. Adams then summarized the story of the relations of Cutler with the Kansas State Historical Society and himself in connection with the whole episode. When Cutler arrived in Topeka in February and first approached Adams the latter disapproved, but Adams should tell of this in his own way:

As it was to be a mere business enterprise, and the book necessarily to contain in part matter which would be of interest only to subscribers, the directors of the State Historical Society, when asked for the use of its library and materials in its preparation, looked upon the undertaking with disfavor and sought to discourage it. It was hoped that the materials collected by the Historical Society would be first used by some competent citizen of our own State in the preparation of a history of Kansas; of a book which would be free from the taint of commercial jobbery; . . . he was told very frankly that the Society did not wish the result of its labors to be used as he proposed, and that he could not expect any encouragement from the Society. Such effort as could be was immediately made to head him off by getting a Kansas man at such a work. Colonel Prouty was consulted, and urged to undertake it, as he of all other competent persons, seemed to have the leisure, and the requisite knowledge of book-making, and book-publishing. He gave the matter careful consideration and decided against it. A meeting of such of the directors of the Society as were in Topeka was held, and Mr. Cutler was invited to come

before the meeting and explain his project, which he did. The following is the entry upon the records of the Society, concerning the meeting:

"After a consultation had in the Society's room, February 8, 1882, the following officers and members were present, namely: Gov. J. P. St. John, Hon. P. I. Bonebrake, Hon. James Smith, Hon. John Francis, Hon. F. P. Baker, Hon. T. D. Thacher, Hon. C. K. Holliday, Col. S. S. Prouty and the Secretary."

Adams stated the object of the meeting and Cutler presented his plans. After deliberation the decision was made and entered in the minutes of the board of directors as of February 8, 1882. Adams related that: "It was informally decided that Mr. Cutler should be given access to the library of the Society in such a manner, and under such restrictions as the Secretary might determine."¹⁹ In accord with this permission the library was opened freely to Cutler who promised that the work would be well done, "and the promise, it seems to me, has been amply fulfilled." Adams testified that of course he took an interest in what was being done, but no compensation had ever been offered or received for his time taken by the project.

The Atchison *Champion*, John A. Martin, editor, wrote: "There can be no complaint on the score of quantity" because it was "certainly one of the largest volumes ever printed in the English language." He pointed out that the general state history occupied about 300 pages, the county histories and the biographies accounted for the remainder:

The feature of the book which will be most criticised—and read—is the biographical, containing sketches longer or shorter, of Kansas citizens, some well known; . . . and others unknown. But the sketches have, many of them, genuine historical value, and the others are of interest to individuals and families, and will have [value] in the future to the historian, the seeker in the field of genealogy, and others.

And in conclusion, applying to both the general history and the county histories and the biographies: ". . . this book . . . is of great value, and, in that respect it is a happy disappointment."

The verdict of the Topeka *Capital* was that:

The completeness and accuracy of the book will be a pleasant surprise to the subscribers. The editor, Mr. Andreas, has fulfilled every promise he made his subscribers, and given them the most comprehensive history of Kansas ever made of a State in one book. . . . The book is unlike most histories . . . gotten up to sell by subscription, in being really a meritorious work. . . . The matter it contains is of value to-day and will continue to be of increasing interest for its historical and biographical data for generations to come.

19. The official action is recorded in "Record A," "Proceedings" of the board of directors, K. S. H. S., pp. 56, 57.

The Topeka *Commonwealth* said: "Its contents, which will of course be criticized, are carefully compiled, great attention having been paid, apparently, to genuine history." The Lawrence *Daily Kansas Herald*, said: "So far as the work goes it is grand. . . . Yet as an authentic history it is sadly lacking in many points." Especially the *Herald* objected to the biographies. The Emporia *News* thought it "will undoubtedly be consulted almost as much as Wilder's *Annals*." The Hiawatha *World* insisted that: "The book can be compared to nothing but itself. It is all of Kansas, 200 miles wide and 400 miles long, and all here. We are overcome with wonder and give up the attempt to write a notice of such an imperial volume." All of these evaluations were printed during the last days of July and the first days of August, 1883, and all were by major Kansas dailies and weeklies.

Political partisanship was not conspicuous in the reactions to "The Big History." A letter to the editor of the Marion *Democrat*, signed "Patriot," had possible political implications. He quoted Wilder's *World* review on one point: "Many matters are fully and correctly brought out in the Big that have not been well understood before, and the chief of these are the Pottawatomie murders." Instead of undertaking to justify John Brown as most admirers had done after the Townsley confession of December, 1879, "Patriot" spoke his Democratic mind: "At last men are beginning to admit that 'Old John Brown' instead of being a christian and a patriot, was a thief and a murderer. John Brown did this diabolical work. And yet men refer to him as a saint." This was giving the Andreas history an approval not exactly in the orthodox vein, but nevertheless the minority of otherwise minded in Kansas found something of merit in the cracks shown in the monolithic structure of antislavery-abolition Kansas historiography.

Among the later reviews the McPherson *Republican* pointed out that: "Unlike most works of the kind, there is not a bit of padding or stuffing in it. No thick leads, wide margins, blank pages, and spongy paper to make a little matter fill a big book." The immense labor involved in the county histories was emphasized: "the force engaged in gathering the facts seems to have ransacked the country pretty thoroughly." In conclusion it was said that: "the work has been done well and faithfully. The value of this history to the Kansan who takes pride in his state, is beyond estimation."

The *Republican* went beyond the scope of comment usual to these review notices. One point made was that:

The book has also another peculiar value. It preserves in permanent form the history of events which hitherto have never been recorded. Kansas is a peculiar state. She has had her share of announcements, proclamations and other performances common to what may be styled, statesmanship on paper. But here the people have gone further. With the early Kansan, thinking was followed by acting and often so quickly that it was not easy to tell which came first. A real or fancied grievance, an indignation meeting, a raid, a fight, that was the way in early times. But the participants in these affairs never troubled themselves with writing. . . . Kansas may be grateful that before these memories have perished from earth, they have been gathered and recorded.

The writer did not assume that history as found in such a book was final: "That all of this matter is not equally important is true, but this book will be a treasure house for future historians." In one respect the *Republican* was more discriminative than most people of that day who would have agreed with Andreas about the relation of Kansas to the American Civil War: "In Kansas the war was begun. . . ." Instead, the *Republican* observed: "What influence Kansas has had on national affairs cannot be estimated at present. . . . To those who in the future years shall attempt the task, this book will be of inestimable value."

After a first look at "The Big Book," weight 14 pounds, the Girard Press admitted that it was too long to read in the time available, so the editor did not commit himself on its literary merits: "The state history, we notice, contains much that has not heretofore been collected, and is valuable, at least, in furnishing data that will be of value to the student." He was troubled by the biographies. The Girard *Herald* admitted that when the agent called and outlined the scope of the history he thought it "too colossal, would take too much time, means and research, and altogether . . . too much like the many dreams that are discussed by impracticable people. . . ." But when the agent delivered the book:

Imagine our surprise [that it was] in no way inferior to the declaration of purposes. . . . That it is a perfect piece of work, such as could be gotten up by the same parties after ten years labor instead of eighteen months, only, we would not have inferred, but we do not hesitate to say that the work done in that time by the author, agents, printers, binders is well done.

The editor regretted the limited edition because he wished that it might be accessible to "every boy growing up in Kansas." Apparently girls didn't count in such a context!

One of the strangest aspects of the review notices of the Andreas history was the generally favorable judgments on the physical

aspects of the book, the department where experienced printers have been not only qualified to speak, but sensitive as a matter of professional pride. With few exceptions the paper and binding were commended. In perspective those were the two most serious physical defects of the book. A wood-pulp paper was used and the binding was totally inadequate for a 14-pound volume. As of the mid-20th century only a relatively few surviving copies can be rebound successfully because the paper is too brittle.

The prediction of John A. Martin may be taken as the means of introducing some consideration of the problem presented by the biographies in "The Big History": "The feature of the book which will be most criticized—and read—is the biographical. . . ." The unanimity of the reviewers, both those hostile to the project and those appreciative of the general history, leaves no room for disagreement with Martin on that point. But merely to denounce the printing of the biographical sketches of the subscribers did not then and does not in perspective meet adequately the challenge involved. A number of contemporaries recognized the unpleasant facts and said as much.

Less objection would have been aroused apparently had subscription not been the sole criterion for inclusion of biographies in the county section. Apparently few would have objected to the inclusion of the subscribers as such providing others had been selected upon some reasonable standard of merit for the state as a whole or for the counties as a whole. The North Topeka *Times* asserted that:

It is well enough to write the biography of every early settler, and of prominent men of the state, and to embellish the book with their faces. They made the history of Kansas and we love to read of them, and look at their pictures. But we protest against making up such a book, of promiscuous biographies of anybody who would pay for it, leaving out of the work so many prominent and worthy names and calling it a "History of Kansas."

The omissions irked the Lawrence *Herald* which stated the matter thus: "unfortunately very many men whose lives formed a prominent part of the history of Kansas were not subscribers. . . ."

The objections of the Wyandotte *Gazette* and of the *Chase County Leader* were based also upon the wording of some of the biographical sketches which converted them into advertising. After analyzing the composition of the group in the Coffeyville section, the *Journal* of that place insisted that they were not representative of the community.

Two papers came nearer than the others to stating the issues

adequately. The *Girard Press*, as did several others, asserted that the biographies were written by the subjects themselves. Possibly some of them were, but the usual formula was that the subjects supplied the data which was written or revised by the editors and submitted for approval. Some were modest, said the *Press*, "but some have given the histories of their families (real or imaginary) from the time of the revolution, and boiled over in gushing eulogy of their own attainments. This is the disgusting part of the book—but as this was the publisher's source of profit, could not well be avoided in a work of this kind." The *Atchison Champion* was quoted as saying: "We really cannot understand what the critics expected. The biographies are as full and accurate as the parties contributing them would give."²⁰

None of the reviewers distinguished clearly the two-fold character of the problem of biography involved. First, some provision should have been made for selection of nonliving persons for biographical mention upon a basis of merit. Second, besides the subscribers, some categories of living persons could have been included. That no provision was made for persons no longer living was the omission that was hardest to understand or defend. Strictly speaking there was no possible justification. That omission violated the theory of history and biography formulated by Andreas himself, and laid him open to the cynical accusation so often leveled at all subscription or vanity histories of this sort, that they were purely commercial ventures operated solely for profit.

Pertaining to the limitations of the second group, the living persons, to subscribers there is an aspect that should be suggested for serious consideration. In any study of the structure and characteristics of a given society, criteria of selection must be set up. As every person in the state or county could not be described, a sampling technique must be adopted. Without rationalizing it as such, had not willingness to subscribe to a promised but unwritten history, on the assurance of a canvasser acting for an unknown publisher, achieved a fair sample of one sort of cross section of the total population of Kansas? Did not a similar principle operate also in explaining acceptance of political and social panaceas as well as patent medicines and book agents? If one were to be completely candid, just how far did this criterion deviate from the representative or average citizen of Kansas or any other state?

20. *Chase County Leader*, October 25, 1883.

AUTHORSHIP AND THE ADAMS-CUTLER CORRESPONDENCE

On August 8, 1883, soon after receiving his personal copy of the *History of Kansas*, F. G. Adams wrote to Cutler reporting that he had tested it out for reference:

It contains a vast store of information. If it contains errors, I have yet to find them. I speak of the general history and may say the same of the local history, so far as I have examined . . . those sections with whose history I am more familiar. In regard to the general work, I know of the methodical and laborious care with which you and your excellent lady pursued your investigations. The arrangement and putting in print of your work is not less admirable.²¹

Seeing a copy of Adams' letter to Wilder about authorship, Cutler wrote Adams, September 13:

I merely want to thank you for the very truthful and frank letter which appeared in Wilder's paper of the 20th ult. You did what you could to put me and yourself right. Now, if you think it valuable, in a historic sense, to have deposited in your archives the list of writers of the "Big History," I will send you the whole thing. Of course, you can see that the reliability of the different parts of the "Big" must depend somewhat on its authorship, and, I consequently thought *you*, if nobody else, might desire to know exactly who wrote the book. . . . I managed, in writing the history of Kansas, to get more than a passing interest in *your* work. It is plain that the history of the State is *not yet* written. The biographical portion—really the most important, has scarcely been touched. The great bulk of what appears in "The Big" as Wilder calls it, should be put into good school history form. Nobody could do that better than you and Wilder. Then, the Annals should be continued, and the second volume would, I think, sell largely and make the first invaluable. To you, I suggest that you use my history for the future rather than for the past. *Note each error* as you discover it, so that whoever looks at the book may see the latest—not only the history as compiled by me, but every revision and correction that *you* can make. In that way, it seems to me, you might make the over bulky volume valuable. . . .

In acknowledging Cutler's letter, September 17, as would be expected, Adams replied: "I shall be very glad to receive from you for our archives a list of the writers of the Big History. It will be very valuable, and always of interest as a part of the literary history of the State." Later in the same letter, Adams expressed his thanks for the suggestion about "noting corrections, if any need be, in the text of your history; also as to the school history. I shall heed both suggestions."²²

Following an exchange of letters in January, 1884, relative to the nondelivery of a copy of the history to a niece, Adams added a personal note to his letter of January 25: "The best critics speak well

21. Extract from K. S. H. S., "Outgoing Correspondence," v. 7, pp. 468, 469.

22. *Ibid.*, v. 8, p. 29.

of your book. In every instance of adverse criticism so far as I remember, it has come from those whose biographies were left out. This is human nature of course." ²³

A decade of silence was broken by Adams who wrote Cutler inquiring about authorship. Difficult to understand is the apparent lapse of memory on the part of Adams about the earlier correspondence on that subject and his failure to refresh his memory by consulting his letter files. Adams' letter was dated May 5, 1894, and Cutler, then in the wool business, replied May 8:

Your letter of May 5 has just reached me, and I am glad you appreciate the historical work we did. I can only testify to *your* full cooperation and help, *after* we *knew* each other. You remember that, quite early, you tried to head me off—but, the cordial way in which you and your daughter treated us afterwards, and the warm friendship which followed, leaves that, to me, only as a joke, to laugh at.

My wife died 3 yrs ago. I leave to day, for a Western trip, on wool business, so far personal.

In regard to your inquiries regarding the History of Kansas:

(1) I was the Editor in Chief, with head-quarters at Topeka—

(2) The entire *body* of the STATE HISTORY was written by myself and wife. Also all the biographies of historical characters like John Brown, Lane, Robinson and others.

My wife, MARY W. CUTLER, wrote the *early* history, including that of the Indians; Coronado &c. She was a better, and, I think a more conscientious writer of history than I could ever be.

The county and town histories, which were subordinate, were written by, perhaps, a dozen different writers; all their manuscripts being revised, before sent to press, by myself and wife.

My son, H. G. Cutler, was at Leavenworth, Atchison, and Wyandotte.

S. S. PROUTY wrote the County, perhaps more than one, south of Topeka, where he formerly lived, and gave us much valuable information of his early days in Kansas, which was digested by us, and went into the general history; NOBODY WROTE ANY OF THE GENERAL HISTORY OF KANSAS, AS A STATE OR TERRITORY, EXCEPT MYSELF AND WIFE.

MR. J. C. HEBBARD assisted in several county histories, and, I think, wrote one or two entire, and sent me the copy, after I returned to Chicago. He was most excellent help to me, also, in gathering local statistics and historic facts about the county in which Topeka is (I have no map by me, and don't remember the name of the county). There was another *Kansas* man, who knew something about the Indian fights out west: I forget his name, who I hired to write a county out where he seemed acquainted.

I think the A. T. Andreas pay-roll would give you the author of *every* county history. I have written all that comes to my mind, with no written data to which I can refer.—

I send my warmest regards to you & daughter. If you ever have a World's Fair in Topeka, and I visit it, I shall see you, if you are alive. . . .

In a postscript Cutler reminded Adams: "Soon after the History was published I sent you [a] list of writers on it. It is probably put away in some pigeon-hole." On the authority of this notation the present writer had the co-operation of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society in a futile search for the missing list of writers.

In his acknowledgment of July 8, Adams again revealed a striking deficiency in observation or in memory. He thanked Cutler for the information about:

the authorship of the different portions of your great history of Kansas, 1883. . . . I did not know, however, of the full part taken in your work by your wife. I did observe that she was a most patient and attentive helper, but I so little cultivated an acquaintance with her, and saw so little of your work in your rooms that I would not know of the important and valuable help which your wife rendered, and which you so gratefully seem to remember.

I look upon the period of your work here with pleasant remembrance. You did a good work. Your great book is a collection of the materials of Kansas history which will be consulted to the latest day.²⁴

Little additional information about authorship of the county histories has been collected, but more will be found from time to time in the newspaper files of the several counties. In addition to Atchison, Leavenworth, and Wyandotte counties, the son, H. G. Cutler, assisted in McPherson county, accompanied by Robert P. Dey.²⁵ The *Marion Graphic*, April 27, 1883, credited the writing of that county to Hubbard [Hebbard?]. Sol Miller's contribution on proof reading, etc., has been mentioned for Doniphan county, and similarly revision by H. Miles Moore for Leavenworth county. James Hanway contributed to the Franklin county history.

EVALUATION IN RETROSPECT

The contemporary reviews of "The Big History" were quite general in substance. Few Kansas editors of 1883 possessed the knowledge of the details of Kansas history sufficient to have undertaken specific criticism. Except for a few points, even Wilder did not undertake to evaluate particular facts and interpretations. At no time since then has anyone assumed the task of detailed examination. Such a project is scarcely appropriate now, but some rather general commentary is in order for two reasons. First, because the perspective of nearly three quarters of a century affords a basis for testing the soundness of Cutler's work. Second, in spite of 70-odd years, no single book or even limited number of books are available which displace it altogether. For the period really covered, the

24. *Ibid.*, v. 38, p. 324.

25. *McPherson Independent*, November 22, 1882.

Andreas-Cutler history, with all its shortcomings, is still the least objectionable longer book available.

Of the shorter books, L. W. Spring's *Kansas, The Prelude to the War for the Union* (Boston, 1885) still holds a similar qualified position.²⁶

By the end of 1882 when Cutler and his wife completed their sojourn in Topeka, the Kansas State Historical Society had made substantial progress in collecting historical materials of all kinds, but especially newspapers, manuscripts, and public documents, both state and national. From the first three *Biennial Reports* of the Society, covering the years 1877-1883, it is possible to reconstruct quite accurately just what was actually available to the Cutlers at that time. For example, the Society had received the following collections of manuscripts, either substantially complete or major installments of what are now found in those groups under the following names: Eli Thayer, Thaddeus Hyatt, George L. Stevens, Thomas H. Webb, W. B. Taylor, James Hanway, Isaac McCoy, Robert Simerwell, John G. Pratt, Joel K. Goodin, James B. Abbott, S. N. Wood, James Montgomery, John Brown, James M. McFarland, and William Clark.

The Cutlers were the first to make use of these resources for systematic historical purposes, and they used them intelligently. As has been said earlier, in general Cutler followed substantially the traditional framework, but at this point the additional observation is in order, that he filled it in from these new materials in an authentic fashion that gave to Kansas history a substance not formerly present.

The preliminary material in the Andreas-Cutler history dealing with the setting of Kansas history, based upon the inadequate knowledge available in 1882, has been superseded almost altogether. Recent geological knowledge is available in the publications of the State Geological Survey of Kansas, but of particular relevance here is John C. Frye and A. Byron Leonard, *Pleistocene Geology of Kansas* (1952). The geographical picture in modern form is found in Walter H. Schoewe, "The Geography of Kansas."²⁷ The anthropological and archeological background of the prairie and plains between the Mississippi river and the Rocky mountains

26. Spring's book has been placed in its historic perspective in Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six*, chs. 19, 20.

27. In three parts (four installments), *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, v. 51, pp. 253-288; v. 52, pp. 261-333; v. 54, pp. 263-329; v. 56, pp. 131-190.

may be most effectively introduced for Kansas readers by the work of Waldo R. Wedel.²⁸

The Coronado story has undergone several transformations since Cutler wrote, using the J. H. Simpson version as his guide. The most recent revaluation is that of H. E. Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (New York, 1949).

The ecological setting of the grassland and the manner in which the Eastern American forest men met this environment, which was strange to them, receives attention in several works by the present writer.²⁹

The writing of the history of the United States has changed substantially since Cutler wrote his section on the national background of Kansas. That revision as it related to Kansas history owes much to the work of Frank Heywood Hodder (1860-1935), a professor at the University of Kansas, 1891-1935.³⁰ Focusing his reinterpretation of American history upon the career of Stephen A. Douglas, Hodder showed that his controlling interest was the organization of Western territory "as an indispensable necessity to the development of the country." Douglas sensed the revolutionary importance of steam railroads to the interior communications of a large continental landmass such as the United States, and urged the construction of a railroad to the Pacific ocean by a central route. The accomplishment of that objective required the organization and settlement of the Indian country along the route. Douglas campaigned for those objectives from 1844 to 1854. Also, Douglas advocated local self-government and co-operation of states in regional affairs as an offset to the growing tendency toward national centralization of power. He insisted that popular government was grounded in the locality. These principles provided the background for the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, with its "Popular Sovereignty" clause, and for Douglas these principles, not slavery, were the real issues of the day.³¹ The newer point of view ap-

28. Waldo R. Wedel, "Some Problems and Prospects in Kansas Prehistory," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 7, pp. 115-132; "Prehistory and Environment in the Central Great Plains," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, v. 50, pp. 1-18; "Environment and Native Subsistence Economies in the Central Great Plains," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, v. 101, No. 3; "Culture Chronology in the Central Great Plains," *American Antiquity*, Salt Lake City, v. 12, pp. 148-155.

29. Malin, *The Grassland of North America: Prolegomena to Its History* (Lawrence: The author, 1946); *Grassland Historical Studies* . . . ; Volume I, *Geography and Geology* (Lawrence: The author, 1950); *Winter Wheat in the Golden Belt of Kansas* (Lawrence: The University of Kansas Press, 1944). The first chapters of the last named book were first published in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 11, pp. 370-393; v. 12, pp. 58-91, 156-189.

30. *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, pp. 115-121; v. 8, pp. 227-237.

31. For a further development of these principles, see James C. Malin, *The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854* (Lawrence: The author, 1954).

plied to the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan, 1853-1861, is treated best in Roy F. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce* (Philadelphia and London, 1931), and *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948).

Kansas history proper, as differentiated from background, began in the Cutler book at page 81. The story was told in a factual manner, with the liberal reprinting of original documents or extracts from them, and with the minimum of personal interpretation. In accordance with the prevailing point of view the territorial story was told almost exclusively from the Free-State side. Leavenworth, for instance, was sacrificed to Lawrence even for the Free-State story. The convention era of 1855 during which the Free-State party and the Topeka statehood movement were launched ignored important factors. This story needs revision to recognize the role of J. Butler Chapman, J. H. Stringfellow, Josiah Miller, and R. H. Elliott. Also the Topeka Constitution needs re-evaluation.³²

The Lecompton Constitution movement and the English bill have been reinterpreted by F. H. Hodder, showing that the bribery story is untenable.³³ The admission of Kansas into the Union and the organization of the state government under Charles Robinson as governor, is told in modern form in G. R. Gaeddert, *The Birth of Kansas* (Topeka, 1940). The John Brown story is told in Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six*, based upon altogether new manuscript material as the point of departure from the traditional factual structure of the activities of Brown. In this new context the Pottawatomie massacre was political assassination.

IV. BLACKMAR, *Kansas, a Cyclopedia of State History*

The set of books called *Kansas, a Cyclopedia of State History* . . . was published in 1912 in three volumes, but volume 3 was in two parts each as large as either of the first two volumes (Chicago: Standard Publishing Company). The first two volumes were called history, but arranged topically in alphabetical order as is customary in an encyclopedia. Thus, it was designed as a reference work, not as one to be read consecutively. It was a vanity history, but by this time custom in such matters had pretty well standardized the procedure of printing the subscribers' biographies and pictures

32. Cf., the short statement on these points in the first essay in this series, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 21, pp. 205-210. A longer version is in James C. Malin, "The Topeka Statehood Movement Reconsidered: Origins," in *Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial* (Lawrence: The University of Kansas Publications, Social Science Studies, 1954). Other essays in this volume, *Territorial Kansas*, each by a different author, deal with topics that received scant if any attention from Cutler.

33. F. H. Hodder, "Some Aspects of the English Bill for the Admission of Kansas," *Collections of the K. S. H. S.*, v. 10, pp. 224-232.

in volumes separate from the history, but the whole work was sold of course as sets. The two-part volume 3 contained the subscribers' biographies. The promoters of the enterprise tried, unsuccessfully, to persuade F. H. Hodder to permit the use of his name on the title page as editor, offering him compensation in the four-figure range.³⁴ The exact conditions under which Frank W. Blackmar, professor of sociology and dean of the graduate school of the University of Kansas, accepted the role assigned to him on the title page as editor are not known. Although he wrote some articles, the work as a whole was written by a staff of writers, partly regular company personnel, and partly local people resident in Topeka. The details of this writing enterprise have been summarized in a written statement by Martin J. Flannery, October 11, 1933, supplemented by George Root, a long-time member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.³⁵ According to these informants, Thomas J. Hudson, Indianapolis, the managing editor, wrote most of the territorial and state history; Charles and William Jackson, Valparaiso, Ind., were in charge of outside activities. Martin J. Flannery wrote most of the biographical articles, and George Root most of the articles on rivers, springs, express routes, and landmarks. Elizabeth N. Barr (Mrs. C. B. Arthur, later publisher of the *Overland Park Herald*), contributed to the county histories. A number of others made lesser contributions. Most of the work was compiled and written in the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1910-1912.

V. THE CONNELLEY HISTORIES

Two sets of vanity histories were issued under the name of W. E. Connelley, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, as author and compiler; each in five volumes, in each case two being history and three being biographies principally, if not altogether, of subscribers. The first set was entitled *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*, and was issued by the Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago and New York, 1918. The second was entitled *History of Kansas, State and People*. . . . In the latter case the title page indicated that the biographies were by a special staff of writers. The publisher was The American Historical Society, Inc., Chicago and New York, 1928. This organization should not be confused with the American Historical Association, the professional organization of historians in the United States.

34. Professor Hodder told the present writer the story of these negotiations.

35. K. S. H. S., manuscript division.

Except for the three volumes of biographies in each set, the two histories were substantially one and the same thing. Neither the copyright notice of 1928 nor the preface of the same date gave any hint that the material had been published before. In the 1928 edition of the history, a new chapter one had been added and the following chapters renumbered accordingly and retitled. New chapters were added to cover the period between 1918 and 1928, the administrations of Governors Allen, Davis, and Paulen. Among the special articles three were new. A page by page collation of the texts of the two histories show that they are identical except an occasional sentence, paragraph, or section.³⁶

The most of the history in these volumes was actually written by Connelley. The other chapters were published under the names of each of the contributing authors, but most of them were superficial. The major interest centers in Connelley's interpretation of Kansas and national history. He had no formal training in such matters and had followed his own bent in cultivating only those aspects of history that were of interest to him personally. Also, he was a man of strong likes and dislikes. In his earlier days he had been in the thick of the feuding over John Brown, Jim Lane, and Charles Robinson, and had written biographies of Lane (1899), and Brown (1900), as well as a bitter attack on Robinson under the title *Appeal to the Record*. By the time he wrote *Kansas and Kansans* his views had moderated somewhat, but they colored his treatment of Kansas history which was unduly favorable to Lane and Brown. To Connelley, history was peculiarly personal. His interest in Indians resulted in an undue amount of space being devoted to that subject, particularly the Wyandotte Nation. His insistence upon the Wyandotte background for the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the major roles of Abelard Guthrie and William Walker distorted that whole subject. His contention ignored what was going on in the United States as a whole, and in effect, made the tail to wag the dog. That type of exaggeration is one of the pitfalls of local historians when zeal for their own area loses touch with background. Another special interest with Connelley was the military history of the American Civil War, which resulted in six chapters on the Kansas aspects of military operations. Kansas history after the Civil War was written by several hands. The work as a whole lacked organization and coherence; a collection of historical articles arranged roughly in a chronological order rather than a history.

36. In reviewing the 1928 edition in the *American Historical Review*, New York (v. 34, pp. 663, 664), F. H. Hodder pointed out the main facts about the two histories.

CONCLUSION

Conclusions appropriate to close this series of essays fall under three heads, which emphasize the wide split between theory and practice. First, the conception of history conspicuous throughout the course of agitation for a state historical society had emphasized that history included the whole range of human activity. Kingman's presidential address before the Kansas Historical Society in 1868 had held up a worthy ideal. Kansans of that era were not only familiar with Macaulay's history, but also J. R. Green's histories—the *Larger History of the English People*, sold in 1882 for 65 cents.³⁷ The emphasis in Green's work was on "the history of the *people*, rather than that of the kings only. . . ." The Andreas-Cutler book made a bid for some such conception of history, but fell short.

Explanations for the continued emphasis upon political and military history were grounded upon fundamental considerations even where the practice was deficient. In modern times responsible government was held up as the ideal. Such a concept of government could not be successful, nor could it be defended, unless the people of such a society were politically minded—which is only another way of saying government conscious. Under such a system, history must give attention to facts, activities, and ideas that were involved in political action. And so long as the final arbiter among nations was war, military history must necessarily occupy a role comparable to the historical reality which it is the function of historical study to reconstruct.³⁸ Some discrimination must be exercised, however, in deciding the relative emphasis upon the several aspects of society. It is one thing to give due emphasis to political and military history, it is quite another to write political and military history to the exclusion of all else, or social history without politics and war. Also, care must be exercised with the concept of what is political. In a society operating under the principles of popular responsibility the term political may be as comprehensive as the scope of society. Decisions about the boundaries of government action, broad or limited, are political judgments. Thus, it is clear that in the third quarter of the 19th century, whether in the England of Green, or the New York of Dana, or the Chicago of Andreas, or the Kansas which is the subject of these essays on history, similar issues were at

37. Troy *Kansas Chief*, May 18, July 6, 1882, a series of advertisements. Green's *Shorter History of the English People* had been published in England in 1874, and had been immensely popular there. It was reprinted in the United States by Macmillan at \$3.50, and by Harpers at \$1.75. The author of the biographical sketches in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, v. 23 (1890), pp. 46-49, remarked: "What Macaulay had done for a period of English history, Green did for it as a whole." The *Larger History of the English People* was issued in England in four volumes, 1877-1880.

38. These issues were discussed bluntly in an editorial by William B. Dana, *Merchant's Magazine*, New York, v. 63 (1870), pp. 241-246.

stake in the theory and practice of history. Pioneer Kansas was not operating in a vacuum of isolation.

The second conclusion has to do with the declining role of locality, the state, county, and towns and other subdivisions. The point has been made that Douglas was a proponent of local self-government and co-operation among states on a regional basis as an antidote for the trend toward national centralization. The American Civil War was a war of national unification by "blood and iron" comparable to the wars of unification of Germany and Italy during the same decade. Or, put in the converse, it was a war against the states and locality. The several series of state histories planned during the 1870's and 1880's were in one of their aspects a continuation of prewar devotion to locality, or reactions against the emphasis on nationalism. Tuttle and Andreas prepared series of state histories, but for different reasons neither plan was carried far. The conservative publishing house of Houghton, Mifflin and Company in Boston did execute their program for a Commonwealth Series, edited by Horace B. Scudder. The authors were drawn, so far as possible, from the academic world, and the books were very small. Spring's *Kansas* (1885), was a number in that series. The Andreas-Cutler history went further than most state histories in providing not only county histories, but divided the counties into their component parts and sketched the history of each. In contrast, the Connelley histories did not even recognize counties. Locality had evaporated from state history as completely as the state had been eliminated from the history of the union of states called the United States of America.

Lastly, what had become of the individual and his biography as history? In the Andreas-Cutler book the biographies, arranged alphabetically, were associated with the history of their respective localities. In the Blackmar and Connelley sets the biography volumes had no relevance whatever to the history volumes, except as a commercial transaction they must be purchased together. The biographies of the subscribers were not even arranged alphabetically for purposes of reference. The pretense that biography was history lost all semblance of any relation to the subject matter of the history.

In spite of the trends revealed here, state and local history are essential even to the writing of a sound history of the United States. Thus far national history has been written too much from the top down. And furthermore, local history is significant in its own right, when adequately framed in a larger setting of region or of nation or of other background for the achievement of perspective.

Bypaths of Kansas History

MARRIAGE AND BIRTH NOTICES IN EARLY-DAY NEWSPAPERS

From the *Southern Kansas Herald*, Osawatomie, April 24, 1858.

OFF FOR KANSAS.—Last evening, one of our loveliest girls left our city in the 9:40 train, on her way for the far-off Kansas. Although all alone, her brave heart faltered not, nor did the bright roses on her cheek turn pale; and if the tears dimmed her dark eyes, it was not from fear but the thoughts of leaving her many warm friends. But that strongest of all earthly ties formed in childhood and strengthened by five years of unchanging affection cheered her on. Strong in faith and love, and high in hope, she left her own good region to meet the trials of a home within the new, and we hope, prosperous territory. Success and happiness, and all God's choicest blessings attend thee, my stout hearted and darling Mary Luther, when you meet your Merrit, may he love you as I do, and you need have no fears for the future; and well we know he does love you far better, and for this I will bless him; and pray for him.

A TRUE FRIEND TO MARY.

We publish the above *by request*; so *we* are not responsible for making public "Mary's" adventure in search of a husband! But we may be indulged in saying that if all the girls should manifest such pluck and equal devotedness, fewer old maids would disfigure the census tables. A thousand blessings on you, Mary!—Rochester (N. Y.) *Union & Advertiser*.

The brave hearted young lady alluded to in the above article, arrived safely in Osawatomie on the evening of the 2d inst., and ere the lapse of two hours was united with "the silken tie that binds two willing hearts" to the beau ideal of her dreams, and for whom she left home, friends, and all the fond endearments that cluster around youthful associations. We can assure "Mary's true friend," that her happiness has been exalted, and her strong-hearted devotion of love and fidelity will ever be cherished by the object of her love, who is one [of] our most respectable and worthy young men. A life of happiness and prosperity is in store for them, and long may they live to enjoy it.

From *The Sumner County Press*, Wellington, January 8, 1874.

The following unique marriage ceremony was pronounced by a Cottonwood Falls 'Squire, who was taken unawares by an anxious couple presenting themselves, but who proved himself equal to the emergency. We give it upon the authority of the *Chase County Leader*, and if it is not strictly true, then may the Lord have mercy on Morgan's soul:

"Therefore, by virtue of the authority invested in me by the laws of the State of Kansas, and the rules and regulations governing the land office at Salina, I hereby pronounce you man and wife. Whoever I have joined in wedlock let no man part asunder. I charge you to be true to each other. True love is as scarce in Kansas as honest men in our legislature. Be always true and loving to each other, take a homestead or a piece of railroad land with a spring on it, (my

partner, Bill Smith, knows where there is a good piece,) and you will be comparatively happy. Happiness in this world consists of a man and wife loving each other and playing checkers. It is a pity there is so much deception; but if your hearts beat in unison, and laborers receive two dollars a day, you can consider yourselves in luck. Amen.

From *ibid.*, July 30, 1874.

A couple came from Ohio, arriving in Leavenworth a few days since, and were married about noon. At 8 o'clock in the evening a bouncing boy weighing ten and a half pounds, was born to the blooming bride of less than ten hours. This is only another evidence of the fertility of Kansas, and a proof that the drought is not so general and fatal in its effects as some of our eastern friends suppose.

From the *Dodge City Times*, June 15, 1878.

BORN—To Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Overley, June 11, 1878, a daughter.

It is unnecessary to state that the old gentleman, who is bordering on 60, is very proud of this masterly streak of luck.

AN AGE-OLD QUESTION

From the *Solomon Valley Pioneer*, Lindsey, February 15, 1873.

They are discussing in the Solomon Literary Society the question whether "there is more pleasure in married or single life." We are on the affirmative, and deem those on the negative decidedly green.

EXCITING DRAMA AT SENECA

From the *Seneca Weekly Courier*, March 13, 1874.

Seventeen pair of corset clasps were swept out the next morning after the last drama. It would be well to leave the whole thing at home next Tuesday night.

WESTWARD WITH A HAND CART

From the *El Dorado Press*, June 26, 1879.

Last week a family of emigrants passed through town pulling a hand cart, in which was placed their portable earthly effects. They were all the way from North Carolina and were bound for Sun City, Barbour county.

TRANSPORTATION AT NORTON IN 1880

From the *Norton County People*, Norton, August 5, 1880.

A load of hay was brought to town on Monday, on a wagon drawn by four cows.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Articles appearing in the July, 1955, issue of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, included: "History in the Making," a review of Shawnee county events of 1954, by Earl Ives; "The First Days at the Kansas River Mission," by Lena Baxter Schenck; "Quantrell's Massacre," by the Rev. Lewis Bodwell, first published in the *Kansas Telephone*, Manhattan, August, 1883; "Memories of Burning of Topeka High School [May 18, 1935]," by C. C. Nicholson; letters of Calvin Holman from Topeka to his family in New Hampshire in 1869; and the second installment of the "History of Potwin," by Charlotte McLellan.

In 1864 a refuge from raiding Indians was built on the Solomon river near Lindsey. An article on this fort by Theo. H. Scheffer, was published in the *Minneapolis Messenger*, July 7, 1955. Maps of the period called it Fort Solomon but it was known locally as "Fort Podunk."

Gen. George Custer's last stand at the battle of Little Big Horn was reviewed by Clyde K. Rodkey in the *Manhattan Tribune-News*, July 7, 1955.

Greensburg's Methodist church observed its 70th anniversary July 10, 1955. A history of the church was published in *The Kiowa County Signal*, Greensburg, July 7. The church site was donated by the town company in June, 1885, and a building was immediately erected. The Rev. C. R. Robinson was the first pastor.

In celebration of the 50th anniversary of the dedication of the first church building, special services were held at the Cleveland (Kan.) Methodist church July 17, 1955. A history of the church was printed in the *Kingman Journal*, July 12.

Early Abilene and the Chisholm trail were the subjects of an article by Ellery A. Myers in the *Dighton Herald*, July 13, 1955.

Bethel Methodist church, near Strawn in Coffey county, celebrated its 60th anniversary July 24, 1955. A sketch of its early history was printed in the *Daily Republican*, Burlington, July 27.

John W. Horner and A. S. Corey brought a printing press to Chetopa in 1868, and the first issue of the *Chetopa Advance* appeared the first week of 1869. On July 28, 1955, the *Advance* printed a brief history of Chetopa newspapers by Rael F. Amos.

Kansas Historical Notes

Eight historic sites in Kansas were recently inspected by Merrill J. Mattes, of Omaha, regional historian, National Park Service, as possible locations for national monuments or parks. Mattes' visit resulted from the introduction of bills in congress by Sen. Frank Carlson proposing that national monuments or parks be located in Kansas. Ten sites are under consideration.

Jefferson county's centennial anniversary was celebrated at Oskaloosa, August 14-20, 1955. Features of the program included talks by Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, and Sen. Frank Carlson; four performances of the Jefferson county "Centurama," a pageant; and the publication by the Oskaloosa *Independent*, of a 50-page illustrated historical booklet entitled *The First Hundred Years of Jefferson County Kansas*.

A conference on the nature and writing of history was held at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, August 14-25, 1955. The lecturers and discussion leaders included: Robert E. Brown, Michigan State University, Ann Arbor; Thomas LeDuc, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio; James C. Malin, University of Kansas, Lawrence; David Lowenthal, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; William A. Williams, University of Oregon, Eugene; Allan Bogue, State University of Iowa, Iowa City; Larry Gara, Eureka College, Eureka, Ill.; and Forrest McDonald, American History Research Center, Madison, Wis. George L. Anderson, University of Kansas, was conference director.

Atwood observed its 75th anniversary with a celebration August 17-21, 1955. The program included a barbecue, the 4-H and FFA fair, sports events, dances, a parade, and a rodeo.

A reorganization meeting of the Doniphan County Historical Society was held in Troy, August 19, 1955. Officers elected were: Tom Van Bebber, president; C. C. Calnan, vice-president; and Margaret Larzelere Rice, secretary-treasurer. Plans were made to observe Troy's centennial with celebrations in the autumn of 1955 and the spring of 1956.

Officers elected by the Chase County Historical Society at its 21st annual meeting in Cottonwood Falls, September 10, 1955, were: Andrew H. Drummond, president; Henry Rogler, vice-president; Clint A. Baldwin, secretary; George T. Dawson, treasurer;

Mrs. Helen Austin, historian; and Mrs. Ruth Conner, assistant historian. The executive committee includes: Mrs. Conner, Mrs. Ida M. Vinson, Mrs. Austin, Mrs. Paul B. Wood, Ida Schneider, and Beatrice Hays.

Biography of the First Baptist Church, El Dorado, Kansas is the title of a recently published 148-page book by Corah Mooney Bullock. The church was organized in April, 1871, under the guidance of Elder T. D. Grow.

In commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the First Methodist church of Manhattan, a 64-page history of the church was published in June, 1955. Members of the historical committee, which prepared the pamphlet, were E. M. Amos, Louis H. Limper, and Sam C. Charlson.

Our First 100 Years is the title of a new 44-page booklet on the history of the First Congregational church of Topeka, compiled by Mrs. Charles A. Galt. Nine persons meeting in a cabin organized the church October 14, 1855.

James C. Malin is the author of a new 436-page volume entitled *The Contriving Brain and the Skillful Hand*, lithoprinted by Edwards Brothers, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich. In his preface Dr. Malin says: "In a sense . . . this book rounds out the main outlines, but does not complete the body of thought about history and philosophy of history that has been developed over a long period of time." It has been designed as background material for the forthcoming second volume of the author's *Grassland Historical Studies*.

Kansas' border troubles before and during the Civil War are included in a new 454-page history by Jay Monaghan entitled *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865* (Little, Brown and Company, Boston and Toronto, 1955).

The story of the Great Plains during the period of its settlement is told in picture and narrative by Martin F. Schmitt and Dee Brown in *The Settlers' West* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955). Three hundred pictures are included in the 258-page volume.

A 320-page biography of William F. Cody entitled *Buffalo Bill: King of the Old West*, by Elizabeth Jane Leonard and Julia Cody Goodman, and edited by James Williams Hoffman, was published recently by Library Publishers of New York. Mrs. Goodman, a sister of Cody, prepared the manuscript before her death in 1928.

Columbia University is preparing for publication a new and complete edition of the papers of Alexander Hamilton. The editors wish to locate any letters to or from Hamilton and any other Hamilton documents that are in private hands. If any one possesses such documents, the editors will greatly appreciate any information on their whereabouts and availability.

The Story of Chaplain Kapaun (Emporia: Didde Publishers, c1954), by Father Arthur Tonne is the biography of Father Emil Joseph Kapaun, Kansas priest, who died in 1951, a prisoner of war in a Chinese Communist hospital in Korea. Father Kapaun was born and raised near Pilsen in Marion county.

A 256-page biography of A. Q. Miller, Sr., *Jayhawk Editor*, compiled and edited by James D. Callahan, was recently published by the Sterling Press, Los Angeles. Miller, who now lives at Salina, has been publisher of the *Belleville Telescope* since 1904.

A new history of the Pony Express by Lee Jensen is entitled *The Pony Express* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, c1955). The 154-page volume is highly illustrated with drawings and historical pictures.

Strike the Tents—the Story of the Chautauqua, a 204-page book by Charles F. Horner, was recently issued by Dorrance and Company of Philadelphia. The first Chautauqua was founded on the shore of Lake Chautauqua, New York, in 1874, by Bishop John H. Vincent and Lewis Miller. The Chautauqua's great popularity began about 1907, reached its peak in the early 1920's, but declined rapidly in the late 1920's.

Errata and Addenda, Volume XXI

Page 68, line 11, Frederic Hawn should read Frederick Hawn.

Page 77, line 27, C. W. Correll should read C. M. Correll.

Page 90, last line, page 91, line 3, and page 92, line 11, Seth J. Child should read Seth I. Child.

Page 104, line 8, J. B. Mason should read T. B. Mason.

Page 145, line 21, H. B. Oesterreich should read B. H. Oesterreich.

Page 170, Footnote 15, Donaldson should read Donalson.

Page 172, Footnote 20, Phillip St. George Cooke should read Philip St. George Cooke.

Page 210, six lines from bottom of page, F. M. Coleman should read F. N. Coleman.

Page 227, line 6, 1864 should be 1865.

Page 285, line 17, W. D. Wilder should read D. W. Wilder.

Page 399, line 2, Mrs. Loleta M. Troup should read Mrs. Loleta M. Troup.

Page 414, line 11, David Dickson should read David Dickinson.

Page 449, eight lines from bottom of page, the date 1859 should follow April 26.

Page 476, 11 lines from bottom of page, the date 1858 should follow February 13.

Page 480, line 2, Rev. S. M. Irwin should read Rev. S. M. Irvin.

Page 488, line 18, L. E. Valentine should read L. F. Valentine.

Page 489, five lines from bottom of page, and page 490, line 4, Antonio should read Antonino.

Page 494, seven lines from bottom of page, O. L. Lennon should read O. L. Lennen.

Page 565, line 19, April 18 should read April 8.

Index To Volume XXI

A

- Abbott, Ephraim, Jr., marriage, noted, 445
 Abbott, James B., 199, 211, 274, 610
 —biographical sketch, noted, 617
 Abell, Col. Peter T., 153, 154, 159
 Abernathy, J. J., marriage, noted, 445
 Abilene, article on, noted, 646
 —Eisenhower museum opening, note on, 150
 —marshals, article on, noted, 395
 —public library, note on, 80
 Abilene *Gazette*, microfilmed, 295
 Abilene *Reflector-Chronicle*, 73, 316, 395
 Abraham, R. H., Lyon co., 567
 Ackerly, Godelope, marriage, noted, 445
 Acres, Col. Nelson F., at Iola, 236
 237, 239
 Acton, Rebecca, marriage, noted, 473
 Adair, Ella, marriage, noted, 458
 Adair, Mollie, marriage, noted, 450
 Adair, Rev. S. L., 462, 485
 Adams, Carlin F., marriage, noted, 462
 Adams, Charles F., U. P. Railway Co. president, 329
 Adams, Franklin G., 353, 354, 356, 366, 369, 407, 418-421, 430, 621, 627, 628
 —Historical Society secretary, 431-441, 444
 —notes on, 420, 421, 431, 432
 —photograph, facing 432
 —quoted, 1883, 628, 629, 634, 635
 Adams, Harriet, marriage, noted, 467
 Adams, Henry J., Leavenworth, 359, 447
 Adams, Lucian R., marriage, noted, 446
 Adams, Judge M. S., Leavenworth, 478
 Adams, Mrs. P. Maria, marriage, noted, 485
 Adams, Paul, Topeka, 54
 —articles by, noted, 70
 —memorial to, noted, 70
 Adams, Mrs. Phebe M., marriage, noted, 481
 Adams, William H., Leavenworth, 454
 Adams, Zu, 407, 440
 —photograph, facing 432
 Adamson, Mrs. Rhoda, marriage, noted, 460
 Addis, Alfred S., marriage, noted, 446
 Adkinson, John, Atchison, 446, 468
 Adkinson, William W., marriage, noted, 446
 Admire, W. W., 352, 353
 Adöms, Mollie, Weston, Mo., marriage, noted, 470
 Agriculture, 1869, notes on, 499
 Aitchison, R. T., Wichita, 64, 66, 307
 Alabamians, in Kansas, 1856, 171
 Albin, Susan J., marriage, noted, 447
 Alderson, Rev. L. A., 455, 461, 471
 Aldingham, Susan, marriage, noted, 463
 Aldrich, Sarah, 167
 Alexander, John, articles by, noted, 227
 313, 491
 Alger, Charles, Douglass, article on, noted, 566
 Allen, A. C., 91
 Allen, Mrs. Asahel G., diary, quoted, 91
 Allen, Ben, Highland, 397
 Allen, Bennie, murder, article on, noted, 396
 Allen, H. C., Hays City, 564
 Allen, J. D., Johnson co., 456
 Allen, Luther, marriage, noted, 446
 Allen, Lyman, Lawrence, 345-347
 Allen, Martin, family, article on, noted, 396
 Alien, Rev. Thomas, Atchison, 448
 Allen, William F., 91
 Allen county, centennial celebration in, notes on, 494
 —Electric Park, note on, 243
 —electric railway system, 242, 243
 —gas boom in, 240-245
 —history, articles on, noted, 566
 —Mineral Well Park, note on, 237
 —natural gas found in, 236, 237
Allen County Courant, Iola, microfilmed, 55
 Ailer, A. L., Leavenworth, marriage, noted, 446
 Allis, Marcia, Beloit, Wis., marriage, noted, 461
 Allman, Le Roy, 230
 Almena, Methodist church, article on, noted, 316
 Almena *Plaindealer*, 316
 Alta Vista, Baptist church, article on, noted, 397
 Alta Vista *Journal*, 397
 Althen, Henry G., St. Louis, marriage, noted, 446
 Alton, Cyrus D., marriage, noted, 446
 Alward, Rev. E., 451, 478
American Heritage, note on, 319
 Americus, articles on, noted, 73, 141, 396
 —early-day press of, given Historical Society, 56
 Amos, Ed M., Manhattan, 77, 493, 643
 Amos, Rael F., Chetopa, article by, noted, 646
 Anderson, Mrs. Almira, marriage, noted, 452
 Anderson, Caroline, marriage, noted, 446
 Anderson, Elizabeth, marriage, noted, 453
 Anderson, Dr. G. G., Wichita, 492
 Anderson, C. W., marriage, noted, 446
 Anderson, Dr. George L., Lawrence, 64
 66, 307, 647
 —articles in *Your Government* by, noted, 68
 —essay by, noted, 496
 Anderson, J. C., Fort Scott, in 1855 legislature, 323
 Anderson, Rev. J. W., Anthony, 313
 Anderson, John A., 422, 426
 Anderson, Dr. Joseph, marriage, noted, 446
 Anderson, Lorene, and A. W. Farley, bibliography of town and county histories of Kansas compiled by, 513-519
 —note on, 513
 Anderson, Maria, marriage, noted, 464
 Anderson, Mary B., marriage, noted, 457
 Anderson, Mrs. Mindful A., marriage, noted, 484
 Anderson, Nancy Jane, marriage, noted, 479
 Anderson, Oscar, Farlington, 76
 Anderson, Mrs. Oscar, Farlington, 317
 Andreas, Alfred Theodore, publisher, 618
 622, 628
 Andreas-Cutler, *History of Kansas*, discussed, 617-637
 Andrews, Cavallo J., Lyon co., article on, noted, 489
 Andrews, Mrs. Hubert C., Independence, donor, 297
 Andrews, R. S., marriage, noted, 446
 Angell, —, surveyor, 1860's, 573
 Angell, Elizabeth, marriage, noted, 471

Errata and Addenda, Volume XXI

Page 68, line 11, Frederic Hawn should read Frederick Hawn.

Page 77, line 27, C. W. Correll should read C. M. Correll.

Page 90, last line, page 91, line 3, and page 92, line 11, Seth J. Child should read Seth I. Child.

Page 104, line 8, J. B. Mason should read T. B. Mason.

Page 145, line 21, H. B. Oesterreich should read B. H. Oesterreich.

Page 170, Footnote 15, Donaldson should read Donalson.

Page 172, Footnote 20, Phillip St. George Cooke should read Philip St. George Cooke.

Page 210, six lines from bottom of page, F. M. Coleman should read F. N. Coleman.

Page 227, line 6, 1864 should be 1865.

Page 285, line 17, W. D. Wilder should read D. W. Wilder.

Page 399, line 2, Mrs. Loleta M. Troup should read Mrs. Loleta M. Troup.

Page 414, line 11, David Dickson should read David Dickinson.

Page 449, eight lines from bottom of page, the date 1859 should follow April 26.

Page 476, 11 lines from bottom of page, the date 1858 should follow February 13.

Page 480, line 2, Rev. S. M. Irwin should read Rev. S. M. Irvin.

Page 488, line 18, L. E. Valentine should read L. F. Valentine.

Page 489, five lines from bottom of page, and page 490, line 4, Antonio should read Antonino.

Page 494, seven lines from bottom of page, O. L. Lennon should read O. L. Lennen.

Page 565, line 19, April 18 should read April 8.

Index To Volume XXI

A

- Abbott, Ephraim, Jr., marriage, noted, 445
 Abbott, James B., 199, 211, 274, 610
 —biographical sketch, noted, 617
 Abell, Col. Peter T., 153, 154, 159
 Abernathy, J. J., marriage, noted, 445
 Abilene, article on, noted, 646
 —Eisenhower museum opening, note
 on, 150
 —marshals, article on, noted, 395
 —public library, note on, 80
 Abilene *Gazette*, microfilmed, 295
 Abilene *Reflector-Chronicle*, 73, 316, 395
 Abraham, R. H., Lyon co., 567
 Ackerly, Godelope, marriage, noted, 445
 Acres, Col. Nelson F., at Iola, 236
 237, 239
 Acton, Rebecca, marriage, noted, 473
 Adair, Ella, marriage, noted, 458
 Adair, Mollie, marriage, noted, 450
 Adair, Rev. S. L., 462, 485
 Adams, Carlin F., marriage, noted, 462
 Adams, Charles F., U. P. Railway Co.
 president, 329
 Adams, Franklin G., 353, 354, 356, 366
 369, 407, 418-421, 430, 621, 627, 628
 —Historical Society secretary, 431-441, 444
 —notes on, 420, 421, 431, 432
 —photograph, facing 432
 —quoted, 1883, 628, 629, 634, 635
 Adams, Harriet, marriage, noted, 467
 Adams, Henry J., Leavenworth, 359, 447
 Adams, Lucian R., marriage, noted, 446
 Adams, Judge M. S., Leavenworth, 478
 Adams, Mrs. P. Maria, marriage,
 noted, 485
 Adams, Paul, Topeka, 54
 —articles by, noted, 70
 —memorial to, noted, 70
 Adams, Mrs. Phebe M., marriage,
 noted, 481
 Adams, William H., Leavenworth, 454
 Adams, Zu, 407, 440
 —photograph, facing 432
 Adamson, Mrs. Rhoda, marriage,
 noted, 460
 Addis, Alfred S., marriage, noted, 446
 Adkinson, John, Atchison, 446, 468
 Adkinson, William W., marriage, noted, 446
 Admire, W. W., 352, 353
 Adöms, Mollie, Weston, Mo., marriage,
 noted, 470
 Agriculture, 1869, notes on, 499
 Aitchison, R. T., Wichita, 64, 66, 307
 Alabamians, in Kansas, 1856, 171
 Albin, Susan J., marriage, noted, 447
 Alderson, Rev. L. A., 455, 461, 471
 Aldingham, Susan, marriage, noted, 463
 Aldrich, Sarah, 167
 Alexander, John, articles by, noted, 227
 313, 491
 Alger, Charles, Douglass, article on,
 noted, 566
 Allen, A. C., 91
 Allen, Mrs. Asahel G., diary, quoted, 91
 Allen, Ben, Highland, 397
 Allen, Bennie, murder, article on, noted, 396
 Allen, H. C., Hays City, 564
 Allen, J. D., Johnson co., 456
 Allen, Luther, marriage, noted, 446
 Allen, Lyman, Lawrence, 345-347
 Allen, Martin, family, article on, noted, 396
 Allen, Rev. Thomas, Atchison, 448
 Allen, William F., 91
 Allen county, centennial celebration in,
 notes on, 494
 —Electric Park, note on, 243
 —electric railway system, 242, 243
 —gas boom in, 240-245
 —history, articles on, noted, 566
 —Mineral Well Park, note on, 237
 —natural gas found in, 236, 237
 Allen County *Courant*, Iola, microfilmed, 55
 Aller, A. L., Leavenworth, marriage,
 noted, 446
 Allis, Marcia, Beloit, Wis., marriage,
 noted, 461
 Allman, Le Roy, 230
 Almena, Methodist church, article on,
 noted, 316
 Almena *Plaindealer*, 316
 Alta Vista, Baptist church, article on,
 noted, 397
 Alta Vista *Journal*, 397
 Althen, Henry C., St. Louis, marriage,
 noted, 446
 Alton, Cyrus D., marriage, noted, 446
 Alward, Rev. E., 451, 478
 American *Heritage*, note on, 319
 Americus, articles on, noted, 73, 141, 396
 —early-day press of, given Historical
 Society, 56
 Amos, Ed M., Manhattan, 77, 493, 643
 Amos, Rael F., Chetopa, article by,
 noted, 646
 Anderson, Mrs. Almira, marriage, noted, 452
 Anderson, Caroline, marriage, noted, 446
 Anderson, Elizabeth, marriage, noted, 453
 Anderson, Dr. G. G., Wichita, 492
 Anderson, G. W., marriage, noted, 446
 Anderson, Dr. George L., Lawrence, 64
 66, 307, 647
 —articles in *Your Government* by,
 noted, 68
 —essay by, noted, 496
 Anderson, J. C., Fort Scott, in 1855
 legislature, 323
 Anderson, Rev. J. W., Anthony, 313
 Anderson, John A., 422, 426
 Anderson, Dr. Joseph, marriage, noted, 446
 Anderson, Lorene, and A. W. Farley,
 bibliography of town and county his-
 tories of Kansas compiled by, 513-
 551
 —note on, 513n
 Anderson, Maria, marriage, noted, 464
 Anderson, Mary B., marriage, noted, 457
 Anderson, Mrs. Mindful A., marriage,
 noted, 484
 Anderson, Nancy Jane, marriage, noted, 479
 Anderson, Oscar, Farlington, 76
 Anderson, Mrs. Oscar, Farlington, 317
 Andreas, Alfred Theodore, publisher, 618
 622, 628
 Andreas-Cutler, *History of Kansas*, dis-
 cussed, 617-637
 Andrews, Cavallo J., Lyon co., article
 on, noted, 489
 Andrews, Mrs. Hubert C., Independ-
 ence, donor, 297
 Andrews, R. S., marriage, noted, 446
 Angell, —, surveyor, 1860's, 573
 Angell, Elizabeth, marriage, noted, 471

- Anker, Harold, donor 300
Annals of Kansas, review by J. J. Doohan, noted 313
 Anstey, Simeon, marriage, noted 446
 Antelope, and deer, on Saline river 69
 Anthony, Daniel R. 360, 420, 423
 425, 429, 430, 442
 Anthony, Daniel R., III, Leavenworth 64, 66, 307, 318
 —donor 55, 296
 Anthony, E., and Co., New York, photographers 26, 27, 29
 Anthony, George T. 426
 Anthony, J. Merritt, marriage, noted 446
 Anthony, Susan B., in Kansas, 1887 182
 Antonino, Catholic church, article on, noted 489, 490
 Archeological excavations, Blue river valley, paper on, noted 150
 Archibald, John Christie, Lawrence pioneer 38
 Archibald, Julia A., marriage, noted 462
 Architecture, 1850's, discussed 100, 101
 104-106, 112-118
 Ard, H. H., Portland, Tenn. 54
 Argonia, articles on, noted 69, 70
 —history, notes on 173
 —Mrs. S. M. Salter mayor of 173-183
 Argonia *Argosy*, articles in, noted 69
 70, 229
 Arkansas City, articles on, noted 70, 141
 Arkansas City *Daily Traveler*, "Arkalah" edition, 1954, noted 315
 —articles in, noted 70
 —microfilmed 55, 295, 296
 Armstrong, Mrs. C. H., Wichita 492
 Armstrong, Carrie, marriage, noted 482
 Armstrong, Lt. Francis C., in Kansas, 1860 585
 Armstrong, Sarah, marriage, noted 463
 Arn, Gov. Edward F., 4, 50, 149, 151, 238
 Arnold, Noah, marriage, noted 446
 Arnold, Oren, article by, noted 565
 Arterberry, Thomas, marriage, noted 446
 Arthur, Elizabeth N. (Mrs. C. B.) 640
 Ash, Lydia, of Kentucky, marriage, noted 485
 Asherville, history, noted 73
 Ashland, article on, noted 143
 —hotel, article on, noted 489
 Ashley, Dr. A. F., Forest City, Mo., marriage, noted 446
 Atchison, David R. 609
 Atchison, William, Clay co., Mo., marriage, noted 446
 Atchison, articles on, noted 144, 227
 —centennial celebration, note on 5
 —early-day transportation problems, paper on, noted 150
 —historical booklet, note on 152
 —Oregon trail roadhouse, article on, noted 142
 —parade, June, 1860, account of 153
 —rechartered, 1858 155
 Atchison and Pike's Peak railroad, 160, 162
 Atchison and St. Joseph railroad, article on 153-165
 Atchison *Champion* 153, 156-159, 163
 Atchison, Colorado and Pacific railroad, 570
 Atchison county, Kennekuk School, article on, noted 316
 —Round Prairie church, article on, noted 144
 Atchison *Daily Globe* 71
 —April 1, 1954, edition, note on 144
 —"Atchison's First Railroad," article by the Rev. Peter Beckman 153-165
 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad, coach, centennial exhibits displayed in 288
 Athearn, Robert G., note on book by 80
 Atherton, Lewis, *Main Street on the Middle Border* by, note on 319
 Atkinson, William, marriage, noted 446
 Atlases, of Kansas counties, bibliography 534-549
 Atwood, B. W., marriage, noted 446
 Atwood, 75th anniversary, note on 647
 Aubrey's Crossing, 1860, note on 586
 Auburn, article on, noted 316
 Augusta, newspaper, note on 182
 Augusta Historical Society, 1954 meeting, note on 149
 —1955 meeting, note on 492
 Auld, Charley, article on, noted 141
 Austin, Mrs. Helen, Chase co. 231, 648
 Austin, Russell, Neosho Falls 461, 465
 Austin, W. P., Chase co. 76
 Avery, Emily F., marriage, noted 451
 Avery, Rachael Foster, in Kansas, 1887, 182
 Axe, Henry, family, Morris co., article on, noted 396
 Axtell *Standard* 316
 Ayers, Mary Jane, marriage, noted 451
 Ayersburg, Ottawa co., history 552, 553
 Ayres, Seymour, Ottawa co. 553, 558
- B
- Babcock, Carmi W., census-taker, 1855 97
 Babcock, Cornelia S., of Wisconsin, marriage, noted 466
 Backus, Rev. W. W. 455, 464, 479
 Bacon, Henry R., marriage, noted 447
 Bacon, S. S., marriage, noted 447
 Bacus, Mary Ellen, marriage, noted 449
 Baden, Henry, home, article on, noted 491
 Badley, Elizabeth S., marriage, noted 446
 Bailey, Alex., Breckenridge co. 469
 Bailey, David H. 360, 411
 Bailey, F. A., marriage, noted 447
 Bailey, Lawrence Dudley, Emporia 343
 345, 346, 355, 366, 370
 —photograph facing 353
 Bailey, Roy F., Salina 65, 306, 308
 Bailey, W. A., donor 296
 Bair, Mrs. Homer 65, 76
 Baker, Judge A. I., death, article on, noted 489
 Baker, Ephraim, marriage, noted 447
 Baker, Floyd Perry 366, 407, 411, 412
 420, 430, 432, 434, 438, 441
 —Historical Society organizer 429, 434
 —note on 418, 442
 —photograph facing 432
 Baker, G. Clay, Topeka 79, 398
 Baker, Peter H., marriage, noted 447
 Baker, Valentine, marriage, noted 447
 Baker, W. W., article by, noted 313
 Baker, Rev. Z., Osawatimie 445
 Baker University, Baldwin, articles on, noted 72
 Baldrige, Rev. B. L. 471
 Baldwin, Amanda E., marriage, noted, 469
 Baldwin, Clint A., Chase co. 76, 231, 647
 Baldwin, Elizabeth H., marriage, noted, 466
 Baldwin, Elizabeth M., marriage, noted 451
 Baldwin, Henry, marriage, noted 447
 Baldwin, James O., marriage, noted 447
 Baldwin City Cemetery, new gates dedicated, note on 151
 Baldwin *Ledger* 151
 Ball, Mrs. Steadman, Atchison 79
 Bankhead, Ascher, marriage, noted 447
 Banks, N. P. 204
Barbour County Mail, Medicine Lodge, microfilmed 295
 Bardsley, Charley, Ellis co. 69
 Barker, Rev. Francis 480

- Barker, H. E., Los Angeles 14
 Barker, Ingle, marriage, noted 447
 Barker, W. W., article by, noted, 145, 146
 Barnes, Dr. Edward A., marriage, noted 447
 Barnes, Elizabeth, articles by, noted 70, 565
 Barnes, Josephine, of Missouri, marriage, noted 471
 Barnes, Mrs. Lela 301, 307
 —treasurer's report on Historical Society, 1952-1953 60-62
 —1953-1954 302-304
 Barnes, Col. Lewis, Weston, Mo. 475
 Barnes, Victoria, Weston, Mo., marriage, noted 475
 Barnett, Rev. William, Wyandotte 448
 451, 453, 463, 477
 Barney, Joseph M., Brimfield, Ill., marriage, noted 447
 Barnum, Phineas T., in Hays 69
 Barr, Elizabeth N. 640
 Barr, Frank, Wichita 66, 307
 Barr, G. W., Elwood 446, 468, 473
 Barrett, Caroline, marriage, noted 453
 Barrett, Lucy A., marriage, noted 472
 Barricklow, Henry, Palmyra 467
 Barricklow, Sarah, marriage, noted 467
 Barrow, Sallie C., marriage, noted 452
 Barrow, Vernon, donor 55
 Barrow, William D., Doniphan co. 452
 Bartlett, J. Kemp 352
 —marriage, noted 447
 Barton county, golden weddings, article on, noted 147
 Bascom, "Cal," Hays, recollections of, noted 396
 Bashford, Angeline, marriage, noted 460
 Bassett, Allen co. 243
 Bayve, Ruby, articles by, noted 70, 147
 Batcheller, J. W., Oregon, Mo., marriage, noted 447
 Bates, Daniel, Fort Madison, Ia., marriage, noted 447
 Bates, Col. J. M., Kansas City, Mo., marriage, noted 447
 Baude, Mrs. André, donor 294
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis 64, 66, 307
 Baugher, E. D., Kinsley, biographical sketch of, noted 489
 Baughman, Elizabeth, Chicago Historical Society 24, 25, 31n, 33n
 Baum, Lula K., Leavenworth co. 318
 Baumgartner, Mrs. Karl, Goodland 79
 Baxter, Jay, article by, noted 145
 Baxter Springs, paper on, noted 399
 —Quantrill's raid, article on, noted 315
 Bay, Hugh, marriage, noted 447
 Bayard, Lt. George D., in Kansas, 1859-1860 578, 580, 586
 Bayne, Thomas R., marriage, noted 447
 Baysinger, Betsy, marriage, noted 448
 Beach, Harriet E., marriage, noted 464
 Beach, Rev. J. C. 464
 Beach, Melancthon S. 343
 Beachy, Mrs. J. K., donor 54
 Beagle, F. M., marriage, noted 448
 Beagle, Lizzie J., marriage, noted 449
 Bealette's creek 403
 Beall, Capt. William 578
 Beals, Frank, Argonia, articles by, noted 69, 70, 229
 Beardsley, Roxey, marriage, noted 478
 Beatty, Marion, donor 297
 Beck, Will T., Holton, 64, 66, 304, 306, 307
 Becker, Edna, and Rebecca Dunn, song by, noted 292
 Becker, Joseph, note on 258
 —sketch of the Gettysburg ceremony, 1863 between 256, 257
 —Robert Taft's article on 257-263
 Beckman, Rev. Peter, Atchison 150
 —articles by, noted 150, 496
 —"Atchison's First Railroad," article by 153-165
 Becknell, William 560
 Beckwith, Warren, at Pawnee 321, 322
 Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony, historical marker, notes on 63, 301
 —marker to, at Wabaussee, noted 492
 Beeding, W. A., Parkerville, Mo., marriage, noted 448
 Beedlove, Rev. — 468
 Beeler, Bolivar, Doniphan co. 473
 Beenpole, Naomi, marriage, noted 444
 Beers, A. H., marriage, noted 448
 Beery, Mrs. G. W. 493
 Beezley, George F., Girard 65, 306, 308
 Beilharz, Amanda C., Bridgewater, Mich., marriage, noted 466
 Beine, Robert F., death, noted 50
 Bell, Mrs. Charles R., donor 56
 Bell, Lt. George 578
 Bell, Margaret H., Paris, Ill., marriage, noted 486
 Bell, Parmelia, marriage, noted 464
 Belle Plaine, article on, noted 71
 Belle Plaine News 71, 146
 Belleville Telescope 396
 Beloit, articles on, noted 152
 —history, noted 73
 Beloit Call, articles in, noted 73
 Beloit Daily Call 151
 Belyou, Mary D., marriage, noted 465
 Belz, John, marriage, noted 448
 Bemis, Eliza, marriage, noted 454
 Bender family, article on, noted 144, 228
 Benedict, Lydia A., marriage, noted 451
 Benedict, William F., marriage, noted, Benight, Sue E., Easton, Mo., marriage, noted 453
 Benjamin, Henry, marriage, noted 448
 Bennett, Florence Imogene, marriage, noted 451
 Bennett, G. W. C., Platte co., Mo., marriage, noted 448
 Bennett, Dr. J. E., Wyandotte 453, 477
 Bennett, Lizzie J., marriage, noted 453
 Bennett, Mary A., marriage, noted 475
 Bennett, Nettie, marriage, noted 477
 Bennett, Sarah Ann, marriage, noted 464
 Bennett, W. B., Ottawa co. 558
 Bensell, Edmond D. 255
 Bent, H. N., Coffey co. 478
 Bent, Mollie E., Westport, Mo., marriage, noted 470
 Bent, Col. William W., Westport, Mo. 470
 Benton, Thomas Hart, of Missouri, 218, Benton, Phillips co., note on 569
 Benz, John J., marriage, noted 448
 Beougher, Edward M., Grinnell 494
 —donor 54, 294
 —talks by, noted 150
 Berkau, Paul H., marriage, noted 448
 Berkaw, Malvena A., marriage, noted 480
 Berkihizer, B. R., donor 300
 Berry, J., marriage, noted 464
 Berry, Tobiatha, St. Joseph, Mo., marriage, noted 449
 Berryhile, America, of Missouri, marriage, noted 469
 Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland 66, 307
 Best, Francis W., Lindsey 553, 558
 Best, Mrs. Mary G., Lindsey 557
 Bethany College, Lindsborg, books and pictures of, given Historical Society, Bethel Methodist church, Coffey co., article on, noted 646
 Betton, Frank H., marriage, noted 448
 Bibliography, Kansas town and county histories 513-551
 Big Blue river, Juniata crossing 87
 Big Hill, Osage village 85

- Big Springs convention, 1855 199
 206, 207, 209
 Bigsby, R., Emporia 457
 Billington, Monroe, donor 294
 —note on 173
 —“Susanna Madora Salter—First
 Woman Mayor,” article by . . . 173-183
 Binde, Sophia, marriage, noted 448
 Bingham, Nannie, Sabetha 398
 Birch, Michael, Weston, Mo., marriage,
 noted 448
 Births, and marriages, newspaper items
 on 644
 Bishop, Rev. William 348, 449, 453, 472
 Bixler, Noah, Breckinridge co. 462
 Black, Sallie, Buchanan co., Mo., mar-
 riage, noted 448
 Black Kettle's raid, article on, noted . . . 566
 Black-paint river 403, 405
 Blackburn, Forrest R. 301
 Blackford, Eliza Jane, marriage, noted . . 466
 Blackford, Rev. Ira 467, 470, 481
 Blackiston, Ionia, marriage, noted . . . 476
 Blackman, M. W. (son of W. I. R.) . . . 354
 Blackman, William I. R. 343
 —note on 356
 —papers, discussed 352-356
 —photograph facing 352
 Blackmar, Frank W. 615
 —*Kansas, a Cyclopaedia of State History*
 edited by, discussed 639, 640
 Blackston, W. C., marriage, noted 448
 Blair, Hannah T., marriage, noted 462
 Blake, Bertha E., marriage, noted 469
 Blake, F. N., Junction City 343
 Blake, Henry S., Topeka 64, 66, 79,
 —donor 55, 296
 Blake, Mrs. Henry S., Topeka, donor . . . 52
 Blake, Mrs. John 317
 Blake, W. O., history of slavery by,
 note on 190, 191
 Blandin, Emeline, marriage, noted 478
 Blanton, N. B., marriage, noted 448
 Bledsoe, Zorelda, marriage, noted 452
Bleeding Kansas, by Alice Nichols, note
 on 152
 Blegen, Theodore C., of Minnesota . . . 495
 Blevins, William, marriage, noted 448
 Bliss, Harmon J., marriage, noted 448
 Bliss, J. B., Grasshopper Falls 462
 Bliss, Lizzie, Wilbraham, Mass., mar-
 riage, noted 461
 Blizzard, 1886, article on, noted 69
 Block, Gene, donor 300
 Blood, Bernard D., New York, donor . . . 52
 Blood, Rev. Charles E. 91, 448, 450
 459, 463, 464, 476, 480
 Blood, James 343, 346-348
 Blount, John, Lincoln co. pioneer 227
 Blue river, bridge at Juniata, notes on,
 —name origin, notes on 403-405
 Blue river valley, archeological work
 in, paper on, noted 150
Blue Valley News, *The*, Randolph, arti-
 cles in, noted 315, 490
 Bluejacket, Roy F., Independence 58
 Blunt, Gen. James G., at Baxter
 Springs 315
 Blythe, L. J., donor 54
 Boast, Roy A. 494
 Boblett, John, Ayersburg 553
 Bodwell, Rev. Lewis 446, 450
 475, 480, 485
 —article by, noted 646
 Bogart, John, Wichita, article on,
 noted 142
 Bogue, Allan, Iowa City, Ia. 647
 “Bogus Laws” 322, 324
 “Bogus Legislature” 322, 339, 365
 Boissiere, Ernest Valetou de 400
 Bolington, Mrs. Turia, Douglass 230, 568
 Bolmar, Adelaide, Topeka, donor 297
 Bolton, H. E., work on Coronado,
 noted 638
 Bond, Louisa, marriage, noted 484
 Bonifant, Benjamin, Weston, Mo., mar-
 riage, noted 448
 Bonnell, Martha A., marriage noted . . . 467
 Books, added to Historical Society li-
 brary, 1953-1954 379-393
 Boot Hill Museum, Inc., Dodge City,
 note on 230
 Border troubles, 1854-1858 2, 3, 166-172
 Bork, Bill, articles by, noted 489
 Bornholdt, Mrs. Henry H.,
 Augusta 149, 492
 Boshman, Martha, marriage, noted . . . 474
 Bothel, Adam R., marriage, noted 448
 Botts, George W. D., marriage noted . . . 448
 Botts, Jay, Coldwater 78
 Boucher, Rev. Jacob 461
 Boughton, Mary A., marriage, noted . . . 449
 Bourquin, Jules, talk by, noted 395
 Bowen, D. E., Douglas co. 478
 Bowers, Anna D. C., Rock Island, Ill.,
 marriage, noted 452
 Bowker, Samuel D. 370
 —article on, noted 74
 Bowles, L. S., marriage, noted 448
 Bowls, George A., Iola 239
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola 65, 306, 308
 Bowman, Christian, marriage, noted . . . 449
 Bowman, Rev. Joshua 464
 Bowman, Martha E., Spring, Pa., mar-
 riage, noted 457
 Bowman, Samuel, family, Morris co.,
 article on, noted 396
 Bowyer, —, Sumner co. 312
 Boyd, A. G., Weston, Mo., marriage,
 noted 449
 Boyd, Henrietta, articles by, noted . . . 73, 142
 Boyd, W. L., article by, noted 72
 Boyd, Barton co., article on, noted . . . 314
 Boyer, John W., marriage, noted 449
 Boyle, Elizabeth, marriage, noted 471
 Boyle, Michael C., Lindsey 557, 558
 Boyle, Peter, Atchison co. 471
 Boynton, C. B., and T. B. Mason 104, 106
 —*A Journey through Kansas* by,
 noted 185
 Bozarth, Jennie, marriage, noted 472
 Bozell, William, marriage, noted 449
 Bradbury, Rev. H. C., Ottawa co. 556
 Brader, Mrs. John D., Labette co. 318
 Bradford, Rev. W. 473, 476
 Bradford, Ward, marriage, noted 449
 Bradley, Lucretia A., marriage, noted . . 480
 Brady, John T., public printer, 1855 . . . 324
 Brady, Mathew B., collection of nega-
 tives, notes on 32
 —Douglas photographs by, noted . . . 20, 21, 28
 —photographs of Gettysburg by, 1863,
 note on 257n, 259
 Braidy, J. T. 473
 Brainard, Charles H., Boston, pub-
 lisher 32, 33
 Bramhill, John, marriage, noted 449
 Branch, —, commissioner, Ottawa
 co. 552
 Brandage, Catharine, marriage, noted . . 470
 Brander, Ellen W., marriage, noted . . . 458
 Branscomb, Charles H. 26, 342, 343
 Branson rescue, discussed 210-213, 610
 Brant, Rev. R. C., Lawrence 446, 451, 458
 464, 478, 484
 Breckenridge county, article on, noted . . 396
 Breed, H. E., donor 294
 Breese, Emily, marriage noted 452
 Breiner, Gene, Olathe 231
 Brero, Mary, marriage, noted 452
 Brewer, David J., Leavenworth 361
 Brewer, Joe, Wichita, article by, noted . . 149

- Brewer, Montreville, marriage, noted. 449
- Brewerton, G. D., *The War in Kansas*
by, note on. 186
- Brewster, M. C., Tecumseh. 476
- Breyfogle, John W., Jr. 55
- Brick kiln, Lawrence, 1855. 114
- Bricks, as building material. 117
- Briggs, C. W., *The Reign of Terror in Kansas*, noted. 186
- Briggs, Giles A., *White Cloud*. 455, 463, 465, 469, 474, 478, 486
- Briggs, Ursula, marriage, noted. 455
- Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Pratt. 66, 307
- articles by, noted. 567
- donor. 294, 300
- note on. 567
- Brindle, Caroline, marriage, noted. 471
- Brindle, Elizabeth, marriage, noted. 457
- Brink, C. A., Olathe. 231
- Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg. 65, 306, 308, 568
- moderator. 150
- on *Annals* committee. 57
- talks by, noted. 149, 319, 647
- Brinkley, Dr. John R., D. B. Slechta's thesis on, noted. 292
- Brittan, Ellen, marriage, noted. 447
- Britton, Joseph, marriage, noted. 449
- Britton, Mrs. Lloyd. 493
- Broadie, Nina (Mrs. Virgil), Clark co. 78, 318
- Broadstreet, Leslie, Marion. 77
- Brobst, Virgil, article by, noted. 316
- Brook, R. F., Goodland. 66, 307, 494
- speeches by, noted. 151
- Bromley, Martin, St. Joseph, Mo., marriage, noted. 449
- Bronson, Elsie, Topeka. 145
- Brooke, Dr. C. B., marriage, noted. 449
- Brooke, Mary E., marriage, noted. 486
- Brookens, John, Westmoreland. 79
- Brooks, Carrie S., Florence, Ohio, marriage, noted. 485
- Brooks, Josephine L., Rome, N. Y., marriage, noted. 457
- Brooks, P. R., marriage, noted. 449
- Brooks, Rev. S. 451
- Broughton, Mrs. Jennie, article by, noted. 71
- Brown, Alonzo J., marriage, noted. 449
- Brown, B. Gratz, St. Louis, Mo., marriage, noted. 449
- Brown, Mrs. Bernice, article by, noted. 567
- Brown, Dee, co-author *The Settlers West*. 648
- Brown, Everett, article by, noted. 489
- Brown, Dr. G. W., oil prospecting of, 1880. 234
- Brown, George, Franklin, marriage, noted. 449
- Brown, George W., Lawrence. 201, 332
- comment on. 169, 171
- editorial on W. A. Phillips' book, quoted. 201
- Herald of Freedom* editor. 49, 97-120, 202, 203, 209, 210, 213, 214
- Wilder's opinion of, noted. 425
- Brown, Hannah, Leavenworth, marriage, noted. 481
- Brown, Ira, Lawrence, marriage, noted. 449
- Brown, J. B., family, Wilson co., book on, note on. 152
- Brown, John, article on, noted. 227
- biographical article on, noted. 314
- controversy, notes on. 408, 409, 615-617, 630
- figure in Osawatomie pageant. 313
- hanging, article on, noted. 397
- hero, in Tuttle's history of Kansas. 610
- in Jefferson co., article on, noted. 395
- Pottawatomie massacre perpetrator. 166, 190, 200, 283
- Brown, John, Robert Taft's article on, noted. 488
- statue at Western University. 78
- W. A. Phillips' description of. 200
- Wakarusa war. 212
- Brown, John, Jr., prisoner. 166
- Brown, Rev. John S. 451, 477
- Brown, Louesa, marriage, noted. 483
- Brown, M. A. M., marriage, noted. 468
- Brown, Mabel, Finney co. 399, 492
- Brown, Myra Lockwood, article by, noted. 142, 146
- Brown, Orville C., Osawatomie. 343
- Brown, Robert E., Ann Arbor, Mich. 647
- Brown, Rev. S. G. 472, 473, 478, 479
- Brown, Samuel W., Johnson co., marriage, noted. 449
- Brown, Sarah Frances, Emporia, marriage, noted. 479
- Brown, Sue R., marriage, noted. 450
- Brown, Susie E., Lawrence, marriage, noted. 476
- Brown, Warren, Fort Leavenworth, marriage, noted. 449
- Brown, McBride & Bloom, drillers. 239
- Browne, Mrs. K. S. 76
- Browne, Orville H. 280
- marriage, noted. 449
- Browning, Asaph, marriage, noted. 450
- Browning, Mrs. E. J., Dickinson co., article by, noted. 316
- Bruce, H. E., Horton, articles by, noted. 142, 313
- Bruner, Samuel, marriage, noted. 450
- Brunner, Mrs. Eliza J., marriage, noted. 454
- Bryan, Bethiah, marriage, noted. 454
- Bryan, Sally, marriage, noted. 460
- Bryson, Hazel, article by, noted. 395
- Buck, Giles B., marriage, noted. 450
- Buck, Mrs. L. J., Emporia. 396
- Buckeye, cheese factory, article on, noted. 316
- Buckley, James, marriage, noted. 450
- Buckmaster, Nathaniel, of Illinois. 21
- Buckner, Rev. X. X. 447
- Budington, George E., marriage, noted. 450
- Buffalo, fight with a, 1876. 564
- pioneers besieged by a. 312
- Buffalo hunt, article on, noted. 489
- S. J. Reader's water color of. *facing* 400
- Bull, T. J., marriage, noted. 450
- Bull, Dr. W. D., marriage, noted. 450
- Bullen, J. H., marriage, noted. 450
- Bullock, Corah Mooney, book by, note on. 648
- Bumgardner, Dr. Edward, death, noted. 50
- Bundren, Ellen, marriage, noted. 451
- Bundren, Maria L., marriage, noted. 476
- Bunker, J. G., marriage, noted. 450
- Burcham, Riley, Lawrence. 149
- Burdick, L. Virginia, Baltimore, marriage, noted. 476
- Burgereau, Francis, election judge, 1854. 90
- Burgess, Abbie, Buchanan co., Mo., marriage, noted. 467
- Burgess, Rev. H. B., Lawrence. 450, 454
- Burke, Elizabeth, marriage, noted. 472
- Burke, M. Joseph, Medicine Bow, Wyo., 54
- Burley, Rufus B., marriage, noted. 450
- Burlingame, Ward. 412
- Burlingame, article on, noted. 143
- "jail" given Historical Society. 297
- Schuyler's saloon, hatchet attack on. 394
- Burlingame *Enterprise-Chronicle*. 143
- Burlington, *The Daily Republican*. 146
- Burnes, Col. —, Leavenworth. 472
- Burnett, Abram, cane, given Historical Society. 56
- Burnett, Lee and Tawana, donors. 56

- Burnham, Mary Emily, of Maine, marriage, noted 479
- Burns, Lucinda, marriage, noted 475
- Burns, Mary Jane, marriage, noted 483
- Burpee, Mrs. George W., New York 297
- Burr, Richard, marriage, noted 450
- Burritt, Emma S., marriage, noted 470
- Burroughs, Edgar C., marriage, noted 450
- Burson, H., Bloomington 476
- Burtis, Mrs. Winifred Jane, book by, note on 152
- Busey, Sarah A., marriage, noted 462
- Bushman, Charles, marriage, noted 450
- Bushton *News* 144
- Butler, Angelina, marriage, noted 458
- Butler, Rev. Pardee 482
- Butler Free-Lance*, El Dorado 141
- Butler wagon train, 1853, note on 295
- Butt, Rev. William 460, 468
- Butts, Rev. William 479
- Byler, Mollie, marriage, noted 473
- "Bypaths of Kansas History" 67, 140, 224, 225, 312, 394, 487, 564, 644, 645
- Byrd, Rev. F. R. S. 465
- Byrd, Rev. J. H. 468
- Byrn, Olivia N., marriage, noted 449
- C
- Caffrey, Sarah Agnes, marriage, noted, 462
- Calamity Jane, mentioned 69
- Caldwell, as cattle town, article on, noted 226
- Calef, Eliza B., Gloucester, Mass., marriage, noted 474
- Calhoun, John, surveyor general of Kansas and Nebraska, office rules of 224
- Callaway, Rev. C. M. 446, 447, 456, 458, 464, 465, 469, 477, 485
- Callaway, Sallie K., of Virginia, marriage, noted 469
- Calnan, Charles C., Troy 647
- donor 297
- Calvert, Beattie, Platte co., Mo., marriage, noted 450
- Calvert, Frank, marriage, noted 450
- Calvert, Lewis, Platte co., Mo. 450
- Calwell, Mattie E., Lawrence co., Pa., marriage, noted 480
- Cameron, Hugh 438
- Camp Kirwan, history of 569-575
- Camp Sackett, Free-State prison camp 167, 169, 171
- Campbell, Alex M., marriage, noted 450
- Campbell, J. L., Iola 255
- Campbell, Rev. J. P. 472
- Campbell, Mary, marriage, noted 471
- Campbell, Nellie M., marriage, noted 457
- Campbell, Mrs. Spurgeon B., Kansas City 65, 306, 308
- Campdoras, Dr. Marie Antonine Eugene Jacques, marriage, noted 450
- Campion, Mary, marriage, noted 465
- Canary, Mrs. Mary, marriage, noted 456
- Canon, Agnes, Uniontown, Pa., marriage, noted 475
- Canon, Judge R. S., Holt co., Mo. 475
- Canton, Christian church, article on, noted 565
- Canton *Pilot* 565
- Caples, Rev. W. G., Leavenworth 448
- 449, 453
- Capper Memorial Assn., formed, note on 568
- Carbaugh, Mrs. Kenneth 76, 317
- Carbutt, John, Chicago, photographer 30, 31
- Carey, Rev. —, Solomon 556, 557
- Carey, James C., article by, noted 150
- "Junata: Gateway to Mid-Kansas," article by 87-94
- Carey, James C., note on 87
- talk by, noted 77
- Carlson, Sen. Frank 4, 568, 647
- talks by, noted 151, 647
- Carman, F. D., article by, noted 490
- Carman, J. Neale, essay by, noted 496
- note on 81
- "The Bishop East of the Rockies Views His Dioceses, 1851-1853," article by 81-86
- Carmean, Landy Dison, article by, noted 146
- Carmen, townsite, mentioned 182
- Carney, Thomas, Leavenworth 361, 362
- Carpenter, A. O. 45-47, 103, 109
- Carpenter, Chapin Howard, marriage, noted 450
- Carpenter, Davis, Jr., of Missouri 158
- 160, 161, 163, 165
- Carpenter, Garrett R., *Silkville* by, note on 400
- Carpenter, James C., reminiscences, microfilmed 295
- Carpenter, Rose, marriage, noted 475
- Carr, Alexander, marriage, noted 450
- Carr, Clark E., work on S. A. Douglas by, noted 31
- Carr, Capt. Eugene 578
- Carr, John, marriage, noted 450
- Carr, Mary A., marriage, noted 485
- Carrier, Milo, marriage, noted 450
- Carriager, Elliott 454
- Carriager, Maggie, marriage, noted 454
- Carroll, Mrs. Ella Child 92
- Carter, Mrs. Byrl, Clearwater 71
- Carter, Elizabeth A., Oregon, Mo., marriage, noted 458
- Carter, Rev. L. M. 477
- Carver, Dr. George Washington, Ness co. marker for, notes on 76, 77
- Case, Bertha R., marriage, noted 470
- Case, Dexter, marriage, noted 451
- Case, Lawrence, marriage, noted 451
- Case, Rosse B., Marion 77
- Case and Getchell, Boston, photographers 29, 30
- Casebere, Catherine, marriage, noted 480
- Casement, Dan Dillon 38n
- Casement, Gen. John Stephen 38n
- Casper, A., marriage, noted 451
- Castleman, Maj. B. D., Leocompton 484
- Castleman, Mary A., marriage, noted 484
- Caswell, Mary, Upper Alton, Ill., marriage, noted 451
- "Cat-Wagon Trails," by W. G. Clugston, microfilmed 295
- Catholic Indian missions, P. J. Rahill's book on, noted 231
- Catlin, George, article on, noted 75
- Catron, Missouri, Holt co., Mo., marriage, noted 467
- Catterson, John L., marriage, noted 451
- Cavanaugh, T. H. 438
- Cavender, Mary E., marriage, noted 463
- Cavendish, Sgt. —, in Kansas, 1859, 580
- Cawker City, article on, noted 316
- history, noted 73
- Cawker City *Ledger* 142, 316
- Census, 1855, first district, notes on 99
- Centennial, 1876, plans for 415-418
- 435, 436
- "Centennial, The Kansas Territorial," article on 1-7
- Centennial Leavenworth, 1854-1954*, note on 152
- Cerf, Bennett 566
- Chadwick, W. W., marriage, noted 451
- Chaffee, Mrs. Harry A., Topeka 399
- Challis[s], George T., marriage, noted, 451
- Chambau, Catherin, marriage, noted 468
- Chamberlin, Ellen, marriage, noted 474
- Chambers, Col. A. B., St. Louis, Mo. 447

- Chambers, H. L., article by, noted. 74
 Chambers, Lloyd, Clearwater. . 64, 66, 307
 Chambers, Mary Annabelle, marriage, noted. 447
 Chandler, C. J., Wichita. 64, 66, 307
 Chandler, Martha, marriage, noted. 448
 Chandler, Richard. 448
 Channel, Kate H., Newark, Ohio, marriage, noted. 462
 Chanute, Grant Avenue Baptist church, article on, noted. 488
 Chanute *Tribune*. 315, 488
 Chapman, Berlin B., donor. 294
 Chapman, Edward, in 1855 legislature, Chapman, Edward, Wilson killed by, 1856. 167, 170
 Chapman, Joanna Maria, marriage, noted. 450
 Chapman, John Butler, *History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide* by, noted. 185
 —Topeka statehood plan originator. 209
 Chapman, Samuel S. 456, 475
 Charles, Mrs. Cora Coppinger, article by, noted. 143
 Charlson, Sam C., Manhattan. 66, 307, 493, 648
 —donor. 54
 Charlton, F. L., article by, noted. 147
 Chase, Charles F., recollections, noted. 226
 Chase, Jacob E., marriage, noted. 451
 Chase, Mrs. Lewis R. 295
 Chase, Salmon P. 204
 Chase county, courthouse history article, noted. 71
 Chase County Historical Society, museum, note on. 398
 —1953 meeting, note on. 76
 —1954 meeting, note on. 231
 —1955 meeting, note on. 647, 648
Chase County Leader-News, Cottonwood Falls and Strong City. 71
 Chautauqua, history, by C. F. Horner, note on. 649
 Chautauqua county, articles on, noted. 230
 Cheney *Blade*, microfilmed. 295
 Cheney *Journal*, microfilmed. 295
 Cheney *Sentinel*. 142
 Cherokee county, Bird school, article on, noted. 71
 —county-seat war, article on, noted. 229
 Cherokee strip, articles on, noted. . 69, 70
 Cherryvale *Republican*. 395
 Chesky, Bob, article by, noted. 567
 Chestnut, James, marriage, noted. 451
 Chetopa, newspapers, article on, noted. 646
 Chetopa *Advance*, articles in, noted. 74, 141, 315, 646
 —note on. 646
 Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska railroad. 570
 Chicago *Tribune*, editorial comment on S. A. Douglas, 1861. 12, 13
 Child, Seth I. [not "J"], Juniata postmaster. 90-92
 Children of American Colonists, donors. 52, 291
 Chilocco Indian School, article on, noted. 142
 Chisholm trail, and Abilene, article on, noted. 646
Chisholm Trail, The, by Wayne Gard, note on. 152
 Chivington, John M., article on, noted. 227
 Chrisman, Elder E. E. 479
 Christian, James. 331, 414, 422, 423
 Christian, M. A., marriage, noted. 451
 Christmas, in Topeka, 1860. 224, 225
 Chronister, Mrs. E. E., article by, noted. 316
 Chumley, Henry J., marriage, noted. 451
 Churches, early-day, Robert Taft's article on, noted. 488
 Churchill, Mary, marriage, noted. 461
 Cies, —, Sumner co. 312
 Cincinnati houses. 112, 113
 City, and county directories, Kansas, list of. 549-551
Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865, by J. Monaghan, note on. 648
 Claar, Mrs. Lawrence, Rexford. 150
 Claffin *Clarion*. 315
 Clapp, Susie J., Southampton, Mass., marriage, noted. 477
 Clark, Benjamin T., Lyon co. 467, 478
 Clark, Edward. 343, 347
 Clark, Henry S., marriage, noted. 451
 Clark, Johnson, biographical sketch, noted. 617
 Clark, Martha E., marriage, noted. 481
 Clark, Pickering, railroad official. 165
 Clark, William. 80
 Clark county, pictures of, noted. 489
Clark County Clipper, Ashland. 143, 314
 Clark County Historical Society, 1953 meeting, note on. 78
 —1954 meeting, note on. 318
 —1955 meeting, note on. 493
 Clarke, Mary, Lawrence. 149
 Clarke, Richard W., marriage, noted. 451
 Clarke, Sidney, lecture by, noted. 438
 —marriage, noted. 451
 Clarkson, Rev. D., Fort Riley. 480
 Clarkson, Matt, Hays. 69
 Clay Center, articles on, noted. 69
 —Negro churches, article on, noted. 566
 Clay Center *Dispatch*. 69
 Clay Center *Times*. 488, 566
 Clayton, Cornelia J., marriage, noted. 469
 Clayton, Fannie, marriage, noted. 473
 Clayton, G. Washington, marriage, noted. 451
 Clayton, George E., marriage, noted. 451
 Clayton, Dr. William, Baldwin. 469
 Clearwater, article on, noted. 314
 —churches, articles on, noted. 314
 —T. J. McLaughlin's reminiscences of, noted. 71
 Clearwater *News*. 71, 314
 Clem, Henry Groves, Cherokee co. pioneer. 74
 Clements, Caroline, marriage, noted. 469
 Clements, Mary C., marriage, noted. 446
 Cleveland, Watson A., Abilene pioneer, Cleveland Methodist church, article on, noted. 646
 Clifford, John, note on. 588n
 —"Range Ballads," article by. 588-597
 Cline, Rev. —, Atchison. 471
 Cline, Jacob K., marriage, noted. 451
 Cloud, F. J., article by, noted. 228
 Cloud, W. F., Emporia. 464
 Clough, Louisa C., marriage, noted. 483
 Clough, Rev. M. R. 480, 483, 484
 Cloyd, Margaret L., Holt co., Mo., marriage, noted. 486
 Clugston, W. G., "Cat-Wagon Trails" by, microfilmed. 295
 Clymer, Rolla, El Dorado. 55, 64, 66, 79, 304, 307, 319
 Coat. G. W., Mason co., Ill., marriage, noted. 451
 Cobb, Josephine, Washington, D. C. 33n, 257n, 260n, 262n
 Cobb, S. A., Wyandotte. 461
 Coberd, Elias, marriage, noted. 451
 Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg. . 64, 66, 307
 Codd, Maria, marriage, noted. 450
 Cody, Martha M., marriage, noted. 452
 Cody, William Frederick (Buffalo Bill), articles on, noted. . . 69, 226, 491
 —Leonard-Goodman book on, noted. 648
 Coe, Mrs. William Frederick, story by, noted. 396
 Coe, Henry L., marriage, noted. 451
 Coe, J. M., marriage, noted. 451

- Coffey county, article on, noted 146
 —Bethel Methodist church, article on, noted 646
 Coffeyville, Dalton raid, 1892, article on, noted 68
 —First Presbyterian church, article on, noted 142
 —historical museum, article on, noted 313
 —notes on 317
 —natural gas field near 239
 Coffeyville *Daily Journal* 68, 69, 141
 228, 315, 565, 566
 —microfilmed 55, 295
 —progress edition, 1954, noted 75
 —1955, noted 488
 Coffeyville *Weekly Journal*, microfilmed, 296
 Coffin, Emily, Bangor, Me., marriage, noted 479
 Coffman, Mary J., marriage, noted 465
 Colburn, Mrs. Fred, article by, noted 395
 Colby, J. T., Quindaro 453
 Colby, sod house, article on, noted 226
 —opened to public 494
 Cole, "Billy," escape from Indians, 1859, related 580-582
 Cole, Albert M., papers of, given Historical Society 54
 Cole, John F., marriage, noted 452
 Cole, Louisa M., Weston, Mo., marriage, noted 448
 Colegrove, Jim, articles by, noted, 141, 315
 Coleman, Franklin N., slayer of Dow 171, 210
 Collard, Sen. E. Bert, Leavenworth co., College of the Sisters of Bethany, Topeka, records, microfilmed 295
 Collins, Rev. J. F., Atchison 446, 469
 Collins, James, of Missouri 561, 563
 Collins, Jane, Mitchell co., article on, noted 73
 Collins, Joe, and B. Heffridge, train robbers 69
 Collins, Malinda J., marriage, noted 480
 Collins, Tom, Kansas City 79
 Colonial Dames 59, 299
 Colorado, gold rush, article on, noted, 146
 Colton, J. H. and Co., guide books by, note on 189
 Columbus *Daily Advocate* 74
 397, 488, 490
 Comanche county, Union church history microfilmed 54
 Comanche County Historical Society, 1953 meeting, note on 78
 —1954 meeting, note on 318
 Combs, Mary Frances, marriage, noted, 448
Commonwealth, Topeka, notes on, 418-421
 Compton, John, marriages, noted 452
 Comstock, Melinda, marriage, noted 447
 Concrete, as building material 115-117
 Concreto, Allen co. . . . 243, 245
 Condra, Mrs. Ella, Finney co. . . . 399, 492
 Cone, Mrs. Harold 494
 Congregational Church, centennial, article on, noted 141
 Conklin, Ensign, Cincinnati, Ohio, marriage, noted 452
 Connaughton, John H., Washington, D. C. . . . 318
 Connecticut Kansas Colony, historical marker for, note on 63, 300
 Connell, Ann, marriage, noted 469
 Connell, Harry, Highland 398
 Connelley, William Elsey, Kansas histories by, discussed 640, 641
 Connelly, Mrs. Chester, Rexford 150
 Conner, Elizabeth Lilly, Charleston, S. C., marriage, noted 479
 Conner, Mrs. Hannah A., marriage, noted 463
 Conner, Mrs. Ruth, Chase co. . . . 231, 648
 Conner, Thomas H., marriage, noted 452
 Conrey, Rev. L. C., Osawatomie 454
 Conser, Lucy, Blair co., Pa., marriage, noted 465
Contriving Brain and the Skillful Hand, The, by J. C. Malin, note on 648
 Conway, Jefferson B. . . . 355
 Conway, Louisa, marriage, noted 461
 Conway, Martin F. . . . 205, 206, 354, 410
 —blamed for railroad defeat 336
 Conwell, Mrs. Lee, donor 297
 Cook, Henry N., Columbia, Mo., marriage, noted 452
 Cook, J. W., Elwood 458
 —marriage, noted 452
 Cook, Lucretia B., marriage, noted 478
 Cooke, Flora, marriage, noted 480
 Cooke, Col. Philip St. George 480
 —and troops, at Lecompton, 1856 172
 Coombs, Eugene, Wichita 149
 Coons, Frederica B., *The Trail to Oregon* by, note on 232
 Cooper, C. M., Cherokee co., article by, noted 71
 Cooper, Mrs. C. M. . . . 399
 Cooper, Mary Dorothea, Frankfort, Ky., marriage, noted 482
 Cooper, William, Oskaloosa, marriage, noted 452
 Cooper Memorial College, Sterling, article on, noted 73
 Copeland, Abbie, marriage, noted 450
 Copeland, Rev. J. . . . 459
 Copeland, Ted 76
 Corby, John, of Missouri 163
 Cordley, Rev. Richard, marriage, noted, 452
 —marriages performed by, noted 447, 449
 451, 452, 456, 460, 463, 466, 471, 476
 Corey, A. S., Chetopa 646
 Corey, Alfred, marriage, noted 452
 Corlew, Henry Austin, marriage, noted, 452
 Corning, —, Ottawa co. . . . 554
 Cornish, Dr. Dudley T., talk by, noted, 317
 Cornman, Elizabeth, marriage, noted 477
 Coronado, Francisco Vasquez de, descendant, article on, noted 227
 Coronado's expedition, works on, noted, 638
Coronet, Kansas article in 147
 Correll, Charles M. . . . 63, 65, 66, 77, 297
 304, 306, 307
 —A Century of Congregationalism in Kansas by, noted 6
 —article by, noted 493
 —on Historical Society executive committee 50, 62, 288
 Correll, James marriage, noted 452
 Corum, Ann Elizabeth, marriage, noted, 465
 Corum, John L., marriage, noted 452
 Cory, Charles E., story of natural gas by 234, 235
 Cory, Homer D., Leavenworth co. . . . 318
 Cosgrove, Rev. G. . . . 455, 457, 475
 Cosley, Ann E., marriage, noted 447
 Cosley, Louisa, marriage, noted 461
 Cottier, Catherine, Holt co., Mo., marriage, noted 464
 Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence 64, 66, 307
 Coulter, Barbary, marriage, noted 483
 Coulter, Rachael Jane, marriage, noted, 481
 Coultis, John, Jr., Wichita 149
 Council Grove, article on, noted 142
 —celebration, 1954, noted 5
 —centennial, article on, noted 145
 —First Baptist church, article on, noted, 74
 —Kaw Mission, dedicated as museum, note on 151
 —Nautilus club 300
 —railroads, notes on 329
 Council Grove *Democrat*, note on 567
 Council Grove Library Board, donor 300
 Council Grove *Republican*, articles in, noted 74, 229, 395, 396, 490, 567
 Council Grove Rotary Club, project, note on 300

Counties, articles on, noted . . . 228, 488
 County, and city directories, Kansas, list
 of . . . 549-551
 —and town histories, Kansas, bibliog-
 raphy . . . 513-551
 County atlases, Kansas, bibliog-
 raphy . . . 534-549
 Courtney, Elizabeth, marriage, noted . . 449
 Coutant, James W., marriage, noted . . 452
 Cover, Mrs. Leon, reminiscences of,
 noted . . . 144
 Covington, James W., 1827 letter edited
 by . . . 560-563
 Cow towns, Kansas, thesis by J. L.
 Hayes on, noted . . . 292
 Cowan, W. A., Iola . . . 239
 Cowgill, Josephine, Finney co. . . 492
 Cowgill, Virginia, marriage, noted . . 447
 Cowley county, 1953 progress, survey
 of, noted . . . 75
 Cox, James, marriage, noted . . . 452
 Cox, Mary Ann, Hamburg, Mich., mar-
 riage, noted . . . 452
 Cracklin, Joseph, marriage, noted . . 452
 Crafton, Prof. Allen, "Free State For-
 tress" by, note on . . . 147
 Craig, Rev. H. H. . . . 475, 479
 Craig, Lulu S., article by, noted . . 147
 Craighill, Samuel J., marriage, noted . . 452
 Crain, S. E., marriage, noted . . . 452
 Crain, Mrs. Winnie, Labette co. . . 318
 Cram, Hiram, marriage, noted . . . 452
 Crandall, A. E., estate, gifts from, to
 Historical Society . . . 297
 Crane, Dr. David R., marriage, noted, 452
 Crane, George W. . . . 424
 Crane, John L., marriage, noted . . . 453
 Craven, Avery, book by, noted . . . 6
 Crawford, Charles T., marriage, noted, 453
 Crawford, George Addison . 369, 370, 416
 420, 429, 430, 437, 438, 441, 442
 —photograph . . . facing 353
 Crawford, Meredith Brock, marriage,
 noted . . . 453
 Crawford county, articles on, noted . . 315
 Crawford County Historical Society,
 1953 meeting, note on . . . 76
 —1954 meetings, notes on . . . 149, 317
 —1955 meeting, note on . . . 399
 Creath, Lucy E., Palmyra, Mo., mar-
 riage, noted . . . 478
 Creavy, Mrs. Mary, marriage, noted . . 461
 Cressman, W. H., marriage, noted . . 453
 Creswell, note on . . . 141
 Crevecoeur, Ferdinand F., book by,
 noted . . . 52
 Cricket, Charles H., marriage, noted . . 453
 Crittenton, Jennie L., marriage, noted, 455
 Crocker, Edwin, marriage, noted . . 453
 Crockett, Allison, Kansas City, Mo.,
 marriage, noted . . . 453
 Cron, F. H., El Dorado . . . 65, 306, 308
 Crone, Hannah, marriage, noted . . 451
 Crosby, A. B., Lindsey . . . 555
 Crosby, Ezra, Lindsey . . . 557
 Crosby, Harriet, marriage, noted . . 448
 Cross, Mrs. R. R., Council Grove,
 article on, noted . . . 567
 —donor . . . 300
 Crow, Charles, Garden City, article on,
 noted . . . 147
 Crowell, J. M., Atchison . . . 485
 Crump, Jeremiah, marriage, noted . . 453
 Culbertson, Nancy, marriage, noted . . 477
Cultivator and Herdsman, Garden City,
 microfilmed . . . 296
 Cummings, J. F., Topeka . . . 276
 Cundiff, Hattie V., St. Joseph, Mo.,
 marriage, noted . . . 474
 Cundiff, Maj. James H., St. Joseph,
 Mo., marriage, noted . . . 453

Cunningham, Bettie, marriage, noted . . 464
 Cunningham, Mary Elsie, article by,
 noted . . . 74
 Cunningham, article on, noted . . . 144
 Cunningham *Clipper* . . . 144
 Curfman, L. E. . . . 76
 Curry, Jim, Hays, article on, noted . . 69
 Curry, John Steuart . . . 565
 Curry, Mrs. Margaret, article on, noted, 565
 Curry, William A., Jefferson City, Mo.,
 marriage, noted . . . 453
 Curtin, Andrew, Pennsylvania gover-
 nor . . . 260n
 Curtis, Charles . . . 297, 300
 —painting of, given Historical Society . . 52
 —relics of, given Historical Society . . 52
 . . . 54, 56
 Curtis, Mary, marriage, noted . . . 459
 Curtis, W. G., Ashland, biographical
 sketch, noted . . . 314
 Curtiss, Alfred, marriage, noted . . . 453
 Curtiss, Judge John, Lawrence . . . 452
 Cusic, A. B., Topeka, donor . . . 297
 Custer, Mrs. Elizabeth, *Following the*
Guidon by, note on . . . 489
 Custer, Gen. George Armstrong, articles
 on, noted . . . 69, 566, 646
 Cutler, Dr. G. A., marriage, noted . . 453
 Cutler, H. G. . . . 619, 635, 636
 Cutler, Mary W. (Mrs.
 William G.) . . . 619, 635
 Cutler, William G., editor of the *An-
 dreas-Cutler History of Kansas* . . 619
 . . . 622, 628, 629
 —letters, quoted . . . 634, 635

D

Daiker, Virginia, Washington,
 D. C. . . . 21, 33n
Daily Missouri Republican, St. Louis,
 S. A. Douglas described in
 1855 . . . 23, 24
Daily Republican, Burlington . . . 646
 Dake, Charles, marriage, noted . . . 453
 Dale, Margaret E., Weston, Mo., mar-
 riage, noted . . . 472
 Da Lee, A. G., marriage, noted . . . 453
 Dallas, David, Manhattan . . . 92n
 Dalrymple, —, Ottawa co. . . . 554
 Dalton Defenders Historical Museum,
 Coffeyville, notes on . . . 149, 317
 Dalton family, Montgomery co., article
 on, noted . . . 314, 315
 Dalton gang, Coffeyville raid, articles
 on, noted . . . 68, 69, 313
 —notes on . . . 149, 566
 Damon, Martha S., Milwaukee, Wis.,
 marriage, noted . . . 464
 Darling, Thomas J., marriage, noted . . 453
 Darnall, James T., marriage, noted . . 453
 Darnall, Richard T., marriage, noted . . 453
 Dart, Mrs. Hester Ann, marriage, noted, 471
 Daughters of American Colonists . . 59, 300
 —donor . . . 52, 291
 Daughters of 1812 . . . 59, 300
 Daughters of the American Revolu-
 tion . . . 59, 299, 300
 —donor . . . 52, 291
 Daut, H. J., Edwards co. . . . 493
 Davenport, Annie, marriage, noted . . 464
 Davenport, Mary, Indianapolis, Ind.,
 marriage, noted . . . 446
 Davidson, Rev. —, Leavenworth . . 464
 Davidson, John R., marriage, noted . . 453
 Davidson, Sarah A. F., marriage, noted, 460
 d'Avignon, F., portrait of S. A. Doug-
 las by, noted . . . 33
 Davis, Dr. —, Leavenworth . . . 445
 Davis, Emma D., marriage, noted . . 471
 Davis, J. B., Topeka . . . 412
 Davis, Kenneth S., article by, noted . . 395

- Davis, Sarah F., marriage, noted 467
 Davis, Sue, of Missouri, marriage, noted 466
 Davis, Tabitha, marriage, noted 466
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence 66, 307
 Davis, Rev. Werter R. . . . 463, 466, 467, 469, 480
 Dawley, J. C., Leavenworth 449
 Dawson, George T., Chase co., 76, 231, 647
 Dawson, John S. . . . 60, 62-64, 66, 304, 307
 —on Historical Society executive committee 50, 62, 288
 Day, John W., marriage, noted 453
 Dayton, Parson D. F. . . . 469
 Deacon, Gustavus, marriage, noted 453
 Dean, Homer L., marriage, noted 454
 Deer and antelope, on Saline river 69
 Degner, Ferdinand, marriage, noted 454
 Deitzler, George W., prisoner 170
 Deitzler and Shimmions, Lawrence, 110, 111
 Delaware Indians, book on migration legend of, noted 232
 Delaware river, note on 405
 Delaware station, early post office at 78
 Dellinger, Mrs. O. P. . . . 76
 De Long, W. H., marriage, noted 454
 Delp, Mrs. Mahlon 317
 DeMott, John, article by, noted 397
 Denham, Rebecca, marriage, noted 483
 Denious, Jess C., Dodge City 66
 —biographical note 293, 294
 —death, noted 288
 —papers, given Historical Society 293, 294
 Denious, Jess C., Jr., Dodge City 307, 568
 Denison, Rev. Joseph 475
 —marriage, noted 454
 Dennett, Mrs. Viola, Douglass 230, 568
 Dennis, Rev. B. C. . . . 499, 452, 464, 479
 —marriage, noted 454
 Dennis, Mrs. Frances A., marriage, noted 454
 Dennis, John H., marriage, noted 454
 Dennis, Rev. L. B. . . . 446, 447, 454, 455, 457, 461-463, 474, 477, 479, 481, 484
 De Noyer, Charles, marriage, noted 454
 Denver, Memphis and Atlantic railroad, Derby, article on, noted 315
 Derby *Star* 315
 De Saussure, Capt. W. D., in Kansas, 1859-1860 578, 580, 583
 Deskins, Christopher, Linn co. . . . 477
 Deversy, Mary, Madison, Ind., marriage, noted 469
 Devolt, Mary Ann, marriage, noted 451
 Deweese, Elizabeth, marriage, noted 464
 DeWolf, Edward P., marriage, noted 454
 Dey, Robert P. . . . 636
 Diamond Springs community, article on, noted 229
 Dick, Charles H., articles by, noted 231
 Dickinson, David 414, 423, 434
 Dickinson, Willetta, article by, noted 396
 Dickinson county, articles on, noted 145, 316
 —Lyona Methodist church, history, noted 72
 —Pleasant Valley Union, article on, noted 395
 Dickinson County Historical Society 316
 —donor 54
 —1954 meeting, note on 317
 —25th anniversary meeting, notes on, 77
 Dickson, Louisa F., marriage, noted 466, 467
 Dickson, Samuel, marriage, noted 454
 Dieker, Leo, Hanover 294
 Diesbach, Heinrich, marriage, noted 454
 Dighton *Herald* 229, 396, 646
 Diller, Aubrey, note on 401n
 —"Origin of the Names of Tributaries of the Kansas River," article by, 401-406
 Dillon, Melissa, marriage, noted 480
 Dimond, W. W. and wife, diaries, microfilmed 54
 Dine, Louis, marriage, noted 454
 Disbrow, Ebenezer, marriage, noted 454
 Disbrow, Samuel G., marriage, noted 454
 Disney, Mrs. Mary, Ellis pioneer 69
 Dix, Ralph C., marriage, noted 454
 Dobbins, E. A., marriage, noted 486
 Dobie, J. Frank 596
 Docking, George, Lawrence 306, 308
 Dodd, Hattie O., marriage, noted 469
 Dodd, John P., marriage, noted 454
 Dodge, Maj. Gen. Grenville M., 1865 report, quoted 572, 573
 Dodge, Rev. Jonas, Leavenworth 450
 Dodge City, articles on, noted 489, 567
 —Boot Hill, article on, noted 313
 —see, also, Boot Hill Museum Inc., Dodge City.
 Dodge City *Daily Globe* 142, 567
 Dodge City *Globe Republican*, microfilmed 55
 Dodge City Junior Chamber of Commerce 230
 Dolan, Dianna, article by, noted 144
 Dolbee, Cora, articles by, noted 185n
 Dole, A. W., Douglas co. . . . 478
 Dolman, C. . . . 454
 Donahue, Henry W., marriage, noted 454
 Donaldson, John 339
 Doniphan, Judge James, marriage, noted 454
 Doniphan County Historical Society, 1955 meeting, note on 647
 Donnelson, Catherine, marriage, noted, 480
 Donoho, David, marriage, noted 454
 Doohan, John J., articles by, noted, 313, 397
 Doolittle, Benson E., marriage, noted 455
 Doolittle, Lewis, marriage, noted 455
 Dorland, Cornelius, White Cloud 478
 Dorland, Lavina, marriage, noted 471
 Dorland, Mary, marriage, noted 478
 Dorrance, J. C. Ruppenthal's articles on, noted 313
 Dorsey, Mrs. Sidney 78
 Dorst, Dale, Olathe 231
 Dorst, Mrs. Mildred, Olathe 231
 Doss, Kate, Weston, Mo., marriage, noted 454
 Doster, Irma, and Esther Clark Hill, song by, noted 292
 Doty, Henry S., marriage, noted 455
 Doty, Mariah D., marriage, noted 480
 Dougherty, Susan Ann, marriage, noted, 474
 Dougherty, William A., marriage, noted, 455
 Douglas, J. C., Leavenworth 343
 Douglas, Mrs. Robert A., Topeka 399
 Douglas, Robert M., son of Stephen A., 21
 Douglas, Stephen A. . . . 367
 —Allan Nevins' description of, 9, 10
 —contemporary descriptions of, 10, 13
 —for Kansas-Nebraska bill 1, 2
 —G. F. Milton's description of 10
 —photographs facing vi
 —between 32, 33
 —catalogue of 18-33
 —portraits of, discussed 14-17
 —role in Western development 638
 "Douglas, Stephen A., The Appearance and Personality of," article by Robert Taft 8-33
 Douglas, Douglas co., Proslavery town, 109
 Douglas county, historical observances, 1954, noted 151
 Douglass, John C., marriage, noted 455
 Douglass, 75th anniversary, note on 318
 Douglass Historical Society 230, 318, 568
 Douglass *Tribune* 566, 568
 Dow, Charles W., murdered, 1855 171n, 210, 211

Dow, Jonathan M., articles by, noted 75, 142, 227
 Dow, L., Topeka 469
 Dow, Lorenzo, in Lyon co. 567
 Dow, Simon, marriage, noted 455
 Dow creek (Lyon co.) community, article on, noted 567
 Dowell, John A., marriage, noted 455
 Downey, Rev. A. L., 466, 471, 473, 478
 Downey, John G., marriage, noted 455
 Downs, Francis H., marriage, noted 455
 Downs, James S., marriage, noted 455
 Downs, W. F., marriage, noted 455
 Downs, Congregational church, article on, noted 314
 —pamphlet on, noted 231
 —75th anniversary, noted 231
 Downs News 314
 Downum, Mrs. J. A., Topeka, donor 54
 Doy, Dr. John 103, 105
 —data from 1854 letters of 42, 45
 —narrative of, noted 187
 —rescue, article on, noted 145
 Doy, Pamela, marriage, noted 477
 Doyle, Michael J., marriage, noted 455
 Dozier, Dr. John, Oregon, Mo., marriage, noted 455
 Drake, Charles, marriage, noted 455
 Drake, Edwin L., of Pennsylvania 234
 Drake, Samuel A., Leavenworth 360, 361
 Draper, Lyman Copeland, book on, noted 231
 Drayer, Mrs. Lenora Ride, article by, noted 229
 Drew, John, Burlingame 485
 Driscoll, Charles B., scrapbooks, given Historical Society 52
 Drummond, Andrew H. 647
 Drussel, Albert, Finney co. 399
 Dryden, Emily H., Frankfort, Ky., marriage, noted 466
 Duane, Martin, marriage, noted 455
 du Berrier, Hilaire, letter, note on 491
 Dubuque, St. Catherine's Catholic church, article on, noted 315
 Ducharme, Mrs. Zoa E., marriage, noted 485
 Dudley, Mrs. Guilford, donor 291
 Dudley, Mrs. Mary D., marriage, noted 460
 Duffee, Louis, marriage, noted 455
 Duffie, Rev. Father — 455
 Dulin, Rev. E. S. 473, 476
 Dunbar, Hank 168, 170
 Dunbar, John B. 414
 Duncan, —, Lawrence 109
 Dunlap, Emily, marriage, noted 452
 Dunmire, Maria, marriage, noted 474
 Dunn, Edward and Sarah, Salt creek 455
 Dunn, John T., marriage, noted 455
 Dunn, Mary C., marriage, noted 467
 Dunn, Matilda, marriage, noted 455
 Dunn, Rebecca, and Edna Becker, song by, noted 292
 Dunnell, Horace L., pioneer 116n
 Dunning, Mary J., marriage, noted 476
 Duval, Rev. R. P. 451
 Dyche, Ruth, Lawrence 149
 Dyer, Abraham 88
 Dyer, Enoch 88
 Dyer, James 88, 91
 Dyer, Jane 88
 Dyer, John 88
 Dyer, Lydia 88
 —marriage, noted 91
 Dyer, Martha Ann 88
 —marriage, noted 485
 Dyer, Mary 88
 Dyer, Pamela (Mrs. Samuel D.) 88
 Dyer, Samuel D. 87, 88, 90-93
 —election judge, 1854 90
 —family of 88

Dyer, Sarah 88, 93
 Dyer, William 88, 90, 91
 —marriage, noted 91
 Dyer's Town 87, 90

E

Eagle Springs, Doniphan co., article on, noted 73
 Eames, F. C., Leavenworth 364
 Earhart, Amelia, article on, noted 397
 Earl, George F., marriage, noted 455
 Earnheart, Rev. John 451, 468
 Earnheart, Melissa, marriage, noted 454
 Earp, George W., recollections, noted 491
 Earp, Wyatt 491
 —arrest by, noted 72
 Easley, Mrs. Rebecca Jane, marriage, noted 468
 Easley, Seymour & Co., Delphos 554
 Eastin, Lucian Johnson 106, 322, 336, 337, 339
 —photograph 352
 Eastin, Sadonia A., Columbia, Mo., marriage, noted 463
 Eastin, Tabitha, Bloomington, Mo., marriage, noted 482
 Eaton, E. E., Ottawa co. 555
 Eaton, Rev. T. C., Ottawa co. 554, 555
 Eaton, Ottawa co., history of 554, 555
 Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin 65, 306, 308
 —and T. A. Evans, articles by, noted 72
 —speech by, noted 151
 Ecord, Floyd S., article by, noted 227
 Eddy, Anson, Mission creek 449
 Eddy, Emily P., marriage, noted 449
 Edmiston, Evalina, articles by, noted 141
 Edna, Methodist church, history, noted 313
 Edwards, C. L., marriage, noted 455
 Edwards, Lizzie, Southampton, Mass., marriage, noted 458
 Edwards, Mabel H., Lyon co. 398
 Edwards, R. R., St. Joseph, Mo., marriage, noted 456
 Edwards County Historical Society 76
 —1955 meeting, note on 493
 Eels, Horace, marriage, noted 456
 Eger, Elizabeth, marriage, noted 478
 Eglehoff, John Michael, marriage, noted 456
 Ehrsam, Mrs. Viola, Enterprise 77, 318
 Eisenhower, Pres. Dwight D., article on, noted 397
 Eisenhower, John, Topeka, donor 297
 Eisenhower, Dr. Milton 150
 Eisenhower family, B. Kornitzer's book on, notes on 491, 496
 Eisenhower museum, Abilene, opening, note on 150
 Ela, Emily S., marriage, noted 459
 Ela, William A., Hampton 459
 Elder, Emma, Douglas 230
 Elder, Peter Percival 466
 El Dorado, First Baptist Church, book by C. M. Bullock on, noted 648
 El Dorado Times 146
 Elliott, Robert G., Lawrence, editor 40, 98, 108, 109, 205, 209, 343, 348, 366, 374, 414, 424, 425
 Ellis, George, article on, given Historical Society 294
 Ellis, Roy W., Comanche co. 318
 Ellis county, articles on, noted 141
 Ellis County News, Hays, articles in, noted 69, 141, 226, 396, 489
 Ellsworth, Frederick B., marriage, noted 456
 Ellsworth county, St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran church, histories, noted 72
 Ellsworth Messenger 72
 Ellsworth Reporter 72

- El Paso, Sedgwick co., note on 315
 Elwell, Charles, estate, gift from, noted, 56
 Ely, Rev. ——— 473
 Embry, G. H., marriage, noted 456
 "Emergency Housing at Lawrence, 1854," article by James C. Malin, 34- 49
 Emery, J. S. 343
 Emigrant Aid Co. 35-40, 45, 46, 95- 121
 passim, 203, 204
 —1854 parties, notes on 35-40, 101
 105, 219
 —sawmill, Lawrence, notes on 42- 46
 109, 110
 Emigrant guides, Robert Taft's article on, noted 488
 Emmons, Mrs. C. W., Manhattan 77
 Emmons, Thomas H., Ontonagon, Mich., marriage, noted 456
 Emory, Fred, marriage, noted 456
 Emory, Maj. William 578, 587
 Emporia, Christian church, article on, noted 73
 —1879, comment on 225
 —historical pamphlet, note on 152
 —history, article on, noted 396
 Emporia Democrat, microfilmed 296
 Emporia Gazette, articles in, noted 73, 79, 141, 230, 396, 489, 567
 Emporia News, microfilmed 296
 Emporia Weekly Gazette 141
 Emrie, Mrs. Lyman, Ford co. 400
 Enlow, Anna E., marriage, noted 448
 Ennis, William S., marriage, noted 456
 Ensign, L. A., marriage, noted 446
 Esping, K. O., article by, noted 74
 Etice, Barbee, marriage, noted 476
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland 64, 66, 307
 Evans, Mrs. Caroline E., marriage, noted 475
 Evans, Emma, marriage, noted 457
 Evans, Rev. John, Atchison 446, 468
 Evans, T. A. and H. K. Ebright, articles by, noted 72
 Evans, Rev. W. E. 470, 479
 Everett, John, letter, 1856, quoted 99
 Ewart, Mrs. F. C. 33n
 Ewing, John H., review of diary by, noted 146
 Ewing, Thomas, Jr. 347, 348, 351, 352
 360, 363, 410

F

- Fackler, Frances A., marriage, noted 462
 Fager, Maurice E., Topeka 79
 Fahlola, John, marriage, noted 456
 Fain, W. P., U. S. marshal 168
 Fairchild, George, Atchison 163
 Fairchild, Rev. M. A. 455
 Fairholm, Mary J., marriage, noted 453
 Fales, Mrs. Elizabeth, marriage, noted, 448
 Fant, William, Finney co. 399
 Farier, C. W., marriage, noted 456
 Farley, Alan W. 64, 66, 305, 307
 —"An Indian Captivity and Its Legal Aftermath," article by 247- 256
 —co-compiler, bibliography of town and county histories of Kansas 513- 551
 —notes on 247n, 513n
 —talk by, noted 493
 Farm Journal, article in, noted 565
 Farnham, Reuben H., marriage, noted 456
 Farnsworth, Hannah, marriage, noted 482
 Farnsworth, John W., marriage, noted 456
 Farrell, F. D. 63, 64
 —president, Historical Society 304, 307
 —vice-president, Historical Society 63
 Farwell, John T., Fitchburg, Mass. 447
 Farwell, Levi, Lancaster, Mass. 481
 Farwell, Mary A. R., Lancaster, Mass., marriage, noted 481
 Farwell, Sarah C. T., Fitchburg, Mass., marriage, noted 447
 Fassett, Samuel M., Chicago, photographer 29, 30
 Faucett, Myriam Jane, marriage, noted, 473
 Faulhaber, George L., marriage, noted, 456
 Faulkner, Kate, Dansville, N. Y., marriage, noted 481
 Fauntleroy, Col. ———, of Virginia, 158, 159
 Faux, Joseph, marriage, noted 456
 Fay, Agnes Elizabeth, article by, noted, 397
 Fechter, Rev. John, Alta Vista 397
 Feisel, Rev. Jacob, Wyandotte 470
 Feisel, Mary M., marriage, noted 470
 Feller, John, Leavenworth 318, 399
 —talk by, noted 568
 Fellows, Mrs. Mary, marriage, noted 453
 Felt, H. Maria, marriage, noted 451
 Fenceposts, of stone, article on, noted, 397
 Fenimore, Rev. ———, Ottumwa 454
 Fenner, Rt. Rev. Goodrich R. 295
 Ferguson, Mrs. A. E., donor 56
 Ferguson, Jim, stage driver 74
 Ferrell, Eva 76
 Ferril, Rev. T. J. 453, 456, 462, 468, 481
 Ferris, Frank, articles by, noted 226, 395
 Ferris, Jacob, book by, noted 190
 Fielding, James, of Missouri 561, 563
 Fifty Million Acres by Paul W. Gates, note on 80
 Finch, Rev. A. 460
 Fink, Amelia, marriage, noted 484
 Fink, Kassimer Johannes, marriage, noted 456
 Finley, Tom, Thomas co. experiences, article on, noted 143
 Finney county, newspapers, article on, noted 147
 Finney County Historical Society, 1955 meetings, notes on 399, 492
 Finney County, Kansas, History of, volume 2, note on 319
 Finnup, Frederick, Finney co. 399
 First capitol of Kansas (Pawnee), photograph facing 320
 "First Capitol of Kansas, The," article by R. W. Richmond 321- 325
 First District Court, early records, note on 293
 First Swedish Agricultural Co. of McPherson county 497, 498n
 First U. S. cavalry, at Ft. Riley, 1859- 1860 578- 585
 First woman mayor, article on 173- 183
 Fish, Susan Pascal, marriage, noted 483
 Fisher, Rev. Charles 470
 Fisher, Rev. H. D. 484
 Fisher, Mrs. Jesse C., Wichita 79
 Fisher, S. G., *The Law of the Territories* by, noted 187, 188, 222
 Fisher, T. F., Buffalo, N. Y., marriage, noted 456
 Fisher, William, marriage, noted 456
 Fisher creek, Cloud co. 552
 Fishero, Dr. Serino, marriage, noted 456
 Fishmaker, C. T., marriage, noted 456
 Fisk, Mrs. Ellen M., marriage, noted 453
 Fisk, James Liberty, emigrant train of, attacked 251, 252
 Fitch, Edward P., Lawrence school of, 1855, noted 48
 —marriage, noted 457
 Fitzhenry, Elizabeth, marriage, noted 460
 Fitzpatrick, James, marriage, noted 457
 Flanders, Sarah A., Northport, Me., marriage, noted 450
 Flannery, Martin J. 640
 Fleckenstein, Harold, Oakley 494
 Flenniken, R. P. 92
 Fletcher, Samuel H., marriage, noted 457
 Fletcher, Thomas C., governor of Missouri 162
 Flick, Mrs. John, Manhattan 88n
 89, 91

- Flinn, Daniel, Iowa Point. 469
 Flinn, Mrs. Mary, marriage, noted. 473
 Flint, H. M., book on S. A. Douglas
 by, noted. 28
 Flint, Margaret, Ill. State Historical Li-
 brary. 24, 33n
 Flood, N. 463
 Florence, St. Patrick's Catholic parish,
 article on, noted. 143
 Florence *Bulletin*. 143
 Flowers, D. A. C., marriage, noted. 457
 Floyd, Calvin W., biographical sketch,
 noted. 565
 Foard, William F., marriage, noted. 457
 Fogg, Joshua, St. Louis, Mo., marriage,
 noted. 457
 Foley, Dudley, marriage, noted. 457
 Folk music. See "Range Ballads."
 Foltz, Cyrus, marriage, noted. 457
 Foncannon, Hettie, marriage, noted. 452
 Foote, Charles K., Wichita. 492
 Foote, Conie, Kansas City, Mo. 54
 Ford, E. N., marriage, noted. 457
 Ford county, rural teachers, articles on,
 noted. 145
 Ford Historical Society, 1955 meeting,
 note on. 400
 Fordyce, Dr. D. B., Labette co. 318
 Foreman, Mary, marriage, noted. 464
 Forman, James F., White Cloud. 469
 Forman, Jane, marriage, noted. 469
 Forsyth, John H., journal, 1849, micro-
 filmed. 295
 Fort Dodge, article on, noted. 227
 Fort Hays, articles on, noted. 226, 566
 —blockhouse and museum, dedicated. 568
 —guardhouse, converted to museum. 80
 "Fort Kirwin." See Camp Kirwan.
 Fort Larned, article on, noted. 227
 —1860, notes on. 585, 586
 Fort Leavenworth, first post office in
 Kansas, note on. 4
 Fort Leavenworth-Fort Riley military
 road. 87
 Fort Leavenworth Historical Society,
 note on. 568
 Fort Leavenworth Museum, note on. 78
 "Fort Podun(c)k". 559, 646
 Fort Riley, article on, noted. 146
 —1st U. S. cavalry troops at, 1859-
 1860. 578-585
 —Wainwright memorial hall, article on,
 noted. 226
 Fort Scott, Carroll Plaza, article on,
 noted. 228
 —history by Ralph Richards, note on. 496
 —national cemetery, article on, noted. 491
 —natural gas used at. 235
 Fort Scott Historical Museum, article
 on, noted. 146
 Fort Scott Lions club. 228
 Fort Scott *Monitor*. 235
 Fort Scott *Tribune*, microfilmed. 55
 Fort Scott *Tribune-Monitor*. 146, 315
 Fort Solomon, article on, noted. 646
 —data on, noted. 68
 —note on. 554, 559
 Fort Sully, Mrs. Fanny Kelly at. 252, 253
 Fort Wallace, article on, noted. 491
 —telegrams from, 1871-1880, given
 Hist. Society. 54
 Fort Wallace Pioneer Memorial Mus-
 eum, Wallace, dedicated. 568
 —opening, noted. 494
 Fort Wise, Colo., notes on, 1860,
 1861. 586, 587
 Fortenbaugh, Robert, Gettysburg, Pa.,
 —*Lincoln and Gettysburg* by, noted. 257
 Foster, Ambrose, Portland, Wis. 117
 Foster, Freeman R., marriage, noted. 457
 Foster, Mrs. H. C., donor. 294
 Foster, William, marriage, noted. 457
 Foth, Mrs. Joan B. 56, 301
 Fowler, O. S., book on octagon houses
 by, noted. 114
 Fowler, P. P., "The Jay-Hawker," book
 by, notes on. 214, 223
 Fowler, R. S., donor. 294
 Fox, Almira, marriage, noted. 450
 Fox, H., Brownville. 450
 Fraker, Rev. J. C., Emporia. 451, 469
 Francis, John, state treasurer. 413, 427, 431
 432, 438, 441
 Frankfort, articles on, noted. 491
 Frankfort *Index*, articles in, noted. 226
 316, 491
 Franklin, Fanny, marriage, noted. 456
 Fraser, John. 422
 Frazer, Robert L., marriage, noted. 457
 Frazier, John, article by, noted. 314
 Fredenburg, Neosho. 292
 Frederick, Solomon Z., marriage, noted, 457
 Fredricks, Charles D., and Co., photog-
 raphers. 29
 Free-State conventions, 1855, notes
 on. 205-209
 "Free State Fortress," by Allen Crafton,
 note on. 147
 "Free-State Man in Kansas, 1856, Let-
 ters of a". 166-172
 Free-State movement. 199
 Free-State party, mentioned. 3
 Free-State prisoners. 212, 213
 Freeman, Rev. Elijah. 480
 Freemasonry, in Kansas, article on,
 noted. 227
 Freemasons, Wyandotte Lodge No. 3,
 history, noted. 231
 French, Anne Salome, marriage, noted, 461
 French, James Cary, marriage, noted. 457
 French, Samuel T., marriage, noted. 457
 Friends, academy, in Mitchell co.,
 article on, noted. 142
 —Argonia a village of. 173
 —in Cherokee county, note on. 71
 Froom, Peter, Marshall co. pioneer. 316
 Fross, Charles, marriage, noted. 457
 Fry, John, marriage, noted. 457
 Frye, John C. and A. B. Leonard, *Pleis-
 tocene Geology of Kansas* by, noted. 637
 Fryer, Caddie A., Philadelphia, mari-
 riage, noted. 472
 Fulks, Jane, marriage, noted. 469
 Fulks, John, marriage, noted. 457
 Fulks, Phenis, marriage, noted. 457
 Full river. 403, 405
 Fuller, Joseph A., marriage, noted. 457
 Fuller, Watson, marriage, noted. 457
 Fulton, Fanny, marriage, noted. 471
 Fulton, Rev. W. R. 464
 Funston, Estelle H., article by, noted. 491
 Funston homestead, Iola, article on,
 noted. 491
 Furgeson, Phebe M., marriage, noted. 477
 Furnish, James Thomas, marriage,
 noted. 458

G

- Gabbert, Mrs. H. B. 78
 Gaeddert, G. Raymond, *The Birth of
 Kansas* by, noted. 6, 639
 Gage, Letitia H., marriage, noted. 451
 Gage, William H., Shawnee co. 451
 Gaillard, Father Maurice, 1854 letter
 by, noted. 315, 316
 Galey, Thomas M., donor. 294
 Galloway, Nancy Veale, article by,
 noted. 228
 Galt, Mrs. Charles A., booklet by,
 noted. 648
 Gambell, W. P., marriage, noted. 458
 Gann, Dolly Curtis, estate, gift from,
 noted. 52, 54, 56

- Gant, Samuel, marriage, noted 458
 Gara, Larry, Eureka, Ill. 647
 Gard, Wayne, *The Chisholm Trail* by, note on 152
 Garden City, article on, noted 147
 —early-day photographs, noted 292
 Garden City *Daily Telegram*, 1954 historical issue, noted 147
 Garden City *Irrigator*, microfilmed 55
 Garden City *Sentinel*, microfilmed 296
 Gardiner, George W., Leavenworth 360
 Gardiner, William M., Winchester pioneer 143
 Gardner, Alexander, article on photographs by, noted 229
 Gardner, F. C., marriage, noted 458
 Gardner, Henry W., marriage, noted 458
 Gardner, Rev. O. B. 471, 484
 Gardner, article on, noted 227
 Garnett, E. B., article by, noted 145
 Garnett, Arthur Capper home, note on, Garraghan, Gilbert J. 81n, 82
 Garrett, A. A. 91
 Garrett, Norb 55
 Garrett, Richard A., article by, noted 68
 Garrison, Rev. A. E., Kingman 314
 Garrison, Emily T., marriage, noted 481
 Garvey, Annabel, Topeka 296
 Garvey, E. C. K., newspaperman 296
 Gas (town), Allen co. 242, 243
 —photographs facing 241
 Gas, natural, in Kansas, Angelo Scott's article on 233-246
 Gaskins, Sarah, marriage, noted 482
 Gates, Paul Wallace, book on Kansas land policy by, noted 6, 80
 Gaugh, Sallie Louisa, Bloomington, Ill., marriage, noted 468
 Gaviere, Mrs. Frederica, marriage, noted 474
 Gaylord, M. L., marriage, noted 458
 Geary county, Brookside school, article on, noted 146
 Gee, Lucinda F., marriage, noted 479
 Gentleman, Ava B., Waconda Spring history by, note on 151
 Geography, of Kansas, work on, noted, Geological survey of Kansas, notes on 367, 368
 Geology, of Kansas, Frye and Leonard's book on, noted 637
 Gerald, Clara M., marriage, noted 475
 Germain (German) family, attacked by Indians, article on, noted 226
 German organizations, Leavenworth, noted 359, 360
 Germans, in Ellis co., article on, noted, Gettis, Ellen, marriage, noted 226, 468
 Gettysburg, Pa., ceremony, 1863, J. Becker's sketch of 256, 257
 Gibbs, Mrs. Frank, Topeka, donor 54
 Gibbs, Wesley, marriage, noted 458
 Gibson, John, marriage, noted 458
 Gieseman, Raymond, article by, noted, Gifford, Eliza M., marriage, noted 228, 451
 Gihon, John H., author of *Geary and Kansas* 5, 187
 Gilchrist, Mary Ann, marriage, noted 455
 Gillett, Grant G., article on, noted 490
 Gilliland, J. B., Franklin 479
 Gillmore, Samuel J., marriage, noted 458
 Gilman, Susan S., marriage, noted 471
 Gilmore, John S., Sr., diary, noted 74, 229, 313, 314
 —editorials, noted 314
 Gilpin, William, Independence, Mo. 351
 —*The Central Gold Region* by, note on, Gilson, Mrs. F. L., Emporia 191, 398
 Gingry, Amanda, marriage, noted 458
 Girard Press 229, 397
 Girt, Nathan, marriage, noted 458
 Gist, George W. and Ann C. 454
 Gist, Mary E., marriage, noted 454
 Givens, T. A., Milton, Ky., marriage, noted 485
 Gladstone, Thomas H., author of book on Kansas 5, 187
 Glascock, Catherine, marriage, noted 452
 Glass, George A., marriage, noted 458
 Gleason, Annis W., marriage, noted 485
 Gleason, Maria, marriage, noted 463
 Gleich, John P., marriage, noted 458
 Glen Elder, history noted 73
 Goddard, Mrs. Lucy A., marriage, noted 462
 Goddard, W., Lindsey 552
 Godin, Mrs. Ethel, Wamego 79
 Godley, J. E., Clark co., article on, noted 489
 Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia 66, 307
 Godwin, William H., marriage, noted 458
 Gold, in Kansas territory, Robert Taft's article on, noted 488
 Goode, Rev. William, pioneer preacher, 151
 Goodell, Sarah A., marriage, noted 484
 Goodhue, Walter B., of Iowa, marriage, noted 458
 Goodin, J. R. 472
 Goodin, Joel K. 414, 452
 Goodman, Julia Cody, co-author *Buffalo Bill* note on 648
 Goodnow, Isaac T. 92-94
 Goodrich, J. Augusta, marriage, noted, Goodrick, Elizabeth A., marriage, noted 459, 45
 Goodwin, Clarinda, marriage, noted 463
 Gordon, David S., marriage, noted 458
 Gordon, Garbet Fisher, Riley City 450
 Gordon, J. C., marriage, noted 358
 Gordon, W. J. C., article by, noted 316
 Gordon, W. L., marriage, noted 458
 Gorman, Bennie, Tuscaloosa, Ala., marriage, noted 483
 Goss, Sarah W., marriage, noted 466
 Gould, George (son of Jay) 330
 Gould, Jay, railroad interests of, notes on 326, 327, 330
Gove County Advocate, The, Quinter 148, 566
 Graham, Bridgett, marriage, noted 454
 Graham, Rev. C. 462, 478
 Graham, D. M., marriage, noted 446
 Graham, James H., marriage, noted 458
 Graham, James M., marriage, noted 458
 Graham, John H., marriage, noted 459
 Graham, Julia M., marriage, noted 446
 Graham, Mrs. Mary M., marriage, noted 466
 Graham county, county-seat fight, article on, noted 147
 Granniss, Mrs. E. A., Evansville, Wis., marriage, noted 452
 Grant, Alex, Ellis co. 489
 Grant, Ellen E., marriage, noted 454
 Grant, George, article on, noted 489
 Grasshopper creek, name origin, notes on 403, 405
 Grass-thatched shelters, 1854, note on, Grauser, Charles O., marriage, noted 102, 459
 Gray, Alfred 366, 413, 416, 424, 426, 603-605
 —photograph facing 433
 Gray, E. J., marriage, noted 472
 Gray, J. Rufus, note on 147
 Gray, John M., Kirwin 65, 571
 —death, noted 288
 Grayson, Mrs. R. D. 317
 Grayum, John J., marriage, noted 459
 Great Bend *Herald-Press*, 50th anniversary edition, notes on 147
 Great Bend *Tribune* 314
 Great Man (l'Homme Grand), Osage chief 85

Greathouse, J. E., Finney co.	399
Green, Rev. —, Garnett.	466
Green, Amary Amanda, marriage, noted.	472
Green, George, Oklahoma City, talk by, noted.	493
Green, H. M., marriage, noted.	459
Green, Israel J., marriage, noted.	459
Green, Joel C., marriage, noted.	459
Green, Dr. William T., West Point, Ind., marriage, noted.	459
Greene, Max, <i>The Kansas Region</i> by, noted.	186
Greenleaf <i>Sentinel</i>	228
Greensburg, Methodist church, article on, noted.	646
Greenwood, Alma E., marriage, noted.	450
Greenwood, Sarah Ann, marriage, noted.	478
Gregg, Josiah, <i>Commerce of the Prairies</i> , new edition of, noted.	232
Gregory, John S., Lynwood, Cal.	571
Gregory, Mrs. Sarah, marriage, noted.	472
Grellet Academy, Mitchell co., article on, noted.	142
Griffin, Mag. H., marriage, noted.	485
Griffin, Mary Will, Rockport, Mo., mar- riage, noted.	479
Griffing, Rev. James S., 454, 457, 459, 480 —marriage, noted.	459
Griffing, Nancy, marriage, noted.	459
Griffing, Ward, Manhattan.	77
Griffith, David, Jr., marriage, noted.	459
Griffith, Joshua, marriage, noted.	459
Griffith, Ruth, marriage, noted.	485
Griffith, W. R., Fort Scott.	343
Grimes, Moses E., marriages, noted.	459
Grimshaw, Lillie, Jefferson City, Mo., marriage, noted.	456
Grimsley, Mary, marriage, noted.	455
Grinell, Clarence A.	54
—articles by, noted.	396
Grinell, Clarence A., and Harold, donors.	56
Grinell, D. C., papers, microfilmed.	54
Grinter, Moses, account book, micro- filmed.	295
—note on.	295
Grinter House, Wyandotte co.	77
Grinter's ferry landing, early post of- fice at.	77
Griswold, Daniel, marriage, noted.	459
Griswold, Judge Harvey, Warren co., Mo.	466
Griswold, Dr. J. F., marriage, noted.	459
Gross, Rhea.	78
Grover, D. A. N.	339, 340, 342
Grover, Joel, marriage, noted.	459
Grow, Elder T. D., El Dorado.	648
Grubbs, O. F., Crawford co.	317, 399
Gruebel, Annie, marriage, noted.	459
Grund, Catharine, marriage, noted.	470
Guide books, notes on.	187-189
Guilford, Wilson co., natural gas found at.	237, 238
Gunkel, Mrs. John E., article by, noted.	489
Gunn, Mary, Jefferson City, Mo., mar- riage, noted.	449
Gurney and Son, New York, photog- raphers.	26
Gurtner, Gene, Dodge City.	230
Guthrie, Abelard.	641
Guy, Rev. P. H., Canton.	565
Gypsum <i>Advocate</i>	141, 315
Gypsum valley, articles on, noted.	141, 315

H

Haas, Capt. H. C., marriage, noted.	459
Hackley, Samuel A., marriage, noted.	459
Haddock, Ida M., Lindsey.	558

Haddock, William, marriage, noted.	459
Hadsell, L. L., Marion.	77
Hafner, Melchior, marriage, noted.	459
Haguer, Maria Dora, marriage, noted.	456
Hailey, California, marriage, noted.	448
Haines, Stella B., Augusta.	149, 183, 492
Haines, Sue E., Rockford, Ill., mar- riage, noted.	465
Hair, Jonas, marriage, noted.	459
Hakin, Eveline, marriage, noted.	468
Halderman, John A.	94, 360
Hale, Rev. —, Fort Scott.	452
Hale, Edward Everett, <i>Kansas and Ne- braska</i> by, noted.	5, 185
Haling, John, marriage, noted.	459
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.	66, 307
Hall, Fred, Dodge City.	76, 306, 308
Hall, George, marriage, noted.	460
Hall, Juliana, marriage, noted.	454
Hall, Robert, Cass co., Ill., marriage, noted.	460
Hall, Scynthia Ann, marriage, noted.	469
Hall, Standish, Wichita.	66, 307
Hall, Willard P., governor of Mis- sour.	161, 162
Hall, Rev. William W.	460, 471
Halladay, Albert, marriage, noted.	460
Hallbick, Mrs. Grant.	230
Halliday, Dr. J. S., Coldwater.	145
Halstead, Amelia, marriage, noted.	461
Halstead, Mary, marriage, noted.	458
Halyard, William, Platte co., Mo., mar- riage, noted.	460
Hamilton, Alexander, papers of, note on, Hamilton, G. M., Ottawa co.	649 559
Hamilton, Capt. John M., 1875 report by, note on.	294
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	65, 306, 308
Hamlin, J. P., Pittsburg.	626
Hamlin, Matilda, marriage, noted.	480
Hammers, Clyde C., article by, noted.	74
Hammond, Ann, marriage, noted.	468
Hammond, Rev. C. F.	468
Hammond, Mary A., marriage, noted.	470
Hammond, Thomas J., marriage, noted.	460
Hampson, Joseph F., marriage, noted.	460
Hampton, Silas, Washington, D. C., marriage, noted.	460
Hancock, John, marriage, noted.	460
Hancock, John, Alexandria, Va., mar- riage, noted.	460
Handy, Charles, stage driver.	74
Handy, N. F., lecture by, noted.	438
Hanna, Melissa Jane, marriage, noted.	91
Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad.	156, 161
Hanover, Hanover House registers, given Historical Society.	294
Hanover <i>News</i>	565
Hanscom, O. A., marriage, noted.	460
Hansen, Mrs. Harry.	295
Hanson, Mrs. Harry, Wyandotte co.	77
Hanway, James.	610
—comment on Holloway's history by.	283
Harbin, Elizabeth, marriage, noted.	480
Harbine, Mary E., Zenia, Ohio, mar- riage, noted.	467
Harden, Amanda, marriage, noted.	460
Harden, David, marriage, noted.	460
Hardin, Martha, marriage, noted.	473
Harding, John L., marriage, noted.	460
Hardy, Mr. and Mrs. Harry A.	301
Harger, Charles Moreau, Abilene.	65, 306, 308
—article on, noted.	491
—talk by, noted.	319
Harlan, E. W., Hodgeman co.	78, 317
Harmon, Daniel, marriage, noted.	460
Harmon, Eliza, marriage, noted.	476
Harmon, Georgia, Rushville, Mo., mar- riage, noted.	483
Harmon, Mary A., marriage, noted.	482
Harper, Mrs. J. C.	78

- Harper, J. D., Weston, Mo., marriage, noted 460
 Harpole, Alfred, marriage, noted 460
 Harrelson, Mat. A., Sibley, Mo., marriage, noted 475
 Harrington, Dr. Samuel C. 343
 Harris, E. P. 423, 428
 Harris, E. P., marriage, noted 460
 Harris, Mrs. L. S., donor 300
 Harris, Lindley, marriage, noted 460
 Harris, Martha, marriage, noted 471
 Harris, Mary Rosela, marriage, noted 472
 Harris, Minerva Ann, marriage, noted 460
 Harris, Rosanna, marriage, noted 479
 Harris, Rev. S. 468
 Harrison, Benjamin F., marriage, noted 460
 Harrison, Thomas T., Platte co., Mo., marriage, noted 460
 Harrod, Sarah Ann, marriage, noted 452
 Harshbarger, Mrs. Ira E., donor 294
 Hart, Henry, marriage, noted 461
 Hartwell, H. A., marriage, noted 450
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka 65, 306
 Harvey, Perce 64
Harvey County News, The, Newton 151
 —microfilmed 55
 Haseltine, Amandy M., marriage, noted 485
 Haskell, Emily C., marriage, noted 457
 Haskell, J. G., Lawrence, marriage, noted 461
 Haskell, Jacob, Shawnee co. 457
 Haskin, Hattie A., marriage, noted 447
 Haskins, Clara, marriage, noted 453
 Hassler, Charles C., marriage, noted 461
 Hathaway, Dr. —, Leavenworth 461
 Hathaway, N. B., marriage, noted 461
 Hathaway, Rial A., marriage, noted 461
 Hattan, Pocahontas, marriage, noted 456
 Hatton, Susannah, marriage, noted 447
 Haucke, Frank 63, 65, 306-308
 —on Historical Society executive committee 288
 Haucke, Mr. and Mrs. Frank, donors 300
 Haun, Rev. M. M. 473, 477
 Haun, T. S., Jetmore founder 142
 Havens, Eliza, marriage, noted 461
 Havens, Marietta L., marriage, noted 479
 Havens, P. E., marriage, noted 461
 Haver, Maude, Douglass 399
 Hawkins, H. C., marriage, noted 461
 Hawkins, Margaret A., marriage, noted 481
 Hawley, Charles Arthur, articles by, noted 227, 313, 397
 Hawn, Frederick, geologist 68, 334
 Haworth, Ruth S., marriage, noted 475
 Hay, Chester A., marriage, noted 461
 Hayden, William B., marriage, noted 461
 Hayes, J. E., state treasurer 413
 Hayes, Jennie Lorene, thesis on Kansas cow towns, noted 292
 Hayman, Mrs. Mary N., marriage, noted 478
 Hays, Beatrice, Chase co. 231, 648
 Hays, David, Cedar creek pioneer, 89, 91
 Hays, Eliza A., marriage, noted 455
 Hays, Elizabeth, marriage, noted 475
 Hays, Mary Ann, Boone co., Mo., marriage, noted 469
 Hays, Robert 91
 Hays, Judge S. M., Atchison co. 455
 Hays, articles on, noted 69, 141, 396, 489, 490
 —centennial celebration, note on 5
 —criminal cases, article on, noted 69
 —fire, 1895, article on, noted 69
 —flour mill, article on, noted 226
 —Fourth of July, 1878, article on, noted 566
 Hays Chamber of Commerce 568
 Hays *Daily News*, articles in, noted 69
 141, 226, 396, 489, 566, 567
 Hays Lions Club 568
 Hazard, Willis P. 255
 Hazeltine, Rosaltha, marriage, noted 482
 Hazlett, Mrs. Emerson L., Topeka, 79, 399
 Head, David, family, Morris co., article on, noted 396
Headlight, The, Augusta, note on 182
 Healy, George P. A., painting by, noted 14n
 Heart river 403, 405
 Heath, Ivan D., marriage, noted 461
 Hebbard, J. C., work on Andreas-Cutler history noted 628, 635, 636
 Hedgpeth, Rev. H. H. 448
 Hedrick, Joseph J., at Olathe 231
 Heed, Capt. A., Doniphan co. 452
 Heffridge, B., and Joe Collins, train robbers 69
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita 66, 307
 Heimann, Rev. Father — 454
 Heitzman, John, marriage, noted 461
 Helfrich, Brace A., Wichita 149, 492
 Hellard, Phebe, marriage, noted 465
 Heller, Abraham, marriage, noted 461
 Helm, Mr. and Mrs. Frank, Topeka, donors 291
 Helm, T. C., marriage, noted 461
 Hemphill, Mrs. Mona, marriage, noted 456
 Hemphill, Sallie, marriage, noted 461
 Henderson, Rev. —, Leavenworth 450
 Henderson, H. L., Iola 239
 Henderson, John D., marriage, noted 461
 Henderson, Paul, donor 294
 Hennessey, Lola, Tecumseh history compiled by 151
 Henry, John, Lindsey 554, 557
 Henry, Margaret A., marriage, noted 479
 Henry, T. C., relic of, given Abilene library 80
 Henry, William, marriage, noted 461
Herald of Freedom, Lawrence 96-121 *passim*
 Herbaltschermer, Barbara, marriage, noted 459
 "Herd Book" 618, 625, 626
 Herington, M. D., article on, noted 490
 Herington, articles on, noted 144, 490
 —diamond jubilee, note on 494
Herington Advertiser-Times, articles in, noted 72, 144, 145, 490
 Herndon, Walter 230
 Herring, Frederick, marriage, noted 461
 Herriott, Samuel C., marriage, noted 461
 Hesler, Alexander, Chicago, photographer 31, 32
 Hewitt, Helen M., marriage, noted 459
 Hibbard, Mrs. Mary, Chicago, Ill., marriage, noted 470
 Hibbard, Mrs. Ruth, Wichita 399
 Hickman, Russell K., articles by, noted 74, 228, 316
 Hickok, James Butler (Wild Bill), articles on, noted 226, 489
 Hickox, Mary A., marriage, noted 471
 Hickox, Rev. W. H. 450
 Hicks, A. D., marriage, noted 461
 Hicks, John Edward, article by, noted 227
 Hicks, Solomon S., marriage, noted 451
 Hicks, William, Pleasant Hill 462
 Higbee, Mrs. W. W., donor 299
 Higby, Lewis H., marriage, noted 462
 Higdon, Allen, marriage, noted 462
 High, Laura, marriage, noted 459
High Plains Journal, The, Dodge City, articles in, noted 144, 145, 490, 491
 Highland, article on, noted 397
 Highland Mission state museum, notes on 226, 398
 Highland Station. *See* Sparks.
 Highland *Vidette* 73
 Highley, William, marriage, noted 462
 Highway, U. S. 40, article on, noted 75

- Highwayman, The*, issues given Historical Society . . . 56
- Higley, Dr. Brewster, cabin, restored . . . 149
- Hildebrand, H. N., Montezuma resident, . . . 145
- Hill, Ellen M., marriage, noted . . . 477
- Hill, Esther Clark, and Irma Doster, song by, noted . . . 292
- Hill, Forrester, marriage, noted . . . 462
- Hill, Hiram, Lawrence . . . 113
- Hill, Howard, Jr. . . . 79
- Hill, Mary Ann, N. Brookfield, Mass., marriage, noted . . . 453
- Hill, Mary E., Newmarket, Mo., marriage, noted . . . 484
- Hill, Susie, marriage, noted . . . 483
- Hill, T. A., Greenwood co. . . . 483
- Hill, Thomas C., marriage, noted . . . 462
- Hill City, article on, noted . . . 147
- Hill City *Times* . . . 73, 147
- Hilty, Joseph, marriage, noted . . . 462
- Hinkle, E. M., marriage, noted . . . 465
- Hinkle, Guild & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio . . . 112, 113
- Hirschler, Dr. Samuel A., article on, noted . . . 313
- Historic sites, Kansas, inspection of, noted . . . 647
- Historical and Philosophical Society of Kansas Territory, history of . . . 339-341
- Historical markers, erected by Manhattan centennial committee, note on . . . 492
- work on, 1953, noted . . . 51
- Historical societies, of Kansas, 1850's . . . 339-356
- of Kansas and Nebraska, joint meeting, 1954, note on . . . 4, 5
- Histories of Kansas, J. C. Malin's articles on . . . 184-223, 264-287, 331-378
- History conference, at K. U., note on . . . 647
- Hoag, Benjamin W., marriage, noted . . . 462
- Hoagland, — . . . 170
- Hoagland, Rev. Thomas, Atchison . . . 451, 453
- . . . 464, 466, 471
- Hobbs, Rev. —, Linn co. . . . 479
- Hoch, Edward Wallace . . . 625
- Hoch, Wharton, Marion . . . 77
- Hodder, Frank Heywood, historian . . . 615, 638, 639
- Hodgdon, Linwood L., article by, noted, —work of, noted . . . 150, 87
- Hodgeman County Historical Society, 1953 meeting, note on . . . 78
- 1954 meeting, note on . . . 317
- Hodges, Frank, Olathe . . . 65, 306, 308
- donor . . . 297
- Hodges, Mrs. R. A., Marthasville, Mo., marriage, noted . . . 466
- Hodgson, Allen, justice of the peace . . . 482
- Hodson, Gideon F., marriage, noted . . . 462
- Hoffman, James Williams, editor . . . 648
- Hohn, Gordon S., articles by, noted . . . 395
- Holbert and Davis, Atchison . . . 154
- Holbrook, William H., Rulo, Neb., marriage, noted . . . 462
- Holland, A., Burlington . . . 456
- Hollenberg Ranch Pony Express Station, notes on . . . 149, 492, 565
- Holliday, Cyrus K. . . . 152, 206, 370, 441
- relics display, noted . . . 297
- Robert Taft's article on, noted . . . 488
- Holliday, Rev. J. T., 449, 450, 453, 458, 461
- Holliday, John Henry "Doc," J. M. Myers' book on, noted . . . 400
- Hollingsworth, C. E., Denver, letter by, noted . . . 68
- Hollingsworth, Charlie, Lindsey . . . 553, 555
- Hollingsworth, Erwin, Lindsey . . . 554, 555
- Hollingsworth, Jerome, Lindsey . . . 558
- Hollingsworth family, Ottawa co. . . . 558
- Hollis, Mrs. Amanda, marriage, noted . . . 458
- Holloway, J. C., marriage, noted . . . 462
- Holloway, John Nelson, biographical data . . . 264-266
- History of Kansas*, J. C. Malin's article on . . . 264-287
- photograph . . . facing 280
- Holman, Calvin, Topeka, letters, 1869, note on . . . 646
- Holman, Charles E., Topeka . . . 494
- Holman, Charles E., II, Topeka . . . 54, 56
- Holmes, Rev. D. T. . . . 458
- Holmes, James H., marriage, noted . . . 462
- Holmes, Julia, marriage, noted . . . 477
- Holmes, Lucius M., marriage, noted . . . 462
- Holmes, Mary, marriage, noted . . . 468
- Holmes, Mary Louise, Magnolia, Ill., marriage, noted . . . 472
- Holmes, Rev. William . . . 481
- Holmstrom, John . . . 493
- Holt, Mrs. Benjamin Osborn, of Missouri . . . 576
- Holton, centennial celebration, note on, —history, articles on, noted . . . 495, 566
- Holton *Recorder*, centennial issue, 1955, noted . . . 566
- "Home on the Range," note on . . . 570
- Homer, Winslow, portrait by, noted . . . 14n
- Honnell, Henry Wilson, marriage, noted . . . 462
- Honnell, Rev. William H. . . . 462
- Hoogland, Edward . . . 354
- letter, 1861, quoted . . . 355
- Hoover, Martha, marriage, noted . . . 452
- Hope, Dickinson co., articles on, noted . . . 72, 143
- Baptist church, article on, noted . . . 143
- Hope *Dispatch* . . . 72, 143
- Hopkins, Lon, Coffeyville . . . 317
- Hopkins, Thomas, marriage, noted . . . 462
- Hopper, B. F., marriage, noted . . . 462
- Hopper, David R., marriage, noted . . . 462
- Hopper, Louisa, marriage, noted . . . 471
- Hopper, Sarah Jane, marriage, noted . . . 486
- Horan, James D. and Paul Sann, book by, noted . . . 320
- Hornecker, Mrs. Anna, reminiscences, noted . . . 73
- Homer, C. F., Chautauqua book by, note on . . . 649
- Horne, John W., Chetopa . . . 646
- Horseless Carriage Club, booklet of, note on . . . 152
- Horton, articles on, noted . . . 395, 566
- Horton *Headlight* . . . 316, 395, 566
- Hosmer, Helen, Philadelphia . . . 255
- Hosmer, Mrs. Margaret, Philadelphia . . . 255
- Hotten, Alfred P., article by, noted . . . 146
- Houck, Solomon, of Missouri . . . 561, 563
- Houghton, —, at Lawrence, 1854 . . . 102
- Houghton, Charles S., Worcester, Mass., marriage, noted . . . 462
- Houghton, Mary J., marriage, noted . . . 450
- House, Maj. A. E., Fort Sully commanding officer . . . 252, 255
- Housing, at Lawrence, 1854, J. C. Malin's article on . . . 34-49
- 1855, J. C. Malin's article . . . 95-121
- in prairie-plains region, J. C. Malin's papers on noted . . . 34n
- Houston, Charles W., Saline, Mo., marriage, noted . . . 462
- Houston, D. W., Emporia . . . 347
- Houston, Samuel D. . . . 91
- election judge, 1854 . . . 90
- in 1855 legislature . . . 323
- Houts, Mrs. Hale, donor . . . 56
- How, Nancy Jane, marriage, noted . . . 476
- Howard, William A., and others, report on Kansas troubles, noted . . . 186, 188, 189
- Howe, Art, article by, noted . . . 71
- Howe, Edgar Watson, articles on, noted . . . 74, 227

- Howe, Henry, *Historical Collections of the Great West* by, notes on . . . 189, 190
 — *The Great West* by, notes on . . . 190, 191
 Howell, Angeline, marriage, noted . . . 470
 Howell, Tom S., articles by, noted, 396, 489
 Howes, Cecil, on *Annals* committee . . . 57
 Hoxie *Sentinel* . . . 70, 144
 Hoyt, George H. 370
 Hoyt, Mrs. Hobart, Lyons . . . 398
 Hrdlicka, Ales, anthropologist . . . 18n
 Hubbard, John L., marriage, noted . . . 462
 Hubbell, L. W., Hodgeman co. . . 78, 317
 Hubbell, P. Hanford, marriage, noted . . . 462
 Hubbell, Willard O., marriage, noted . . . 463
 Huber, Mrs. David M. 77, 317
 Huddleson, Nancy Amanda, Buchanan co., Mo., marriage, noted . . . 457
 Hudgens, Martha Ann, Savannah, Mo., marriage, noted . . . 458
 Hudson, Florence, Augusta . . . 149, 492
 Hudson, Thomas J., Indianapolis . . . 640
 Huested, Ephraim, marriage, noted . . . 463
 Huested, Lodusky, marriage, noted . . . 455
 Huffman, Edward, marriage, noted . . . 463
 Huffman, Rev. James, Jr. . . . 473
 Hughes, Rev. Francis J., article by, noted . . . 143
 Hughes, Graham L., St. Louis, Mo., marriage, noted . . . 463
 Hughes, James W. F., papers, given historical society . . . 294
 Hughes, Nannie E., marriage, noted . . . 458
 Hull, Joseph L., marriage, noted . . . 463
 Humboldt, oil field at . . . 243, 244
 Humboldt *Union* . . . 74
 —centennial issue, 1955, noted . . . 566
 Humphrey, Emily, marriage, noted . . . 482
 Humphreys, Frances E., Batavia, N. Y., marriage, noted . . . 456
 Hungerford, Simeon R., marriage, noted . . . 463
 Hunt, —, Lawrence . . . 111
 Hunt, Anna, marriage, noted . . . 464
 Hunt, Charles W., marriage, noted . . . 463
 Hunt, Emily Jane, marriage, noted . . . 459
 Hunt, G. W., Lawrence . . . 276
 Hunt, Howard, article by, noted . . . 146
 Hunt, Lizzie, Platte co., Mo., marriage, noted . . . 469
 Hunt, Rebecca Frances, marriage, noted . . . 468
 Hunter, W. J., marriage, noted . . . 463
 Hunter, history, noted . . . 73
 Huntton, A. J., Shawnee co. . . . 462
 Hurd, Harriet N., Spring, Pa., marriage, noted . . . 481
 Hurst, Matilda, marriage, noted . . . 459
 Hutchinson, Rev. George W., Lawrence, marriages performed by, noted . . . 446
 449-452, 455, 461, 462, 468, 470, 486
 Hutchinson, Hugh, admitted to bail, 1856 . . . 213
 Hutchinson, John . . . 205
 Hutchinson, Josiah, marriage, noted . . . 463
 Hutchinson, William . . . 343, 351-353
 —photograph . . . facing 352
 Hutchinson, Grace, Episcopal church, article on, noted . . . 314
 —in 1889, article on, noted . . . 489
 Hutchinson *News-Herald*, articles in, noted . . . 72, 143, 227, 314, 489
 Hutchison, Walter, article by, noted . . . 141
 Hutt, Joe, plainsman . . . 489
 Hutton, Elizabeth Van Ness, song by, noted . . . 292
 Huyett, Sarah Jane, marriage, noted . . . 473
 Hyatt, Thaddeus, a founder of Winthrop . . . 157
 Hyle, Reuben M., marriage, noted . . . 463
 Hyder, Clyde, article by, noted . . . 74
- I
- Independence *Daily Reporter* . . . 395
 . . . 397, 491
 Independence *News*, historical-progress edition, 1955, noted . . . 489
 Indian battle (Saline co.), 1857, article on, noted . . . 567
 Indian campaign, 1860, notes on . . . 585
 "Indian Captivity and Its Legal Aftermath, An," article by A. W. Farley . . . 247-256
 Indian chief, funeral of, article on, noted . . . 145
 Indian depredations, 1859 . . . 579-583
 —1872 (Jordan family), article on, noted . . . 396, 490
 —1874, article on, noted . . . 226
 Indian missions, Catholic, P. J. Rahill's book on, noted . . . 231
 Indian raids, 1871-1880, note on . . . 54
 Indianola . . . 87
 Indians, Cheyenne, article on, noted . . . 566
 —Delaware, logs supplied to Lawrence by . . . 109
 —fight with, 1875, note on . . . 294
 —in Kansas, 1954, articles on, noted . . . 142, 313
 —Iowa, Sac and Fox, Mission museum, article on, noted . . . 226
 —Kansas, 1860-1862 material on, acquired . . . 54
 —Methodist mission, Council Grove, dedicated as museum, note on . . . 151
 —Kiowa, Lt. J. E. B. Stuart's attack on, 1860 . . . 586
 —native tribes, noted . . . 1
 —Osage, Bishop Miege's description of . . . 84, 86
 —Pawnee, 1826 robbery on Santa Fe trail by . . . 560-563
 —photographs, given Historical Society, noted . . . 292
 —Pottawatomie, at St. Mary's, 1851 . . . 82, 83
 —celebration, 1851, described . . . 82, 83
 —half-breeds, note on . . . 83
 —in 1854, note on . . . 315, 316
 —protective measures against, north-west Kansas, 1865 . . . 572-575
 —Shawnee, hymnal of 1859, at Shawnee Mission . . . 299
 —Sioux, account of, 1862-1864 . . . 248
 —Fanny Kelly and Sarah L. Larimer captives of . . . 247-256
 —Kelly-Larimer train attacked by . . . 248, 249
 —Wyandotte . . . 641
 Indians, *Captured by*, note on . . . 319, 320
 Ingels, Rev. — . . . 448
 Ingerson, Clara M., marriage, noted . . . 449
 Inscho, James B., song by, noted . . . 292
 Iola, articles on, noted . . . 566
 —brick factories . . . 240, 242, 245
 —celebration, 1898, described . . . 241, 242
 —cement industry . . . 240, 245
 —centennial celebration, notes on . . . 494
 —gas boom, account of . . . 239-245
 —industrial center . . . 240-245
 —iron foundry . . . 242, 245
 —natural gas found at . . . 236, 237
 —zinc smelters, notes on . . . 240-245
 —photographs . . . facing 240
 Iola *Register*, a daily in 1898 . . . 241-244
 —centennial edition, 1955, noted . . . 566
 Iowa, Sac and Fox Mission museum, article on, noted . . . 226
 Ireland, Mollie, Andrew co., Mo., marriage, noted . . . 484
 Irish, Mary, W. Bloomfield, Mich., marriage, noted . . . 472

Irvin, Rev. Samuel M. 480
 Irwin, —, freighter 153
 Isaacs, A. J. 339
 Ise, John, Lawrence, donor 54
 Ives, Earl, articles by, noted 228, 646

J

Jackman, David R., Bourbon co. 475
 Jackson, Charles and William, Val-paraiso, Ind. 640
 Jackson, Maggie, marriage, noted 465
 Jackson, Mary J., marriage, noted 480
 Jackson, Elder S. W. 468, 481
 Jackson, Wade M., marriage, noted 463
 Jacobs, Edward C. 360
 Jacobs, Hubert, S. J. 316
 Jacobs, Mrs. John, donor 300
 Jacobs, Mrs. Minnie, donor 294
 Jacobs, Nelly, marriage, noted 456
 Jacobs, Capt. William M., marriage, noted 463
 James, Caroline, marriage, noted 475
 James, Carrie, marriage, noted 469
 James, Will, quoted 592
 Jamestown, article on, noted 228
 Jamestown *Optimist* 228
 Jamison, George, marriage, noted 91
 Javens, Henson, marriage, noted 463
 "Jay-Hawker, The," by P. F. Fowler, notes on 214, 223
Jayhawk Editor, comp. by J. D. Callahan, note on 649
 Jefferson county, articles on, noted 490
 —centennial celebration, note on 647
 —historical booklet, 1955, note on 647
 Jelinek, George, donor 294
 Jenkins, James B., of Kentucky, marriage, noted 463
 Jenkins, Rose, marriage, noted 476
 Jennings, Samuel L., marriage, noted 463
 Jennison, Robert 230
 Jennison, Mrs. Robert 230, 492
 Jensen, Lee, *The Pony Express* by, note on 649
 Jensen, Mrs. James L., Colby 79, 398
 Jessee, Mary, marriage, noted 456
 Jessee, William, Bloomington 456
 Jester, George W., marriage, noted 463
 Jesuits, at St. Mary's Mission, notes on 81-83
 Jewell, Byron, Topeka 471
 Jewett, Mollie A., St. Albans, Vt., marriage, noted 457
 Jim Kansan, article on, noted 74
 Johannsen, Robert W., essay by, noted 495
 Johns, Mrs. Laura M., suffragist 178, 181
 Johnson, A., Lake co., Ill., marriage, noted 463
 Johnson, Alexander S., in 1855 legislature 323
 Johnson, Rev. Arvid, Chanute 488
 Johnson, B., Lawrence 121
 Johnson, B. F., Johnson co., marriage, noted 463
 Johnson, Judge Beryl 494
 Johnson, Mrs. Elmer, Dighton 230
 —articles by, noted 229
 Johnson, Mrs. G. V., Marshall co., article by, noted 316
 Johnson, Rev. H. H. 483
 Johnson, Rev. H. P., Leavenworth 454, 455, 465
 Johnson, James W., Lexington, Ky., marriage, noted 463
 Johnson, Josephine A., marriage, noted 456
 Johnson, Mary J., Lecompton, marriage, noted 473
 Johnson, Morris B., printer, marriage, noted 463
 Johnson, Mrs. Osa, notes on 79, 297

Johnson, Peter, Otoe co., marriage, noted 464
 Johnson, Rev. S. F. 457
 Johnson, Dr. Samuel A., *The Battle Cry of Freedom* by, note on 319
 Johnson, Rev. Thomas 323, 339
 Johnson, Walter, exhibit, Coffeyville, noted 317
 —note on 149
 Johnson Brothers, Council Grove, donors, 300
 Johnson county, archives, in Historical Society 53
 —articles on, noted 565
Johnson County Democrat, Olathe, 227, 567
Johnson County Herald, Overland Park 70, 565
 Johnston, Anna J., marriage, noted 480
 Johnston, Annie E., marriage, noted 464
 Johnston, Buckie, Platte co., Mo., marriage, noted 457
 Johnston, Catharine, marriage, noted 470
 Johnston, Emma A., Fort Scott, marriage, noted 468
 Johnston, Lt. Col. Joseph E. 578
 Johnston, Leonah, marriage, noted 479
 Jones, —, Sumner co. 312
 Jones, Catherine H., Lyon co. 79, 398
 Jones, Charles E., Chicago 606
 Jones, E., Wilberham, Mass. 113
 Jones, Elwood, and wife, Council Grove, 301
 Jones, Rev. Harvey Jones, Wabau—see 458, 461
 Jones, Horace, Lyons 66, 307
 Jones, Isaiah, marriage, noted 464
 Jones, Mrs. Ivan Dayton, Lyons 79
 Jones, L. L., marriage, noted 464
 Jones, Lucina, Emporia 398
 —article by, noted 141
 Jones, Lucinda, marriage, noted 458
 Jones, Robert R., and D. E. Middleton, song by, noted 292
 Jones, Samuel J., sheriff, Douglas co., 170, 211-213
 Jones, Sarah E., marriage, noted 450
 Jones, Sarah Elizabeth, marriage, noted 472
 Jones, Mrs. Schuyler, Wichita 492
 Jones, T. M., Pittsburgh, Pa., marriage, noted 464
 Jones, Viola L., marriage, noted 483
 Jones, Washington, St. Joseph, Mo., marriage, noted 464
 Jonnies, Mary Louise, marriage, noted 483
 Jonson, Col. 171
 Jonson, Lizzie, Cambridge City, Ind., marriage, noted 448
 Joplin (Mo.) *Globe* 229, 397
 Jordan, Caroline Jane, marriage, noted 473
 Jordan, Esther, marriage, noted 468
 Jordan, Mrs. Neal D., donor 52
 Jordan massacre, 1872, article on, noted 396, 490
Journals of Lewis and Clark, The, edited by B. DeVoto, note on 80
 Joy, Frances R., Akron, Ohio, marriage, noted 447
 Judd, Henry, marriage, noted 464
 Judge, Mary, Ozawkee, marriage, noted 458
 Judson, Charles O., marriage, noted 464
 Junction City, articles on, noted 146, 565
 —centennial celebration, article on, noted 491
 —notes on 5, 493
 —pictures, note on 565
 Junction City *Union* 145, 567
 —centennial edition, 1955, noted 565
 Juniata, name origin 88
 —settlement of 88-91
 —talk on, noted 77
 "Juniata: Gateway to Mid-Kansas," article by J. C. Carey 87-94

K

- Kalloch, Rev. Isaac S., his review of Holloway's history, discussed. 278-280
 —marriages performed by, noted 451, 476, 481
 —note on 278
 Kalvesta, article on, noted 491
 Kamback, Mrs. Frank 494
 Kampschroeder, Jean (Mrs. Louis) 399, 492
 Kanaga, C. W., donor 294
 Kane, J. O., New York, photographer 29
 Kansan, Jim, article on, noted 74
 Kansas (territory), books and articles on, listed 5-7
 —centennial, article on 1-7
 —plans for, noted 50, 51, 64
 —commemorative stamp, note on 4
 —essays on aspects of, noted 495, 496
 —establishment of 1, 2
 —legislature, 1855, at Pawnee 322, 323
 Kansas, beauty of, 1857 67
 —books about, 1854-1860, bibliography 185-187
 —first 100-year highlights, article on, noted 74
 —flag, article on, noted 71
 —histories of, J. C. Malin's articles on 184-223; 264-287; 331-407-444; 598-643
 —history, Milt Tabor articles on, noted 74
 —legislative war, 1893, paper on, noted 150
 —rivalry for capital, article on, noted 142
 —statehood, Robert Taft's article on, noted 488
 —southwest, articles on, noted 145
 "Kansas, What's the Matter With," K. S. Davis' article on, noted 395
 Kansas Academy of Science, notes on 368, 369
 —Transactions, articles in, noted 68
 Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields, 1954 meeting, notes on 4, 150, 289
 Kansas Centennial History Conference, Lawrence, notes on 150
 Kansas Chief, White Cloud and Troy, microfilmed 296
 Kansas City Kansan 78
 —microfilmed 55
 Kansas City, St. Joseph and Council Bluffs railroad 165
 Kansas City (Mo.) Star, articles in, noted 74, 145, 227, 313, 397, 491
 Kansas City (Mo.) Times, articles in, noted 74, 75, 145, 146, 227, 313, 397
 Kansas Editors' and Publisher's Association, notes on 410, 418, 420, 428
 Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, 1887, note on 181, 366
 Kansas Farmer, note on 366
 Kansas Free State, Lawrence, 96-121, *passim*
 Kansas Freeman, The, Topeka, early issues, note on 296
 Kansas Gazette, Enterprise and Abilene, microfilmed 296
 Kansas Government—A Short Course, note on 496
 "Kansas Historical Notes" 76-80, 149-152, 230-232, 317-320, 398-400, 492-496, 568, 647-649
 Kansas Historical Quarterly, The, report on, 1952-1953 58
 —1953-1954 299
 Kansas Historical Society, 1867-1878, notes on 369, 370
 "Kansas History as Published in the Press" 68-75, 141-148, 226-313-316, 395-397, 488-491, 565-567, 646
 Kansas Home Demonstration Council, contest by, noted 144
 Kansas Legion, mentioned 610
 Kansas Library Association 150, 151
 Kansas Lutheran Historical Society 495, 496
 Kansas Magazine, 1872-1873, history of 411, 412
 —1954, articles in, noted 74
 Kansas Medical Society, note on 368
 Kansas Natural History Society 369
 Kansas-Nebraska act, article on, noted 75
 —notes on 1, 2, 4
 Kansas Portland Cement Co., Concrete, "Kansas River, Origin of the Names of Tributaries of the," article by Aubrey Diller 401-406
 Kansas State Agricultural Society, notes on 365
 Kansas State Board of Agriculture 413
 Kansas State Historical Society 149, 150, 325
 —accessions statistics, 1952-1953 57, 58
 —1953-1954 298, 299
 —Annals of Kansas report, 1952-1953 56, 57
 —1953-1954 298
 —annual meeting, 1953, proceedings 50-66
 —1954, proceedings 288-308
 —appropriations, 1952-1953 51
 —archives division report, 1952-1953 52, 53
 —1953-1954 292, 293
 —article by F. Madson, Jr., on, noted 314
 —background and history, by J. C. Malin 407-444
 —brochure, 1954, noted 289
 —budget requests, 1955-1956 290, 291
 —connection with Andreas-Cutler history, noted 619, 628, 629
 —executive committee report, 1953 62
 —1954 304
 —Elizabeth Reader bequest 61, 62, 303
 —First Capitol report, 1952-1953 59
 —1953-1954 300
 —John Booth bequest 61, 303
 —joint meeting with Nebraska society, 289
 —Jonathan Pecker bequest 61, 302
 —Kaw Mission, maintained by 151
 —report, 1952-1953 59
 —1953-1954 300
 —library, books added to, 1952-1953 122-139
 —1953-1954 379-393
 —report, 1952-1953 51, 52
 —1953-1954 291, 292
 —manuscript collections, note on 637
 —manuscript division report, 1952-1953 54
 —1953-1954 293-295
 —microfilm division report, 1952-1953 55
 —1953-1954 295, 296
 —museum report, 1952-1953 56
 —1953-1954 297
 —news release articles, 1954, noted 7
 —newspaper and census divisions report, 1952-1953 55, 56
 —1953-1954 296, 297
 —nominating committee report, 1953 63, 64
 —1954 304
 —picture collection report, 1952-1953, 1953-1954 52
 —Quarterly. See Kansas Historical Quarterly.
 —research subjects, 1952-1953 57
 —1953-1954 298
 —secretary's report, 1952-1953 50-60
 —1953-1954 288-301

- Kansas State Historical Society, Shawnee Mission report, 1952-1953. 58, 59
 — 1953. 58, 59
 — 1953-1954. 299, 300
 —territorial centennial, participation in. 288
 —plans for. 50, 51
 —Thomas H. Bowlus donation. 61, 303
 —treasurer's report, 1952-1953. 60-62
 —1953-1954. 302-304
 —W. I. Mitchell bequest to. 63-301
Kansas State Journal, Lawrence, note on file of. 354
Kansas State Record, Topeka, microfilmed. 296
Kansas Teacher, The, Dr. Robert Taft's articles in, noted. 488
 "Kansas Territorial Centennial, The," article on. 1-7
Kansas Tribune, Lawrence. 614, 616
Kansas News, Emporia, article on, noted. 489
 —microfilmed. 296
 Kapaun, Father Emil Joseph, biography of, note on. 649
 Kapp, Elias, Lindsey. 558
 Karber, Mildred, articles by, noted, 141, 315
 Kastor, J. H., marriage, noted. 464
 Kathrens, Charles James, Jr., marriage, noted. 464
 Kaucher, William, marriage, noted. 464
 Kaw Mission, Council Grove, dedication as museum, notes on. 151, 300
 Kay, Thomas, marriage, noted. 464
 Keating, R. H., marriage, noted. 464
 Keating, Mrs. Sam, donor. 56
 Keedy, Celia C., St. Joseph, Mo., marriage, noted. 453
 Keeler, Capt. Julius, Moneka, marriage, noted. 464
 Keeler, Myra Summers, donor. 294
 Keener, Mary Ann, marriage, noted. 456
 Keeney, George M., Oregon, Mo., marriage, noted. 464
 Kehoe, Linna F., Hannibal, Mo., marriage, noted. 470
 Keighley, Butler co., article on, noted. 146
 Kelch, William P., marriage, noted. 464
 Kellam, Charles C., marriage, noted. 464
 Keller, Sallie, Clay co., Mo., marriage, noted. 460
 Kelley, Frank, article by, noted. 227
 Kelley, Marie, donor. 294
 Kelley, Col. Robert S., marriage, noted. 464
 Kelley, Thomas D., marriage, noted. 464
 Kellogg, D. D. and Anna D., Kellogg founders. 491
 Kellogg, George M., marriage, noted. 464
 Kellogg, Cowley co., article on, noted. 491
 Kelly, Mrs. Fanny Wiggins, book by, notes on. 248, 249
 —death, noted. 255
 —Indian captive, account of. 247-256
 —photograph. facing 248
 Kelly, Josiah S., death, noted. 253
 —and emigrant party, attacked by Indians. 248, 249
 Kelly, Michael, marriage, noted. 465
 Kelly, Rebecca, marriage, noted. 481
 Kelly, Washington D., marriage, noted. 465
 Kelly vs. Larimer, account of. 253-256
 —case file microfilmed. 54
 Kelsey, C. C., Chicago, daguerreo-typist. 23, 24
 Kelso, C. P.. 76
 Kelsoe, John R., marriage, noted. 465
 Kemp, John, recollections, microfilmed. 295
 Kemper, Mrs. Lee, Garden City. 79
 Kendall, Ann A., Worcester, Mass., marriage, noted. 456
 Kendall, Orval, donor. 300
 Kennedy, Laura, marriage, noted. 466
 Kennedy, Oliver P., marriage, noted. 465
 Kennedy, Dr. T. A., Lawrence. 149
 Kennedy, Thomas H., marriage, noted. 465
 Kent, Anna, marriage, noted. 472
 Ker, Rev. Leander, Leavenworth. 450, 456
 —461, 463, 480, 485
 Kerr, Dr. J. W., Longton founder. 488
 Kerr, John, marriage, noted. 465
 Kersey, Ralph, Finney co. 319
 Ketchum, Jacob W., marriage, noted. 465
 Keystone View Company, New York. 19, 22, 33a
 Kilby, James M., Andres co., Mo., marriage, noted. 465
 Kilby, Jane, Elizabeth Town, Canada West, marriage, noted. 486
 Killam, G. F., Lawrence. 466
 Killbuck, Abigail, marriage, noted. 485
 Killbuck, Joseph H.. 454, 485
 Killbuck, Polly, marriage, noted. 454
 Killey, B. F., Hiawatha. 467
 Killough, Carvalho Ogilvie Gilbert, marriage, noted. 465
 Killough, Thomas D., White Cloud. 465
 Killum, Mrs. Betsy, marriage, noted. 459
 Kimball, Cordelia A., marriage, noted. 456
 Kimball, John A., Manhattan. 456
 Kimball brothers, Lawrence. 108
 Kimeo, St. Michael's church, article on, noted. 228
 Kimple, Genevieve, article by, noted. 145
 King, B. H., marriage, noted. 465
 King, Dr. Charles, marriage, noted. 465
 King, Henry. 411, 412, 419
 King, Jemima, marriage, noted. 453
 King, Nicholas, map maker. 402, 405
 King, Robert Callen, Washington, D. C., donor. 297
 King estate, Junction City, gifts from, to Historical Society. 297
 Kingman, Samuel Austin. 346-348, 352
 —353, 370, 414, 422, 423
 —429, 430, 434, 442
 —biographical note. 371
 —Historical Society president. 433
 —photograph. facing 353
 —speech, 1868, quoted. 371-374
 Kingman, First Presbyterian church, article on, noted. 314
 Kingman county, article on, noted. 144
Kingman Journal. 228, 314, 646
 Kinsey, Oliver, Argonia mayor. 173
 Kinsey, Terissa Ann (Mrs. Oliver). 173
 Kinsley, Jane M., marriage, noted. 455
 Kinsley, articles on, noted. 76
 —80th anniversary celebration, notes on. 76
Kinsley Mercury. 76
 Kinzie, Julia W., marriage, noted. 472
 Kinzie, Maria H., marriage, noted. 480
 Kinzie, R. A.. 472
 Kiowa county, pioneer celebration, 1954, note on. 317
Kiowa County Signal, The, Greensburg. 646
Kiowa News. 228
 Kirkbride, Cassa F., marriage, noted. 451
 Kirkendall, Clarinda, marriage, noted. 458
 Kirkendall, Elijah B., Emporia. 457, 471
 Kirkpatrick, Mrs. Agnes, marriage, noted. 450
 Kirkpatrick, Dr. H. L., Topeka. 54, 145
 Kirkwood, Mrs. Minnie. 295
 Kirwan, Ella Cecelia, of Missouri. 576
 Kirwan, John S., biographical data. 569
 —571-576
 —reminiscences of. 576-587
 Kirwin, article on, noted. 227
 —history, notes on. 569, 570
 —name origin. 569
Kirwin Chief. 570
 Kirwin reservoir project, notes on, 569, 570
 Kirwin Town Company. 569

- Kitchingham, William, marriage, noted, 465
 Kittridge, T., Chicago, marriage, noted, 465
 Kleinhans, A. J., marriage, noted, 465
 Kline, David, marriage, noted, 465
 Kline, Mrs. Frank, Wichita, 492
 Kline, Rev. J. S., 479
 Klingberg, Dr. Frank J., letter, noted, 143
 Kloehr, J. B., Coffeyville, 149
 Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville, 64, 66, 307
 Kneeland, Rev. Joel, 481
 Knight, Henry G., Seattle, Wash., 558
 Knight, Mrs. Mary C., letter, 1887, quoted, 180
 Knight, Richard (Dick), Lindsey, 554, 558
 Knight, T., Douglas portrait by, noted, 21
 Knight, Mrs. Webster, II, Providence, R. I., donor, 52
 Knoche, Henry, Ellis co., 489
 Knott, Rev. Isaac, Humboldt, 481
 Knouse, Charles A., donor, 296
 Knutson, Knute, marriage, noted, 465
 Koch, Curtis, Welda, 568
 Koch, Elsie, Hope, 77, 318
 —article by, noted, 72
 Koch, William, 493
 Kohler, Lucille, article by, noted, 145
 Kohler, Mrs. Phyllis, article by, noted, 144
 Kornitzer, Bela, *The Great American Heritage* by, notes on, 491, 496
 Krause, Adam, Great Bend, recollections of, noted, 147
 Kridle, Louisa, Fremont, Ohio, marriage, noted, 455
 Krumstick, Mrs. Anna, article by, noted, 143
 Kuhn, Warren, article by, noted, 144
 Kullak, Hugo, marriage, noted, 465
 Kupper, John F., marriage, noted, 465
 Kuska, J. B., 493
 Kuykendall, Judge —, Calhoun co., 485
 Kuykendall, James, 339
- L
- Labette, hotel, removed to Parsons, 1872, 67
 Labette county, J. F. Santee's reminiscences of, noted, 313
 —old settlers meeting, 1954, note on, 318
 —place names, articles on, noted, 74, 141
 —Star school, Dist. No. 50, article on, noted, 68
 Ladd, Erastus D., 104, 205, 473
 —data from 1854 letters of, 39-44, 48
 —marriages, noted, 465, 466
 Ladd, Mary, St. Joseph, Mo., marriage, noted, 473
 LaGrange, Allen co., 242
 LaHarpe, Allen co., 243
 LaHay, Martha, marriage, noted, 481
 Lake Quivira, fire dept., article on, noted, 565
 Lamb, A. W., Hannibal, Mo., marriage, noted, 466
 Lamb, Rev. Josiah, 480
 Lambert, Mrs. Walter, Leav. co., 318
 Lamon, Martha A., marriage, noted, 453
 Lancaster, Presbyterian church, history, noted, 71
 Landon, John Cobb, article by, noted, 70
 Lane, Mrs. Charles, donor, 294
 Lane, Donald Joseph, Lindsey, 559
 Lane, James H., 273, 274, 277, 409, 610
 —at 1855 Free-State convention, 207
 —biographical sketch noted, 616
 —described, 199, 274
 —Free-State militia leader, 171, 172
 —Leavenworth lecture, 1862, noted, 362
 Lane, Juleta, marriage, noted, 466
 Lane county, articles on, noted, 229
 Lane County Historical Society, 1954 meeting, note on, 230
 —1955 meetings, notes on, 398, 492
 Lane University, Lecompton, article on, noted, 142
 Lanear, Catharine, of Missouri, marriage, noted, 474
 Lange, Rev. F. W., Lutheran missionary, 494
 Langsdorf, Edgar, 301
 Langworthy, —, 170
 Lanier, Mrs. Sam, Haviland, talk by, noted, 317
 Lanionville, Allen co., 242
 Lanter, John T., marriage, noted, 466
 Lanyon, Robert, zinc smelters, Iola, —photographs, facing 240
 Lappin, Samuel, marriage, noted, 466
 —state treasurer, 413, 427, 431, 432
 Large, Sarah E., marriage, noted, 453
 Larimer, Annie E., marriage, noted, 464
 Larimer, Mrs. Sarah Luse, book by, notes on, 248, 250, 254, 255
 —Indian captive, account of, 247-256
 —photograph, facing 248
 Larimer, Gen. William, 464
 Larimer, William J., lawyer, 256
 —and emigrant party, attacked by Indians, 248, 249
 —and family, in Wyoming, 253
 Larimer vs. Kelly, case file microfilmed, noted, 54
 Larimore, W. H., 626
 Larkin, Mrs. Harriet, marriage, noted, 454
 Larson, Lucile, 76
 Larzalere, William P., marriage, noted, 466
 Lasher, William H., marriage, noted, 466
 Lasseur (Lussier), P., paintings by, noted, 14n
 Lattin, Helen F., marriage, noted, 465
 Lawhorn, John D., marriage, noted, 466
 Lawrence, Amos A., articles on, noted, 74, 75
 —Emigrant Aid Co. leader, 3
 —gift to Free-State prisoners, noted, 172
 Lawrence, article on, noted, 74, 229
 —brick kiln, 1855, 114
 —centennial celebration, note on, 5
 —Deitzler and Shimmions saw-mill, 110, 111
 —emergency housing, 1854, article by James C. Malin, 34, 49
 —Emigrant Aid Co. hotel, 1855, 109
 —history, by Allen Crafton, note on, 147
 —Hunt mill, 111
 —Meeting House, notes on, 42, 43, 47
 —pen sketches by J. E. Rice, between 48, 49
 —Pioneer Boarding House, notes on, 42, 43
 —articles on, noted, 313, 646
 —Quattrill's raid, 353
 —sawmills, 1854-1855, notes on, 42-46
 —settlement of, 1854, 34, 41
 —sketch of, 1856, facing 112
 —Smith, Green & Co., 111
 —view of [1860], facing 80
 —views, 1867, between 112, 113
 Lawrence Building Assn., 119
 "Lawrence Community, 1855, Housing Experiments in the," article by J. C. Malin, 95, 121
 Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, 147, 229
 Lawrence Historical Society, 1954 meeting, note on, 149
 Lawrence *Outlook*, 231
 Lawrence *Republican*, note on file of, 354
 Lawrence (Town) Assn., 1854 activities of, 37-40
 Lay, John K., Jr., article by, noted, 72
 Leach, Col. D. S., Platte co., Mo., 471
 Leach, Sarah E. A., Platte co., Mo., marriage, noted, 471

- Leachman, Tillie, Platte co., Mo., marriage, noted 448
 League of Kansas Municipalities 496
 Leard, Rev. J. W. 477
 Learned, Lizzie, marriage, noted 470
 Leavenworth, centennial celebration, note on 5
 —Cincinnati houses in 113
 —1860, drawing of *facing* 201
 —Fifth Street, photograph, 1857, *facing* 152
 —Front Street, 1856, drawing of, *facing* 200
 —German organizations in, noted, 359, 360
 —historical booklet, note on 152
 —Planters' House, article on, noted 142
 Leavenworth Constitutional Convention, proceedings, note on 354
 Leavenworth County Historical Society, 1954 meeting, note on 318
 —1955 meeting, note on 399
 Leavenworth *Herald* 106
 Leavenworth Literary Assn. 359, 360
 Leavenworth Lyceum, 1857 357, 358
 Leavenworth Mercantile Library Assn., history of 356-365
 Lecompte, Samuel D. 167, 981
 —defense of, note on 197
 Lecompton, Free-State prisoners held at 166-172
 Lecompton constitution movement 210
 LeDuc, Thomas, Oberlin, Ohio 647
 Lee, Catherine, marriage, noted 486
 Lee, Mrs. Thomas A., donor 297
 Lees, Ellen, talk by, noted 399
 Legate, James F. 353
 Legg, Mrs. Anna M., marriage, noted 485
 Lehigh Portland Cement Co., Iola 245
 Leighty, Mrs. Belle, Chanute 79
 —donor 297
 Leis, George and Lillian (Ross), photographs given Historical Society 292
 Leis, Tracy F., donor 292
 Leland, Millie, marriage, noted 472
 Lenexa, fire dept., article on, noted 565
 Lennen, O. L., Ness City 494
 —article by, noted 77
 —recollections, noted 145
 Lenoir, Dr. Walter T., marriage, noted, 466
 Leonard, A. Byron, co-author of work on Kansas geology 637
 Leonard, Elizabeth Jane and J. C. Goodman, *Buffalo Bill*
 by, note on 648
 Leonard, J. F. R., Bazaar 466
 Leonard, Lot, marriage, noted 466
 Leonard, Dr. M. J. F., Louisville, Ky., marriage, noted 466
 LeRoy Reporter 146
 Lester, Edmond, marriage, noted 466
 Leu, Jacob, marriage, noted 466
 Leu, Louise, marriage, noted 454
 Levermore, William, marriage, noted 466
 LeViness, W. Thetford, article by, noted, 145
 Lewelling, Lorenzo Dow, article on, noted 313
 Lewis, D. T., Breckinridge co. 470
 Lewis, Eliphalet, marriage, noted 466
 Lewis, Dr. Isaiah M., marriage, noted 466
 Lewis, John H., marriage, noted 466
 Lewis, Mary, marriage, noted 470
 Lewis, Meriwether 80
 Lewis, Mrs. O. D., Shawnee, Okla. 230
 Lewis, Sterling, marriage, noted 466
 Lewis and Clark, maps, notes on 402-405
 —journals, edited by B. DeVoto, note on 80
 Liberty (Mo.) *Weekly Tribune*, microfilmed 55
 Lieske, H. William, pamphlet by, noted 496
 Ligon, Mrs. A. N., Pittsburg 76
 Likins, Maria, Franklin, marriage, noted 449
 Lillard, Thomas M., Topeka 63, 66
 —on Historical Society executive committee 50, 62, 288
 Liljeston, W. F., Wichita 64, 66, 307
 Lillie, Maj. Gordon W., article on, noted 70
 Limper, Louis H., Manhattan 648
 Lincoln, Abraham, bibliography, by J. Monaghan, noted 257
 —Gardner photograph of *facing* 232
 —in Kansas, articles on, noted 397, 488
 —photographic studies of, discussed 18n
 Lincoln College, Topeka, records, microfilmed 54
 Lincoln county, Hammer cemetery area, article on, noted 227
 Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican* 227
 Linden, A. L. 230
 Lindquist, Emory K., Wichita 66, 307
 —donor 52
 —note on 497n
 —Olsson letters trans. and ed. by, 497-512
 Lindsborg, books and pictures of, given Historical Society 52
 —first church, etching *facing* 505
 —main street, 1870's, photograph, *facing* 504
 —Swedish settlement of 497
 Lindsey, Ottawa co., article by T. H. Scheffer on 552-559
 —C. E. Hollingsworth's sketch of, *between* 552, 553
 —dead town 68
 Lines, C. B., Wabunsee 481
 Lines, Cornelia M., marriage, noted 481
 Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison 65
 306, 308
 Link, Adam R., marriage, noted 466
 Linn, James M., marriage, noted 467
 Linn, Sarah Frances, Sangamon co., Ill., marriage, noted 467
 Litch, Mary, marriage, noted 447
 Literary and Scientific Club of Lawrence 343
 Livermore, Eugenia Melinda, marriage, noted 474
 Livermore, William, marriage, noted 467
 Livingston, Mrs. Ray, Dickinson co. 317
 —article by, noted 316
 Lloyd, A. J., marriage, noted 467
 Lloyd, S. W., marriage, noted 467
 Lobingier, Mary Catherine, marriage, noted 459
 Lock, John, Wallace 494
 Lockerman, Nicholas, marriage, noted 467
 Loeb, Bernhard, marriage, noted 467
 Log Cabin Memorial by H. W. Lieske, note on 496
 Log cabins, 1850's, notes on 100, 101
 104-106
 Logan, Dr. C. A., Leavenworth 361
 362, 368
 Logan, Herschel C., *Buckskin and Satin* by, note on 320
 Lone Elm camping ground, article on, noted 565
 Long, David, marriage, noted 467
 Long, Mrs. M. A., marriage, noted 460
 Long, Dr. Margaret, Denver, books by, noted 320
 Long, Richard M., Wichita 65, 306
 308, 492
 —articles by, noted 396
 Long, Vivian Aten, article by, noted 397
 Long, Rev. W. R. 470
 Longley, Angie R., marriage, noted 446
 Longren, A. K., papers, given Historical Society 52
 Longren, E. J., donor 52

- Longstreet, Maj. James, on Santa Fe trail, 1859 580
 Longton, history, article on, noted 488
Longton News-Reflector 488
 Lorant, Stefan, work on Lincoln photographs discussed 18n, 22
 Lord, Harriet C., marriage, noted 446
 Lorson, Elizabeth, article by, noted 72
 Lorry, Elizabeth, New York 33n
 Lose, Harry F., Topeka 64, 66, 307
 Lotteries 365
 Loughborough, James M., St. Louis, Mo., marriage, noted 467
 Love, Ruth E., article by, noted 229
 Lovejoy, Rev. Charles H., Lawrence 447
 480, 484
 Lovejoy, Charles Julius, marriage, noted 467
 Lovejoy, Juliet L., marriage, noted 484
 Lovell, Mary Jane, marriage, noted 477
 Lowenthal, David, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 647
 Lowman, E. S. 343
 Lowther, E. T., article by, noted 396
 Lucas, John, Wallace 494
 Lucas, banks, article on, noted 148
 Luce, B. T., marriage, noted 467
 Luce, Robert M., marriage, noted 467
 Luebckermann, Rev. A., Sedgwick co. 142
 Luedeman, Doretha, marriage, noted 451
 Lum, Rev. S. Y., frame house of, 1854, notes on 43
 —marriages performed by, noted 447, 454
 457, 461, 464, 470, 476
 478, 483, 485, 486
 Lundy, Paschal F., marriage, noted 467
 Luse, Jonathan E. 255
 Lusk, J. H., articles by, noted 73
 Lusk, William H., Jefferson, Mo., marriage, noted 467
 Luther, Mary, Kingston, N. Y., marriage, noted 446
 Lutheran Layman's League, Kansas District 495
 Lutheran memorial, Geary co., notes on 494, 496
 Lykins, David 339, 340
 Lyle, James M., marriage, noted 467
 Lyle, Lavinia, marriage, noted 471
 Lymond, James, marriage, noted 467
 Lynam, Mrs. O. W., Hodgeman co. 78, 317
 Lynch, John D., lynched 396
 Lynching, 1872, article on, noted 396
 Lyon, Charles C., marriage, noted 467
 Lyon, Capt. Nathaniel, J. S. Kirwan's reminiscences of 584, 585
 Lyon, Sarah Ann, marriage, noted 468
 Lyon county, Dow creek community, articles on, noted 230, 567
 —tombstone inscriptions, note on 52
 Lyon County Historical Society, 1953 meeting, note on 78, 79
 —1954 meeting, note on 230
 —1955 meeting, note on 398
 Lyona Methodist church, Dickinson co., history, noted 72
 Lysle, James C., donor 294
- M
- McAfee, Rev. Josiah B. 477
 McAffrey, Mary Ann, marriage, noted 465
 McAnulty, Rev. J. C. 462
 MacArthur, Mrs. Vernon E., Hutchinson 65, 306, 308
 McBratney, Robert, marriage, noted 467
 McBride, Earl, Lakeland, Fla., donor 54
 McBride, John, Phillips co. 569
 McCain, James A., Manhattan 306, 308
 McCamish, Richard, marriage, noted 467
 McCamish, William H., talk by, noted 399
 McCampbell, Dr. C. W., Manhattan 77
 McCanlis, Mary Jane, marriage, noted 473
 McCarter, Charles N., Wichita 398
 McCartney, Mrs. Elmira, marriage, noted 447
 McCarty, Mrs. C., marriage, noted 453
 McCarty, H. D. 414
 McCarty, Sarah, marriage, noted 477
 McCasland, Mrs. Charles 78
 McClellan, John A., marriage, noted 468
 McClelland, Mary A., marriage, noted 452
 McClenning, John N., marriage, noted 468
 McClenning, Ruth A., marriage, noted 446
 McCleny, —, Jefferson co. 479
 McClintock, Cynthia A., marriage, noted 479
 McClintock, James, marriage, noted 468
 McClure, Anna, Cass co., Ill., marriage, noted 460
 McClure, James R. 91
 McClure, William H., Iola 239
 McCollum, Rev. W. A. 472
 McCombs, Hannah, marriage, noted 477
 McCombs, John, marriage, noted 468
 McConnell, Alfred, marriage, noted 468
 McConnell, Hiram, Neosho Falls 465
 McConnell, Mary E., marriage, noted 465
 McCook, Judge Daniel, marriage, noted 468
 McCormick, Frances Jane, marriage, noted 478
 McCormick, John, marriage, noted 468
 McCormick, Julia A., marriage, noted 476
 McCoun, Amelia, marriage, noted 463
 McCray, Dr. Walter, article on, noted 313
 McCreath, Mrs. David, Lawrence 79
 McCrum, Mrs. Douglas I., Fort Scott 79
 McDannald, Mary J., Natchez, Miss., marriage, noted 466
 McDonald, Benjamin F., marriage, noted 468
 McDonald, F. M., marriage, noted 468
 McDonald, Forrest, Madison, Wis. 459, 471
 McDow, Rev. William C. 459, 471
 476, 482
 McDowell, James L., Leavenworth 343, 359
 McDowell, William C., Leavenworth 360
 McElroy, Mrs. Louise, teacher 230
 McEwen, Owen C., Wichita 149, 492
 McFarland, Helen M., Topeka 65, 301
 306, 308
 —librarian, Historical Society 122, 379
 McGee, Susan, marriage, noted 452
 McGinness, William E., marriage, noted 468
 McGrath, Mollie A., marriage, noted 480
 McGuire, May J., column by, noted 78
 McIntosh, Lt. James M. 578
 McIntyre, Christina, marriage, noted 483
 McIntyre, William E., journal of, noted 145
 Mack, Hattie, donor 300
 Mack, John, marriage, noted 468
 McKain, Rev. C. C. 473, 478
 McKay, Donald, journal, 1870, micro-filmed 295
 McKay, Mrs. James B., El Dorado 79, 398
 McKee, Hugh, surveyor 1860's 573
 McKeen, Walter 91
 McKelvy, Susan, marriage, noted 479
 Mackenzie, George, Minneapolis 552
 McKinney, —, Leocompton 452
 McKinney, Harriet, marriage, noted 457
 McKinney, Juliette, marriage, noted 470
 McKinney, Polly Jane, marriage, noted 474
 McLane, T. A., marriage, noted 468
 McLaughlin, Levi, Sedgwick co. pioneer 71
 McLaughlin, T. J. (Wad), Clearwater reminiscences of, noted 71
 McLellan, Charlotte, Topeka, donor 294
 —Potwin history by, noted 70, 228
 316, 646
 McMahan, William, Le Roy 462

- McMillion, Ruth, articles by,
noted 143, 314
- McNair, Mrs. John, Jetmore, donor... 54
- McNamara, John, book by, note on... 186
- McNett, Samuel, marriage, noted... 468
- McPherson, John Bayard, monument,
note on 261
- McPherson county, Swedish settlement
of 497-512
- McReynolds, John, marriage, noted... 468
- McVey, William D., talk by, noted... 72
- McVicar, Peter 369
- McWilliams, Jim B., Great Bend,
donor 297
- Macy, Dr. H. F., marriage, noted... 468
- Madigan, Frank, Wallace... 494
- Madison county, article on, noted... 141
- Madson, Frank, Jr., articles by,
noted 229, 314
- Maguire, Ellen, article by, noted... 566
- Mahannah, Mrs. J. E., Augusta... 149, 492
- Maherville, Barton co., note on... 314
- Mahew, Alexander E., Atchison... 471
- Mahon, Mrs. Sarah A., Johnson co.,
marriage, noted 449
- Majors, Alexander, Westport, Mo., mar-
riage, noted 468
- Makee (McKee?), Harry, Lindsey, 553, 557
- Malin, James C., Lawrence 63, 64
66, 307, 647
- articles by, noted 68
- award to, note on 305
- The Contriving Brain and the Skill-
ful Hand* by, note on 648
- “Emergency Housing at Lawrence,
1854,” article by 34-49
- essay by, noted 495
- “Housing Experiments in the Law-
rence Community, 1855,” article
by 95-121
- John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-
six* by, note on 6
- The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854*
by, notes on 6, 80, 143
- “Notes on the Writing of General
Histories of Kansas,” articles
by 184-223, 264-287
331-378, 407-444, 598-643
- on *Annals* committee... 57
- On the Nature of History* by, note
on 400
- works by, noted 638n, 639
- Mallory, Anson H. 455, 468
- Malm, G. N., etching by, repro-
duced facing 505
- Malone, James 62, 63, 65, 305-308
- Malone, Mrs. Kate C., marriage, noted, 474
- Maloney, Rev. Patrick... 228
- Maloy, Barbara, marriage, noted... 457
- Maloy, John, Council Grove... 567
- Mandell, C. L., marriage, noted... 468
- Manhattan, articles on, noted... 565
- Bluemont Hill, historical marker on,
noted 492
- centennial, article on, noted... 491
- committee, work of, noted... 492
- First Methodist church, history, note
on 648
- history, note on 146
- Manhattan Chamber of Commerce... 493
- Manhattan *Mercury* 493, 567
- centennial edition, 1955, noted... 565
- Manhattan *Tribune-News* 646
- Mann, H. A., Woodson co., article by,
noted 144
- Manoge, Margy, marriage, noted... 459
- Manor, James A., marriage, noted... 468
- Mansfield, William M., Council Grove, 484
- Manson, Dr. —, Coffey co. 478
- Mantor, S. J., Hartford... 446
- Maps, 1795-1810, notes on 401-406
- Maranville, Lea, Ness City 66, 307
- donor 294
- Marcell, Clifford E., Minneapolis,
Minn., donor 294, 297
- Marets, Sallie, marriage, noted... 475
- Margrave, William, Bourbon co. 461
- Mariadahl settlement 509
- Marion, William J., marriage, noted... 468
- Marion, Kiwanis Club history project,
notes on 77
- Marion county, historical museum,
note on 318
- Marion County Historical Museum
Committee, notes on 77
- Markham, Dr. W. C., Baldwin... 151
- Marlatt, Mrs. F. A., Manhattan... 77
- Marlow, Enoch, marriage, noted... 469
- Maroney, Richard, of Missouri,
marriage, noted 469
- “Marriage Notices From Kansas Terri-
torial Newspapers, 1854-1861,” com-
piled by Alberta Pantle 445-486
- Marriages, and births, newspaper
items on 644, 645
- Marsh, Edward S., Brandon, Vt., work
on S. A. Douglas, noted 27
- Marshall, Mrs. George, Basehor... 79, 398
- Marshall county, articles on, noted, 226, 229
- Swedish colony, article on, noted... 316
- Marshall County News*, Marysville,
centennial edition, noted 229
- Martin, Rev. —, Leavenworth... 450
- Martin, Caroline, Sanford, Mass.,
marriage, noted 463
- Martin, Charles, Holt co., Mo.,
marriage, noted 469
- Martin, Ellen Esther, marriage, noted... 478
- Martin, Mrs. Eunice, Douglass... 568
- Martin, George Washington... 354, 429
430, 442
- photograph facing 433
- Wilder’s *Annals* printed by 423
425-428
- Martin, Henry, commissioner, Ottawa
co. 552
- Martin, J. Alex, article by, noted... 396
- Martin, Dr. James F., marriage, noted, 469
- Martin, Jennie, article by, noted... 396
- Martin, John, marriage, noted... 469
- Martin, John A., Atchison... 411, 414, 416
420, 426, 438, 441, 442, 629
- Martin, Mrs. K. M., Hoyt, donor... 54
- Martin, Lattia C., Hannibal, Mo.,
marriage, noted 474
- Martin, Leander, marriage, noted... 469
- Martin, Lizzie, marriage, noted... 445
- Martin, Mack C., marriage, noted... 469
- Martin, Mary Anne, marriage, noted... 471
- Martin, O. E., Lindsey... 554
- Martin, Walter, Douglass... 230, 568
- Martin, Dr. William D., marriage,
noted 469
- Mary Mark, Sister, donor... 294
- Marysville, articles on, noted... 229, 395
- centennial celebration, note on... 5
- Marysville *Advocate* 395
- centennial edition, noted... 229
- Marysville and Elwood railroad... 157
- Mason, J. B., and C. B. Boynton... 104, 106
- Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Co.,
publications by, noted 185
- Mathews, J. W., marriage, noted... 469
- Mathewson, William (Buffalo Bill),
monument to, advocated 142
- Mathias, William G., marriage, noted... 469
- Matney, Letitia, marriage, noted... 462
- Mattes, Merrill J., introduction to I. S.
Kirwan reminiscences by 569-576
- Kansas historic sites inspection trip
by, noted 647
- note on 569n
- Mauck, Ferdinand, marriage, noted... 469

- Mavis, G. W., marriage, noted 469
 Mavity, William, marriage, noted 469
 Maxfield, D. H., Wellington, murdered, 396
 Maxton, Frank, Columbus 74
 Maxton, Mrs. Rosie Clem, booklet by, noted 74
 Maybury, Lucy F., Dighton, Mass., marriage, noted 478
 Mayer, Louis, marriage, noted 469
 Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander, Topeka 64, 66, 307
 Mayo, Rev. Warren 474
 Mead, A. J., 1855 pioneer 146
 Meade, George W., of Virginia, marriage, noted 469
 Meadows, Rev. Calvin 449
 Meadows, John, marriage, noted 469
 Means, Hugh, Lawrence 66, 307
 Mecham, James, marriage, noted 469
 Mechem, Kirke, Lindsborg 65, 304
 306, 308
 —*Annals of Kansas* editor 57, 305
Medical Herald, Leavenworth, note on, 368
 Medicine Lodge Cresset, microfilmed . 295
 Meek, Frederick, geologist 334
 Mekeel, Margaret, marriage, noted . . . 463
 Melrose, Allen co. 242
 Mendenhall, Richard, 1854 letter, quoted 106
 —interest in Kansas geology, noted . 367
 Menger, Henriette, marriage, noted . . . 474
 Menninger, Dr. Karl A., Topeka 307
 —donor 54, 294
 Merchant, Nelson 459
 Merkle, John, marriage, noted 469
 Merriam, fire dept., article on, noted . 565
 —post office, article on, noted . . . 565
 Merrill, Lt. Lewis, in Kansas, 1860 . . . 585
 Merrill, O. N., *True History of the Kansas Wars* by, note on 186
 Merryman, Joseph, marriage, noted . . . 469
 Meserve, F. H. 22, 25-29, 33n
 —work on Lincoln photographs discussed 18n
Messiah, Lindsborg 497, 506n
 Metcalf, Annie L., marriage, noted . . . 456
 Metz, Charles, article on, noted 71
 Meyer, Rev. W. H., Topeka 494
 Meyers, Mrs. Harry, Johnson co. 317
 Miami county, articles on, noted 73, 143
 —oil prospecting in 234
Mid-America, article in, noted 315
 Middlekauff, Dr. J. H., article on, noted 69
 Middleton, Duff E. and R. R. Jones, song by, noted 292
 Middleton, E. C., Cincinnati, Ohio 25
 Miede, Jean Baptiste 455, 465
 —among the Indians 81-86
 —school named for 397
 Milburn, Rev. William H., S. A. Douglas described by 11
 Mill creek 405
 Millbrook, Minnie Dubbs, articles by, noted 491
 —Ness county history by, note on . . 495
 Miller, A. O., Sr., biography of, note on, 649
 Miller, Asa K., St. Joseph, Mo., marriage, noted 469
 Miller, Bill, Olathe, article by, noted . . 567
 Miller, Clyde W., Mahaska, donor 54
 Miller, George M., Chase co. 76, 231, 398
 Miller, J., Lawrence, justice of the peace 483
 Miller, J. C., Topeka 457, 481
 Miller, Jane, Chase co., marriage, noted, 460
 Miller, Rev. John F., marriage, noted . . . 470
 Miller, Josiah, Lawrence, editor 40
 96-98, 103, 109, 209, 210
 343, 346, 347, 366, 425
 Miller, Judge Karl, Dodge City 64, 66, 78
 230, 307
 Miller, Mrs. Leonard, Edwards co. 493
 Miller, Lizzie Watkins, Weston, Mo., marriage, noted 469
 Miller, Nancy A., marriage, noted 462
 Miller, Nyle H., secretary, Historical Society 63, 65
 —report, 1952-1953 50-60
 —1953-1954 288-301
 —talks by, noted 318, 494
 Miller, Sarah J., marriage, noted 462
 Miller, Sol. 420, 429, 430, 438
 442, 623n, 624, 636
 Miller, William H., Parkville, Mo., marriage, noted 470
 Millspaw, Rosa, marriage, noted 468
 Milton, George Fort, book on S. A. Douglas by, noted 6, 14-17, 24, 25
 Mineral Well Park, Allen co., note on 237, 239
 Minneapolis, Ottawa county seat 552, 554, 557
 contender 552
 Minneapolis *Independent* 552
 Minneapolis *Messenger* 68, 646
 Minnesota Historical Society 495
 Minnich, Eva, Wichita 492
 Minter, Ann Elizabeth, marriage, noted, 448
 Mission, fire depts., article on, noted . . 565
Missouri Historical Review, articles in, noted 144
 Missouri Pacific railroad, A. B. Sageser's article on 326-330
 —article on history of, noted 314
 —in Kansas, 1883, map facing 328
 Missouri Valley railroad, 1867 164
 Missourians, on Stranger creek, 1856 171, 172
 Mitchell, Col. A. M., St. Joseph, Mo., marriage, noted 470
 Mitchell, Elvira, marriage, noted 456
 Mitchell, Brig. Gen. Robert B., 1865 order by, quoted 573, 574
 Mitchell, William I., bequest by 63, 301
 —Wabaunsee co. pioneer 63
 Mitchell county, history, articles on, noted 73, 152
 Moberly, F. H., Wilmore 78, 318
 Mobly, C. R. 91
 Mockbee, Jennie, Westport, Mo., marriage, noted 449
Modern Light, The, Columbus 228
 315, 316
 Modern Woodmen of America, Log Rolling, 1898, note on 241
 Moffette, Joseph F., *The Territories of Kansas and Nebraska* by, noted, 185, 186
 Mohler, Alice L., article by, noted 491
 Moletor, Beulah 493
 Molke, Paul, marriage, noted 470
 Monaghan, Jay, *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865* by, note on . . 648
 —*Lincoln Bibliography* by, noted . . . 257
 Monahan, Deane, *See* Steele, James W.
 Monka, Linn co., note on 202
 Monroe, Mrs. Polly M., marriage, noted, 462
 Montfort, Rev. F. P. 452, 454, 463, 466
 Montgomery, James 277
 Montgomery, W. H., Salina 64, 66
 —death, noted 288
 Montgomery, Col. William R. 321
 commanding officer at Fort Riley . . 395
 Montgomery county, article on, noted . . 142
 —county-seat fight, article on, noted . 142
 Moody, Clarence W., Ottawa, reminiscences, noted 397
 Moody, Mrs. Mary, marriage, noted . . . 449
 Moomaw, Minnie 230
 Moon, Silas, marriage, noted 470
 Moore, Mrs. C. A. 79, 398
 Moore, Ellen R., marriage, noted 447
 Moore, Rev. H. H., Lawrence 446, 448
 459, 470, 473, 482

- Moore, H. Miles 623n, 636
—marriage, noted 470
Moore, Henry J., marriage, noted 470
Moore, J. P., marriage, noted 470
Moore, Rev. John E. 450, 457, 467, 474
Moore, Rev. John M., Topeka 471
Moore, Lizzie, marriage, noted 484
Moore, Maggie, marriage, noted 463
Moore, Mahlon K., marriage, noted 462
Moore, Marinda Jane, marriage, noted 462
Moore, Robert M., marriage, noted 470
Moore, Russell, Wichita 64, 66, 307
Moore, Tillie, marriage, noted 461
Moore, William S., marriage, noted 470
Moore, William T. 78
Moravian mission, Leavenworth co., marriages at, noted 454, 459, 470, 485
More, John, marriage, noted 470
Morehead, Mary A., marriage, noted 461
Morgan, J. F., Sheridan co. history by, noted 70
Morgan, Mrs. Matilda, marriage, noted 482
Morlacchi, Mlle. Guiseppina, biography of, noted 320
Morphy, Merlin, article by, noted 68
Morphy, W. N., Hays City 564
Merrill Free Public Library Hiawatha, donor 294, 297
Morris, Catherine, marriage, noted 471
Morris, David T., marriage, noted 470
Morris, Robert, marriage, noted 470
Morris, Warren, Lyon co. 79, 398
Morris county, Clark's creek settlement, article on, noted 144
—pioneer records, note on 292
Morrison, John, marriage, noted 470
Morse, Rev. G. C., Emporia 457, 458, 462, 470, 473-475, 482, 483
Morse, Mrs. John, Mound City 79
Morton, Warren P., Coldwater 78, 318
Moses, Mrs. Earl C., Great Bend 79
—talk by, noted 398
Mosher, Orville W. 78, 398
Mott, John 168, 170
Mott, John, Jr. 168
Motz, Frank, Hays 64, 66, 307
Mount Mitchell, Wabaunsee co., bequeathed to Historical Society 63, 301
Mount Oread, *The Years on*, by Dr. Robert Taft, note on 496
Mountain lion, in Ellis co. 69
Mowry, Rev. R. 456
Moys, William, marriage, noted 470
Mudeater, Susannah, marriage, noted 448
Mudge, Benjamin Franklin, geologist 368, 422
—note on 68
Mueller, Frederick, marriage, noted 470
Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita 65, 306, 308
Muir, James, marriage, noted 470
Mull, Mrs. R. G., Sr. 230
Mullen, Mrs. E. H. 489
Mullinville, new church, article on, noted 147
Mulvane *News*, 1954 special edition, noted 229
Muncy, Milton M., marriage, noted 471
Munger, Charles W., donor 294
Munkres, Mary C., marriage, noted 479
Munsell, Mrs. Lelia, Herington 398
—articles by, noted 145, 313
Murphy, Franklin D., Lawrence 65, 306, 308
Murphy, H., Glenwood, Iowa, marriage, noted 471
Murphy, Mary Ann, St. Louis, Mo., marriage, noted 463
Murphy, Paul, article by, noted 227
Murphy, William E., Leavenworth 477
Musgrave, Mrs. A. W. 292
Music, Kansas, given Historical Society, 292
Myers, Andalusia W., Princeton, Mo., marriage, noted 482
Myers, Andrew J., Ford co. 491
Myers, Ellery A., article by, noted 646
Myers, Henry, marriage, noted 471
Myers, John, Leavenworth, marriage, noted 471
Myers, John Myers, *Doc Holiday* by, note on 400
Myers, Letitia E., marriage, noted 451
Myers, Mary, Lyon co., marriage, noted 473
Myers, Mrs. Mary B., marriage, noted 457
- ### N
- Nace, William M., marriage, noted 471
Names, geographical, Kansas river tributaries, article on 401-406
Nance, Anna M., marriage, noted 457
Nance, Ward D., donor 54
Nathan, Leonard, *A Wind Like a Bugle* by, noted 232
Nation, Mrs. Carry A., notes on 52, 182n
National cemetery, Fort Scott, article on, noted 491
Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas, 1954 meeting, note on 79
—1955 meeting, note on 398
Natoma-Luray *Independent* 148
Natural gas, in Kansas, Angelo Scott's article on 233-246
Navarre, Anthony, Rossville on land of 488
Neal, Clem, marriage, noted 471
Nealley, D. H., marriage, noted 471
Nebraska History, J. C. Malin articles in, noted 68, 143
Nebraska *Question*, *The*, by Dr. J. C. Malin, notes on 80, 143
Nebraska State Historical Society, joint meeting with Kansas society 289
Neet, George W., marriage, noted 471
Neibarger, Clyde B., article by, noted 313
Nellis, D. C., Hays history by, noted 566, 567
Nelson, Peter, marriage, noted 471
Nemaha County *Journal-Leader*, Centralia 395
Neosho Rapids, Free-State raid in, article on, noted 489
Neosho river, bridge, near Oswego, article on, noted 565
Neosho Valley *Register*, Iola 236, 240
—microfilmed 55
Nesbitt, Dorcas, Weedsport, N. Y., marriage, noted 477
Ness City *News* 77
Ness county, articles on, noted 491, 566
—Carver monument inscription 77
—75th anniversary celebration, noted 494
Ness County Historical Society, officers, 1953-1954 76
—work of, noted 76
Ness County *News*, *The*, Ness City 566
Ness Western County *Kansas*, by Mrs. M. D. Millbrook, note on 495
Nevill, Rev. G. W. 467
Nevins, Allan, address by, noted 4, 150
—article on S. A. Douglas by, noted 25
—books by, noted 6, 22
New England Emigrant Aid Company 3, 108
—S. A. Johnson's book on, noted 319
New England Society of Kansas, note on 342
New Jersey Zinc Co., Iola 245
New York *Times Magazine* 395
Newby, Capt. Edward W. B. 578
Newland, Mrs. C. A., marriage, noted 479
Newlin, James, Emporia 473
Newman, Rev. James, Hutchinson 314
Newspapers, Kansas, article on, noted 70
—of Kansas territory, notes on 345

Nichols, Alice, *Bleeding Kansas* by, note on . . . 152
 —review of her *Bleeding Kansas* noted . . . 145, 146
 Nichols, Mrs. C. I. H. . . . 96, 102
 —data from 1854 letters of . . . 42, 46
 Nichols, Dr. Foy F., of Pennsylvania, speech by, noted . . . 289
 Nichols, Hannah A., Twinsburg, Ohio, marriage, noted . . . 474
 Nichols, J., & Co., Topeka . . . 275, 283, 284
 Nichols, Roy F., address by, noted . . . 5
 —books by, noted . . . 6, 639
 —*The Disruption of American Democracy* by, note on . . . 376
 Nichols, William G., marriage, noted . . . 471
 Nicholson, C. C., article by, noted . . . 646
 Nicholson, Georgia, donor . . . 300
 Nickerson, —, Leavenworth . . . 450
 Nickles, Elizabeth, marriage, noted . . . 483
 Nicodemus, articles on, noted, 69, 71, . . . 567
 Nixon, Allen, donor . . . 300
 Nolen, Martha E., marriage, noted . . . 465
 Noll, Keith, article by, noted . . . 491
 Nonchalanta, articles on, noted . . . 145
 Norman, James, marriage, noted . . . 471
 Norris, Cleo, Dodge City . . . 398
 Norris, Guy B., Finney co. . . . 399
 North Topeka Times, microfilmed . . . 296
 Northeast Kansas Historical Society, 1955 meeting, note on . . . 398
 Northern, Mary L., marriage, noted . . . 455
 Northern, S. E., marriage, noted . . . 469
 Northrop, Rev. G. S. . . . 483
 Northwest company, Russell co., records, microfilmed . . . 295
 Northwest Kansas Historical Society, organization, note on . . . 493
 Norton, Rev. —, Bloomington . . . 485
 Norton, Charlotte, marriage, noted . . . 464
 Norton, Gus S., Kalvesta, 66, 307, 399, . . . 492
 Norton, Mary, marriage, noted . . . 457
 Norton, Mary E., marriage, noted . . . 476
 Norton, Minnie, Chase co. . . . 76, 231
 Norton, articles on, noted . . . 490
 Norton Daily Telegram, progress edition, 1955, noted . . . 490
 Nortonville News . . . 395
 Nossaman, Mrs. Jessie, article by, noted . . . 144
 Nott, Mary, marriage, noted . . . 468
 Nugent, Jane, marriage, noted . . . 446
 Nunemacher, Mrs. W. R. . . . 78
 Nute, Rev. Ephraim, Lawrence . . . 170, 343
 —marriages performed by, noted . . . 449, 451
 459-461, 466, 467, 472, 475, 478-486
 Nute, Rev. Ephraim, Jr. . . . 465
 Nutt, Owen, marriage, noted . . . 471
 Nyquist, Floyd Wendell, articles by, noted . . . 315, 490
 Nystrom, R. G., letter by, noted . . . 396
 Nytt Och Gammalt, Salina, note on . . . 509n

O

Oakley, Walter, marriage, noted . . . 471
 Oberlin, First Presbyterian church, article on, noted . . . 397
 —Kirwin land office, removed to . . . 570
 O'Brien, Ellen, marriage, noted . . . 453
 O'Brien, Enoch, Montgomery co., diary, note on . . . 294
 Ochs, F. E. . . . 78
 Ockleston, Sgt. —, in Kansas, 1860, . . . 586
 O'Connell, Wayne A., articles by, noted . . . 74, 141, 488
 O'Dell, Arlene, article by, noted . . . 144
 Oesterreich, B. H., Woodbine . . . 77, 317
 —article by, noted . . . 145
 Oesterreich, Herman, Dickinson co., pioneer . . . 145
 Offen, Charlotte, article by, noted . . . 396

Offerle, Harry . . . 493
 Offutt, William L., marriage, noted . . . 471
 Ogden, —, Douglas co., pioneer . . . 105
 Ogden, Miss —, marriage, 1860, noted . . . 468
 Ogden, George, of Missouri, marriage, noted . . . 471
 Ogden, centennial celebration, note on . . . 5
 Oil, Russell area, article on, noted . . . 68
 Oil discovery, Russell co., plaque commemorating, notes on . . . 50, 68
 Oil field, Humboldt area . . . 243, 244
 Olathe, churches, articles on, noted . . . 567
 —Old Settlers' reunion, 1954, note on . . . 231
 Olathe Mirror, microfilmed . . . 55
 Olathe Weekly Herald, microfilmed . . . 55
 Old settlers' organizations, 1870's, notes on . . . 409, 410
 O'Leary, Theodore M., book review by, noted . . . 227
 Oliphant, S. H., Easton . . . 450
 Oliver, Mrs. Emeline, marriage, noted . . . 474
 Oliver, James H., DeKalb, Mo., marriage, noted . . . 471
 Oliver, Mary, marriage, noted . . . 481
 Oliver, Mordecai, congressman . . . 186
 —minority report, 1856, noted . . . 188-190
 Oliver, William H., marriage, noted . . . 471
 Olney, C. C., Lindsey . . . 554
 O'Loughlin, Mrs. J. H., story on Hays, noted . . . 69
 Olson, James C., History of Nebraska, note on . . . 400
 Olson, Mary, marriage, noted . . . 465
 Olsson, Rev. and Mrs. Olof, biographical note . . . 497, 498
 —homestead, lithograph by Sandzen facing . . . 505
 —letters, 1869-1873 . . . 497-512
 —photograph . . . facing 504
 Oman, C. H., Garnett . . . 568
 Omohundro, J. B., "Texas Jack," biography of, noted . . . 320
 O'Neal, Harriet, marriage, noted . . . 478
 O'Neal, John, Highland . . . 478
 O'Neal, Mary Ann, marriage, noted . . . 453
 Oregon trail, history of, noted . . . 232
 Oregon Trail, The, by Dr. Margaret Long, noted . . . 320
 Ormsby, L. A., donor . . . 294
 Orwell, article on, noted . . . 491
 Orwell Times . . . 491
 Osage Mission (Neosho) . . . 82
 Osawatomie, articles on, noted . . . 314
 —battle of, monument, note on . . . 409
 —centennial celebration, notes on . . . 317
 —pageant, 1954, articles on, noted . . . 227, 313
 Osawatomie Graphic-News, centennial "extra," noted . . . 314
 Osborn, Dr. J. K., Lindsey . . . 554
 Osborn, Ruby, article by, noted . . . 567
 Osborn, Sarah, marriage, noted . . . 466
 Osborn, Gov. Thomas A. . . . 602, 604
 Osborne, Col. William, of Missouri, 158, 160, 161, 163
 Oskaloosa, article on, noted . . . 490
 —centennial celebration at, note on . . . 647
 —women officials for, 1888, note on . . . 179
 Oskaloosa Independent, articles in, noted . . . 144, 490
 —historical booklet by, note on . . . 647
 Oskaloosa Times . . . 490
 Osmer, Sophia Anne, marriage, noted . . . 478
 Osterhout, Kate, Vermillion, N. Y., marriage, noted . . . 461
 Oswego, history, article on, noted . . . 488
 Oswego Democrat . . . 488
 Oswego Independent . . . 141, 313, 488
 Otis, Lt. Elmer, in Kansas, 1859 . . . 578
 580-582, 584
 O'Toole, Lucy Ann, marriage, noted . . . 471

Ott, William J., marriage, noted 471
 Ottawa (Silver Horn), Sioux chief, 250, 251
 Ottawa county, organization, notes
 on 552, 553
 Ottawa *Herald* 397
 Otte, Jean, essay by, noted 147
Our Golden Heritage, P. E. O. history,
 note on 80
 Overland journey(s), 1850's, noted 295
 —1887, article on, noted 313
 Owen, Arthur K., Topeka 66, 307
 Owen, Rev. E. J. 455
 Owen, Rev. E. L. 472
 Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence 66, 307
 Owen, Ellis, marriage, noted 471
 Owen, Jennie 57, 301, 305
 —talk by, noted 399
 Owen, William H., letter, noted 142
 Owens, Dr. John A., marriage, noted 471
 Oyler, S. O., songs by, noted 292

P

P. E. O., in Kansas, history, note on 80
 Packard, Mrs. Frances A., marriage,
 noted 459
 Packard, Sarah C., marriage, noted 480
 Paddock, Rev. G. W., Burlingame, 446, 477
 Page, Mrs. Ben, Kansas City, speeches
 by, noted 150
 Page, Mrs. Euphemia B., article by,
 noted 70
 Paine, Rev. Rodney 459, 482, 483
 Palmer, Alpheus, marriage, noted 471
 Palmer, Hiram, 1855 pioneer 146
 Palmer, N., Hunter co., marriage, noted, 472
 Palmer, Penelope, McDonald co., Mo.,
 marriage, noted 473
 Palmer, Mrs. T. H., article by, noted 143
 Palmer Oil and Gas Co., of Ohio 240
 Palmetto and Roseport railroad 157
 Pancake, Bill E., Sharon Springs 494
 Pantle, Alberta, "Marriage Notices From
 Kansas Territorial Newspapers, 1854-
 1861," compiled by 445-
 —note on 445n
 Paola, first town with gas lights 238, 239
 Paola *Western Spirit* 143
 Pargeter, Fred V., article on, noted 143
 Parham, Robert, Jr., marriage, noted 472
 Paris, Clark, Pittsburg 76
 Park, Frances, marriage, noted 458
 Park, Col. George S., Parkville, Mo.,
 1854 report by, quoted 106
 —marriage, noted 472
 Park, Rev. J. S., of Tennessee, mar-
 riage, noted 472
 Park, Gove co., post office, article on,
 noted 566
 Parker, A. S., Atchison 154
 Parker, Nathan Howe, Kansas and Ne-
 braska book by, noted 187
 Parker, Nathaniel, marriage, noted 472
 Parker, Rev. R. D. 461, 484
 Parker, William, Leavenworth 448
 Parks, William, marriage, noted 472
 Parmenter, Walter, marriage, noted 472
 Parmetar, James A., marriage, noted 472
 Parr, Dick, scout, article on, noted 489
 Parrish, James, Springhill 485
 Parrott, Mrs. Effie, Wichita 492
 Parsons, John U., marriage, noted 472
 Parsons, Romania B., marriage, noted, 476
 Parsons, William B., marriage, noted 472
 Parsons, Forest Avenue (Broadway),
 view of facing 568
 —Labette hotel removed to, 1872 67
 Partens, Gen. C. A., Jefferson City,
 Mo. 482
 Partens, Julia M., marriage, noted 482
 Partridge, — 168
 Paschel, Luther, marriage, noted 472

Patchett, Andy, recollections, noted 69
 Pates, Warren, Sharon Springs 494
 Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta 66, 307
 Patterson, Mrs. Harold, Ford co. 400
 Paullin, Joseph, driller 239, 240
 Paulson, Rev. J. 456
 Pawnee (town), notes on 321, 324
 Pawnee Bill. *See* Lillie, Maj. Gordon W.
 Pawnee capitol, articles on, noted 567
 —photograph facing 320
 —R. W. Richmond's article on 321-
 325
 Pawnee Rock *Herald* 147
 Pawnee Town Assn., notes on 321
 Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan 66, 307
 Payne, Melissa, marriage, noted 483
 Payne, Mildred S., marriage, noted 457
 Payne, Olive Eastin, article by, noted 146
 Peacock, George H. 579
 Pearce, Mrs. Arthur, article by, noted 227
 Pearllette, article on, noted 145
 Pearllette *Call* 145
 Pearson, Allen 472
 Pearson, Cora Ann, article by, noted 313
 Pearson, John, marriage, noted 472
 Pearson, Mary, marriage, noted 462
 Pearson, Richard N., marriage, noted 472
 Peckham, Howard H. 320
 Peery, Mary, article on, noted 74
 Peine, Mrs. Arthur, donor 56
 Pence, E. F., marriage, noted 472
 Pennington, Dwight, article by, noted, 313
 Pennington, Mrs. George, article by,
 noted 144
 Pennock, Charles, marriage, noted 472
 Perkins, —, Lawrence, attack on 1856, noted 167, 168
 Perkins, Rev. George 450, 451, 455,
 465, 466, 483
 Perrine, Belle, marriage, noted 478
 Perry, Albert, marriage, noted 472
 Perry, Erasmus, Weston, Mo., marriage,
 noted 472
 Perry, Frances, donor 56
 Perry, Mrs. H. A., doll dishes of, given
 Historical Society 56
 Perry, William, Emporia, marriage,
 noted 472
 Perry, William, Leavenworth co. 476
 Perry, articles on, noted 228
 —centennial celebration, note on 5
 Perry *Mirror*, centennial issue, 1954,
 note on 227, 228
 Petet, Miss —, marriage, noted 448
 Peters, Judge Lorin T., pageant by,
 noted 76
 Peters, Sarah, article by, noted 397
 Peterson, Mrs. Abbie I., article by,
 noted 144
 Peterson, Charles, Rice co. pioneer,
 article on, noted 144
 Peterson, Mrs. E. G., Edwards co. 493
 Peterson, Mrs. Edna, Chanute 79, 399
 Peterson, K., St. Joseph, Mo., marriage,
 noted 476
 Peterson, Susan H., Machiasport, Me.,
 marriage, noted 456
Peterson's Magazine, file, given Histori-
 cal Society 52
 Petifish, A. J., Atchison 460
 Petit, Solomon, trader 405
 Pfaff-Piper, Mrs. Alma, Labette co. 318
 Puetze, Carl, Manhattan 77, 493
 Phelps, Edwin C., marriage, noted 472
 Phenis, James H., marriage, noted 478
 Person, J. M., Emporia 473
 Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays 60, 65, 80
 306, 308
 Phillippay, R. C., marriage, noted 453
 Phillips, A. G., Edwards co. 493
 Phillips, Christina A., marriage, noted 450
 Phillips, Rev. E., Burlington 447, 461
 476, 479

- Phillips, Eliza J., marriage, noted 478
 Phillips, George, marriage, noted 473
 Phillips, Maggie, marriage, noted 476
 Phillips, Mary, marriage, noted 456
 Phillips, Robert M., St. Joseph, Mo., marriage, noted 473
 Phillips, Dr. Samuel, marriage, noted . . . 473
 Phillips, Rev. Dr. T. H., Leavenworth . . 602
 604- 606
 Phillips, William Addison, *The Conquest of Kansas* by, noted . . 5, 186, 189
 —discussed 192- 202
 —note on 193
 —quoted on John Brown 408
 Phillips county, history, notes on . . 569, 570
 Photographs, Robert Taft's discussion of 18, 19
 Picker, Mrs. M., marriage, noted 484
 Pickering, Dillon, Uniontown 480
 Pierce, Pres. Franklin, Kansas-Nebraska bill signed by 1, 2
 Pierce, Henry, marriage, noted 473
 Pierce, Ray, Dodge City 318
 —talk by, noted 398
 Pierce, Sarah M., marriage, noted 464
 Pierce, Mrs. W. H., donor 300
 Pierceville, articles on, noted 70
 Pieschl, Vincent, Ottawa co. 556
 Pike, Zebulon, in Kansas, 1806, letter on, noted 396
 Pike expedition maps, notes on 401, 402
 404- 406
 Pike's Peak guide books, notes on . . 187, 188
 Pilcher, Hattie M., marriage, noted . . . 481
 Piper, Elizabeth, Seneca, N. Y., marriage, noted 477
 Pipher, John W., Manhattan 91
 —1855 pioneer 146
 —marriage, noted 473
 Pitts, Mrs. Medina, marriage, noted . . 475
 Pittsburg, Mitchell co. See Tipton.
 Pittsburg Headlight, articles in, noted . . 71
 228, 315
 Pittsburg Sun 228
 Pitzer, Rev. A. W. 453, 455, 457, 458, 462
 465, 476, 479, 484, 486
 Plath, Mrs. Louis, murderess 396
 Platte Country railroad 159- 164
 Platte County railroad 158, 159
 Platte Valley railroad 155
 Plattner, Mrs. I. L., Ford co. 400
 Plumb, M. Elizabeth, Westfield, N. Y., marriage, noted 448
 Plummer, Jane Carey, article by, noted, 313
 Plummer, William S., marriage, noted . . 473
 Poe, Elisha W., Clay co., Mo., marriage, noted 473
 Poehner, Mrs. John, article by, noted . . 314
 Poker Alice, mentioned 69
 Polk, Leslie D., article by, noted 227
 Pollard, Henry, marriage, noted 473
 Polley, John, marriage, noted 473
 Pomeroy, Samuel C. 93, 144, 153, 482
 —Atchison interests of 155- 159
 —Emigrant Aid Co. agent . . 3, 42, 113, 154
 Pond, David, marriage, noted 473
 Pony Express, article on, noted 565
 Pony Express, The, by L. Jensen, note on 649
 Pony express station (Hollenberg Ranch), note on 149
 Ponziglione, Paul 81
 Poole, Rev. G. H. 481
 Popular sovereignty. See Squatter sovereignty.
 Porter, Andrew and R. C., donors 300
 Porter, Mrs. John, Concordia 399
 Post office, at Grinter's ferry, note on 77, 78
 Pottawatomie Baptist Mission, article on, noted 646
 Pottawatomie Catholic Mission, St. Mary's 81- 83
 Pottawatomie county article on, noted . . 146
 Pottawatomie massacre 616, 617
 Potter, Frederick W., marriage, noted . . 473
 Potter, Mrs. O. B., Lindsey 553
 Potwin Place, Shawnee co., history by C. McLellan, given Historical Society, 294
 —note 70, 316, 646
 Poulet, Alixis, marriage, noted 473
 Powell, J. W., Indian language study by, microfilmed 295
 Powell, Joseph A., marriage, noted . . . 473
 Power, Francis M., marriage, noted . . . 473
 Powers, Susie R., N. Hadley, Mass., marriage, noted 455
 Pratt, C. H., marriage, noted 473
 Pratt, Mrs. Carl, Arkansas City, donor . . 54
 Pratt, H. E., Illinois State Historical Library 33n
 Pratt, Jesse, Studley, donor 52
 Pratt, Rev. John G. 344
 Pratt, articles on, noted 147
 Pratt county, articles on, noted 147
 Pratt Daily Tribune 567
 —Pride issued by 147
 Preedy, Peter W., marriage, noted 473
 Prentiss, Noble Lovely 412, 418, 424, 426
 429, 430, 442, 617, 618, 626, 627
 —lecture by, noted 438
 —note on 419
 —photograph facing 433
 —quoted on Andreas' *History of Kansas* 618
 Prewett, Mattie T., Columbia, Mo., marriage, noted 447
 Price, John 165
 Price, Joseph, marriage, noted 473
 Price, Rev. L. D. 465, 473
 Price, Rev. William 484
 Prichett, Rev. J. H., marriage, noted . . 473
 Pride, Pratt publication, note on 147
 Pritchard, Maj. —, in Kansas, 1865, 573
 Proctor, A. G., marriage, noted 474
 Proslaverymen, 1856, notes on 166- 168
 Prosser, Dr. Lewis S., marriage, noted . . 474
 Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Kansas, records, microfilmed 295
 Prouts, Paris, St. Joseph, Mo., marriage, noted 474
 Prouty, Salmon S. 411, 412, 419, 429
 430, 434, 442
 —lecture by, noted 438
 —marriage, noted 474
 —work on Andreas-Cutler history, noted 627, 628, 635
 Prucha, Dr. Francis Paul, St. Marys . . . 495
 Pryor, Julia Ann, marriage, noted . . . 455
 Pryor, Stephen, marriage, noted 474
 Pryor, W. F., driller 239, 240
 Pueblo and State Line railroad 330
 Pullam, Martha A., marriage, noted . . 463
 Purdy, Henry, article on, noted 489
 Purdy, Mary J., marriage, noted 467
 Puryear, G. G., donor 300
 Putnam, Bennet, marriage, noted 474
 Putnam, Joanna A., Adrian, Mich., marriage, noted 458
 Putnam, Sarah Jane, marriage, noted . . 483

O

- Quaker Valley, Cherokee co., note on . . 71
 Quakers. See Friends.
 Quantrill, William C., articles on, noted 147, 395, 489
 Quantrill's raid, on Baxter Springs, article on, noted 315
 —on Lawrence 353
 —articles on, noted 313, 646
 Quiett, Emma E., marriage, noted . . . 466
 Quiett, Esley, Tecumseh 466

- Quiett, John, donor 300
 Quimby, D. J., marriage, noted 474
 Quindaro, article on, noted 78
 Quinius, Herman, Wichita 492
- R
- Radkee, John, marriage, noted 474
 Raffington, Mrs. Mabel 76
 Railway development in Kansas, L. W. Thompson's thesis on, noted 327n
 Randall, Dudley, marriage, noted 474
 Randall, Irene, marriage, noted 472
 Randall, Paul, Ashland 78, 318
 Randall, Mrs. Paul, Ashland 399
 Randall, William Henry, marriage, noted 474
 Randolph, Amelia M., marriage, noted 446
 Randolph, George, Riley co. 475
 Randolph, P. H., marriage, noted 474
 Randolph, Susan, Jackson co., Mo., marriage, noted 475
 Randolph, articles on, noted 315, 490
 "Range Ballads," article by John Clifford 588-597
 Rankin, Charles C., Lawrence 307
 Rankin, E. M., Leavenworth 450
 Rankin, Robert C. 63, 65
 —death, noted 288
 —on Historical Society executive committee 50, 62, 288
 Ransom, Lt. Hyatt C. 576, 578
 Ransom, Frank M., Belleville, N. Y., marriage, noted 482
 Rapelyea, William C., marriage, noted 474
 Raser, Mrs. Margaret Haun 78
 —article on, noted 142
 Rash, Mrs. Eunice Batch, donor 294
 Rathbone, Perry T., editor 319
 Ratner, Payne 68
 Ratz, Christian, marriage, noted 474
 Ravanna, articles on, noted 142, 491
 Rawlings, Edward H., marriage, noted 474
 Raynaike, Charles, marriage, noted 474
 Raynesford, Howard C., Ellis 64, 66, 307
 —donor 294
 Read, Lathrop B., Jr., Lawrence 149
 Reader, Eliza M., marriage, noted 450
 Reader, Samuel J., buffalo hunt water color by facing 400
 Reaser, Rev. J. G., Leavenworth 445, 483, 449, 483
 Redfield, J. C., marriage, noted 474
 Redmond, John, death, noted 50
 Reed, Charles V., Hays 80
 Reed, Clyde M., Jr., Parsons 64, 66, 307
 Reed, Georgia, marriage, noted 463
 Reed, Judge J. M. and Nancy, Leavenworth 463
 Reed, James, marriage, noted 474
 Reed, Jim, Topeka 79, 398
 Reeder, Andrew H. 205, 206, 207
 —governor, 1855 321-323
 —papers of, note on 293
 Reeder, Frank, Jr., Easton, Pa., donor 293
 Reeder, Martha, article by, noted 73
 Rees, Mary J., donor 294
 Rees, R. R., Leavenworth 469, 474
 —in 1855 Council 323
 Rees, Seth, marriage, noted 474
 Reese, Harriet, marriage, noted 479
 Reeve, Chet, Finney co. 399
 Reeves, C. L., Finney co. 492
 Regier, Rev. J. 456
 Reid, John M., marriage, noted 474
 Reid, Samuel C., marriage, noted 475
 Reinhart, Herman Francis, autobiography, given Historical Society 294
 Reinhart, Rena, Chanute, donor 294
 Remer, Rev. Peter, Burlington 447, 450, 453, 459, 479
- Remington, Mrs. S. R., reminiscences, noted 316
 Reppart, C. A., marriage, noted 477
 Republican party, 1856, comment on 193-198
 Republican river, name origin, notes on 402-405
 Rewell, A. C., Louisville 485
 Rexford, Pioneer Day, 1954, note on 150
 Reynolds, Rev. Charles 346-348, 449, 457
 Reynolds, Mrs. Harriet, marriage, noted 482
 Reynolds, M. W., Parsons 429, 430, 442
 Reynolds, Thomas T., marriage, noted 475
 Rhinehart, Mary, marriage, noted 469
 Rhoads, John T., Heizer, essay by, noted 147
 Rhymr, Mrs. Mary Frances, Chicago 15, 33n
 Rice, Rev. —, Tecumseh 474
 Rice, Rev. C. R. 465
 Rice, Emeline, marriage, noted 478
 Rice, Rev. G., Hiawatha 454
 Rice, Rev. G. J., Lecompton 486
 Rice, H. D., marriage, noted 475
 Rice, Jefferson, marriage, noted 475
 Rice, John E., Lawrence, marriage, noted 475
 —pen sketches of Lawrence, discussed 48, 49
 Rice, M. Henderson, marriage, noted 475
 Rice, Margaret Larzelere 647
 Rice county, Salem Methodist church, history, noted 72
 Rich, Everett, article by, noted 313
 Rich, Col. H., Ft. Leavenworth 480
 Rich, James, marriage, noted 475
 Rich, Kate, marriage, noted 480
 Richards, David, marriage, noted 475
 Richards, John F., marriage, noted 475
 Richards, Mary Ann, marriage, noted 461
 Richards, Ralph, article by, noted 145
 —Fort Scott history by, note on 496
 Richards, Walter M., Emporia 66, 307
 Richardson, Marie E., marriage, noted 454
 Richardson, Mary, Sterling, Mass., marriage, noted 462
 Richardson, Mrs. Myrtle 493
 Richmond, Corp. —, in Kansas, 1859 580
 Richmond, Robert W. 301
 —donor 54
 —"The First Capitol of Kansas," article by 321-325
 Rickabaugh, Joseph, marriage, noted 475
 Riegle, Wilford 62, 65, 66, 306, 307
 —on Historical Society executive committee 50, 62
 —vice-president, Historical Society 304, 307
 Rifinburg, W. G., marriage, noted 475
 Riley County Historical Society 493
 —1953 meeting, notes on 77
 —1955 meeting, note on 399
 —1955 picnic, note on 568
 Rimer, Mrs. Nell, Protection 78
 Ripley, G. S., Salina 567
 Ritchey, J. H., marriage, noted 475
 River Brethren, article on, noted 397
 Rivers, tributary to the Kansas, notes on 401-406
 Robbin, Ruth T., Platte co., Mo., marriage, noted 460
 Robbins, Alice Jane, marriage, noted 459
 Robbins, Rev. W. M. 468
 Roberts, C. Edward, marriage, noted 475
 Roberts, Mary A., marriage, noted 451
 Roberts, Victoria N., marriage, noted 478
 Robertson, Rev. Eli H., marriage, noted 475
 Robertson, Sarah, marriage, noted 446
 Robertson, Dr. William 446

Robidoux, Sophia Agnes, marriage, noted 464
 Robinson, Albert Earl, article by, noted 74
 Robinson, Rev. C. R., Greensburg 646
 Robinson, Charles 203, 205, 206, 209, 211
 212, 273, 274-277, 343
 370, 409, 410, 441, 610
 —biographical sketch, noted 616
 —described 199
 —Emigrant Aid Co., agent 3, 109
 111, 113
 —historical paper by, noted 412
 —lecture by, noted 438
 —office of, burned, 1855 48
 —president, Lawrence Assn. 37, 42
 —railroads for Kansas advocated by, 1859 335, 336
 —treason prisoner 168, 169
 Robinson, Doane 252
 Robinson, Ellen R., Attleborough, Mass., marriage, noted 455
 Robinson, Dr. J., Oregon, Mo., marriage, noted 475
 Robinson, Joseph W., Elwood 469, 477
 Robinson, Mrs. Lizzie Kunkel, autobiography, note on 151
 Robinson, Mrs. Martha, Kansas City, Mo. 77
 Robinson, Mrs. Sara T. D., article on, noted 313
 —author of *Kansas, Its Interior and Exterior Life* 5, 186
 Robinson, W. Stitt, Jr., articles by, noted 68, 495
 Robitaille, Elizabeth, marriage, noted 475
 Robitaille, Louis Eugene, marriage, noted 475
 Rockwood, George, photographer 23
 Rodebaugh, Miss —, of Wakarusa, marriage, noted 484
 Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan 63, 64, 77, 307, 646
 —article by, noted 646
 Roe, Catherine and Bill, Atchison booklet compiled by 152
 Rogers, Charles L., St. Louis, Mo., marriage, noted 475
 Rogers, Darius, marriage, noted 475
 Rogers, Joseph, family, Morris co., article on, noted 396
 Rogers, Mary Elizabeth, marriage, noted 467
 Rogers, Richard D., Manhattan, donor 54
 Rogler, Henry, Chase co. 76, 231, 647
 Rogler, Wayne, Matfield Green 65, 306, 308
 Rohrer, Mrs. Ed, Elmo 77
 Rolings, W. C., marriage, noted 476
 Roosa, Tunis L. 91
 Root, Frank A. 414, 423
 Root, George, Shawnee co. chronology by, noted 70, 228, 630
 Root, J. P., Wyandotte 343, 347
 Ropes, Mrs. Hannah Anderson, *Six Months in Kansas* by, noted 5, 187
 Rose, Adolph, marriage, noted 469
 Rose, Claudia, article by, noted 490
 Rose, William, marriage, noted 476
 Rose creek, Wallace co., article on, noted 489
 Rosenbaum, William E., marriage, noted 476
 Rosenquist, John, marriage, noted 476
 Rosenthal, Robert, Chicago 332
 Ross, Abner L., marriage, noted 476
 Ross, Henrietta, marriage, noted 451
 Ross, W. W., marriage, noted 476
 Rossville, history, article on, noted 488
 Rossville *Reporter* 488
 Rostock, Mary, marriage, noted 471
 Row, C., marriage, noted 476

Rowan, Col. Andrew S., painting of, given Historical Society 52
 Rowe, Clara, marriage, noted 462
 Rowe, Fayette, articles by, noted 228, 229
 315, 316, 395, 397, 490
 Rowe, Julia, marriage, noted 459
 Rowe, Mrs. Julia Ann, marriage, noted 463
 Rowsa, Malinda, marriage, noted 484
 Roxbury, Methodist church, article on, noted 315
 Roy, M. E., marriage, noted 462
 Royer, Mrs. Caston (Washburn), Topeka, donor 297
 Rubin, Roy T., Hope, donor 54
 Rucker, James S., marriage, noted 476
 Rude, David, Morris co., pioneer 229
 Runyon, Mrs. Augusta A., marriage, noted 482
 Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville 66, 307
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell 65, 306, 308
 —articles by, noted 148, 313
 —donor 54, 56, 294, 297
 Ruse, F. A., Argonia 175
 Russell, Annie, marriage, noted 473
 Russell, Edward, marriage, noted 476
 Russell, John, marriage, noted 476
 Russell, John W., marriage, noted 476
 Russell, S. C., marriage, noted 476
 Russell, William H., Leavenworth 473
 Russell, oil industry, article on, noted, —townsite company records, microfilmed 295
 Russell county, Amherst Evangelical church, article on, noted 490
 —oil discovery plaque, notes on 50, 68
 Russell *Daily News* 313
 Rust, Mrs. Lucile, Manhattan 399
 Ruthruff, Chester, surveyor 1860's 573
 Ryan, Rev. J. E. 452, 456, 460, 471, 474, 476, 486
 Rydjord, John, Wichita 150
 Ryland, Edwin M., of Missouri 561, 563

S

Sac and Fox Indians, 1860-1862 material on, acquired 54
 Sacket, Capt. Delos B. 578
 Sackett, Hal, article by, noted 567
 Sadilek, Mrs. W. B., donor 294
 Sageser, A. Bower, "Building the Main Line of the Missouri Pacific Through Kansas," article by 326-330
 St. Clair, Mrs. Rodney, paper by, noted 399
 St. John, Ephraim, Jr., marriage, noted 476
 St. Joseph and Council Bluffs railroad 165
 St. Joseph (Mo.) *Herald and Tribune* 162, 163
 St. Louis, Kansas and Arizona Railway Co. 327
 St. Mary's Mission, 1851 81-83
 Salem Methodist church, Rice co., history, noted 72
 Salina, article on, noted 567
 Salina, Missouri Pacific railway at, 329, 330
 Salina *Journal* 397, 567
 Saline county, Swedish settlement in 498-500
 Saline County Historical Museum 567
 Saline river, name origin, notes on 402-405
 Sallee, James 57, 305
 Salter, Lewis Allison, children of, listed 178n
 —notes on 173, 175, 182
 Salter, Melville J. 173
 Salter, Susanna Madora (Mrs. Lewis A.), M. Billington's article on 173-183
 —official election notice, photograph facing 176

- Salter, Susanna Madora (Mrs. Lewis A.), photographs *fac* 177
 —W. K. D. Club plaque for 182, 183
 Saltsman, Mary Ann, marriage, noted 458
 Sample, Mrs. Quinter, donor 300
 Sanborn, Franklin B., John Brown partisan 408, 409
 Sandburg, Carl, tribute to Lincoln by, noted 74
 Sanders, John, marriage, noted 476
 Sandling, Giles, marriage, noted 476
 Sandling, Mary Jane, marriage, noted 460
 Sandoz, Mari, *The Buffalo Hunters*, review, noted 277
 Sands, James G., marriage, noted 476
 Sands, Rosa, marriage, noted 465
 Sandzen, Birger, lithograph by, reproduced *fac* 505
 Sanford, Emmanuel, family, Morris co., article on, noted 396
 Santa Fe trail, article on, noted 145
 —1826 robbery on, letter, 1827, on subject of 560-563
 —1854 journey over, noted 396
 —historical caravan trek on 5
 —Indian depredations on, 1859 579-583
 —J. S. Kirwan's reminiscences of patrolling on, 1859-1861 569-587
 —Lone Elm camp, article on, noted 565
 —novel on, noted 232
 Santa Fe Trail, *The*, by Dr. Margaret Long, noted 320
 Santee, J. F., reminiscences of, noted 313
 Santer, Mary, marriage, noted 459
 Sardou, Charles, marriage, noted 476
 Sargent, Charles W., donor 295
 Sargent, William G. 456, 467
 Saunders, Mrs. Charlotte E., marriage, noted 461
 Saunders, S. Annie, Platte co., Mo., marriage, noted 483
 Savage, Joseph 102, 103
 —recollections, notes on 37, 38, 42
 Sawin, Mrs. Elizabeth, Hamlin 476
 Sawin, Franklin O., marriage, noted 476
 Saxby, Rev. J. S., Chelsea 446
 Sayers, William L., Hill City 65
 Scarritt, Rev. Nathan, Leavenworth 448
 Schaeffer, Dr. Frank, McLouth, donor 293
 Schaffer, Raymond T., donor 56
 Schaurte, Sgt. F. W., at Fort Larned, 1860 585
 Schaz, Rev. George, Wyandotte 470
 Scheel, John A., article by, noted 230
 Scheer, Dr. Harold, Wichita 149, 492
 Scheffer, Theo. H., article by, noted 646
 —note on 552n
 —"The Old Ghost Town of Lindsey in the Solomon Valley," article by, 552-559
 Schenck, Leland H., Topeka 568
 —donor 55, 296
 Schenck, Lena Baxter, articles by, noted 316, 646
 Schittz, Joseph, marriage, noted 476
 Schmidling, Francis, marriage, noted 476
 Schmidt, Heinie, Dodge City 78, 230
 —articles by, noted 144, 145, 490
 Schmidt, John, family, Council Grove, article on, noted 490
 Schmitt, Martin F., and Dee Brown, *The Settlers' West* by, note on 648
 Schneider, Ida, Chase co. 76, 231, 648
 Schoepfel, Sen. Andrew F. 4
 —address, Kaw Mission, 1954 308-311
 Schoewe, Walter H., article by, noted 68
 —essay by, noted 495
 —"The Geography of Kansas," by, noted 637
 Schofield, C. C., marriage, noted 476
 Schrimpf, Sarah Ann, marriage, noted 476
 Schroeder, Byron, Leavenworth co. 318
 Schroyer, Marshall co., article on, noted 395
 Schultze, Sue, Baltimore, Md., marriage, noted 484
 Schur, Godfrey, Lindsey 557
 Schuring, Mrs. M., Lynwood, Cal. 571
 Schuyler, Judge Philip C. 169
 Schuyler, S. Matilda, marriage, noted 477
 Scientific and Historical Society of Kansas, history 341-356
 Scott, Angelo, Iola 66, 307
 —donor 55, 296
 —"How Natural Gas Came to Kansas," article by 233-246
 —note on 233n
 —president, Historical Society 63, 288
 304, 305
 Scott, Mrs. Harve, Haviland, reminiscences, noted 317
 Scott, Hattie, Arrow Rock, Mo., marriage, noted 452
 Scott, Idalia, marriage, noted 484
 Scott, Israel 457, 469, 472, 484
 Scott, Jenette, marriage, noted 467
 Scott, John 301
 Scott, Lucian, Leavenworth 361, 362
 Scott, Lyman, Leavenworth 484
 Scott, Nannie S., Campbell co., Va., marriage, noted 476
 Scott, R. O., donor 300
 Scottsville, history, noted 73
 Scraftord, George C., Iowa Point 478
 Scraftord, Mary A., marriage, noted 478
 Scruggs, Emma, marriage, noted 456
 Scruggs, Simon and Elvira S. 456
 Searl, Albert D., Lawrence, marriage, noted 477
 —surveyor 38
 Sebelius, Mrs. Minnie, article by, noted 316
 Sebra, Margaretta, marriage, noted 447
 Sedan *Star-Times*, articles in, noted 230
 Sedgwick, Maj. John 578, 585-587
 Sedgwick county, St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran church, article on, noted 142
 Sedoris, V. L., article by, noted 313
 Seely, Marion, Dickinson co. 318
 Segregation issue, article, noted 313
 Seidell, Rev. W. C., Ottawa co. 556
 Seigrist, Charles, marriage, noted 477
 Seiler, Rev. Martin 472
 Seiler, William H., Emporia 150
 Senn, Barbury, marriage, noted 454
 Sessler, Minnie, marriage, noted 454
Settlers' West, The, by M. F. Schmitt and D. Brown, note on 648
 Severance, Elbert, article by, noted 73
 Seward, William E., U. S. senator 204
 Seybold, Frederick, marriage, noted 477
 Seymour, Rev. G. 467, 480, 482
 Seymour, William H., marriage, noted 477
 Shaffer, Ada, Ballard co., Ky., marriage, noted 461
 Shaffer, Mrs. William 230
 Shaler, T., Kickapoo City 448
 Shane, Job DeHaven, Graham co. pioneer 73
 Shanks, George W., St. Joseph, Mo., marriage, noted 477
 Shannon, Fannie, Columbia, Mo., marriage, noted 466
 Shannon, Mary H., marriage, noted 477
 Shannon, Wilson 477
 —comment on 169
 Sharer, Eva B., Finney co. 492
 Sharon, St. Boniface Catholic church, article on, noted 228
 Sharp, Isaac, Council Grove 438
 Sharpe, Isaac B., marriage, noted 477
 Shaw, Rev. Anna, in Kansas, 1837 182
 Shaw, Fred, WaKeeney, note on 75
 Shaw, George W., Lindsey 554, 557
 Shaw, Dr. Joseph C., Topeka 64-66, 307
 Shawnee, fire dept., article on, noted 565

- Shawnee county, articles on, noted . . . 646
 —bridges, article on, noted . . . 70
 Shawnee County Historical Society,
Bulletins, articles in, noted . . . 70, 228
 316, 646
 —1955 meeting, note on . . . 494
 Shawnee Methodist Mission, article on,
 noted . . . 142
 Shawnee Mission Indian Historical
 Society . . . 59, 300
 —officers, notes on . . . 76, 317
 Sheahan, James W., book on S. A.
 Douglas by, noted . . . 28
 Sheel, John A., article by, noted . . . 567
 Shekomeko (Moravian mission), mar-
 riages at, noted . . . 454, 459, 470, 485
 Sheldon, Dr. E. P., marriage, noted . . . 477
 Sheldon, Hon. Henry C., marriage,
 noted . . . 477
 Shell, Gwinn G., Garnett . . . 458
 Shelton, E. M., Manhattan . . . 625
 Shepard, Mrs. Clifton . . . 317
 Shepard, Orien, marriage, noted . . . 474
 Shepherd, Anne E., marriage, noted . . . 450
 Sherar, Mrs. Gladys, Douglass . . . 230, 568
 Sheridan county, article on, noted . . . 144
 —J. F. Morgan's history of, noted . . . 70
 —pictures, note on . . . 52
 Sherman, John, congressman . . . 186
 Sherman, Maj. William Tecumseh, mar-
 riage, noted . . . 477
 Sherman County Historical Society,
 project of, noted . . . 568
 Shideler, Mrs. Ralph . . . 76
 Shields, Narcissa Kate, marriage,
 noted . . . 480
 Shields, Winifred, article by, noted . . . 75
 Shimmons, and Deitzler,
 Lawrence . . . 110, 111
 Shire, H., marriage, noted . . . 477
 Shockley, Eliza H., marriage, noted . . . 465
 Shoemaker, Floyd C., articles by, noted, 144
 Shore, Rev. Andrew D., gifts by, noted, 230
 Short, Sarah H., marriage, noted . . . 446
 Short, T. J., Lawrence . . . 446
 Shrewder, Mrs. R. V. . . . 78
 Shroyer, William A., marriage, noted, 477
 Shull, J. R. T., Coffey co. . . . 450
 Shultz, A. L., donor . . . 295
 Shultz, Absalom, marriage, noted . . . 477
 Sibley, Gen. Henry H., Indian fighter . . 248
 Signor, Frances, marriage, noted . . . 474
Silkville, by G. R. Carpenter, note on . . 400
 Simerwell, Robert, article on, noted . . . 316
 Simmonds, Addie L., Detroit, Mich.,
 marriage, noted . . . 463
 Simmons, Annie E., marriage, noted . . . 453
 Simon, Emilia, marriage, noted . . . 477
 Simons, Betsey, Dryden, N. Y., mar-
 riage, noted . . . 459
 Simons, Dolph, Lawrence . . . 65, 306, 308
 —donor . . . 55, 295, 296
 Simons, E., Kansas City . . . 113
 Simpson, J. H., work on Coronado,
 noted . . . 638
 Simpson, Mrs. J. L., donor . . . 56
 Simpson, S. N., Lawrence . . . 102, 120, 172
 Simpson, William F., marriage, noted . . 77
 Simpson, history, noted . . . 473
 Simpsons, Mary E., marriage, noted . . . 449
 Sinex, Jacob, marriage, noted . . . 477
 Singer, John M., marriage, noted . . . 477
 Sinks, Dr. Tiffin, Leavenworth . . . 358, 360
 362, 368
 Siringo, Charlie . . . 593
 Sitting Bull, article on, noted . . . 491
 Skidmore, Mrs. Arabella Z., marriage,
 noted . . . 485
 Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City . . . 65
 Skinner, C. E., Morris co., article on,
 noted . . . 396
 Skinner, James W., marriage, noted . . . 477
 Skinner, Jim, article by, noted . . . 143
 Slagg, Mrs. C. M., Manhattan . . . 77, 493
 Slater, Harold M., Topeka, donor . . . 54
 Slausen, William Lysander, Onondaga
 co., N. Y., marriage, noted . . . 477
 Slay, Mrs. Frank, Wichita museum
 curator . . . 149
 Slechta, Don B., thesis on Dr. J. R.
 Brinkley, noted . . . 292
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka . . . 66, 307
 Sloan, Mrs. Eldon, donor . . . 56
 Sloan, Joseph W., marriage, noted . . . 477
 Sloan, Walter B., Kansas and Nebraska
 history published by, note on . . . 186
 Sloane, Sterling B., marriage, noted . . . 478
 Slocum, Thomas, first Leavenworth
 mayor . . . 152
 Smallwood, W. H., secretary of
 state . . . 414, 422
Smasher's Mail, The, note on . . . 52
 Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence . . . 66, 307
 Smiley, Robert W., marriage, noted . . . 478
 Smith, Adolphus, marriage, noted . . . 478
 Smith, Allen B., marriage, noted . . . 478
 Smith, B. L., Herington, article by,
 noted . . . 144
 Smith, Carroll D., donor . . . 295
 Smith, Mrs. Catherine H., portrait, note
 on . . . 56
 Smith, Charles, of Wakarusa, marriage,
 noted . . . 478
 Smith, Charles W., Lawrence, marriage,
 noted . . . 478
 Smith, Rev. David Z. . . . 453, 454, 485
 470, 482, 484
 Smith, Delilah, marriage, noted . . . 478
 Smith, Ellen M., Wyoming, N. Y., mar-
 riage, noted . . . 471
 Smith, Frank B., Manhattan, marriage,
 noted . . . 478
 Smith, George W. . . . 170, 206, 414, 422
 Smith, Harvey, Palmyra, Mo., mar-
 riage, noted . . . 478
 Smith, Giles, marriage, noted . . . 478
 Smith, Ira H. . . . 54
 Smith, J. T., Bourbon co., marriage,
 noted . . . 478
 Smith, Jedediah Strong, note on D. L.
 Morgan's book on . . . 80
 Smith, Jennie, Fauquier co., Va., mar-
 riage, noted . . . 453
 Smith, John W., scout, 1865 . . . 573
 Smith, Dr. Joseph F., Leavenworth,
 marriage, noted . . . 478
 Smith, Mrs. Kate, Finney co. . . . 399, 492
 Smith, Larry, killed by Indians,
 1859 . . . 580, 581
 Smith, Mrs. Lee J. . . . 76, 317
 Smith, Lydia M., marriage, noted . . . 476
 Smith, Michael, Douglas co., marriage,
 noted . . . 478
 Smith, Mike, killed by Indians,
 1859 . . . 580, 581
 Smith, Nathan, editor "Letters of a
 Free-State Man in Kansas,
 1856" . . . 166-172
 Smith, R. M., Atchison . . . 448
 Smith, Mrs. R. M., Kansas City, Mo. . . 54
 Smith, Samuel C. . . . 348
 —prisoner . . . 212, 213
 Smith, Sarah, Belmont, N. Y., mar-
 riage, noted . . . 458
 Smith, T. B., Blue Mound, marriage,
 noted . . . 478
 Smith, Thayne, article by, noted . . . 70
 Smith, Justice William A., on *Annals*
 committee . . . 57
 Smith, William H., Lawrence, marriage,
 noted . . . 478
 Smith, William W., Coffey co., mar-
 riage, noted . . . 478
 Smith Center Rotary Club, note on . . . 149

- Smith county, Dr. B. Higley cabin, note
on 149
- Smith, Green & Co., Lawrence 111
- Smithies, Mrs. Frank, New York 297
- Smith's ferry 87
- Smoky Hill river, name origin, notes
on 402-404, 406
- Smoot, Mary L., marriage, noted 450
- Smyser, J. M., Lindsey 558
- Sneid, Sabera J., St. Joseph, Mo.,
marriage, noted 477
- Snow, Francis H. 422
- Snyder, E., marriage, noted 478
- Snyder, Israel, Richland co., Ohio,
marriage, noted 478
- Snyder, James A., marriage, noted 478
- Snyder, Rev. S. S., Lawrence 452, 456
469, 472, 475, 478, 484
- Sod house, Colby, article on, noted 226
- opened to public 494
- Sod houses, discussion of 118, 119
- Lawrence, 1854, described 47
- Soden, William T., marriage, noted 478
- Soldier creek 83, 405
- Solomon river, name origin, notes on
402-405
- Solomon river valley, article on, noted, 227
- Solomon Valley Pioneer*, Lindsey, 552, 557
- Somers, John G., Newton 64, 66, 307
- Songs of the American Revolution,
donor 291
- Soper, Mrs. Ann, marriage, noted 472
- Soulard, Antoine, 1795 map of, noted, 404
- Soule, William L. G. 105
- Soupene, H. W., Manhattan 89
- Southern Kansas Herald*, Osawatomie,
early issues, given Historical Society, 296
- Sowash, Margaret, marriage, noted 455
- Spalding, Bvt. Brig. Gen. George,
1865 report, quoted 572
- Sparks, Doniphan co., article on, noted, 73
- Spatzier, Nathan, marriage, noted 478
- Spaulding, A. J., marriage, noted 479
- Spaulding, C. C., *Annals of the City of
Kansas* by, note on 191, 192
- Speakman, Warren, Dodge City 230
- Speck, Joseph, Wyandotte 456, 459
- Speer, Clara Aiken, article by, noted 75
- Speer, Judge J. L., marriage, noted 479
- Speer, John, Lawrence 205, 411, 435
- editor *U. S. Biographical Dictionary*
614-616
- notes on 614, 615
- Speer, John M., killed in Quantrill raid, 615
- Speer, Robert, killed in Quantrill raid 615
- Speer-Robinson feud 616
- Spencer, Mrs. C. W., Sedan 79, 399
- Spencer, Eliza C., marriage, noted 482
- Spencer, Rev. Joab, marriage, noted 479
- Spencer, Rev. Julius 448, 464, 477
- Sperry, Mrs. Charles, biographical
sketch, noted 73
- Sperry, Levi, marriage, noted 479
- Spicer, Arthur H., marriage, noted 479
- Spicer, Mary, marriage, noted 483
- Spinning, Sophia C., marriage, noted 480
- Spitler, Marion L., of Indiana,
marriage, noted 479
- Spittle, Sarah Ann, marriage, noted 480
- Spivey, John Gill, marriages, noted 479
- Spooner, E. A., diary, 1849-1850,
microfilmed 54
- Spraggs, Margaret A., marriage, noted, 485
- Sprague, James, marriage, noted 479
- Sprague, Robert G., San Angelo, Tex.,
article by, noted 395
- Spring, L. W., Kansas history by, note
on 637
- Spring River Academy, Cherokee co.,
articles on, noted 71, 488
- Springfield, Mitchell co., history, noted, 73
- Sproul, Clare A., Colorado Springs,
Colo., donor 54
- Squatter sovereignty, A. Wattles
quoted on 204-206
- controversy over 217-220
- note on 2
- W. A. Phillips' attack on 193-198
- Squatters, articles on, 1855, quoted, 96, 97
- Squires, Hester, marriage, noted 466
- Stage drivers, article on, noted 74
- Staley, Edwin, marriage, noted 479
- Stalon, James, marriage, noted 479
- Staly, Patscilla, marriage, noted 450
- Stamp, Kansas territorial commemora-
tive, notes on 4, 151
- Stanisfield, John M., marriage, noted 479
- Stanley, Arthur J., article by, noted 227
- Stanley, Elisha, of Missouri 561, 563
- Stanley, Harriet E. and Harry W.,
donors 295
- Stanley, W. E., death, noted 50
- Stark, Andrew 370
- marriage, noted 479
- Starr, Belle, articles on, noted 316, 395
- Stars and Stripes*, issues given Historical
Society 56
- Stateler, Rev. L. B. 463, 473
- Staudenmayer, Rev. L. R.,
Atchison 448, 454
- marriage, noted 479
- Stauffer, Oscar, donor 55, 296
- Steamboat *Hartford* 113, 492
- Steele, James W. 411
- Steele, Rev. John A., Topeka 460, 472
476, 481
- Steele, Mag. H., marriage, noted 460
- Steele, Mary C., marriage, noted 472
- Steele, Rev. O. C. 448
- Steele, Capt. William, in Kansas, 1860, 585
- Steiner, Mrs. Caroline, marriage, noted, 449
- Steininger, Franz, song by, noted 292
- Stephens, George W., marriage, noted, 479
- Stephens, John W., marriage, noted 479
- Sterling Bulletin* 73
- Stewart, Capt. George H. 578
- Stevens, Anna 295
- Stevens, Frank E., Dixon, Ill., 21, 26, 29
- Stevens, S. N., marriage, noted 479
- Stevens, William, marriage, noted 479
- Stevens, William H., Greenwood co. 466
- Stevenson, Charles S., article by, noted, 491
- Stevenson, Marguerite, Garnett 568
- donor 295
- Stevenson, Myron G. 78
- Stevenson, Robert H., Iola 239
- Stevenson, Thomas, marriage, noted 480
- Stewart, Augusta L., marriage, noted 451
- Stewart, Donald, Independence 64, 307
66, 307
- article by, noted 74
- Stewart, E. J., article by, noted 227
- Stewart, Frances C., marriage, noted 446
- Stewart, Capt. George H., marriage,
noted 480
- Stewart, J. R., Burlingame 473
- Stewart, Rev. J. W. 469
- Stewart, James A., defender of S. D.
Lecompte 197
- Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka 66, 307
- Stewart, Watson, article on, noted 74
- Still, Rev. Abram 470
- Still, Sophia, marriage, noted 462
- Stinson, Samuel A. 360
- Stinson, Thomas N., Tecumseh 15, 474
- Stockmyer, G., Bourbon co. 478
- Stokes, Edwin, marriage, noted 480
- Stone, A. D., 2d artillery, U. S. A.,
marriage, noted 480
- Stone, Augustus D., marriage, noted 480
- Stone, Rev. Hiram, Kickapoo 452, 462
465, 467, 474, 478, 480
- Stone, James M., marriage, noted 480

Stone, Jesse, marriage, noted 480
 Stone, Laura A., marriage, noted 473
 Stone, Rev. M. W., marriage, noted 480
 Stone, Mary B., marriage, noted 481
 Stone, Robert, Topeka 65, 306, 308
 Stone, William, marriage, noted 480
 Stone, as building material,
 1850's 102, 115
 Stone fenceposts, article on, noted 397
 Stormont, Dr. D. W. 369, 370
 Storrs, Rev. L. D., Quindaro 450
 Stowe, Mrs. Harriet Beecher, S. A.
 Douglas described by 11, 12
 Strange, Nancy, marriage, noted 473
 Stranger river, name origin, notes
 on 403, 405
 Stratton, Cliff, donor 297
 Streeter, Tillie E., marriage, noted 453
 Strickler, H. J. 340, 366, 367
 Strike the Tents, by C. F. Horner, note
 on 649
 Stringfellow, Gen. Benjamin F. 153, 206
 —Atchison railroad interests of 165
 Stringfellow, Dr. John H. 199, 206, 208
 —House speaker, 1855 323
 —letter, 1855, quoted 322
 —promoter of statehood idea 208-210
 Strode, Jennie, marriage, noted 484
 Strong, Rev. David 477
 Stroud, Mae (Mrs. Carl), Pittsburg, 76, 317
 Stuart, James E. B., diary, 1860, micro-
 filmed 54
 —in Kansas, 1859-1860 578
 —J. S. Kirwan's comments on 586, 587
 —marriage, noted 480
 Stuart, John, marriage, noted 480
 Stuart, John G., Fort Scott 235
 —marriage, noted 480
 Stubbs, Addison W., children of,
 donors 294, 295, 297, 300
 —family photographs, given Historical
 Society 292
 —manuscripts given Historical Society, 294
 Stubbs, Mahlon 294
 "Stud Book" 626
 Stueckmann, Rev. Charles, Dickinson co.
 pioneer 72
 Sturgis, Lt. Samuel D. 578, 585-587
 Stutler, Boyd B., article by, noted 397
 Suits, Louisa E., marriage, noted 475
 Sullivan, John M., 2d U. S. dragoons,
 marriage, noted 480
 Sullivan, Michael, marriage, noted 480
 Sully, Gen. Alfred, Sioux defeated by 251
 Summers, Col. W. H., Parkville, Mo. 468
 Sumner, Col. Edwin V. 578
 Sumner county, Meeker School District,
 article on, noted 146
 Sutherland, Thomas Jefferson, article
 on, noted 68
 Sutliff, Mary E., marriage, noted 449
 Sutliff, William E., Lawrence 449
 Swainhart, Mary, marriage, noted 464
 Swallow, George C., geologist 334, 368
 Swallow, J. R., Elmdale 369, 370, 455
 Swanson, William, Phillips co. 569
 Swartz, Isaac, marriage, noted 480
 Swatzel, John, marriage, noted 480
 Swedish colony, Marshall co., article
 on, noted 316
 Swedish settlements, in Kansas, notes
 on 497-512 *passim*
 Sweet, Annie B., donor 56, 294, 297
 Sweet, Maria, marriage, noted 473
 Sweet, Timothy B., account books of,
 given Historical Society 294
 Swenson, Andrew, Windom 314
 Swenson, Dr. and Mrs. Carl A. 497
 Swift, Frank B. 423, 428
 Swingley, Sue M., marriage, noted 479
 Swingley, Capt. William, Mansfield 479
 Swisher, F. M., marriage, noted 480

T

Tabor, Emily J., marriage, noted 470
 Tabor, Horace A. W., marker to, noted 492
 Tabor, Milton, article by, noted 316
 —column by, noted 74
 —donor 55, 296
 Tabor Valley school 492
 Taft, Dr. Robert, Lawrence 63, 65, 304, 306, 308
 —"The Appearance and Personality of
 Stephen A. Douglas," article by 33
 —articles in *The Kansas Teacher* by,
 noted 6, 7, 488
 —award to, note on 305
 —chairman of Kansas Territorial Cen-
 tennial Comm. 4, 8n, 50, 64, 288
 —editorials by, noted 68
 —Historical Society president 50, 60, 62, 64, 65
 —"Joseph Becker's Sketch of the
 Gettysburg Ceremony, November 19,
 1863," article by 257-263
 —note on 4, 8n, 50, 64, 257n
 —speeches by, noted 5, 289, 399
 —*The Years on Mount Oread* by, note
 on 496
 Taggart, John, biographical sketch,
 noted 226
 Tait, John W., *Fighting Wagons to
 Santa Fe* by, noted 232
 Talbot, Thomas, of Missouri 561, 563
 Tappan, Anna, marriage, noted 460
 Tappan, Samuel F. 199, 211, 610
 —1854 letter quoted 38
 —prisoner 212, 213
 Tauromee, post office, 1856-1858 92, 94
 Tavernier, Jules, sketch by facing 568
 Taylor, Adalissa H., marriage, noted 455
 Taylor, E. L., marriage, noted 480
 Taylor, E. S., Lake co., Ill., marriage,
 noted 463
 Taylor, Elizabeth, marriage, noted 482
 Taylor, Ella Jane Gilbert Gough, mar-
 riage, noted 465
 Taylor, Elliot, marriage, noted 480
 Taylor, Harold O., Pittsburg, articles by,
 noted 315
 Taylor, Iva 91
 Taylor, James E., Sharon Springs 66, 307
 Taylor, John M., Leavenworth 453, 476
 Taylor, Mrs. Manny, article by, noted 145
 Taylor, Mary, Elizaville, Ky., marriage,
 noted 468
 Taylor, Richard Baxter 411, 414, 420, 429, 430, 442
 —newspaper history by, noted 428, 429
 —photograph facing 432
 Tear, Grace, donor 295
 Tebbs, Julia E., Platte City, Mo., mar-
 riage, noted 468
 Tecumseh, history pamphlet, note on 151
 Teed, Mrs. C. W., Hodgeman co. 78, 317
 Tegart, James, marriage, noted 480
 Telfer, Dr. James, marriage, noted 480
 Templar, George, Arkansas City 65, 306, 308
 Templeton, J. N., marriage, noted 481
 Tennessee soldiers (12th cavalry), in
 Kansas, 1865 572-575
 Tenney, Rev. M. D., Mound City 448
 Terrass, Mrs. Catherine, marriage,
 noted 458
 Terrill, Chauncey L., marriage, noted 481
 Territorial Kansas: *Studies Commemo-
 rating the Centennial*, note on 495, 496
 Terry, E. E., Olathe, donor 54, 56
 Thacher, Helen Marion, Hornellsville,
 N. Y., marriage, noted 459
 Thacher, Solon O., speech, 1861, note
 on 351, 352

- Thacher, Timothy Dwight 374, 420
 —1858 editorial quoted 341, 342
 —marriage, noted 481
 —note on 341
 Thaw, Mrs. —, aid to Kansans,
 1890's, article on, noted 397
 Thayer, Eli, Emigrant Aid Co. leader . . . 3
 Tholen, William, marriage, noted . . . 481
 Thomas, Chester, Topeka 457
 Thomas, E. A., Topeka 64, 66, 307
 Thomas, Helen M., marriage, noted . . . 457
 Thomas, Mrs. Lloyd, Fort Scott 399
 Thomas, Martha, Platte co., Mo., mar-
 riage, noted 459
 Thomas, S. J., Spring, Pa., marriage,
 noted 481
 Thomas, S. M., marriage, noted . . . 481
 Thomas, Rev. W. 457, 484
 Thomas, Rev. W. O. 453, 463
 Thomas, William H., marriage, noted . . 481
 Thomas county, article on, noted . . . 143
 —school, ca. 1900, photograph facing 496
 Thompson, Ben, arrested, note on . . . 72
 Thompson, Daniel, marriage, noted . . . 481
 Thompson, George S., marriage, noted . . 481
 Thompson, Lt. John A. 578
 Thompson, Louise, marriage, noted . . . 471
 Thompson, M. Jeff, St. Joseph, Mo.,
 mayor 156
 Thompson, Nancy, marriage, noted . . . 454
 Thompson, Col. R. T., marriage, noted . . 481
 Thompson, S. P., Topeka, marriage,
 noted 481
 Thompson, W. F., Topeka, death,
 noted 50
 Thompson, William P., Topeka, mar-
 riage, noted 481
 Thomson, Albert, Hutchinson, article
 by, noted 489
 Thornton, Rev. A. M., Burlingame . . . 448
 Thresher, Charles A., diaries, given
 Historical Society 54
 —marriage, noted 481
 Threshing Machine canyon, article on,
 noted 489
 Thurman, Mrs. Hedwig, marriage,
 noted 485
 Thurston, Carry M., Providence, R. I.,
 marriage, noted 479
 Thurston, Phebe A., marriage, noted . . 460
 Tidyman, Mrs. Bess, donor 54
 Tilberg, Dr. Frederick, Gettysburg,
 Pa. 259-261, 263n
 Tillotson, Raymond 230
 Tilmore, Thomas M., marriage, noted . . 458
 Tilton, Col. W. S., WaKeeney pioneer . . 75
 Tipton, William, marriage, noted . . . 481
 Tipton, history, noted 73
 —Zion Lutheran church, article on,
 noted 314
To the Stars, issues of, noted 141, 289
 Tod, David, of Ohio 260n
 Todd, Riley, marriage, noted 481
 Todhunter, Evan, marriage, noted . . . 481
 Todhunter, J. D., Lawrence 483
 Tolle, Nancy Ann, marriage, noted . . . 463
 Tolles, Francis O., marriage, noted . . . 481
 Tolles, Dr. L. C., marriage, noted . . . 482
 Tombaugh, Clyde, article on, noted . . . 145
 Tomlinson, William F., Kansas book
 by, noted 187, 188
 Tonne, Father Arthur, bood by, note
 on 649
 Tonsing, Bob, Sr., article by, noted . . . 142
 Tonsing, Rev. Ernest, Topeka, donor . . 297
 Tontz, John, marriage, noted 482
 Toothaker, Mrs. C. E., article by,
 noted 144
 Topeka, articles on, noted 148, 316
 —centennial celebration, note on 5
 Topeka, Christ's Hospital, records,
 microfilmed 295
 —fall festivals, article on, noted 70
 —First Congregational church, history,
 note on 648
 —Grace Cathedral, records,
 microfilmed 295
 —Mills and Smith, realtors 284
 —Potwin history, article on, noted . . . 70, 228
 316, 646
 Topeka *Commonwealth*, notes on . . . 418-421
 Topeka *Daily Capital*, Milt Tabor
 column in, noted 74
 —75th anniv. ed., note on 148
 Topeka High School, burning of, 1935,
 article on 646
 Topeka Public Library, donor 52, 297
 Topeka *State Journal*, microfilmed . . . 55, 295
 Topeka *State Record*, microfilmed . . . 296
 Topeka statehood movement, Wattles'
 treatment of 207-210
 Topeka Turnverein, article on, noted . . . 70
 Topeka *Weekly Leader*, microfilmed . . . 296
 Topeka's 100 Years of Inspired Leader-
 ship, pamphlet, note on 152
 Topping, J. W., Ness co., reminiscences,
 noted 566
 Toronto *Republican* 144
 Torrey, R. U., marriage, noted 482
 Totten, Thomas, Paola 472
 Towanda, articles on, noted 141
 Tower, Philo, *Slavery Unmasked* by,
 noted 187
 Town, and county histories, Kansas,
 bibliography 513-551
 Townsley, James 616, 617, 630
 Townsley, Will, Great Bend 306, 308
 Tracy, Ida E., marriage, noted 485
 Transportation, Kansas problem,
 1850's-1860's 334-338
 Trapp, Elder W. R. 470
 Treat, L. S., marriage, noted 482
 Tree planting, Hays, article on, noted . . 69
 Trego county, article on, noted 75
 —Banner church, article on, noted . . . 148
 Tribou, Mary W., Middleborough,
 Mass., marriage, noted 465
 Trickay, E. L., marriage, noted 482
 Trotter, Lavinia, Edwards co. 493
 Trotter, Mrs. R. L. 76
 Troup, Mrs. Loleta M.,
 Kansas City 79, 399
 Troy, centennial plans, noted 647
 —Lincoln's visit to, article on, noted . . 397
 Truaxe, Joseph, marriage, noted 482
 True West, Austin, Tex., article in,
 noted 144
 Truex, Mary, Andrew co., Mo.,
 marriage, noted 470
 Trull, Susanne E., article by, noted . . . 491
 Trusler, Harold 398
 Tull, William, marriage, noted 482
 Tully, Mrs. Kathryn, donor 56
 Turner, James, Chillicothe, Mo.,
 marriage, noted 482
 Turner, Mary Frances, Platte co., Mo.,
 marriage, noted 454
 Turnverein, in Topeka, article on,
 noted 70
 Turpen, Moses, Keighley pioneer 146
 Tursler, H. P. 79
 Turtle, Howard, articles by, noted, 145, 397
 Tuskegee Institute 77
 Tuttle, Charles Richard, history of
 Kansas by, discussed 599-611
 —letters by 601, 603, 604
 —notes on 599-607
 Tuttle, Hattie A., marriage, noted . . . 453
 Twelfth Tennessee cavalry, in Kansas,
 1865 572-575
 Twiggs, Gen. David E. 587

- Twombly, Benjamin H., marriage,
noted 482
Tyson Brothers, Gettysburg,
Pa. 257n, 260n

U

- Uhrich, Mrs. Burns H., donor 54
Uligh, Adah, marriage, noted 476
Ulysses, article on, noted 491
Umbarger, George W., marriage, noted, 482
Underground railway, novel on, noted, 282
Unglesby, Dr. Ina Hunter, article by,
noted 146
Union Church Edifice Society,
Comanche co., history microfilmed... 54
Union Pacific railroad, Pawnee Capitol
restored by 324, 325
United Brick and Tile Co., Iola 245
United States, Library of Congress,
Kan.-Neb. exhibit, 1954 4
United States Biographical Dictionary:
Kansas Volume, discussed 611-617
United Zinc and Chemical Co., Iola 245
University of Kansas 289
—Dyche Museum, article on, noted... 70
—history conference, 1955, note on... 647
—Kansas Centennial History
Conference at 150
Upham, David, marriage, noted 482

V

- Valentine, L. F., Clay Center, articles
by, noted 69, 488, 566
Vallandigham, Mary Ann, marriage,
noted 455
Valley Falls, article on, noted 227
Valley Falls *Vindicator* 227
Van Bebber, Tom 647
Vancil, Isaac C., marriage, noted 482
Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia, 66, 307
Vanderhoff, J. W., Salina 150
Vandeventer, Irenia, marriage, noted... 457
Vandever, Jennie, marriage, noted 450
Van Fossen, C. H., Lafayette, Ind.,
marriage, noted 482
Vang, Mrs. Joe 493
Vangundy, Rachael, marriage, noted... 476
Van Horn, H. C., marriage, noted 482
Van Horn, R. T., Kansas City, Mo.,
editor 192, 278
Vanier, John J., Salina, article on,
noted 227
—Junia ranch buyer 88n
Vannerson, J., Washington, D. C.,
daguerreotypist 32, 33
Van Ness, Peter, marriage, noted 482
Van Ripper, John, story by, noted 491
Vanskike, Daniel, Shelby co., Mo. 482
Vanslyck, A. N., marriage, noted 482
Vanslyke, J. M., marriage, noted 482
Vansyckle, S. B., marriages, noted, 482, 483
Vaughan, Champion, Leavenworth
—marriage, noted 358-360
Vaughan, William A. M. 339
Veale, George W. 412
Velsor, J. N., marriage, noted 483
Velthoen, Florine, Garnett 568
Vermillion creek, note on 405
Vetteto, Jane, marriage, noted 447
Vetteto, Maria C., marriage, noted 461
Vial, Pedro, 1793 journey of, noted... 404
Victor, history, noted 73
Victoria, Ellis co., article on, noted... 489
Vieau, Louis, marriage, noted 483
Vincent, Mrs. Irwin, Topeka 79
Vincent, Virette, marriage, noted 480
Vinot, Josephine, marriage, noted 483
Vinson, Mrs. Ida M., Chase co. 76
231, 648

Vital records. See "Marriage Notices
1854-1861."

- Voelker, Frederick E. 319
Voght, John, marriage, noted 483
Volk, Leonard W., Douglas statues by,
noted 18n, 25, 31
von der Heiden, Mrs. W. H.,
Newton 64, 66, 307
Vredenburg, Frank, marriage, noted... 483
Vycital, Frank 230

W

- Wabaunsee, Beecher Bible and Rifle
Colony marker at, noted 492
Wabaunsee county, Mount Mitchell in,
bequeathed to Historical Society... 63, 301
Waconda, article on, noted 73
Waconda Springs, A. B. Gentleman's
history of, note on 151
—articles on, noted 73, 313
Waddell, Thomas, Lindsey 553, 555
Wade, Anna E., Oregon, Mo., marriage,
noted 447
Waggener, B. P., Atchison mayor 165
Waibel, Mrs. Marie, marriage, noted... 454
Wakarusa river, name origin, notes on, 402
403, 405
Wakarusa war 212
WaKeency, article on, noted 75
Wakefield, John A. 92
Walbourn, Edwin J., El Dorado 150
—article by, noted 150
Walker, A. P., marriage, noted 483
Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton 64, 66, 307
Walker, Martha R., marriage, noted... 448
Walker, Mary J., marriage, noted 467
Walker, R. E., marriage, noted 483
Walker, Russell W., St. John, photo-
graph by facing 320
Walker, William, photograph facing 352
—Wyandotte leader 339, 641
Walker, Capt. William S. 578
Walking, Orlando, marriage, noted... 483
Wallace, Cristena, marriage, noted... 478
Wallenstein, Marcel, article by, noted... 491
Walling, W. B., marriage, noted 483
Walnut Valley Times, El Dorado, micro-
filmed 55
Walter, George, *History of Kansas* by,
noted 185
Walters, Ben, Hanover 149
Walton, Eliza H., marriage, noted 448
Walton Foundry, Iola 245
Ward, Artemus, friend of D. W. Wilder,
363
Ward, Bill, Sharon Springs 494
Ward, Chandler H., marriage, noted... 483
Ward, Christopher, marriage, noted... 483
Ward, D. M., Peabody 295
Ward, Mrs. D. M., Peabody, donor 297
Ward, Fenn 398
Ward, Mrs. Fenn 398
Ward, Rev. William R., Oskaloosa... 453
Ware, Virginia, marriage, noted 462
Wark, George H., Caney 66, 307
Warner, Mrs. W. P., Ford co. 400
Washburn, Avery 297
—letters, 1857-1878, noted 316
Washburn College, Topeka, records, mi-
crofilmed 54
Washunga, descendant of, noted 300
Waterson, G. W., Doniphan co. 456
Waterson, Nannie, marriage, noted... 456
Waterson, Thomas W. 466, 476, 483
Watkins, Ethel, article by, noted 142
Watson, Frank, marriage, noted 483
Watson, John, Wichita, articles by,
noted 71, 142, 226
Watson, John H., Columbus, Miss. 483
Watson, John W., marriage, noted 483
Watson, S., marriage, noted 483

- Watson, Judge Samuel, Oregon, Mo. . . 464
 Watson, Sarah Ellen, Oregon, Mo., marriage, noted . . . 464
 Watson, Thomas, marriage, noted . . . 483
 Watson, William H., Argonia mayor . . 175
 Wattles, Augustus . . . 347
 —"A Complete History of Kansas" by, discussed . . . 202-214
 —note on . . . 202
 Wattles family, comment on . . . 347
 Way, Mrs. Sebrah, marriage, noted . . 473
 Wayman, John, Emporia . . . 449
 —marriage, noted . . . 483
 Weather, in Kansas, 1952, article on, noted . . . 68
 Weaver, Mrs. Benjamin O. . . . 54, 78
 Weaver, John W., marriage, noted . . 483
 Weaver, Marietta, article by, noted . . 147
 Weaver, Vancy A., Pioneer, Ohio, marriage, noted . . . 455
 Webb, C. C. . . . 398
 Webb, Mrs. C. C., Highland . . . 398
 Webb, Thomas H., collection, note on . . . 439, 444
 —Emigrant Aid Co. leader . . . 3
 Webster, C. D., refinery operator . . . 244
 Webster, Mary, Carondelet, Mo., marriage, noted . . . 467
 Webster, Thomas F., marriage, noted . . 484
 Wedel, Waldo R., writings of, noted, 638n
 Wedin, Mrs. Paul H., Wichita . . . 79, 399
 Weed, Dr. T. J., marriage, noted . . . 484
 Wegman, Mrs. Elmer . . . 295
 Weil, Regina, Cincinnati, Ohio, marriage, noted . . . 467
 Weillepp, Edward, Topeka . . . 295
 Weiler, Henry, marriage, noted . . . 484
 Welch, Dr. J. W. . . . 484
 Welch, S. K., Andrew co., Mo., marriage, noted . . . 484
 Welch, Walter J., Denver City, marriage, noted . . . 484
 Weld, Lewis L., Leavenworth . . . 360
 Welker, Sarah Frances, marriage, noted, 481
 Weller, Solomon, Newmarket, Mo., marriage, noted . . . 484
 Wellington, C. G., article by, noted . . 491
 Wellington, George Y., Pacific City, Iowa, marriage, noted . . . 484
 Wellington, lynching, 1872, article on, noted . . . 396
 Wells, Polly E., marriage, noted . . . 468
 Wells, T. R., Chase co. . . . 76
 Wells, Thomas C. . . . 93
 Wells, Velma, Great Bend, article by, noted . . . 147
 Wells Fargo Express Co. chest, given Historical Society . . . 56
 Welsh, Rev. Joseph, Minneola . . . 484
 Wentworth, E. R., Russell, donor . . . 294
 Wentworth, H., & Co., Russell, records, given Historical Society . . . 294
 Wentworth, John P., marriage, noted . . 460
 Wentz, Charley, Hays, article on, noted, 69
 Werner, John, driller . . . 238, 239
 Wertz, William J., Topeka, donor . . . 54
 Wessells, Capt. Henry W., at Fort Larned, 1860 . . . 585
 West, Mrs. Adelaide (King), Healdsburg, Cal., donor . . . 297
 West, G. M., memoirs of Oregon trail journey, 1853, microfilmed . . . 295
 West Hampton . . . 73
 Westerfield, Kate L., Platte co., Mo., marriage, noted . . . 460
Western Border Life, novel, note on . . . 187, 214
Western Kansas World, WaKeeney, 75th anniversary edition, noted . . . 75
Western Spirit, Paola, articles in, noted . . . 73
Western Times, The, Sharon Springs . . 143
 Western University, article on, noted . . 78
Westerners Brand Book, The, note on, 72
 Westmoreland, article on, noted . . . 146
Westmoreland Recorder . . . 146
 Weston and Atchison railroad . . . 158, 160, 161, 164
Westward the Briton, by R. G. Athearn, note on . . . 80
Westward the Way, note on . . . 319
 Wetherbee, Amory, marriage, noted . . 484
 Wetzel, Christian F., Geary co. . . . 494
 Wetzel, Susan, marriage, noted . . . 468
 Wharton, E. K., Powhattan, donor, 295, 297
 Wheaden, A., marriage, noted . . . 484
 Wheat, Rev. Benoni . . . 448, 461, 468
 Wheeler, J. B., Palermo . . . 343
 Whelan, Mollie E., marriage, noted . . 450
 Whinery, Jason, marriage, noted . . . 484
 Whistler, William, marriage, noted . . 484
 Whiston, Jesse, marriage, noted . . . 484
 Whitaker, Emeline, marriage, noted . . 482
 White, George, Leavenworth, marriage, noted . . . 484
 White, Henry, Leavenworth . . . 364
 White, Hiram, marriage, noted . . . 484
 White, Mrs. M., marriage, noted . . . 483
 White, Mary, Hunter co., marriage, noted . . . 472
 White, Mrs. Mary E., marriage, noted, 484
 White, Mrs. Mary Hutton, article on, noted . . . 313
 White, Rev. Robert B. . . . 483
 White, Thomas, Butler co., marriage, noted . . . 484
White City Register . . . 144
 Whitehead, Hannah M., marriage, noted, 474
 Whitehorn, Dr. Samuel, marriage, noted, 484
 Whitehurst, —, Douglas photograph by, noted . . . 16
 Whitesides, T. B., marriage, noted . . . 484
 Whitfield, John W. . . . 92
 Whiting, Carrie, marriage, noted . . . 485
 Whiting, Julia, marriage, noted . . . 476
 Whitlock, Grant, McCune, biographical sketch, noted . . . 228
 Whitlock, Luiticia Caroline, marriage, noted . . . 463
 Whitlock, William, marriage, noted . . 484
 Whitney, Rev. E., Elwood . . . 449, 470, 472
 Whitney, Elvira, marriage, noted . . . 448
 Whitney, R. C., Junction City mayor . . 470
 Whitney, R. C., Ottawa co. commissioner . . . 552
 Whittemore, Margaret, *Historic Kansas*, review, noted . . . 227
 Whittier, John Greenleaf, advice by, noted . . . 313
 Whyte, Mrs. Martha Ann B., marriage, noted . . . 447
 Wichita, article on, noted . . . 142
 —First Presbyterian Church, article on, noted . . . 142
 —Munger House, article on, noted . . . 396
Wichita Beacon . . . 68, 142, 229, 314, 315
Wichita Eagle . . . 149, 396, 397
Wichita Evening Eagle, articles in, noted . . . 71, 142, 227
 —microfilmed . . . 295
Wichita Historical Museum, article on, noted . . . 68
Wichita Historical Museum Assn., 1954 meeting, note on . . . 149
 —1955 meeting, note on . . . 492
Wichita Morning Eagle, microfilmed . . 295
Wichita Public Library, donor . . . 52
Wichita Sunday Beacon, progress edition, Feb., 1954, noted . . . 75
Wichita Sunday Eagle . . . 142
 Wicker, Leonardo D., marriage, noted, 485
 Wielej, Dexter, marriage, noted . . . 485
 Wight, Pearl, article by, noted . . . 71
 Wilbert, Paul, Crawford co. . . . 76, 317

- Wilbor, Caroline A., Little Compton, R. I., marriage, noted . . . 482
 Wilcox, Abbie M., marriage, noted . . . 470
 Wilcox, Dr. John, marriage, noted . . . 485
 Wilcox, P. P., Atchison . . . 446, 449, 459, 466, 469
Wild West, Pictorial History of the, note on . . . 320
 Wilder, A. Carter . . . 360
 Wilder, Daniel Webster . . . 352, 361, 410, 411, 418, 420, 422, 429-431, 434, 442
 —*Annals of Kansas* by, discussed, 413-415, 422-428
 —notes on . . . 598, 600, 605, 607, 627
 —biographical note . . . 413
 —comment on Holloway's history . . . 285, 286
 —criticism of Andreas-Cutler history by, 627
 —diary, quoted . . . 600, 604, 605
 —letters and diaries, given Historical Society . . . 54
 —photograph . . . facing 433
 Wilder, John H., marriage, noted . . . 485
 Wilder, Lucie M., marriage, noted . . . 486
 Wilder, Samuel, birth, noted . . . 427
 Wiley, Anton F., marriage, noted . . . 485
 Wilhite, E. S., marriage, noted . . . 485
 Wilhoit, J. W., White Cloud . . . 446
 Wilkerson, Lucy F., Boone co., Mo., marriage, noted . . . 479
 Wilkins, Mrs. W., Dickinson co. . . 318
 Wilkinson, James . . . 402, 405
 Willard, Frances E., letter, 1887, quoted . . . 181
 Willard, George O., letter quoted . . . 89, 90
 William Allen White Foundation, 1954 meeting, note on . . . 318, 319
 William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo. . . 55
 Williams, Adonijah, marriage, noted . . . 485
 Williams, Catherine, marriage, noted . . . 484
 Williams, Charles A., Bentley . . . 66, 307
 Williams, E. W., Leavenworth, marriage, noted . . . 485
 Williams, Rev. F. M. . . 477
 Williams, Henry, Wakarusa, marriage, noted . . . 485
 Williams, Henry H., Osawatimie, 1856 letters of . . . 167-172
 —marriage, noted . . . 485
 —prisoner . . . 166-172
 Williams, Hugh, marriage, noted . . . 485
 Williams, J. A., Madison co. . . 458
 Williams, J. R., Houston, Mo., recollections, noted . . . 314
 Williams, John S., marriage, noted . . . 485
 Williams, Julia E., Washington, D. C., marriage, noted . . . 473
 Williams, L. D., Stanton . . . 481
 Williams, L. P., of Mississippi, marriage, noted . . . 485
 Williams, N. S., marriage, noted . . . 469
 Williams, William A., Eugene, Ore. . . 647
 Williamson, Hugh Pritchard, article by, noted . . . 75
 Williamson, R. M., marriage, noted . . . 451
 Willkie, Wendell, exhibit, Coffeyville, noted . . . 317
 —note on . . . 149
 Wilmarth, Lewis C., marriage, noted . . . 485
 Wilmarth, Sarah A., marriage, noted . . . 457
 Wilson, —, killed by E. Chapman, 1856 . . . 167, 170
 Wilson, Andrew W., article by, noted . . . 145
 Wilson, Anna M., biographical sketch, noted . . . 226
 Wilson, Mrs. Bertha, Rexford . . . 150
 Wilson, C. N. . . 91
 Wilson, Emily T., marriage, noted . . . 485
 Wilson, H. P., story by, noted . . . 566
 Wilson, James T., Platte co., Mo., marriage, noted . . . 485
 Wilson, Rev. John, Salina . . . 397
 Wilson, John L., Pottawatomie co., marriage, noted . . . 485
 Wilson, Levi, marriage, noted . . . 485
 Wilson, Mattie, marriage, noted . . . 460
 Wilson, R. R., Grant co., story by, noted . . . 491
 Wilson, Rev. William . . . 447, 449, 460, 463, 471, 474, 483
 Wilson county, natural gas found in . . . 237, 238
Wilson County Citizen, Fredonia . . . 74, 229, 237, 313
 Wilson family, Rush co. pioneers, article on, noted . . . 145
 Winans, H. K., marriage, noted . . . 485
 Winants, A., marriage, noted . . . 485
 Winchester, Jennie E., of Michigan, marriage, noted . . . 446
 Winchester, article on, noted . . . 143
Winchester Star . . . 143
 Windle, Mary Jane, S. A. Douglas described by . . . 12
 Windom, Andover Lutheran church, article on, noted . . . 314
 Winfield, 1953 progress, survey of, noted . . . 75
Winfield Daily Courier . . . 491
 —Achievement edition, Feb., 1954, noted . . . 75
 Winget, Jacob, Holt co., Mo., marriage, noted . . . 486
 Winsett, Rebecca W., marriage, noted . . . 449
 Winslow, Isaiah P., Padonia . . . 451, 455, 458, 479
 Winter, Otto, Sharon . . . 228
 Winters, Gussie E., marriage, noted . . . 459
 Winters, M. S., marriage, noted . . . 486
 Winthrop, founded, 1858 . . . 157
 Winton, John R., marriage, noted . . . 486
 Wisconsin colony, Russell co., minute book, microfilmed . . . 295
 Wise, Elizabeth, marriage, noted . . . 446
 Wisner, Elder M. L., Manhattan . . . 473
 Wisner, Mary A., marriage, noted . . . 473
 Withers, Lizzie, marriage, noted . . . 457
 Withers, Mrs. Mary, marriage, noted . . . 476
 Witten, Rev. James . . . 463
 Witten, Tryphosa, marriage, noted . . . 463
 Witwer, Samuel O., article on, noted . . . 141
 Wohlgenuth, Elizabeth, article by, noted . . . 144
 Woke, Christina, Ottawa . . . 54
 Wolf, Mrs. Arthur W., Johnson co., 76, 317
 Wolf, Mrs. C. A., Topeka, donor . . . 297
 Wolfe, Mrs. W. O., Lawrence . . . 79
 Wolfersperger, John N., Lindsey . . . 559
 Wolfersperger, Vesta, Lindsey . . . 558
 Wolfersperger family, Ottawa co. . . 558
 Wolford, Louisa, marriage, noted . . . 452
 Wolfskill, William, of Missouri . . . 561, 563
 Woman mayor, first in U. S., article on . . . 173-183
 Woman's Kansas Day Club, donor . . . 52, 54, 291, 297
 —1954 meeting, note on . . . 79
 —1955 meeting, note on . . . 398, 399
 —plague to Mrs. S. M. Salter . . . 182, 183
 Women, as mayors, 1888, note on . . . 179
 —excluded from historical society, 1859, 1860 . . . 344, 347, 348, 350, 362
 Wood, Annette M., Springfield, Ill., marriage, noted . . . 445
 Wood, Dean Earl, donor . . . 295
 Wood, J. P., Lawrence . . . 108
 Wood, Mrs. James D. . . 76
 Wood, Lavinia, marriage, noted . . . 478
 Wood, Mary E., marriage, noted . . . 482
 Wood, Mary M., Homer, Mich., marriage, noted . . . 451
 Wood, Mrs. Paul B. . . 648

- Wood, Samuel Newitt . . 35, 199, 202, 205
 211, 449, 610
 —biographical sketch, noted . . . 617
 —diary, 1854, note on . . . 396
 —lecture by, noted . . . 438
 —part in Branson rescue discussed . . 211
 Wood, Capt. Thomas . . . 578
 Woodard, Mrs. Sarah (Dyer) . . . 93
 Woodhull, S. Y., Ottawa co. . . 555
 Woodley, A. E., New Castle, Canada
 West, marriage, noted . . . 467
 Woodring, Harry N., Topeka . 65, 306, 308
 Woodruff, Martha M., marriage, noted, 465
 Woods, Harry L., Fulton, donor . . . 54
 Woods, Lucy Almira, marriage, noted, 457
 Woods, Rex, donor . . . 55, 296
 Woodson, Daniel . . . 610
 —at Pawnee . . . 323
 Woodson county, article on, noted . . 144
 Woodward, Mrs. B. W., donor . . . 295
 Woodward, Brinton Webb . . . 343, 346
 347, 349
 —marriage, noted . . . 486
 —photograph . . . *facing* 353
 Woodward, Emma, marriage, noted . . 449
 Woodward, Rev. D. J. . . . 482
 Woodward, Margaret, marriage, noted, 474
 Woolard, Samuel F., Wichita . . . 324
 Woolman, Mary J., marriage, noted . . 461
 Wooster, Dr. L. D., Hays, talks by,
 noted . . . 318, 492
 Wooster, Lorraine E., death, noted . . 50
 Wooten, Mrs. Guy . . . 400
 Wormley, Susanna, Marshall, Mich.,
 marriage, noted . . . 461
 Wright, Anna A., marriage, noted . . 486
 Wright, Annie J., marriage, noted . . 458
 Wright, Benjamin, Breckinridge co. . 486
 Wright, Caroline, marriage, noted . . 452
 Wright, Charles W., marriage, noted . 486
 Wright, Harold Bell, article on, noted . 490
 Wright, Rev. J. B., Leavenworth . 450, 472
 Wright, Mrs. Marion O., Leavenworth, 364
 Wright, Oren "Bud," article by, noted, 141
 Wright, Rev. T. G. . . . 484
 Wright, William, Jr., marriage, noted . 486
 Wyandotte, early days, article on,
 noted . . . 397
 Wyandotte County Historical Society,
 activities, noted . . . 493
 —1953 meeting, note on . . . 77
 —1955 meeting, note on . . . 399
 —note on . . . 78
 Wyandotte Lodge No. 3, A. F. & A. M.,
 history, noted . . . 231
- Y
- Yager, Mrs. William . . . 317
 Yates, Nolen, Dighton, articles by,
 noted . . . 229
 Yoakum, Helen, Leavenworth co. . . 318
 Yoakum, Mary E., marriage, noted . . 455
 Yocum, Mary, marriage, noted . . . 455
 Yocum, Tice, Atchison . . . 455
 Yost, Larry, Dodge City . . . 230
 Young, Mrs. Ada . . . 76
 Young, Cassidonia, marriage, noted . 475
 Young, Don, Jr., Dodge City . . . 230
 Young, Emily C., marriage, noted . . 481
 Young, Mary J., marriage, noted . . 467
 Young, Robert, Douglas co.,
 marriage, noted . . . 486
 Young, William, marriage, noted . . 486
 Your Government, university
 publication, notes on . . . 7, 68
- Z
- Zane, Mrs. Ben, Protection . . . 78, 318
 Zeigler, L. J., marriage, noted . . . 475
 Zimmerman, Chester L., Clark co. . . 318
 Zimmerman, John Calvin, marriage,
 noted . . . 486
 Zinc smelters, at Iola . . . 240-245
 —photographs . . . *facing* 240

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