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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

KIRKE MECHEM, Editor
JAMES C. MALIN, Associate Editor



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Volume IV

Number 1

February, 1935

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Ferries in Kansas

PART VI—SMOKY HILL RIVER

GEORGE A. ROOT

ACCORDING to an early edition of *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, the word "Kansas" in the Indian vernacular means "Smoky Water."¹ This reference applies particularly to the stream commonly known as the Smoky Hill. Indians who had lived and hunted along this stream for ages considered the Smoky Hill and Kansas rivers one and the same stream.

The Smoky Hill river is shown on early maps as the River of the Padoucas, from the fact that the stream has its source in territory occupied for ages by the Comanche Indians, or, as they were first known, Padoucas. The earliest reference to the stream we have located is found on D'Anville's map of 1732 which shows the Smoky Hill and Kansas as one river and calls it the River of the Padoucas.² A map of British and French settlements in North America, published about 1758, names the stream the Padoucas river. Pike, the explorer, encountered the stream while on his way to the village of the Pawnees on the Republican river, in 1806, and his chart of this trip gives the name as the Smoky Hill, this being, so far as we have discovered, the first mention of the stream under this name, though the name must have attached some time prior to his visit. John C. McCoy, who surveyed the Shawnee lands in Kansas in 1833, reached the river at a point about 200 miles west of the Missouri state line, and he called it the Smoky Hill. Schoolcraft, the historian, called the stream the Smoky Hill or Topeka river; Frémont called it the Smoky Hill Fork; and Max Greene, in his *The Kansas Region*, published in 1855, mentions the river, and says the Indian name for it was "Chetolah." The Plains Indians had another name for it, calling it the "Okesee-sebo."³

James R. Mead, an early hunter, trapper and trader on the plains during the latter 1850's and 1860's, has the following regarding the origin of the name: "The Smoky Hill river takes its name from the isolated buttes within the great bend, landmarks widely known, to be seen from a great distance through an atmosphere frequently hazy from smoke."⁴

1. Junction City Union, January 5, 1867.

2. Copy of original map in the Kansas State Historical Society.

3. Junction City Union, August 6, 1864.

4. Kansas Academy of Science, *Transactions*, v. 18, p. 215.

George Bird Grinnell, the historian, has a different version of the origin of the name. He says that a large grove of cottonwoods about twenty-five miles west of old Fort Wallace, an old camping ground and burial place of the Indians along the river, was a landmark in that locality and could be seen for miles. At a distance those trees appeared like a cloud of smoke, thus giving rise to the name Smoky Hill, which he said was given by the Indians.⁵

In 1926 the topography of the Smoky Hill basin, which lies alongside the river, about four miles southeast of Sharon Springs, Wallace county, underwent a sudden and startling change. As the account of this convulsion of nature has a bearing on the origin of the name of the river, it is given here along with other interesting data. On the morning of March 9, between seven and eight o'clock, the bottom suddenly dropped out of the basin, leaving a gaping hole about 150x100 feet in size, and over a hundred feet deep. Old-timers remember when the Smoky Hill basin was a bottomless pool twenty-five or thirty years ago. Since that time through some mysterious workings of nature, the pool filled up with shale and clay. John T. Steele, of Abilene, writing to the editor of *The Western Times*, of Sharon Springs, in its issue of March 18, 1926, said:

I am going to tell you some ancient history with which you may not be familiar, about the basin, a part of which is an echo of Indian tradition that has been handed down to us about the peculiar phenomena of the Smoky Hill disappearing like it does, at what we call the basin. John Robb, who as you know, was a scout at Fort Wallace, told me thirty years ago, that the Indians were to a certain extent very suspicious of the place. And that it was reported by them that the pool at the basin had no bottom.

He said "that some soldiers in 1876, from the Fort, who had absorbed some of this Indian tradition, came out to test the truth of their statements. They had 500 feet of rope which he saw lowered into the pool at the basin, to which was added several lasso ropes contributed by interested cowboys, and that in all about 630 feet of weighted rope was let down in a vain attempt to touch bottom."

In March of 1913, I think it was, I visited the basin and was surprised to find it dry, except for a pool in the northwest side, about sixteen feet in diameter. The temporary bottom was less than twenty feet below the usual water level, and this small pool contained a ton or more of frozen fish.

The Kansas City *Star* sent a correspondent to the scene who stayed a week to report any changes. He stated that a strange blue haze hangs over the narrow bed through the summer, and suggested that perhaps the Indians who named it saw smoke issuing from the pool through volcanic action. Within a couple of weeks the cave-in had

5. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17, p. 198.

attained startling proportions, being at least 450 feet long from east to west and 300 feet north and south. From the east line of the cave-in it was 150 feet down to the water line, and the water by actual measurement was 180 feet in depth.⁶

The Smoky Hill in the early days traversed the center of the finest hunting country east of the Rocky Mountains. Along the stream and its various tributaries immense herds of buffalo,⁷ and countless deer, elk, antelope and smaller game fed. For years it was considered a hunter's paradise. Every year hunting parties of the various Plains Indians went there on their annual hunts, to kill and cure sufficient meat to last till the next hunting season. There was an abundance of game for all, and plenty of fuel to smoke the meat, and much of their meat must have been cured and dried within sight of those high hills known as the Smoky Hill Buttes, that lie in the south central part of Saline county. Inasmuch as this locality was such a favorite camping place for the Indians, is it not within the range of probability that the name of the stream was suggested by the hazy or smoky atmosphere that hovered over the tree tops of this most favored of the camping and hunting grounds on the river?

On account of the abundance of game along the stream the Indians were reluctant to surrender this territory to the white men, and many battles with the Indians resulted as the white settlers encroached on their hunting grounds. In 1867 a treaty was held on Medicine Lodge creek, with the Kiowas and Comanches, at which time these tribes signed a treaty of peace agreeing to withdraw their opposition to the building of a railroad up the Smoky Hill and Platte rivers.⁸ In 1868 a treaty was made with the Sioux, Arapahoes and other tribes, who, while agreeing to withdraw opposition to the building of a railroad across the plains, reserved the right to hunt on the Republican Fork and the Smoky Hill.⁹

In ordinary years the Smoky Hill is not a large stream, the channel gradually narrowing as the stream is ascended. At Lindsborg, 109 miles above its mouth, the width at average low water is fifty feet. The highest water of record in the stream was in May, 1903, when it reached 31.5 feet at this point, flood stage being at 20 feet.¹⁰

Gauging stations have been placed at several points on the lower river. The earliest, at Ellsworth, was established April 16, 1895,

6. *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, March 18 to April 29, 1926.

7. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11, p. 606.

8. *Ibid.*, v. 16, p. 770.

9. *Ibid.*, v. 16, p. 771.

10. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Weather Bureau, *Daily River Stages*, Part 9, p. 77; Part 10, p. 83.

those at Lindsborg and Abilene on August 1, 1904, and the latest at Enterprise, in November, 1934. The river was out of its banks at a number of places during the flood of 1903 in the Kaw valley, while on several occasions during 1907 and 1908, the stream ceased to flow.¹¹

During the summer of 1868 a prolonged drouth prevailed along the watershed of the Smoky Hill and its tributaries, and the Smoky had fallen to a low level. It is reported that on one particularly hot day that summer a large number of thirsty buffalo reached the river in what is now McPherson county. Driven by thirst the first animals to reach the water were soon driven out by others following, these in turn being crowded out by the vast herd bringing up the rear. As a result they drank the river dry on this occasion. This herd was described as covering an area thirty miles in length, and containing hundreds of thousands of buffalo.¹²

The Smoky Hill practically bisects all that portion of Kansas west of Fort Riley and, with the exception of the Arkansas river, has a greater mileage within the state than any other stream. The river is formed by two branches which rise in eastern Colorado. One, the north branch, has its source in Kit Carson county, and the other, the southern branch, starts in Cheyenne county. The North fork enters Kansas in Sherman county, makes a turn towards the southeast and joins the other branch in Logan county. The South fork enters Kansas in Wallace county, and flows practically east across almost three-fourths of the state. It traverses the counties of Wallace, Logan, Gove, Trego, Ellis, Russell, Ellsworth, McPherson, Saline, Dickinson and a portion of Geary, and unites with the Republican on the Fort Riley military reservation to form the Kansas river. The stream is about 530 miles long and has a drainage area of 57,-727 square miles.¹³

The name of the individual who started the first ferry across the Smoky Hill above the mouth appears to have been lost to posterity, but the ferry, no doubt, was located close to Fort Riley. Col. Percival G. Lowe, of Leavenworth, who saw much service on the plains, mentions having crossed this stream on a poor ferry in 1854, at which time the ferry was located about a mile above the junction with the Republican. His account, however, failed to mention the name of the proprietor.¹⁴

11. *Ibid.*, Part 9, p. 7; Associated Press dispatch, November 10, 1934.

12. McPherson *Republican*, June 3, 1932.

13. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Weather Bureau, *Daily River Stages*, Part 11, p. 112.

14. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 113.

Samuel Bartlett operated the first licensed ferry on this stream above its mouth. This authority was granted in 1857 and was the first ferry license issued by Davis (now Geary) county. It was located northeast of Junction City, and the license cost \$10 a year, with ferriage rates as follows:

Two-horse team, mules, oxen or asses, 50 cents; each additional team, 20 cents; every buggy, or one-horse vehicle, and horse, mule or ass, 30 cents; every horse, mule or ass and rider, 20 cents; each horse, mule or ass, led, 10 cents; for footmen, 10 cents; for cattle, 10 cents; for sheep, hogs and freight, the court left the charges for the parties to agree on.¹⁵

By 1859 Bartlett had a competitor. *The Kansas Weekly Herald*, of Leavenworth, of March 26, 1859, says: ". . . A short distance above the mouth of the Smoky Hill Mr. Patterson has a good ferry boat in which one can cross to the north side of the Smoky Hill and reach Junction City, the first town west of Fort Riley."

No further mention of Patterson's ferry has been located.

The *Herald* of the same issue also published the following concerning Captain Bartlett's ferry: "A fine boat has recently been launched by Captain Bartlett, whose rate of tolls has been established by the citizens of the town. By this ferry a choice of roads may be taken, on the north or south side of the river."

Bartlett presumably operated his ferry to the satisfaction of all, as no record of complaint has been located. In 1860 he endeavored to secure a special charter from the territorial legislature, at which time the following bill was introduced:

AN ACT to Charter a Ferry across the Smoky Hill River in Kansas Territory.
Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas:

SECTION 1. That Samuel Bartlett, his heirs and assigns are hereby authorized to keep a ferry across the Smoky Hill river at the crossing of the Junction City and Lyons creek roads, in Kansas Territory, and shall have the exclusive right and privilege of keeping a ferry at said point and within two miles each way up and down the river, from said points for and during the period of ten years from the passage of this act.

SEC. 2. That the above named Samuel Bartlett, his heirs and assigns shall keep a good and substantial boat or boats in constant readiness at said ferry, to be properly manned and attended and kept in good repair.

SEC. 3. That the tribunal transacting county business for the county in which said ferry shall be situated is hereby authorized to determine and fix the rate of ferriage across the said river from time to time as may be deemed proper, and a list of the same shall be posted at the ferry landing or on the boat or boats so used and any fees extorted beyond the rates established shall work a forfeiture of all the privileges under this act.

[SEC. 4.] This act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

This bill was introduced in the council by Senator Woodward and was passed February 10. The house of representatives added some amendments and passed it. These amendments were concurred in by the council. For some unexplained reason, however, the bill never became a law.

In 1860 Bartlett built a new boat and started a second ferry. While the Junction City paper made no mention of this fact, commissioners' records of July 4 recite: "Ordered that the ferry of Samuel Bartlett on the Smoky Hill near Junction City be charged lychense at the rate of ten dollars per annum and that the upper ferry be exempt from license."¹⁶

Apparently some individual nursing a grudge at Captain Bartlett, or blessed with a perverted sense of humor, cut the cable one night and the ferry boat drifted away. Upon its recovery the *Union* of November 25, 1861, had the following to say regarding the incident:

Captain Bartlett¹⁷ has at last restored to his famous crossing of the Smoky Hill the magnificent boat which he had built last spring to accommodate the traveling community. It had been for some time past four or five miles down the river, some villain having cut the rope. It is now on duty, and with such a commander who would doubt the safety of a trip across the Smoky Hill, as turbulent as it is.

Evidently some of the ferry operators in the county were delinquent in taking out ferry licenses from the county. Under date of July 3, 1860, appears the following brief entry: "W. H. McKinley, bill for services notifying ferrys to take out license. Allowed. \$2."¹⁸

It is not known how long Bartlett's ferry was operated, since there was scant mention of ferry matters in early commissioners' records. However, it must have been operated up to some time in 1862.

The following, relating to Davis county ferry matters, is something of a puzzle, as no further mention of the matter has been found. Commissioners' records of April 5, 1861, recite:

We the undersigned commissioners having in consideration the granting of a ferry license in the case of John Lawrence vs. _____ Sage, deside that we have no rite to grant License to any person over a chartered privilege and therefore deside that Sage has the Legal wright to run said ferry on compliance with the Law regulating his charter.

Signed Wm. Cuddy, chmn
J. L. Wingfield
J. H. Brown¹⁹

16. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 67.

17. Samuel Bartlett is listed in the 1860 "Census of Davis County," page 53, as being 28 years of age, and a native of Maine. He had real estate listed at \$1,000 and personal property at \$200. He was a younger brother of William K. Bartlett, a prominent early-day business man of Junction City.

18. Davis county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 1, p. 65.

19. *Ibid.*, Book 2, p. 6.

By 1863 there appeared to be a lack of ferry accommodations on the Smoky Hill. The Junction City *Union* of February 28 called attention to the matter, stating that both the Smoky Hill and the Republican rivers were free of ice, and that preparations should be made immediately to place a boat on the Smoky Hill, as the spring rise in that river would soon shut off communication with the whole southern country unless precaution was taken and a boat placed on the river at once.

From 1863 to 1866 no mention of ferry matters on the Smoky Hill in Davis county has been located.

L. B. Perry succeeded to the ferry at Bartlett's crossing. The *Union*, of March 9, 1867, stated that he "has placed a ferryboat on the Smoky Hill river at Bartlett's crossing, and the consequence is we see so many familiar faces whom the 'drouth' has kept from our view for some time past."

On March 13, 1867, Mr. Perry made application for a license to operate a ferry at the crossing of the Junction City and Council Grove state road.²⁰ His application was placed on file.²¹ On May 4, following, Mr. Perry received his license, issued for a period of six months, the commissioners fixing the following rates: "Six mules, or six horses and wagon, 75 cents; 4 mules or horses, 50 cents; 2 mules or horses, 35 cents; 2 horses and buggy, 25 cents; 1 horse and buggy, 20 cents; 1 horseman and horse, 15 cents; 1 footman, 10 cents; sheep or hogs, each, 5 cents. Ten cents for each span of horses or mules above six."²²

Very little in way of a history of the Perry ferry on the Smoky Hill has been located. In the *Union* of June 8, 1867, there was the following item: "On Tuesday Perry's ferry boat across the Smoky Hill sunk while crossing with an ox team. The river was on a rise. One yoke of cattle were drowned."

As a bridge was built close to the ferry location during 1867 it is likely Perry discontinued his ferry before the expiration of his license.

Junction City had been an important road center from the time the town was established. It was on the most direct and practicable route from Leavenworth and Wyandotte to the frontier posts of

20. The Junction City and Council Grove state road crossed the Smoky Hill a little northeast of Junction City on the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ S. 7, T. 12, R. 6 E. The original survey of this road, including plat and field notes, is in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society. The survey was made by Thomas White, county surveyor of Morris county, and the plat was drawn by Davies Wilson.

21. Davis county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 2, p. 231.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

central Kansas, and to the mountains and Santa Fé. The Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express line up the Kaw Valley ran through Junction City and westward for some distance on the north side of the Smoky Hill, branching toward the northwest at a point in Ottawa county.

In the *Kansas Statesman*, Junction City, June 30, 1860, appeared the following notice regarding highways:

Notice is hereby given that a petition will be presented to the Board of County Commissioners of Davis County, K. T., at the July session A. D. 1860, for the viewing, laying out and establishing a county road from Island City by the way of the present crossing of Dry Run creek and Bartlett's ferry, on the Smoky Hill river to Junction City. (Signed) "Many Citizens."

Under date of July 3, 1860, the commissioners' proceedings of Davis county recite: "Petition for road was presented to start from Island City to Junction City, by the way of Bartlett's ferry. Fox Booth, Robert Reynolds and Joseph Walters said reviewers, to meet at Island City, on July 14, 1860, to view and establish said road."²³

In 1861 the legislature established three roads affecting Junction City, the first being a state road from Atchison to Junction City, by way of Holton and James' crossing; the next from Junction City to Topeka, and the third from Council Grove to Junction City.²⁴ On January 5, 1863, a petition was presented to Davis county commissioners for the establishment of a road from the Morris county line to Bartlett's ferry. This communication was filed and acted upon later when Christian Wetzel, C. Boyer and Chas. Roesler were appointed viewers to meet on the first Monday in February, following, at Bartlett's ferry.²⁵

In April, 1863, an effort was being made within the county to establish a road from Bartlett's ferry, via Dry creek, Clark's creek and Davis creek to Junction City. In 1864 two post roads were established from Junction City, one running to Denver and the other to Fort Kearney, Neb.²⁶ The legislature of 1864 established three roads affecting Junction City. One ran from Junction City, via Pooler's²⁷ crossing and Lyon's creek to Marion Center; another from Junction City, via Abilene and Salina to the Santa Fé road, and the third from Junction City, via Quimby's to Clifton.²⁸

23. *Ibid.*, Book 1, p. 63.

24. *Laws, Kansas*, 1861, pp. 247, 248.

25. Davis county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 2, p. 64.

26. *Junction City Union*, May 6, 1876.

27. The "Census of 1860" for Davis county, page 60, lists F. L. Pooler as being 48 years of age and a farmer. He was a native of Vermont. His wife, S. A. Pooler, was born in Connecticut and was 45 years old. The couple had eight children.

28. *Laws, Kansas*, 1864, pp. 205, 206, 208.

The legislature of 1865 established five roads affecting Junction City, the first starting from that town and running by way of Lyons creek to Marion Center; another from Junction City in a southerly direction up Lyons creek to the northwest corner of township 4, range 4, thence in a southerly direction to the Santa Fé road, at or near where said road crosses the Cottonwood river in Marion county; another ran from Junction City northwestward on the south side of the Republican river to the mouth of Buffalo creek in Shirley (now Cloud) county; another ran from the town of Batchelder, Riley county, to a point on the Solomon river, A. B. Whiting, A. H. Towle and Seymour Ayres being commissioners selected to lay out this road; another was established to run as nearly due west as practicable from Junction City to the western boundary of Kansas. The road from Junction City to Council Grove was shortened, while a state road was established from El Dorado, via Chelsea, Butler county, and Cedar Point, Chase county, to Junction City.²⁹

In the commissioners' proceedings of Davis county, November and December, 1865, there is some reference to the report of the commissioners selected to lay out a state road from Junction City to Marion Center. The county commissioners accepted the report of the road commissioners, excepting such portion as related to Pooler's ford. The county commissioners maintained that a county road was already laid out on the section line, nearly connecting Pooler's ford and Junction City, and that it was situated on equally as good ground as that selected by the road commissioners.³⁰

In February, 1866, Capt. Alfred C. Pierce surveyed a state road from Junction City to Sibley, in Cloud county. This year the legislature authorized the location of a state road beginning at the northern terminus of Adams street, in Junction City, thence on the most practicable route and ground to the northeast corner of section 15, township 12, range 5 east, in Davis county; thence on the most practicable route and ground to intersect the Davis county road at the county line between Davis and Dickinson counties, at or near the present residence of O. O. Bridges. J. W. Woodward, Geo. W. Taylor and George Bates were commissioners selected to locate this road.³¹ The road from Topeka to Junction City, on the south side of the Kansas river, and the location of the state road running from Council Grove to Junction City were changed by the legislature of 1867.³²

29. *Ibid.*, 1865, pp. 142, 143, 145-148.

30. Davis county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 2, p. 173.

31. *Laws, Kansas*, 1866, pp. 221, 222.

32. *Ibid.*, 1867, pp. 247, 250.

The route up the Kansas and Smoky Hill rivers to the mountains had long been recognized as the shortest one, and compared to the Platte river highway of Nebraska, to Denver and other towns in the Colorado gold fields, was some 116 miles shorter between the Missouri river and those points. David A. Butterfield, projector of the Butterfield Overland Despatch had employed Lieut. Julian R. Fitch to make a report on the practicability of a route up these streams for freighting purposes, and in his report Fitch pointed out the advantages of the Smoky Hill route, which was the shorter one and had no sand to contend with, while on the Platte route from Julesburg to Denver, a distance of 200 miles, the freighter or emigrant had a dead pull through sand, without a stick of wood or a drop of water, save the Platte itself, which was from three to five miles from the road. When it was taken into consideration that a loaded ox team makes but from twelve to fourteen miles a day, and never exceeds sixteen, it would not pay to double that distance by driving to the Platte river for the only water in the country, for the purpose of camping. There was plenty of timber by the Smoky Hill route; also, nature had bountifully supplied this route with an abundance of *bois de vache* (buffalo chips), which was always cheerfully chosen by the tired emigrant in preference to cutting timber for a fire.

The Smoky Hill valley route was becoming more and more popular. Partisans of this highway were not backward in contrasting its advantages with those of the Platte river. A comparison of this sort when railroad building was started was published in the *Leavenworth Times*, and republished in the *Junction City Union* of April 27, 1867, as follows:

THE SMOKY HILL

There is no concealing the flood disaster of the road from Omaha west, and no mistake as to the snow difficulties it has had to encounter. Nor are these accidental. Every year they come, with less or greater severity; but with severity enough to deluge the plains of the Platte with water, and fill the gaps and ravines with snow. Nature will forever forbid this road being the main track west.

Old trappers and early pioneers, for the last nine years, have insisted upon the Smoky Hill being the best, whether regard should be had to difficulties or benefits—to danger from climate, or advantages—such as water, fuel, etc., on land.

Rough surveys followed. The first was made, mainly, at the expense of the city of Leavenworth, years ago. That gave a promise; still it was not thorough enough to satisfy the enquiring, or give confidence to the timid. The second was fuller; more satisfactory. It convinced most persons interested

in the west that the Smoky Hill was the route, and a few of the bolder pioneers tried it with success. Still old habit, regular stations, "being in company with each other," made the body of the plainsmen hug the Platte route. Nor was it until Isaac Eaton, Esq., passed over the Smoky Hill, established stations on the line, and then proved its superiority, that the public admitted it. That fact is now settled.

On Saturday night our road—the Pacific, E. D.—was finished to Salina. The commissioners will visit and examine the last finished portion of the line, and report. That report will reach Washington, in all probability, by Thursday or Friday, and the cars will run from Leavenworth to Salina.

Fort Harker will be the next point, and the warm July sun will witness this line completed. Onward is the word! Westward, the iron girder bears the increased and increasing weight of trade and travel.

With the establishment of roads, the settlement of the country quickly followed, and naturally there came a demand for bridges over the Smoky Hill. The year 1860 saw the first move in this direction by private interests, the legislature that year granting to the Smoky Hill Bridge Company exclusive rights, for fifteen years, for building and maintaining a bridge across the river between the mouth of Lyons creek and the line of the Fort Riley military reservation. This company included P. Z. Taylor, John T. Price, William Cuddy, James B. Woodward, W. W. Herbert, Robert Wilson, James R. McClure and James P. Downer. This company was capitalized at \$25,000, but aside from this charter accomplished nothing else.³³

Apparently the first bridge across the Smoky Hill in Davis county was built by Samuel Bartlett, and was completed early in December, 1861.³⁴ Just how long this bridge stood we have not learned. However, by 1866 a movement for a free bridge to be located at Bartlett's ferry began to take shape. On January 6, A. W. Callen, J. B. Woodward and James Brown were appointed a committee to measure the Kansas [Smoky Hill?] at Bartlett's ferry, at the point where the Topeka and Junction City road crossed the stream, and to draft a plan of a bridge and make an estimate of the cost.³⁵ During the session of the legislature that year a bill was passed authorizing Davis county to issue \$20,000 in bonds for bridge purposes, the county having decided to build the structure.³⁶ At a meeting of the county board on July 2 the commissioners ordered \$20,000 of bonds issued for construction of this bridge, which was to be built of lumber and to be guaranteed against damage or destruction by water

33. *Private Laws*, Kansas, 1860, pp. 31, 32; *House Journal*, 1860, special session, p. 402.

34. *Junction City Union*, December 12, 1861.

35. Davis county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 2, p. 190.

36. *Laws*, Kansas, 1866, pp. 66-69; *Junction City Union*, May 6, 1876.

for five years.³⁷ The bonds were duly issued and offered for sale, but as only one bid was submitted for building the bridge, the commissioners decided not to let the contract at that time.³⁸

On February 10, 1867, a second Smoky Hill Bridge Company was organized at Junction City, with S. M. Strickler as president; O. J. Hopkins, secretary, and H. F. Hale, treasurer. Directors of the company included H. F. Hale, Robert Henderson, O. J. Hopkins, James R. McClure, S. M. Strickler, W. C. Rawolla and Bertrand Rockwell. The company proposed to construct a Howe truss bridge, which was to be located on the river near the mouth of Lyons creek. The new structure was to cost \$18,000, of which amount \$7,000 was raised in Junction City. The contract was let to Marsh, Hilliker & Co., who were to take one-half of the contract price in cash, and receive stock in the enterprise for the balance.³⁹ Work on the bridge began some time in March, the *Union* of March 30 containing the following paragraph:

The pile driver is vigorously at work preparing foundations for the Smoky Hill bridge, and while speaking of this, we must take occasion to confess our ignorance of the geography of our own county. The Smoky Hill bridge does not cross at the mouth of Lyons creek, but two or three miles below it, at the crossing of a state road. We understand they have found a very hard bottom. The stone is about prepared to be set in. We will tell more about it after Hilliker gives us that ride up there.

This bridge is said to have been completed by the Fourth of July but not accepted from the contractors until the December following.

During March, 1867, the county commissioners again took steps for the erection of a bridge over the Smoky Hill, near the Fogarty dam. This site was between Bartlett's ferry and the first bend up the river.⁴⁰ The contract was let to Marsh, Hilliker & Co, for \$17,500, and work was to be "pushed as fast as the season and the erratic disposition of that stream" would permit. Work started about the first of April, following, and was completed by September and accepted by the county.⁴¹ Evidently the contractors did a rather poor job of construction work, for the county board subsequently notified the contractors that the bridge was in an unsafe condition, in need of repairs, and that the county would hold them responsible.⁴²

37. Davis county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 2, pp. 198, 199.

38. Junction City *Union*, August 4, 1866.

39. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1867; May 6, 1876. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, February 20, 1867.

40. Davis county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 3, p. 28.

41. Junction City *Union*, March 15, October 5, 1867; May 6, 1876.

42. Davis county, "Commissioners' Journal," Book 3, p. 32.

By 1871 a move was started for free county bridges. During July, a fund of \$2,000 was subscribed in Junction City to be used towards the purchase of the Smoky Hill Bridge Company's bridge. The company wanted \$10,000 for the structure, but the county refused to pay more than \$8,000. About the first of September, following, the company transferred title to their bridge to the county.⁴³

Junction City enjoyed a lively freighting business during the early days. During the period preceding the Civil War much of the supplies for the frontier posts was shipped out via Fort Riley, Junction City and up the Smoky Hill valley for Rocky Mountain points and to Santa Fé. After the war broke out the Santa Fé trade from Westport, Mo., was almost entirely wiped out by plundering of caravans by bushwhackers and others. As a consequence, the bulk of this trade started westward from Atchison and Leavenworth, which points were comparatively free from molestation of this sort, and went southwest to the Santa Fé trail after leaving Fort Riley.

With the inauguration of the Butterfield Overland Despatch line in 1865, the freighting from Junction City received an added impetus that summer, and with the addition of a daily line of stages to the mountains that frontier town was made one of the liveliest settlements west of the Missouri river. In June, 1866, a line of stages was also running from Junction City to Santa Fé.⁴⁴ In November, following, the Union Pacific was completed to Junction City, after which date the bulk of freight for the West went by rail to that point, where it was transferred to wagon trains and carried to its destination. By 1867 this trade had so increased in volume that a meeting was held at Strickler's hall, Junction City, during March, for the purpose of securing a better road than the one up Lyons creek as then located. A road up the divide between Lyons and Turkey creeks was suggested by the *Union* as one that would require less upkeep than the one then in use on Lyons creek, which crossed that stream no less than six times. The *Union* stated there was a strong disposition manifested to enforce the collection of the road tax to meet the expenses of improving the roads, while a willingness was also indicated to have the roads repaired in any event.⁴⁵ That the roads were bad at this time, the following from the local paper would indicate:

Late in February, 1867, a Mr. J. O. Austin, of Albuquerque, N. M., spent a day or two in Junction City, while on his way to Boston. He reported a

43. Junction City *Union*, May 6, 1876.

44. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, p. 433.

45. Junction City *Union*, March 16, 1867.

large number of New Mexican trains on their way in, for whom he was acting as a sort of route agent. He also reported a few cuts on the road between Junction City and Fort Larned that needed repairing immediately.⁴⁶

About the middle of March, following, the agent of Chick, Armijo & Co., of St. Louis, probably the largest dealers in the Santa Fé trade and who were operating a store in Junction City, and also building a warehouse on the railroad, reported that during the next eight months Junction City would be the point for trans-shipment of freight destined for New Mexican points. He called attention to the fact that it was of the utmost importance to know the best route to and from this point. The road already selected by Merrick, Parker, Armijo, Guttman, Romero, Bata and other extensive freighters, is that across the Smoky Hill at what is Bartlett's ford or Perry's ferry, opposite Junction City—the road being along Lyons creek, or on the divide between that and Clark's creek, striking the Santa Fé road at Lost Springs. A Howe truss bridge was being built across the Smoky near the mouth of Lyons creek at this time, which was to be completed within ninety days.⁴⁷

Late in March two trains of provisions, etc., were started for Santa Fé, one belonging to Messrs. Parker and Merrick and the other to Mr. Romero. Within a week two trains from that point reached Junction City. At this time it was estimated that 1,500 wagons would be employed during the summer to transport government freight alone from Fort Riley and end of the railroad to the various government posts.⁴⁸

In January, 1866, the Smoky Hill was impassable for teams. A thaw early in the year raised the water to such an extent that skiffs were resorted to. Many freight wagons were detained at different points awaiting a chance to proceed.⁴⁹ During the spring of 1867 high water in streams beyond Junction City caused considerable inconvenience. Chapman's creek, in the eastern part of Dickinson county, seemed to furnish its full share of trouble. Early in February a couple of teams had to swim the stream, and on the morning of February 16, the Santa Fé coach was obliged to unload its cargo and swim the stream.⁵⁰ This condition obtained as late as April following, tying up railroad activities as well, as may be judged from the following in the *Union* of April 20:

46. *Ibid.*, February 23, 1867.

47. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1867.

48. *Ibid.*, March 30, 1867.

49. *Ibid.*, January 20, 1866.

50. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1867.

Freight, mails and passengers have had a terrific time in attempting to go west by train during the past two or three days. Some days the trains don't come or go. When they do, there is no knowing at what time of the day or night the occurrence will take place. One of the consequences is a good deal of heavy waiting at the depot. The old reliable Kansas Stage Company is the only sure means of transit to the west at present.

Six miles west of Junction City was Kansas Falls, the most westerly town in Davis county on the Smoky Hill. The town was organized September 10, 1857, by F. N. Blake, E. P. Burgess and John Harvie, and was incorporated by the legislature of 1858. This location was noted for its famous "Seven Springs" and "Mair's Springs," popular camping places for travelers and freighters who traveled the Smoky Hill route. A mill was operating at this point in 1859, run by a man named Biggs (or Riggs), who probably ran a ferry in addition. During the session of the 1858 legislature, a bill was introduced in the council for the establishment of a ferry at this place, but it failed of passage. The town was also the beginning of a mail route via the Smoky Hill to Bent's Station, with service twice a month.⁵¹

Some time during 1866 Jonas K. Bartlett started a sawmill in this vicinity, cutting native timber, which apparently found a ready sale with the early settlers. He also installed a ferry in connection with his mill, as his patrons included those living on both sides of the river. The Junction City *Union* of August 4, 1867, had the following mention of this enterprise:

We were at Bartlett's mill the other day. Overcoming countless difficulties, the institution is now in running order, and sawing large bills every day. It is located on the Smoky Hill, about seven miles above town, in a large body of timber. High water has annoyed Bartlett to such an extent that he has put in the river a good ferry boat, and the freighting interests between town and the mill has got to be quite heavy.

A tragic incident occurred on his ferry late in May, that year. Three Negro deserters from the Thirty-eighth U. S. infantry arrived at the Green Lamb crossing⁵² of the Smoky Hill on the afternoon of May 27, 1867. They crossed over and called at several houses. Finding men at home at all of these places they did not linger. When asked what they wanted they replied that they were looking for

51. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1005. Gunn & Mitchell's *Map of Kansas*, 1859. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 580; v. 8, p. 410; v. 11, p. 562. Everts' *Atlas of Kansas*, p. 144. *Lawrence Republican*, June 21, 1860.

52. This location was about nine or ten miles above Chapman's creek, and about three miles beyond Newport, the county seat of Dickinson county, according to an authority in the *Lawrence Republican*, March 17, 1859.

deserters. They finally started off, making their way down the river. About two miles below Green Lamb's⁵³ they reached the home of P. J. Peterson, where they asked for something to eat. Food being given them they inquired of Mrs. Peterson the whereabouts of the men. She replied that they were in the woods. On learning this, one of the Negroes seized her, dragged her into the basement of the house and ravished her person. Having satisfied his own passions he called for his two comrades to come down, but Mrs. Peterson broke loose from her black assailant and fled, shouting loudly for help. A posse composed of about fifty citizens soon spread over the prairies and started a search for the fiends. The three men were later overtaken on a ferryboat near Bartlett's mills by the posse, which began firing on them. One of the Negroes was killed instantly on the boat; another jumped into the river and was killed; the third ran into the woods, but was overtaken and killed and his body thrown into the river. The posse then disappeared, leaving the bodies to float down the river.⁵⁴

Some time after the foregoing tragedy Bartlett apparently moved his mill farther up the river, this time over into Dickinson county, an advertisement published in the *Union* of November 9 following stating that the mill was located about two miles above the mouth of Chapman's creek.

Chapman's creek, about seven miles west of Kansas Falls and about three miles over the line in Dickinson county, was the next stream to be crossed in going up the Smoky Hill river on the military road. For that reason the history of that stream is given here. The first settlement in Dickinson county was made on this creek in 1855, but the stream, however, had a name bestowed by the Indians many years before, being known as the Nish-co-ba—meaning Deep Water.⁵⁵ The stream later received the name of Chapman's creek, but when it was bestowed, by whom, and for what particular Chapman has not been learned. In times of flood the Indian name has been found to be a most truthful one, as the following incident will illustrate: In June, 1869, a cloudburst which occurred on the headwaters of the creek swept down stream, and at the crossing of the

53. Andreas' *History of Kansas*, page 685, states that Green Lamb settled in Dickinson county in 1857 or 1858. In 1860 he became county surveyor. The census of Dickinson county for 1865, lists him as a resident of Township No. 1; farmer; age 26 years, and a native of Ohio. His wife, Julia, 22, was also an Ohioan. Mr. Lamb may have been a son of William Lamb, an early resident of Dickinson county, who was a native of North Carolina; married Julia _____, of Ohio, and raised a family in that state. One of the early townships of Dickinson county was named for the Lamb family. Green Lamb was still residing within the county in 1875, the census of that year listing him as a resident of Center township, post office at Enterprise. He had a family of three children at this time—two daughters, nine and one years old, and a son aged three.

54. Junction City *Union*, June 1, 1867.

55. Letter of John C. McCoy to F. G. Adams, July 5, 1883.

military road the waters were said to have been at least fifty feet deep. The whole country for miles around was submerged, crops destroyed and thirteen lives lost.⁵⁶

The highway up the Smoky Hill crossed Chapman's creek near its mouth, and here in 1859 the government erected a substantial oak bridge.⁵⁷

During the special session of the territorial legislature of 1860 a bill was introduced in the council for the purpose of establishing a ferry across this creek. The bill passed the council, but was received by the house so late in the session that further action was not taken.⁵⁸

The next ferry location above Bartlett's mills was at Newport, about five miles upstream. Abram Barry, a representative in the legislature of 1859, introduced House bill No. 81, an act to establish a ferry at Newport.⁵⁹ This town was platted in 1857 by the Newport Town Company, composed of N. P. White, Doctor Gerot and D. M. Rulison. This was the first town platted in Dickinson county, and was located on the E $\frac{1}{2}$ S. 3, T. 13, R. 3. The following year it became the temporary county seat, the town comprising three log houses built on the public square, one of which was called the court house. Twenty votes were polled during an election held at this place in 1859.⁶⁰ The State Historical Society possesses a town-lot certificate of Newport, dated July, 1857, in its manuscript collection.

It would seem that a ferry would have been a convenience for Abilene during its cattle-shipping days. However, no record of any has been located. As all county clerk's records were among those destroyed in the disastrous fire of January 17, 1882, there is no way of checking up on ferry licenses issued. By an examination of newspaper files, however, we learn that steps were taken towards securing bridges as early as 1870. In February, 1871, during the construction of an iron bridge across the Smoky Hill, the structure collapsed and fell into the river when both arches were nearly up. No one was seriously hurt.⁶¹

The Nationalist, of Manhattan, had the following item regarding the completion of this bridge: "Iron Bridges. The new iron bridges

56. *Junction City Union*, June 26, 1869.

57. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, March 26, 1859.

58. *House Journal*, 1860, special session, p. 733; *Council Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 656, 657.

59. *House Journal*, 1859, p. 72.

60. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 685. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 3, p. 124. "Dickinson County Clippings," v. 1, pp. 178, 179, 200, in Kansas State Historical Society's library.

61. *The Kansas Gazette, Enterprise*, May 19, 1876; *Waterville Telegraph*, March 3, 1871.

across the river at Abilene and Hoffman's mills are finished and open to travel. People on the south side can now reach the county seat without fording or ferrying the river."

About 1866, Newton Blair started a ferry on the Smoky Hill just below the junction of the Solomon river, in the extreme western part of Dickinson county, and operated it for about a year.⁶² This ferry location must have been in use up to about 1872, during which year iron bridges were completed at Chapman and Solomon.⁶³

In 1859 Reuben R. Stanforth was granted a charter by the legislature for a ferry across the Smoky Hill at the point where the military road from Fort Leavenworth to Bent's Fort crosses that stream. This crossing was just above the junction of the Smoky Hill and Solomon rivers. This charter was granted for a period of thirteen years, and Stanforth and his assigns were to have exclusive right of landing upon either bank of the stream at the point named and for a distance of two miles above and below. They were to keep sufficient boats to do the necessary crossing and keep the same in good repair; his rates were to be the average of those charged on the several ferries on the Kansas river. He was required to post a bond as required by law. This act also carried rights for the construction of a bridge over the Smoky Hill, the same as were accorded to the Lawrence Bridge Company. This act was approved by Gov. Samuel Medary, and was to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.⁶⁴ No further record of this ferry project has been located.

The next ferry location upstream was at Sabra, Saline county. This town was laid out shortly after the close of the Civil War, and had a post office in 1867, with C. W. Davis as postmaster. The town's exact location has not been determined; however, it was three and one-half miles from Solomon river, on the line of the Kansas Pacific Railroad and 170 miles west of the Missouri river. Sabra is shown on Ado Hunnius' "Map of Kansas" as being a short distance west of the town of Solomon, and evidently located between the mouths of the Solomon and Saline. On November 9, 1866, the Smoky Hill Bridge and Ferry Company was incorporated, its promoters being Frederick E. Cushman, H. L. Sitler, Silas Bullard, Charles W. Davis, John W. Kelso, Richard M. Wimsatt and Fred Rawolla. The company proposed to maintain and operate a bridge or ferry over the Smoky Hill river, between its confluence with the

62. Letter of Walter A. Grogger, Solomon, to author.

63. *The Kansas Gazette*, Enterprise, May 19, October 19, 1876.

64. *Private Laws, Kansas*, 1859, pp. 119, 120.

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

Solomon and the mouth of the Saline. The capital stock of the company was placed at \$50,000, in shares of \$50 each. The principal office of the company was to be at Sabra. This charter was filed with the secretary of state December 3, 1866.⁶⁵ Sabra has long since been numbered among the dead and forgotten towns.

Salina was the location of the next ferry, which was started in the fall of 1858. This ferry had quite an interesting history. In 1854 or 1855 the government built a bridge at the Smoky Hill crossing, located a mile or two southwest of present Kanopolis, Ellsworth county. This structure went out during a flood in June, 1858, and much of the timber used in its construction drifted downstream as far as Salina, where it was salvaged by Alexander M. Campbell, who was operating a trading post on the river. That fall Mr. Campbell and James Muir built a ferryboat, using this salvaged timber for that purpose, and putting their boat into use late in the year. The ferry location was where Iron avenue crosses the river, this point being also the end of the Phillips road which followed the divide south of the Kaw and Smoky Hill rivers from Lawrence to Salina. The old government road was in the valley, and in wet weather it was a difficult route to travel, so most of the settlers used the Phillips road, as they could not get into Salina from the east unless they forded the river. Campbell's ferry was a free ferry, the only institution of the kind in that part of the country, and was operated until the completion of a bridge across the river near the old landing place. Some of the old-timers say they used the ferry as a bridge when the river was low, and as a ferry when the river was up. Mr. Campbell was a member of the town company, built the first house on the townsite—a one and one-half story log structure, keeping a store and living in the lower portion, while the upper part was used as rooming quarters when transients stopped for the night. On the establishment of a post office he was appointed postmaster and kept it in his store, serving in that capacity for the next forty years. During the time he operated his ferry he also did much trading with the Indians, and also hunting. There were times when he was absent from the new town, and it so happened on more than one occasion some travelers or freighters arrived on the opposite shore who wished to cross. On these occasions Mrs. Campbell was equal to the emergency, and untying the boat she poled it across to the opposite side of the river where the individuals who wished to cross assisted in making the return trip. This ferry was operated for about nine years.

During the early days of the new town, it was not an uncommon

65. Corporations, v. 1, pp. 242, 243; Polk's *Kansas Gazetteer*, 1878, 1880.

sight to find the few women residents gathered at the ferry to do the usual family washings. The water of the Smoky Hill was much softer than well water and required the use of less soap.

On Sunday afternoon, December 10, 1933, the Salina county chapter, Native Daughters of Kansas, marked the ferry site with a granite marker, which was inscribed in a unique way, with colors blasted into the stone to make a picture. The marker was placed at the point where the traffic across the river ascended, this being a short distance south of the bridge, and on the Union Pacific right-of-way, Salina to McPherson. Officials of the railroad cooperated with the Native Daughters in order to make the view of the marker from the avenue unobstructed.⁶⁶

The Salina Bridge and Ferry Company was organized in the spring of 1867 for the purpose of building bridges or operating a ferry on the Smoky Hill in the vicinity of Salina. The incorporators were David Beebe, George H. Dell, J. N. Deitz, J. F. Deitz, and David Yarnall. Their charter specified that they have exclusive rights on the Smoky Hill beginning at the northeast corner of T. 14, R. 2 W., and running up the Smoky Hill through the village of Salina to the southwest corner of township and range above specified. This charter was filed with the secretary of state March 26, 1867.⁶⁷ Presumably this company never made use of its charter.

Ellsworth county may or may not have had a ferry at some time. On December 6, 1866, the Ellsworth Bridge and Ferry Company was organized. The incorporators included Philip D. Filker, Thomas D. Slocum, H. D. McMilkee, Wallace McGlath, J. R. McClure, O. J. Hopkins and D. F. Molan. It was the intention and purpose of the company to operate a bridge or ferry over the Smoky Hill river between the western boundary of the Fort Harker military reservation (formerly Fort Ellsworth) to a point on same river two miles west of said reservation. The principal office of this company was located at Junction City. The capital stock of the enterprise was listed at \$10,000, in 200 shares of \$50 each. This charter was filed with the secretary of state January 7, 1867.⁶⁸ No further mention of this enterprise has been located.

Assistance in the preparation of this sketch was given by Mrs. A. M. Campbell, Jr., Mrs. Nelson H. Loomis, Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, Roy F. Bailey, editor of the *Salina Journal*, and others, to whom the writer extends thanks.

66. *Salina Journal*, December 11, 1933.

67. *Corporations*, v. 1, p. 309.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 261, 262.

The Kinsley Boom of the Late Eighties

First Installment

JAMES C. MALIN

NEAR the western bend of the Arkansas river, with Larned as the nearest important rival twenty miles to the northeast and Dodge City forty miles to the westward, Kinsley occupied a favorable location in the western Arkansas valley. The site was selected when the Santa Fé railroad was built, in August, 1872. Three years later Edwards county, of which Kinsley was the county seat, claimed 234 inhabitants, and another five years gave it 2,409. The city of Kinsley in 1880 had 457 people, but drought and adversity reduced the little city to 382 persons by 1884. During these early years the volume of trade with the small farmer was slight and probably not very profitable, but the location of the town made it an important supply point for cattle ranches. There was no railroad in the southwest corner of the state—that part lying south and west of the Arkansas river. Wichita penetrated this great range-cattle area from the eastward, and towns along the Santa Fé railroad, Hutchinson, Great Bend, Larned, Kinsley and Dodge City, from the northward. In addition, some of these towns served the Oklahoma country farther south. Similarly, no railroad entered the territory lying northward between the Arkansas and the Smoky Hill rivers, and the same towns along the main line of the Santa Fé railroad competed with the Kansas Pacific railroad towns for the supply trade of that region. Kinsley appears to have secured its share of this trade, although it did not become a very important point for the shipment of cattle.

The Kansas boom of the late eighties slowly began to gather momentum during 1884, reaching its climax during 1887. Partly the process was a return of settlers who had deserted western Kansas during the drought of the early eighties, but mostly it was a migration of new people. Government land was available in large quantities under the preëmption, homestead, or timber-claim acts, and railroad land was being forced into the market by all the land-grant companies as rapidly as possible either to farmers or to speculators. On January 9, 1885, the *Kinsley Graphic* reported that "a continued stream of wagons rolls southward each day, regardless of wind or weather," and the *Mercury*, March 28, counted nearly 150 passengers from one train, and remarked that "the various stage lines have

all they can do to carry them off." One Kinsley firm had received its third carload of breaking plows before the end of April. By the close of the immigration season of 1886, the small farmer had occupied practically all available land south to the breaks of the Medicine river, and northward to the hills along the Smoky. Although many large ranches remained, the flood of homesteaders left them as scattered islands in a sea of small-farm country. With the sudden passing of the range-cattle trade, the character of Kinsley's business changed quickly. Gone was the large-scale cattle-supply trade with its big profits, and in its place was left only the petty trade of the impecunious homesteader—that is, unless it was possible to conjure into existence some new and highly profitable form of big business as a substitute. Perchance much of the significance of the great boom which followed lies in the allurements of such magic. The *Mercury* boasted, March 14, 1885, that "Kinsley is the boomingest booming town in the Southwest," and that it had almost doubled its population since September. Near the end of the year the same paper was promoting a board of trade to advertise the town.

Along with the small-farmer boom had come the railroad boom, each more or less interacting on the other, as the farmer was dependent upon rails for his market, and the new railroads upon the farmers for their traffic. And then, like measles on a child, townsites broke out all over this young country. Each new town hoped, by fair means or foul, to become the county seat and get one or more railroads. Small farmers, townsites, county-seat wars and railroad prospects, however, were only the preliminaries. The big boomers gambled for larger stakes. The story of Kinsley is more or less typical, allowing for suitable variation of details, of the excesses of the boom in almost any town of the western part of the state. While many did not go to such extremes, all were dangerously infected with boomitis, and many were more fantastic in the excesses of their auto-intoxication.

Kinsley had been built on the main line of the Santa Fé railroad, and in 1885-1886 a subsidiary of that system, The Arkansas Valley and Western Railroad Company, built what became the Hutchinson-Kinsley cut-off. It was completed in August, 1886. In boom parlance it was Kinsley's second railroad. Incidentally, it placed rail facilities for the first time in the country south of the Arkansas river, although only in the northern edge. From the eastern edge of the same area, a railroad was built from Wichita, reaching Kingman in 1885 and Medicine Lodge early in 1886. Many other lines were

planned. The trade territory of Larned, Kinsley and Dodge City was reduced substantially by every mile of road built. Dodge City organized a telephone company to reach into its southern territory, and the *Kinsley Mercury*, March 13, 1886, urged its own business men to build to Coldwater if their Comanche county business was to be retained. Within two weeks a company was chartered, which was to connect the towns of four counties, Edwards, Kiowa, Comanche, and Clark, but it was not an exclusively Kinsley enterprise.

The crop season of 1886 was not favorable in Edwards county, and farmers plowed up part of their wheat early in June in order to replant to sorghum and millet. The *Kinsley Graphic*, June 11, warned them not to be premature as rains might bring much of it out. The next few days did bring rain, and hail as well, and then the same paper recommended, June 25, that there was still time to replant. The rising boom was not to be seriously checked by short crops, because, as the *Graphic* said, July 2, "Kansas is railroad crazy." Many lines were being projected by irresponsible parties into the trade territory of those already built, and primarily for the subsidies voted by counties, townships, and towns, or to sell out to stronger roads. The established systems, the Santa Fé, Union Pacific, Rock Island and Missouri Pacific, felt that they had to locate branch lines in order to protect themselves from these racketeers, even when the business secured did not in itself warrant construction.

Early in 1887 the railroad phase of the boom reached its peak in the Kinsley area. In January the Omaha, Kansas and El Paso Railroad Company was chartered, with some Kinsley men as officers, and with Kinsley mentioned as possible headquarters. Among the arguments for the line, it was urged that Kansas needed north-and-south roads, that it would provide an outlet to Chicago by way of Omaha, and that the competition with Kansas City and St. Louis roads would benefit Kinsley.¹ On April 9 the *Mercury* stated that bond propositions would be submitted to Kinsley and Trenton townships at once. The road to the south line was to be completed within a year. Another railroad proposition which was considered as a certainty was the extension by the Santa Fé of the Chicago, Kansas and Western Railway (formerly Arkansas Valley and Western) from Kinsley northwest to Denver.² In its issue of April 9, the *Mercury* stated that construction would begin in a few days.

1. *Kinsley Mercury*, January 22, 29, 1887.

2. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1887.

The railroad proposition which excited the largest interest in the press was the line to Wichita. During 1885 the Wichita and Colorado road was projected under Missouri Pacific sponsorship, and all the towns from Hutchinson to Kinsley competed for the point of intersection with the Santa Fé.³ Under the name of Arkansas Valley, Iuka and Northwestern, however, another Missouri Pacific line became more tangible as a link in the Denver, Memphis and Atlantic. On February 5 the *Mercury* declared "this will give us railroad facilities second to no other town in western Kansas," and not least among the arguments for it was that it would provide a southern outlet to the ocean. An election for the authorization of subsidy bonds was called for March 29. In urging favorable action the *Mercury* argued in the issue of March 5 as follows:

It is needless for us to tell the people that the present unprecedented activity in railway building cannot go on forever. Just as sure as the days continue to come and go, so sure will the money bags of Wall Street suddenly close up some time. Capital is timid and one of these fine mornings it will wake up "half scared to death" at the magnitude to which railroad building in the west, and especially in Kansas, has attained. People may not realize it, because they do not stop to think, yet so slender is the thread upon which our prosperity hangs that were one—bare one—leading banking institution of Wall Street to suspend payment it would precipitate a crisis that would result in stopping short every line of railway in process of construction in the West; and so closely is our general prosperity connected with and dependent upon railway building that to shut down operations now would be to cripple, if not absolutely ruin half the industries in the state of Kansas. Immigration would cease, eastern money, which is flowing into this country in an unbroken and constantly increasing stream, would be turned into other channels or be locked up, the building boom would collapse and farmers who are growing wealthy from the fast increasing value of their lands would suddenly find themselves possessors of estates that would not sell for as much as they borrow on them. Indeed many farmers with mortgages on their land would be unable to renew them, if necessary to do so, and would lose their homes. Stagnation would take the place of prosperity and it would be years before the country would recover from the effects of the blow. The localities that were provided with competing lines of road before the panic came upon them would be most fortunate, but how would it be with the people of Kinsley and Edwards county . . .

Not wishing to weary our readers we will leave the question with them until our next issue, when we shall take up the matter and discuss it from a purely business standpoint. In the meantime, we hope that every voter in Edwards county will give that consideration to the probability or improbability of a crash in the financial world which the importance of the question to him, personally, would seem to warrant.

In the following issue, the business argument estimated that forty

3. *Ibid.*, February 6, March 13, 1886, and June 22, 1887.

miles of road at \$8,000 per mile would be valued at \$320,000 and would pay \$13,000 per year in taxes. The interest on the bonds, county and township, which would buy \$110,000 in railroad stock would be \$6,600. The balance in favor of the county each year would be \$6,400, and besides, the people would enjoy the use of the road. On a thirty-year basis the editor figured that even if the stock became worthless, the balance in favor of the county would be \$82,000. In the same issue he assured his readers that the road would reach Kinsley by July. The next week's issue pointed out that the road would bring Kinsley nearer to the coal fields than the Santa Fé, and that the towns reached by the D. M. & A. enjoyed coal prices two to three dollars lower than formerly. Also, the road was closer to the pine lumber of Arkansas and Tennessee, and Wichita was getting lumber ten dollars per thousand cheaper than formerly. It would open southern markets, and counties on the road realized five to ten cents per bushel more for corn than before there was competition. To clinch these price arguments the writer again held out the warning of March 5:

The unprecedented activity in railroad building will come to a short stop some of these days. . . . When it does stop it will be so sudden as to take one's breath away. Everybody knows that it is coming, and the county or city in Kansas not provided with competing lines when the crash comes will be many years in getting additional road. It is the part of wisdom to strike while the iron is hot.

The bonds carried in every township but one. The *Mercury* printed an extra, and a jollification meeting was held. Conflicting plans of the Santa Fé and the Missouri Pacific were adjusted during the following weeks, and in the *Mercury*, May 21, announcement was made that the Missouri Pacific had abandoned to the former road the building of the line from Larned west, while the Santa Fé reciprocated on their proposed line from Kinsley northwest. While this seemed to deprive the town of one railroad, the interpretation placed upon it was that it made the building of the D. M. & A. more certain, and that it would reach Scott City yet that season. On June 18 the *Mercury* announced the completion of the survey from Iuka to Kinsley, and predicted that trains would be running in ninety days; a two-story depot 58 by 130 feet was to be built and division offices established. A syndicate of Missouri Pacific officials was to build a large hotel.

The Rock Island was sure to come, the *Mercury* announced on April 9, although the route was not indicated. Frisco prospects were treated in more detail, and it was stated that company repre-

sentatives were in the city and asked for thirty acres on which to build depots, shops, and divisional facilities which would be located at Kinsley. When announcement had been made of the Santa Fé-Missouri Pacific compromise, the *Mercury* declared that it was an intervention of divine providence that the Frisco was in a position to take over the bonds already voted to aid the Santa Fé for the northwest extension. "Verily the Lord seems to be on our side!"⁴

Kinsley's railroad prospects aroused the *Mercury* editor's enthusiasm to the point of imitative rhapsody in the display headlines of the "Boom column" in the issue of April 30:

Oh hear the boom, the rumbling boom! What a shower of golden wheels to dissipate the gloom. Children of the eastern land, where your farms are spoiled; leave the barren sand where your fathers toiled. Leave the rivers and the rills, leave your spades and hoes; leave your rough and rocky hills where no harvest grows. Hither come and upward grow. Here your dimes invest, and you'll never want to go from the Golden West. Here you may in very truth, in a country roam where your breast will swell with healthy breath, and "Ring a Chestnut Bell" on the form of Death.⁵

These headlines served as an introduction to a long article whose theme was Kinsley as a railroad and commercial center, and which was accompanied by a sketch map showing the town as the point of intersection of five through railroads and a branch line. In other words, eleven lines of railroad radiated from this "young Chicago of the Plains." The essential points of the argument were that Kinsley's remoteness from other cities of any size was in its favor; that Hutchinson, Newton, Winfield and Wellington could never shine save by the reflected light of Wichita; that Kinsley occupied the best position to make her the next important city west of Wichita; "What Wichita is to Kansas City to-day, Kinsley will be to Wichita one year from this time. . . . There is no question, there can be no question, that Kinsley is the coming city of the Arkansas valley. . . ."

All things have an end, including even railroad booms, and during the midsummer the railroads succeeded in concluding an agreement not to build more roads in 1887. This is what the *Mercury* had predicted, and on August 4 congratulated Kinsley and Edwards county that the contracts were let for the building of the D. M. & A. before the compromise.

But what about the remainder of the *Mercury's* prognostications

4. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1887.

5. The first two sentences of these headlines were in imitation of the first lines of each stanza of Edgar Allan Poe's poem "The Bells." The next sentences changed to a different model, following closely verses popular on the frontier.

of March 5? Would the cessation of railroad building bring the economic collapse to Kansas the editor painted in that word picture? To anticipate a little, the most fantastic phase of the boom was yet to come, as well as the collapse, and both were to center around the industrial and commercial development of the city itself, building of course on the foundations already laid in the railroad boom.

The peopling of the county had resulted in an increase from a population of 1,876 in the year 1884 to 3,519, 4,388 and 4,717 in the next three years, respectively. From a village of 382 persons in 1884, Kinsley population rose to 623 the next year, 1,102 in 1886, and 1,206 in 1887. Three weekly newspapers were published in the town, the *Graphic* (Democratic), the *Banner* (Democratic), a new comer, and the *Mercury* (Republican). The last named came into the hands of W. S. Hebron, of Sedgwick county, who published his first issue February 5, 1887. Unknown to the inhabitants, it was a memorable occasion, because the new editor set the pace for the boom. The *Graphic* and the *Mercury* had met all ordinary requirements of promotion in the regularly approved fashion, but the new *Mercury* editor had a manner all his own. Every issue of the paper contained a "boom column" with display headlines, and often there were several boom articles, in all of which he rang the changes on the merits of Kinsley in a vivid style and with unabashed exuberance of imagination. His favorite metaphor was drawn from the race track, and most of the boom articles were headed "The Dark Horse."

A correspondent of the *Atchison Champion* described Kinsley in glowing terms as it appeared about the opening of the year:

Kinsley has a proud consciousness of having waded to dry land through deeper tribulations than any of the Arkansas valley towns. For a long time it was the westernmost town that really aimed to get a respectable living. Dodge was further on, but Dodge, in those days, lived on the government and its own wickedness. Kinsley was started by nice folks, and a hard time they had of it. The drought came and stayed; the fires, one after another, licked up the houses. It is a pleasure to see the luck of the people of Kinsley who have held on. The fire has driven builders to using brick, and there are now brick blocks all along the main streets, and a brick courthouse which breaks up the commonly accepted belief that a courthouse must needs look like a brick kiln; and there is an opera house, a finer hall than any city in Kansas had for many years after its foundation; and there are stores reaching entirely through the block, and filled with merchandise. And the bulletin boards announce all the musical and dramatic novelties. There are two railroads, and others, of course, contemplated. The richest man in town is the man who had faith to stand by the town and country when everybody

was of the opinion that the soil had "too much sand." The result proved that he had just enough.⁶

Editor Hebron set off his first "boom" in the first issue of the *Mercury* after he took possession. Commenting on the railroad facilities of Kinsley, he declared that "There is not another city in the great Arkansas valley, always excepting Wichita, where investments are surer to yield greater returns than Kinsley." He reported that new additions to the city had been platted by Wichita and by Hutchinson groups, and a Wellington group was in process of organization.

Other towns had their booms further under way, as well as their jealousies. Each ridiculed the other, as is illustrated by a story in the *Mercury*, February 26, that a Wichita man refused to wash his face because he did not wish to waste so much valuable real estate, and that a storekeeper of the same city had become rich hoarding the sweepings from his storeroom, and selling them to eastern capitalists for corner lots.

Such incidental levities were not the main issue, however, and the *Mercury*, February 26, struck the keynote of the boom again in the headlines: "Railroads, roundhouses, repair shops and manufactories. Pretty, plucky, persevering and proud, she's boss of the situation and sure to get there with both feet. Now is the time to invest." Kinsley was to get, in addition to railroads and division headquarters of the Santa Fé, a roundhouse, canning factory, foundry, carriage and wagon factory, and other enterprises not yet ready to announce. Wichita men were named who had bought, during the week, 384 lots south of the city and expected to commence an extensive building program. The *Graphic* headed its boom article March 4, "Solid Facts"; "We deal not in fairy stories, but in plain, unvarnished tales of Kinsley, the magic city of the Great Southwest." It admitted March 18, of course, that "We had a Kansas zephyr last Saturday. Several signs were blown down and sand filled the air, but what do we care, we are going to have a boom."

Week by week during the spring both papers published lists of real-estate transfers. The report of March 5 totaled \$140,000, and each transaction was listed by name, description of tract, and price. A few tracts of inferior government land sold for \$200 per quarter. Private land was selling mostly for \$500 to \$1,000 per quarter during the spring months. A few unusually high prices were recorded of \$1,200 to \$2,600 per quarter. The high price for city lots in the *Mer-*

6. Reprinted in the *Mercury*, January 8, 1887.

cury, March 5, was three for \$11,500. The Santa Fé railroad was reported to have bought eighty acres for the roundhouse, shops, etc., and a syndicate of officers of the line had invested \$28,000 in real estate. The Wichita, Colorado and Western was a reported purchaser, and the D. M. & A. had telegraphed an offer for property. A week later the news was: "The Dark Horse wins the first heat. . . . 'Wild, Woolly and Hard to Curry' the Great Unknown sweeps majestically to the front. . . . Kinsley, the gateway to Western Kansas, No Man's Land, Colorado, and New Mexico, sends greetings to her sister cities of the valley." The average daily total of real-estate transfers for the week was \$30,000. The close of the month of March suggested a summary of accomplishments which appeared in the *Mercury* for March 26, headlined:

Bright, beautiful, brilliant and booming, Kinsley surges to the head of the procession with a record of transfers amounting to more than \$600,000 for the month of March, with four more days for business. Kinsley property advancing in value every day and hour, as the facts concerning our great prosperity become understood. The whyness of the wherefore.

The article that followed this introduction said in part:

There is no inflation in the boom which we are enjoying. The great growth of our city is a necessity forced upon it by the importance which the building of new railroads and the establishment here of division headquarters has given it. It has been known for the past dozen years that somewhere in the Western Arkansas valley a great city would spring up, and land speculators have been on the *qui vive* for pointers as to its exact location. Several attempts have been made at different times to boom certain cities in the valley into such prominence as would result in making them the favored spot, but all to no purpose. The contour of the country surrounding Kinsley as well as her geographical location is such that, by natural selection, she has been chosen as the point of crossing and branching of the great trunk lines of railway in Kansas, and, by force of circumstances, the great metropolis of the Western Arkansas valley. Nowhere in the valley is there a greater demand for vacant property, and nowhere is there a greater, or so great, assurance of a steady and constantly increasing growth for years to come. That this fact is appreciated is shown by the volume of the real-estate business transacted.

Within a few days one town lot (lot 11, block 24) was reported to have sold for \$5,000. A \$35,000 hotel and \$150,000 worth of other buildings were to be erected within ninety days. Every real-estate office was crowded, and ran two to four teams showing stuff to customers, and sometimes two or three dealers were making out sale papers for the same piece of property. Every hotel, restaurant and boarding house was jammed. The sale of the Schnatterly place of ten acres near the city for \$650 per acre was recorded in the *Mercury* for April 9. It was later subdivided and resold for town lots.

The *Graphic* announced, April 22, that Kinsley was "Still Booming," and that it presented, "Not what the wild waves are saying, but bold glaring facts."⁷ The next day's *Mercury* reported acres of brick blocks going up, representing more than a quarter of a million dollars, including the \$60,000 Santa Fé depot, and asserted that the D. M. & A. had invested \$28,000 in a tract of land for depots, round-houses, etc.:

The transfers of real estate [were] unprecedented. Fortunes made in a day; no chance for loss, and everybody happy.

Waterworks, electric lights and telephone exchange among the possibilities in the next sixty days.

We may not want to print each day but, by jingo if we do, we've got the press, we've got the type, and we've got the franchise, too.

If anyone, at all conversant with facts in the case, ever had a lingering doubt about the future of this city it certainly is dispelled by this time. We state but facts when we say there is not another city in the Arkansas valley with brighter prospects than Kinsley. The boom this city is enjoying is of the solid, substantial variety that marks the laying of the cornerstones of a great city. The *Mercury* has rung all the changes on our railroads, present and prospective. . . .

Whether or not we can fill the bill remains to be determined, but the fact exists that a daily newspaper is a necessity here. The weekly newspaper is a relic of the past and belongs to the days of spinning wheels, looms and stage coaches.⁸

Hebron announced that he had bought a Potter power press and a steam engine and would publish a nine column daily, and about the first of May would get out a 25,000 copy edition of the *Mercury* for circulation in the East and in Europe. The *Daily Mercury* did appear in June, reinforcing the *Weekly Mercury*, the *Graphic*, and the *Banner*, and now that the Dark Horse was nicely warmed in the trial heats, the big race was called. The election to vote \$40,000 in bonds for city waterworks carried June 30 by a vote of 143 to 33. The bond election for a \$16,000 issue to build two schoolhouses carried July 8. In four or five years Kinsley was to be a city of 15,000 to 20,000. So said the *Mercury*. So said the *Graphic*.

The boom campaign of the summer and fall of 1887 focused on Kinsley, the industrial city. Occasional mentions of manufacturing had occurred all along, but they did not become the chief and almost sole objective until the late summer months. On May 21 announcement was made of the Coöperative Cracker factory, which was re-

7. The phrase "What the wild waves are saying" is taken from a song popular on the frontier and among pioneers. Many of the boom headlines were borrowed and adapted in this fashion.

8. The third paragraph in this quotation is a paraphrase of the famous English music-hall jingle of 1878, which gave rise to the word "jingoism": "We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do, we've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money, too."

ported to have purchased 31 lots and the next week would commence the erection of eighteen to twenty cottages for its employees. The problems of fuel and power were obviously formidable obstacles to industrialization. The *Graphic*, June 24, admitted that there was no coal in paying quantities in Edwards county, but urged the importance of boring for natural gas because, "from the geographical formation about Kinsley, we feel justified in predicting its discovery at very little expense and labor. . . . Our future would be an assured fact."

The Fourth of July was celebrated with a town-lot auction and an excursion from Kansas City. The *Graphic* reported it: "Kinsley, Kansas, keenly keeps knowingly knocking. Fair fame forging forward finely. Excursionists elegantly entertained." Lots were sold in the Schnatterly, the Wichita railroad, the Kinsley Town and Land Company, and the Wichita additions for a total of \$40,000 for the day. The *Mercury* rhymster delivered himself of the following:

Oh, kickers all,
Both great and small,
No longer stand aloof,
If you can't join the throng,
And help boom things along
You'd better "come off" the roof.

By midsummer Kinsley had four banks, three of which were established since the boom began in 1886. When the First National Bank was announced in the *Mercury*, July 16, the city was assured that it was not organized to boom Kinsley, but to fill an actual need. Other financial institutions were the Kinsley Investment Company, the Edwards County Land and Loan Company, and the Kinsley Building and Loan Association.

Already Kinsley had a small brick plant, a sorghum mill, a mattress factory, and a bottling works. During the late summer and fall at least eighteen other manufacturing enterprises were projected, with a grand total of estimated capital investment placed at over two million dollars; twine, meat packing, leather, glue, oleomargarine, canning, tin cans, printing of labels, paper and paper boxes, gloves, strawboard, tobacco, crackers, sugar, sashes, doors and blinds, churns and washing machines, harrows, and papier maché. It would require too much space to relate the story of each, but the most highly publicized enterprises were the packing house, the paper and paper-box factory, and the papier maché plant.

The *Mercury* outdid itself on August 18 in printing a highly imaginative article in the form of an account of a twenty-four-hour

tour of the city, picturing Kinsley as it would appear in thirteen years. All the above-named industries were included, and in addition a barb wire factory, a foundry, steel mills, rolling mills, linseed oil works, plow works, and not least, a college, a public library, and the great publishing houses of the *Daily Evening Mercury* and the *Daily Morning Graphic*.

The story of the packing plant began definitely with the issue of the *Mercury*, August 11:

Cattle are looking exceedingly well over this part of the state, but the "exceedingly" low prices offered make our stockmen very tired. Before snow flies the matter will be remedied, to a certain extent, by the large packing house to be built here.

In addition to the packing house a manila twine plant was among the projects which visiting capitalists were considering, but the former shared the main headlines of the issue of August 25 with the paper mill and paper-box factory, in which manila twine was a branch of the business:

Yesterday was a red-letter day in the history of Kinsley, and, taken in connection with the work accomplished during the week, marks an epoch in our history. The packing house and the paper mills and box factory which have located here takes the future of our city entirely out of the realm of speculation.

These would add 2,000 to 3,000 population to the city, it was claimed, and create a demand for smaller and dependent industries: glue, oleomargarine, canneries for meats, vegetables and fruits, can manufacturing, and the printing of labels. The pay roll of the plants now located were estimated at \$7,000 to \$10,000 per week, and the capital expenditure at \$200,000. Furthermore, Kinsley had prospects for a college.

Another article, reprinted in both the *Graphic* and the *Mercury* from the *Topeka Commonwealth* of August 19, added the glove factory and the tobacco house. The question was asked what induced these firms to locate in Kinsley, and the answer was three-fold: central location, railroad facilities, and water power. The last item calls for some explanation.

After the drought of 1879-1880 an irrigation project was partially developed. Little Coon creek, which runs through Kinsley, or more accurately, whose channel does, had become a public nuisance, because people used it as a dumping ground for all kinds of refuse and there was not sufficient water, except during occasional floods, to clean the channel. The Arkansas river makes a bend to the northeast from its eastward course just above Kinsley. The head

of the Big and Little Coon creek watershed lies near the river above this bend, and someone conceived the idea of cutting a ditch across from the river to the creek, thereby, with the aid of a dam on the river, diverting water into Coon creek. In shortening the distance the water flowed the relative fall was greatly increased. The value of the project, however satisfactory from a sanitary point of view, was not so great but that it was abandoned with the return of the cycle of years of more favorable rainfall during the mid-eighties. The new enterprise of 1887 was a revival of the old irrigation ditch, but this time for power purposes. The engineers of the packing house interests were reported to have found that the fall was over twenty-six feet. "They wanted power. This we had and to spare . . . and as these industries would not utilize near all the power produced," the surplus, according to the promoters, would be sublet to other users. Later estimates placed the power capacity of Coon creek at 3,500 horsepower.⁹ "Kinsley is destined to become the Queen City of the west, and in eighteen months to have a population of 20,000 people."¹⁰

Kinsley! The Cynosure of all eyes. The coming great metropolis. A \$250,000 packing house and a paper and paper-box factory employing 1,000 operatives to be established here at once. The contracts all signed, sealed and delivered, and but a few days will elapse before hundreds of men will be at work here upon the buildings.

Such were the headlines of the *Daily Mercury*, September 1. The paper company was reported to have purchased 800 acres of land and 750 city lots, and construction work would start by September 20 and would be ready to operate by March or April, 1888, with 1,000 workmen. The packing house would start with 250 workers and a capacity of 1,000 beeves per day. The National Packing Association, chartered in Maine and capitalized at \$1,000,000, was an overhead organization controlling separate companies located at selected places as operating units. Kinsley was one of these points.

The strident voice of the *Mercury* aroused at least some opposition, enough so that Hebron felt called upon to make a defense of the boom:

"Boom" is the best word in our vocabulary and the only word for the place in which it is always used, that conveys the proper idea of what is intended. In this connection it gives us great pleasure to state that Kinsley is on a regular, old-fashioned boom. We have a real-estate boom, a building boom, a manufacturing boom, a public-improvement boom, a religious boom, a

9. *Daily Mercury*, February 14, 1888.

10. The *Commonwealth* article said 2,000 people, but the *Mercury* and *Graphic* reprints made it 20,000.

temperance boom, an educational boom, and the *Daily Mercury*, the best paper published in the Arkansas valley, conspires to swell the boom.

By mid-September arrangements were said to be about completed for several smaller industries, sash, door and blind factory, churn and washing-machine factory, and a harrow factory, and the Kinsley Street Railway Company was making arrangements to buy three miles of track.¹¹ Again, apparently in defense of its burning zeal in the promotion of Kinsley's greatness, the *Daily Mercury*, September 17, explained soberly and with an obvious effort at candor, that it "has never attempted to manufacture more enterprises for Kinsley than the circumstances seemed to warrant. We would not publish a syllable that would have a tendency to deceive. . . . We have, of course, said many things in favor of Kinsley, but have always stated only what we knew or believed to be facts." The headlines of September 28 continued in the approved manner: "Kinsley the beauty, Kinsley the great, Kinsley the boss, booming town of the state." Capitalists were in the city from Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Kansas City and Wichita, who were merely waiting, they said, for work to commence on the packing house before making investments. The *Daily Mercury*, October 4, said, "Let her go gallagher. She booms herself. Two thousand town lots and two thousand acres of land. All in or adjoining Kinsley, purchased by eastern capitalists. A settled fact. The largest manufacturing plants and the largest wholesale establishments west of St. Louis to be established in Kinsley."

"The Dark Horse" in the *Daily Mercury*, October 13, was described as "Bright, beautiful, brilliant and booming. Kinsley is coming to the front. Our future is assured, investors confident and everybody happy." And October 17, "Kansas still booms." Three days later a telegram of October 13 was published reporting the issuance of the charter to the Interstate Packing and Provision Company with a capital stock of \$250,000. This was the company establishing the plant in Kinsley. Although there had been many delays, organization was now completed and \$250,000 was in the bank to commence operations. During the next few days important articles succeeded each other in rapid succession in the *Daily Mercury*, and six of them were reprinted in a single issue of the *Weekly Mercury* October 27. "Our Prospects," from the issue of October 20, expounded the axiom that "Great industries demand something more than wind as a basis." "Our Packing House" the

11. *Mercury*, September 15, 22, 1887.

next day raised the question of a tannery. It pointed out that the leather industry ranked in dollars next only to agriculture. The *Mercury* urged investigation and argued that formerly a tannery in a treeless region would have been impossible, but new tanning methods had overcome that difficulty. The most important of the series "Manufactories," October 22, is quoted here at some length for reasons that will appear in the argument:

Manufactories are the salvation of any community; farm land tributary to an industrial center, be the latter ever so small, is always more valuable and in greater demand than that not so fortunately situated.

For years the great state of Kansas, particularly the central and western portions, seemed in a measure, at least, destined to a hopeless bondage of poverty, because so remote from market and the utter absence of any aggregation of nonproducers.

What makes a little strip of our country between New York and Philadelphia—called New Jersey—so valuable and its farms so difficult to obtain, but the fact that on either hand, within a short distance, are two great manufacturing centers, containing the largest aggregation of non-producers on the continent.

But already, so far as Kansas is concerned, there is a rift in the cloud . . . its vast number of people, purely agricultural in their pursuits, from the very nature of their isolation are demanding the establishment of **manu-**factories to convert the immense surplus of certain products into marketable articles.

Kinsley's new industries were then summarized with the comment that the sugar industry was based on the ability of the country to raise sorghum, the packing industry on the cattle and hog interests, and that "it is folly to longer ship the animals hundreds of miles to be slaughtered." Three hundred men employed would mean 1,000 people as a market and also would bring other industry to the city. The article of October 22 dealt with strawboard, an artificial lumber, the manufacture of which was to be established in Kinsley. The product was claimed to be waterproof, fireproof, lighter, and seventy-five per cent cheaper than lumber:

One of the greatest hindrances to the settler on the prairies of Kansas has been the excessive cost of lumber, necessitating the unhealthy sod house and dug-out which in some localities obtain to the almost utter exclusion of anything else, but the successful manufacture of strawboard on the plains, will soon relegate this primitive architecture to oblivion or at least make it as great a curiosity as the buffalo.

In a few weeks a building of this new material was to be erected. In the article of October 25 entitled "Sure" an estimate was made of the importance to Kinsley of the packing plants, the operatives and families, the carpenters required to build cottages, as well as

the construction of the plant itself. The conclusion reached was that the capacity of Kinsley as a market would be doubled. A short editorial in the *Weekly Mercury* of October 27 brought this series to a conclusion by emphasizing the relation of manufactures to the farmers:

To no other class in our community than the farmers of Edwards county are the coming of manufactories in Kinsley of such vital importance. It means a wonderfully increased demand for the minor products of their land and a certain market for all their surplus stock, at very nearly Kansas City prices right at our own doors, and something for their straw stocks which have heretofore, except in extraordinary cases, been a nuisance rather than a source of profit. It means an enhancement in their farm's value, because there will be a demand for land contiguous to a manufacturing center. No class of our citizens should be more joyful over the consummation of the industrial negotiations pending so long, than Edwards county farmers.

The whole line of argument, but with important elaborations, was recapitulated in the *Daily Mercury* of October 28. It took the ground that while on first consideration the location of the packing house might seem anomalous, a careful examination of industrial tendencies in the United States pointed clearly to the soundness of the proposition. First, the "wonderful railroad system of the United States has annihilated distance." Secondly, "Kansas is the acknowledged live-stock state of the Union." The saving in shrinkage alone would pay dividends on the investment in the home packing plant. Thirdly, the tendency toward decentralization of industry was a phenomenon which the editor seemed to feel required fuller exposition than the first two:

But there is still another cause for great industries seeking apparently isolated localities—always, of course, near the production of raw material—and that is the continual disturbance of strikes on the manufacturing interests of the country, and ever recurring where labor is concentrated in industrial centers, which can, in a measure be avoided by relatively widely separated manufactories, geographically.

To this complexion, must, it seems to us, come the status of manufacturing interests of the country in the very near future, for our capitalists are already moving in the direction indicated.

There will soon be an abandonment of the vast establishments now concentrated in localities, and towns which never dreamed of such a possibility, will find themselves in possession of some institution devoted to the conversion of the raw material, abundant to their vicinity, into the manufactured articles.

We do not intend to convey the impression that distinct and separate industries will not seek the same locality, for that would be absurd, as there is an interdependence between those of different character; one using the refuse material of another for the manufacture of an entirely different article; but

that all the hogs, all the beeves, all the iron, and so on to the end of the list, must not be converted to their ends, in one place as is now the case.

Nor must it be inferred, that because Kinsley, on account of its special local advantages was selected, after a careful investigation, as the point to establish a series of interdependent industries, that any other town within a radius of a hundred miles may expect the same character of manufactures; for it is the determination of the principles interested, under the coming regime, to scatter labor, but to concentrate capital; to widely separate plants geographically, and by this method of "trusts" so-called financially, benefit labor materially, and inaugurate a radical change in the advancement of the mutual interests of labor and capital.

Employees will have homes of their own, the land to be donated and the residence built by the company, to be paid for by a certain retained percentage of wages. Such, at least, is the plan to be adopted by the establishments to be located here, as we comprehend the idea, and certainly if such a revolution is to be brought about, it will do more to correct differences heretofore existing between capital and labor than anything else, because there is nothing so potent as the influence of the possession of a home.

The general line of argument was not peculiar to the *Mercury*. The editor had taken his cue from the widespread discussion of the time, and he reprinted articles in the same vein along with his own handiwork.¹²

Kinsley and its packing house received an extended description in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, which was reproduced in the *Weekly Mercury*, November 3. The National Packing Association was credited with two plants in Kansas, at Argentine and at Kinsley. The plant of the latter was located just outside of the city limits to the east, along the Chicago, Kansas and Western Railroad, and the fourteen acres of sheds and stock pens fronted on the Arkansas river. The main building would be 150 by 350 feet, and the second building 100 by 300 feet, both three stories high. The packing and cooling building would be 150 by 450 feet and two stories high. Arrangements were to be made for 200 tenements for employees, who would number 500, with a monthly pay roll of \$20,000. Kinsley was to have a cracker factory, also, and like the packing plant, it would build houses for its employees. The city waterworks, electric-light system, and the street railway were making progress.

Once more, November 17, the *Mercury* returned to the theme of decentralization of industry and industrial relocation:

As we urged, in our article on this subject the other day, manufacturers are leaving great labor centers, and isolating their establishments from cities; they are moving to the region of raw material, and the day of con-

12. Wichita *Eagle* comment on a quotation from *Iron Age* in the *Weekly Mercury*, November 10, 1887; quotation from *Kansas Farmer* on wool, copied in *Weekly Mercury*, November 17, 1887.

centration is passed away forever, at least it seems so, as one watches the development of the manufacturing interests in their movement.

We do not mean in our argument, that no concentration will be made in the new field, but that it will be limited to establishments of one character, in one place; our beef and pork packing house, will naturally, as is already in fact, draw the other industries dependent upon it, but the idea we mean to convey is, that beef and pork packing will not be done in a few places as is now the case. Kansas will have many such plants established, but at convenient intervals from each other.

Kinsley had no rivals, he maintained, in Wichita, Hutchinson or Dodge City, as industrial centers in the East were spaced about a uniform distance apart. Kinsley was well located with respect to the others, and all would grow together.¹³

Late November brought the railroad back into the picture, and Kinsley, the new headquarters railroad town, was the great beneficiary of the new departure as seen by the *Mercury*. The principal railroad lines had recently issued new time schedules to speed up traffic, and in order to compete, the Santa Fé was following suit. It was cutting the arcs out of its line to shorten distance, as well as increasing speed. The Hutchinson-Kinsley cut-off (the C. K. & W.) cut sixteen miles or thirty minutes between those points. The old main line through Sterling, Great Bend and Larned would become a branch, and these towns would shrink accordingly. In the east part of the state similar changes were reported, so that all together it was maintained that two hours would be cut from the schedule between Kansas City and Kinsley.¹⁴

In the same issue of the *Mercury* the headlines to another article announced that "The Dark Horse strikes the home stretch in advance of all competitors. The brightest star in the galaxy of Kansas cities shines with royal hangings and resplendent gold. The eyes of the world are upon her, and hither the steps of the eager, anxious multitude are bent. The coming manufacturing center of the West." This new outburst was inspired, not by the new railroad developments, but by the location of a new industry, the papier maché factory, to convert paper into car wheels, lumber, etc. The arrange-

13. Since 1933 there has been a revival of the idea in modified form in the Tennessee Valley Authority and the subsistence homestead plan—decentralization of industry and population and the more effective interdependence of manufacturing and agriculture. The historian is well aware that much of what is new to the living generation is only a periodic recurrence of thought, emotion and action of earlier generations, but no one knows why the cycles exist and the reasons advanced never really explain. The schemes of the eighteen eighties were widely discussed, and only incidentally did the idea crop out in the Kinsley boom propaganda. The plans in both periods involve a high degree of paternalism, but in the earlier period the principle of government supervision of business had not been fully accepted, and the plan necessarily appeared as capitalistic paternalism, while at the latter time it becomes governmental paternalism, with all the resources and authority of the government at its command. Otherwise the parallel is remarkably close.

14. *Weekly Mercury*, November 24, 1887.

ments would be completed within six to nine months. The packing plant and the papier maché factory would increase the population by 5,000. Land would double and quadruple in price. In eighteen months Kinsley would be "second to no other city in Kansas, save the possible exception of Wichita."

The packing house seemed to be more tangible in mid-December, when bids were advertised for the foundation, and December 20 the contract was awarded to V. D. Billings, a local man, over competitors from Great Bend, Larned, Jetmore and Dodge City. The *Banner-Graphic*, December 16, broke out into display headlines: "The Dark Eyed Goddess dons her purple robe and joins the march of progress. Oh, Ye Gods and little fishes, read, read and reflect. Business barometer booming—Buildings being builded. Fair fame forging forward finely."

The unfavorable crops of 1886 have already been noted, and in 1887, June and July was a period of serious drought. This fact did not find admittance to the boom columns of either paper at the time, but late in the season indirect references appeared. A letter from a Kinsley man, printed in the Elgin, Ill., *Courier*, reported that crops were light, that corn would make about two bushels per acre, and that a steam thresher on his neighbor's place was able to turn out in a day's work only 42 bushels of oats and 44 bushels of wheat. This drew from the *Mercury*, August 30, a spirited reply and a statement from the editor that he knew some farmers who had fifteen to twenty bushel wheat and twenty-five to sixty bushel corn in spite of the fact that this was the poorest crop season in six or seven years. Furthermore, he pointed out, every state had poor crops occasionally.

Again, on October 17, an exchange was printed making oblique admission that all was not well with Edwards county, but the headline asserted "Kansas Still Booms."

The people who predict that Kansas would go to the eternal bow-wows because of a little drouth in the months of June and July are beginning to find out that they missed their bearings. The boom of Kansas is founded on an enduring basis and will grow in volume as the years roll on. . . . The fertile prairies were never made for an empire of solitude. . . . The fame of those western plains is spread abroad over the land, and emigrants will pour in until every acre is made subject to the plow.

The woes of the West come not singly, but in wild herds, and November 3 the Republican *Mercury* recognized the rumor that certain disgruntled individuals had met or were to meet to nominate a so-called Peoples' ticket for county offices—a Democratic subterfuge to draw votes from the Republicans. "Mugwump," writing to

the *Graphic* (Democratic), protested the nomination of Williams, relatively a newcomer, for treasurer, and Hebron hit hard in reply:

[Mugwump] attempts to show that unless a man ran wild with the buffalo years ago, he is not eligible to office. Great Cæsar! what asses some men can make of themselves and live. . . . the individual who attempts by such logic as his vapping . . . to influence voters at the election next week, has just about brains enough to keep his pipe from going out, and to propagate his species, like any other ass.

A correspondent joined the fray by remarking pointedly that if Williams was a tenderfoot, then three-fourths of the voters were, also.

It was in the face of cumulative disaster that the boomers and their organs, the newspapers, had kept up appearances with much the same brand of optimism as Mark Twain's "Colonel Sellers," who set before his unexpected guests the only thing he had in the house, raw turnips and water, with the tattered rationalization which he knew deceived no one, that he served such food because it was so healthful. Even at the time the *Daily Mercury* published the advertisement for the packing house contract, it served its "raw turnips" December 15 under the headline "The Boom Busted," yet in the article itself the editor boastfully explained how eight months before, with the encouragement of business men he had set out to boom Kinsley:

We knew as well as they that there was not much to be made by what is termed "blowing," but with no particular prospects in view for the city there was nothing for the *Mercury* to do but to make the most of what we had, whether what it chose to say was "blowing" or not.

In the meantime, however, with a few citizens we were at work on a scheme to secure for Kinsley something in the shape of manufactures that would give us a solid and substantial growth, but kept up, the while, the boom racket, as much to keep our own people encouraged as to attract the attention of outsiders. Just so long as there was nothing tangible in sight, just so long had we made up our mind to continue in the way we had started out.

In our best judgment the "boom" days are over in Kansas. That is to say, the real-estate craze that has run riot for something over two years, has ceased to draw. . . .

As a matter of sober fact Kinsley never had a "boom" in the common acceptance of the term. She is the county seat of as good a county as is to be found in the state of Kansas, and is as well, or better, located than most towns in the valley. . . .

The intention of this article is to serve notice to the readers of the *Mercury* that the days of displayed heading boom articles in this paper are over. Kinsley is as certain to make, not one of, but THE leading manufacturing, beef packing, wholesaling and banking city of the Arkansas valley, as that

two times two make four. Regardless of what the Wichita papers or the Hutchinson papers may say to the contrary, the packing house now going in here will be, when completed, the largest this side of St. Louis, and one of the finest on this continent and is backed by as much capital. . . .

Then, too, the arrangements are all completed and the company formed with a million dollars capital for putting in here the largest papier-maché plant in the world. . . . If we did not know it to be so we would not make this positive statement now.

In this connection it gives us great pleasure to inform the outside world that to prevent the price of property here getting beyond such figures as will yield good returns on investments, a large and wealthy corporation has been formed which has now got possession of alternate lots and acre property, and will see to it that no "craze" shall force any fictitious values upon it. The future of the city is assured and it is the intention of the company holding the property referred to, to keep it for sale at reasonable figures. . . . The various enterprises going in here now, will give steady employment to from twelve hundred to two thousand operatives, and these institutions will attract others.

It is to prevent the catastrophe to investors in Kinsley property (which occurred in Wichita and Hutchinson) that this alternate lot pool has been made.

The renunciation of December 15 was followed two days later by a restatement under the caption "No Boom for Kinsley":

A few people in this city were inclined to be skeptical in regard to the *Mercury's* statement, made a few days since, that under no circumstances would this paper indulge in any more "boom" literature. In all seriousness we desire for their benefit to reiterate the statement. The fact is there is no further need or demand for "boom" articles in the *Mercury*. That the displayed heading "boom" articles that formed such a conspicuous part of every day's *Mercury* for the last six months was of great benefit to the city of Kinsley there is in our mind not the least doubt. In truth there has not been a day nor an hour in that time, that personally, we had less faith in the prospects of Kinsley than we now have, but inasmuch as we had nothing tangible to point to it was absolutely necessary to state everything in the superlative degree in order to attract any notice from outsiders whatever. Then again with the towns all around us, whose prospects were not one-tenth so good as ours, making so much noise about their alleged "boom" the *Mercury* had to keep Kinsley in the procession, and there was no way in which it could have been done, except to talk long and loud, concerning our "boom." Of course in a strict construction of language, Kinsley never had a "boom," yet in comparison with other towns which have made more pretensions, our "boom" has really been unprecedented. The time has come, however, of which our "boom" articles were the prophecy. The things of which we "spake" are coming to pass.

He could not restrain himself longer. He could not resist a sober, modest description of the packing house with attendant industries, "the finest packing house in the United States" and of

the papier-maché factory, "the largest in the world." And further, in defense of the *Mercury's* record for moderation, good judgment and truth he declared that "everything that it ever prophesied for Kinsley is being fulfilled. . . . No one possessing the merest rudiments of good sense can doubt that Kinsley will have a population in another year of from five thousand to eight thousand people . . . and that Kinsley will continue to grow and spread out and develop in all directions until she leads every town in the valley."

Attacked on all sides, both at home and abroad, both for booming and for desisting, Hebron's "sensitive nature" (he frankly admitted the sensitiveness) was driven December 27, into an attitude of boastful defiance:

Since the *Mercury's* announcement a week or two since, that it had gone out of the boom business, nearly every paper in the state has taken a turn at moralizing over the situation. Some go so far as to intimate that the *Mercury* did the entire valley more harm than good by its course in the past, and some of them are greatly worried for fear that the *Mercury's* present course will injury Kinsley. There is one thing we "rather guess" they are agreed upon and that is the *Mercury* has kept folks on the outside talking about Kinsley for the past eight months. It is better, "you know" to be spoken illy of, than not to be talked about at all. The *Mercury* is willing to assume the responsibility for all the injury it has in the past or may in the future do to Kinsley. . . . Great is Kinsley and the *Mercury* is her prophet.

An unfailing earmark of a boom is an abiding faith in the impossible; for instance, that cash is unnecessary and credit a cardinal virtue. And equally, the same implicit faith in the impossible marks a depression; a cash basis is a necessity and credit a sin. Both conditions are alike in that there is little or no cash in either, and they are different only in the matter of credit and the factors upon which it rests. On October 14 one leading Kinsley firm inserted an advertisement in the *Mercury* notifying its customers that "Until the roses bloom again we sell goods for cash only at such prices as will astonish the nations." This advertisement ran without change until May 25, 1888. Another firm advertised October 25, "We sell goods on closer margins than any house in the West. Therefore be it resolved that IT DON'T SCARE US! Everybody else may complain, but HARD TIMES DON'T TROUBLE US, and they will not trouble you if you trade with us." Nineteen-thirty-three was all there, except the "Three Little Pigs" and the "Big Bad Wolf." And price cutting as well. With the new year, advertisements and locals called attention to bankruptcy and mortgage foreclosure sales of stocks of merchandise. These sales "at any price"

drew much of the cash there was in the community and tied it up, besides taking cash business from the few remaining solvent merchants and driving them to cut-throat price wars. The editor congratulated the city government in the same issue on its drastic action to protect the taxpayers. This issue of the *Mercury*, January 5, seemed to be an occasion for announcement of a general re-orientation for the new year. Two business cards decreed the spreading of the new dispensation. The first, "Cash for Coal." It stated that a bill would be sent with the driver and if the coal was not paid for it would be returned to the yard. This card was signed by the two leading coal dealers. Similarly the other card read, "Bed rock at last." Flour, feed, hay and grain would be sold for cash only. "We are forced to do business this way in order to do business at all." This card was signed by the three leading dealers. Hebron discussed the matter at length and with a brave attempt at humor. He and other "leading citizens" went to the merchants in question and protested the cash-basis plan, but the editor ruefully admitted that these merchants presented the self-appointed delegation with their unpaid bills for the past summer—a knock-out argument. But Hebron was not to be outdone in that fashion and these people would receive no further free publicity, but must meet a schedule of "cash in advance" prices. For example, if one of them was to be mentioned in the *Mercury* as a "leading citizen" the price would be \$1, if as a "Christian gentleman," \$2.50, and if a citizen was to be branded as a thief, the price was \$7, and proving it with an affidavit was \$1 extra.

Kinsley had enjoyed its boom—and enjoyed it hugely—but who was to pay the piper? The board of trade had employed J. B. Arthur to promote the interest of the city. He had put in six to eight months and had made trips to Kansas City, Chicago and other places in its interest, and had been instrumental in bringing industries to the town, including the packing plant. Dame rumor was circulating a story that Arthur had made the threat to take the packing house elsewhere unless he was paid. Hebron branded the story as false, but insisted that Arthur should nevertheless be paid his expenses incurred in good faith in advancing the interests of Kinsley.

Misery loves company, and busted boomers seemed to have enjoyed an immense inward satisfaction from indulging in derisive jeers at each others delusions and excesses. Wendell was a quarter section of sand (but not so big a quarter as some, where the sand

had to be stacked to get it all on) located in what had been the center of the county, but two tiers of townships had been cut off from Edwards county on the south and combined with a similar strip from Comanche county and made into the new county of Kiowa. This left Wendell very much off-center, and killed any possibility of its taking the county seat from Kinsley. The collapse of the boom had then finished whatever lingering hopes Wendell might have retained of continuing even as a town, and if that was not humiliation enough for one little village the *Daily Mercury*, December 17, 1887, from the midst of its own ruins thumbed its nose contemptuously at its discomfited rival:

Wendell is now in the throes of a religious boom. . . . The position of Wendell is analagous to that of a condemned murderer. With its custom mill passed to the pale realms of shade, its railroads and water tank lost in the sand on the east banks of the Rattlesnake, its mail reduced to a tri-weekly drawn by only two plug horses in place of the four noble steeds that used to delight the hearts of the ever-tired citizens, and many of its imposing buildings gone to do service on the sand hill claims, with large and artistic mortgages on them; what wonder is it that the ex-geographical center should give up all hopes of worldly things and fall back on the consolation which two churches will afford? . . . Christianity is not so filling as patent roller flour, especially when the blizzards are raging through a pair of last summer's linen pants.

The real estate agents who flourished here last summer are now in winter quarters outside the city limits, and the places that knew them here well know them no more until next spring, when the snowball is no longer edible. Doctor Cullison, the junior member of the "Farmer's Friend Land and Loan Company," is wintering at his suburban villa, and says the prairie hay in his vicinity makes a superior article of soup. He expects to pass a very comfortable winter if the hay holds out.

J. W. Carpenter, the rotund senior member of the same benevolent firm, is holding down his claim north of the city. By judicious feeding of his horses he is enabled to dispense with a clothline this winter, the bony protuberances on the animals proving excellent receptacles for articles from the wash. With the money which he will save this winter in a single article of clothlines, Mr. Carpenter expects to start a farmers' safe deposit bank next spring. Since he retired to his claim the citizens have been agitating the question of boring for natural gas to supply the deficiency.

The *Mercury* did not ridicule the little ones only, but met all comers. When the Larned *Chronoscope* derided Kinsley's boom and the *Mercury's* renunciation of boom literature, the latter jeered that "Larned never had anything but a 'real-estate' boom and the fine blocks built there and which stand tenantless to-day are simply monuments to the stupidity of men who could not discern the difference between a 'craze' and a genuine *bona fide* 'boom,'" and the

Chronoscope should give the *Mercury* credit for not attempting to boom Kinsley "on the strength of an alleged coal mine sixty miles away." And in an exchange a *Chronoscope* comment was quoted in which Kinsley's moral status was challenged because its citizens had stolen coal from trains during the recent coal famine, especially coal that was billed to Larned. The *Mercury* administered a crushing rebuke to such self-righteousness:

In a rushing, growing metropolis, like this, there are sure to be some "toughs." That is one of the things that can't be helped. Of course, it is altogether different with Larned. Toughs, like rats, always desert a sinking ship.

No matter how black the outlook there is always a glimmer of hope—on the frontier. The issue of the *Mercury*, January 5, commented in one local that collections were easier this month than many supposed they would be. Such a comparative statement is not necessarily very enlightening. Another local reported that "Business in this city is gradually getting down to a cash basis. This it is thought will bridge over the temporary stringency in the money market, and put people on their feet in good shape for spring business." The next issue recorded that there was not a vacant house in town. More tangible, if true, was the item of the *Banner-Graphic*, pointing out that newspapers all over the state reported taxes being paid more promptly than ever. From time to time the same paper reported favorably on progress being made on the city waterworks, and the two school buildings, and that the packing house movement was progressing finely, and no doubt need be entertained concerning it. The town was entitled to all the consolation it could get from such tarnished silver linings, but it did not have the opportunity to forget its troubles in listening to light operas such as the "Mikado" or "The Chimes of Normandy" as during the previous winter.

A substantial part of Kansas did what Wendell was accused of doing during that bitterly cold and depressing winter of 1887-1888, or at least it shut one eye for the time being to "all hopes of worldly things," and fell back on the consolation of religion—even Kinsley resorted to religion. On February 11 the *Mercury* headlines announced boldly "The efforts of the *Mercury* ably seconded by Bro. Coats. The good work will continue another week." The article thus introduced contained the following:

A little more than a year ago we took charge of the *Mercury*, since which time we have labored in season and out, early and late, and, withal earnestly, to lead the people of this city and county to forsake their sins. . . . Yet

such is the perversity of human nature that many refused to believe. We have not been persecuted, but we have been scoffed at and reviled, many going so far as to denounce some of our mildest statements as falsehoods. We have borne up bravely against all this, and though our sensitive nature has been frequently shocked by hearing ourself referred to as the "*Mercury* liar," yet have we continued in the good work buoyed up by the hope that in the "better days to come" we would have our reward. We feel encouraged to keep on in the good work; and now that the efforts of the *Mercury* are so ably seconded by Bro. Coats, the evangelist, we have no doubt we shall be able to get up a terrible awakening here and that many of our people will see themselves, as it were, suspended by a hair over a fearful precipice. . . .

These meetings will be held nightly the coming week [at the M. E. church] and the *Mercury* hopes they may grow in interest until every sinner in Kinsley is brought to repentance.

The success of Bro. Coats' work among Kinsley sinners is reflected indirectly in a local February 15:

We trust that Bro. Coats will continue in the good work here until every sinner in Kinsley is converted. We desire, however, to caution him against feeling discouraged because our people do not come forward in droves as they do in many places. The fact is we have not, comparatively speaking, many sinners here—that is to say our people are all reasonably good right now. The *Mercury* goes into nearly every family in the county and through its influence much good has already been done. There are a few, of course, of the more hardened cases that we have been unable to reach, but taken as a whole the people have responded nobly to our efforts. Let the good work go on.

In the same issue appeared another short item:

Interest still centers in the revival meetings at the Methodist church, and while the number of conversions is not so large as is reported from some of our neighboring and more ungodly towns such as Larned, Stafford, Dodge City and others, there is still much good being done. . . . So far, there has been six accessions to the church. . . .

Such a junior partnership of the Methodist church with the Republican *Mercury* could not pass without some recognition by its Democratic contemporary in the next issue, February 17:

The *Banner-Graphic* then "rises to remark" that if Bro. Coats can succeed in bringing Bro. Hebron to repentance and can make any arrangements with him to give up his journalistic labors and enter the Evangelistic field as a co-worker with him, the twain could start out with the assurance that if Bro. Hebron were as successful in instilling the spirit of religion into the hearts of the benighted people of this world, as he has the spirit of business enterprise . . . the millennial dawn would be looked for a thousand years earlier than the time allotted by the most sanguine prophet of modern times.

Brother Hebron was too much filled with the spirit of the occasion to take offense, but expounded with friendly and disarming candor

his theological system: "Religion consists in the good we do," was his initial thesis, and some sing psalms, others relieve distress or comfort the disheartened, some proclaim Christ, some persecute the flesh by denying themselves pleasures. "They expect to wear a night-gown and wings and to sing long-meter tunes in heaven," but,

Our religion consists of making the most of the opportunities this life affords. He who can cause the value of a town lot to double is certainly entitled to share the glory of Him who causes two spears of grass to grow where but one grew before. . . . After all, who can say that we shall not be entitled to a reserved seat at the symphony concert in the "sweet bye and bye."

The *Banner-Graphic* did not reciprocate with its confession of faith, but persisted in being unpleasantly personal:

While we differ widely in politics (or rather in our opinions as to who the rascals are) and while we may differ in our views as to the best methods of giving life to our town, we have as yet found nothing to quarrel with him about, and know him to be a man of keen perceptibility, a forceable reasoner and a liberal joker, but we can't vouch for his logic.

It remained for the *Kansas City Star*, with its eyes fixed on the material rather than spiritual rewards, once and for all, to dispose of this Kansas boom by inquiring cynically to what degree the sales of padlocks had fallen off since the religious revival had swept over Kansas.

(To be Concluded in the May Quarterly.)

The Value of History¹

H. K. LINDSLEY

A BUSINESS man who has no claim to the title of historian except by virtue of the honorary office of president is placed in a position of some embarrassment when he speaks before this Society. If my observations are not made from the viewpoint of the professional historian, precedent can be found in the addresses of other presidents; and if I do not speak authoritatively of the early history of Kansas, as they did, it is because I am young, and we are all young, compared with the life of the state. The time is past when a president of this Society can appear before you with reminiscences which at the same time will be a history of our beginnings.

Yet this is a custom which should not be put aside. We are making history to-day at a speed that was not exceeded during the years when our territory was "Bleeding Kansas," and the Civil War was having its preview within our borders. The social consequences of the changes we are witnessing may be as far-reaching in their effect on the future of the country as were the results of the fight to abolish slavery. Whether these consequences will be for good or evil is for the future to disclose, and for the historian to record. The point I wish to emphasize is that our history is in the making; it is not a dead thing to be pulled out and praised or deplored; and our Historical Society, therefore, is not merely a custodian of the past, but is the recorder of the present, and so is as vital and essential to Kansas as any department of the state.

In seeking a definition of history for these very brief remarks I discovered that historians have as many interpretations of the word as politicians have explanations for the New Deal. As a matter of fact we are all historians. When a mother teaches a child to talk she is teaching history. Every grade in school is a step upward in a knowledge of history. If we could collect a group of the children of our most highly educated parents before they had learned to walk, and could segregate them where they would never be taught anything, where they would never even see another human being, they would never talk. Their descendants for years would never talk. It would be centuries before they would wear

1. Address of the president at the annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, October 16, 1934.

clothing, make fires and cook food, learn to chip flints, make bows and arrows. It would be centuries more before they would learn to work metals, would stumble on the principle of the wheel, discover the use of the lever, understand the planting and cultivation of crops. In time they would arrive where civilization is to-day—and perhaps some of them would regret it. But each generation is saved from this return to savagery by one thing, and that is history—which, written or unwritten, is in its true sense the record of the combined knowledge of mankind.

In our complicated civilization there are many kinds of history. Every textbook, every laboratory record, every medical journal, every agricultural report is a history which conceivably could save some record of progress from oblivion. I am in the insurance business, which as businesses go is relatively in its infancy. Yet there is a vast history of the insurance business; not a written history in the sense that you could get it and read it; but a record of the trials and errors by which modern insurance companies have grown and progressed, and by which they avoid the pitfalls of the past and build for the future. The first insurers were gamblers and they necessarily asked high odds because they were taking long chances. To-day they read history in the form of mortality tables and other actuarial data, and their policies have ceased to be lottery tickets. The business has become a science, and all science, it is obvious, has its foundations in the records of the past, in history.

It may be said that what I have described is not history, but the source material from which history is written. Perhaps that is true from the viewpoint of the writer of history. But in a broader sense these records of businesses, industries and crafts are in themselves histories because trained experts can read and act upon them as they exist without further organization. Written history, no matter how orthodox in treatment and limited in scope, is after all dependent upon a more or less uninitiated public. But it seems to me that any collection of records upon which men or businesses base the conduct of their affairs may rightly be called history. And if that is true, therefore, our whole civilization is dependent upon the preservation and accessibility of history; and the proper care of historical records, whether in a laboratory of chemical research or in a historical society, is of immediate concern to everybody.

Now, we all know, of course, that very few persons are concerned with the preservation of history. For that reason it is our duty as

members of the State Historical Society to support it and argue for its importance. When I was in the legislature a fellow member once asked, "What the hell is the Historical Society? What good is it anyway?" I have too much respect for this man to believe he meant that question literally, any more than I believe Henry Ford seriously made the statement that history is bunk. Mr. Ford has since spent many thousands of dollars on his historical museum and I have no doubt that the member of the legislature appreciates the value of the kind of history which he unconsciously uses every day in his private and business affairs. These statements nevertheless reveal an all too common type of mind which regards the collection and writing of history as a sort of academic exercise with no practical relation to the problems of life. We do not hear similar remarks about the tax department—no matter how we may feel about taxes personally—and I question if they are even made about the insurance commission. But because the Historical Society is a little less directly connected with our pocketbooks some of us fail to comprehend that it is already one of the most valuable assets the state possesses and will increase in value with every decade.

It has been said that a people which does not respect its history will have no future worthy of respect. If this is true, and I think you will agree that it is profoundly true, we need have no concern about the future of Kansas, for Kansas has always cherished her past. The Memorial building and the State Historical Society are a monument to the men and women who built the state. This Society is among the largest in the country, although one of the youngest. For this we must thank the men who directed it and supported it through even leaner years than those we have been experiencing. To them it was a living organization, not founded for the past alone, and they honored themselves and the state in this belief and in their labors.

Public appropriations for historical societies have been reduced everywhere. This condition is offset to a considerable extent by the vigor and cheerfulness with which historical society staffs have carried on their work. Though even in days of prosperity they had to exercise rigid economy, they have recognized the special need for government economy during hard times, and they have done their utmost with reduced budgets. They do not suppose that historical agencies should or could be exempt from reductions in a period of prolonged depression. It is clearly within the province of the members of this Society, however, to do all in their power to impress upon

the public the value of this institution and its work; to promote wider understanding of the necessity of adequate support; to call upon their friends for defense; to consider how they can most effectively present their needs to legislators; to harbor no defeatist attitude. Let us bear in mind that popular interest in history is on the increase and the value of the work of historical societies is gaining a wider public understanding than it has ever had before. Our staff is carrying on its routine work—collecting, arranging, cataloging, editing and publishing, serving users of historical materials, and reaching the public in scores of ways. They are making slender resources go a long way toward serving the need of the state in a critical period of history. They need and deserve all the support we can give them.

Early Imprints¹

ROBERT T. AITCHISON

I SHALL endeavor to give you the history, to show you the way the stage was set to bring on the invention of printing—to explain what effect it had on the Renaissance, and to touch the high points of its introduction into various countries and states down to our own Jotham Meeker, which will take you a long way back.

During the fourth and fifth centuries, the Vandals and Goths swooped down on Italy, destroying its culture; and for another five hundred years, until the time of the Crusaders, there was little change. When these Crusaders from France, Germany and England trekked across Europe they came in contact with the architecture of Rome, of Greece, and the simple, beautiful structures of the Orient, and going back to their own country they gave some of that beauty expression. Shortly after the Crusaders, we note the construction of Gothic architecture all over western Europe. To digress briefly here, I want to give you a picture of conditions of the people under King John.

A noble held his land by grant from his King, or in other European countries, from the emperor or Pope. The lower classes owned no land, and when a manor was transferred the serfs went with the manor. They could not even marry unless permission was given by their lord. Then came the signing of the Magna Charta; the feudal system was passing and a national spirit was arising in Spain, Germany, France and Italy. In the time between 1200 and 1400, many men rose above the crowd; names familiar to all of us: Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer and Dante; men of letters who have given us brilliant pictures of that time; pictures in words of the trend of thought of that age. As men began to think for themselves, writing became more general, the feeling spread that such writings must be placed before the people. When a man writes he wants others to read, to hear what he has to say, so writers began to look about for some cheaper process of reproducing these writings, to give them greater distribution.

At this time we find the first printing of wood blocks. Before the wood blocks we had manuscripts; very beautiful things, but on ac-

1. Address given at the annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, October 16, 1934. Mr. Aitchison illustrated his talk with rare imprints from his private collection.

count of the labor and expense involved in their preparation they could not be widely distributed. About the year 1400 the art of printing from wooden blocks came into being. Old ledgers tell us Jan Coster was known to have made letters of wood and to have set up a shop for the printing of block books. It is alleged that his workman, sworn to secrecy as to the process used in printing, afterwards stole the tools and equipment of his master and established himself at Mainz, but this tale is given little credence. The art of wood engraving was brought to much perfection by Albert Dürer at the end of the fifteenth century. These old wood engravings are beautifully executed, and were done by making the drawing on a block of wood, then part of the wood was chiseled or whittled out, leaving the drawing in relief. After the wood block for printing came in some printer had the idea of joining these pictures together—that is, joining the blocks together, and began to add words coming out of the mouths of the figures so pictured, much as words are pictured on balloons coming out of the mouths of figures in our modern funny strips.

In Germany, at Mainz, about the year 1450, a man named Johann Gutenberg printed from movable metal type, and is credited with the invention of printing. The mechanics of printing as practiced by Gutenberg are, in many ways, similar to those used to-day, and the size and shape of the type remains much the same. As I said, to Gutenberg is attributed the invention of printing, about 1450, and I have here a manuscript of that same period. (Holds it up.) See the similarity between the manuscript and the type. The earlier printers seem to have copied the lettering used in the manuscripts. Printing was a secret process and was held secret until about 1460. The first printer's mark used on this piece by Fust and Schoeffer is the mark of the printer's craft to-day, and is a very beautiful thing, I think. (Indicates mark.)

Gutenberg was a good inventor, but, like most inventors, a very poor business man. He borrowed eight hundred guilders from a man named Fust to complete his invention and later, for the purchase of supplies and payment of wages, borrowed another eight hundred guilders. From the court records it appears that Fust foreclosed on Gutenberg in 1455, and took over all his tools and equipment. Gutenberg had had in his shop a young man named Schoeffer, and following this time books began to appear under the name of Fust and Schoeffer, as printers, although there is nothing which definitely shows that Fust had very much to do with it, or did any of the

work himself. They printed Bibles, which were sold all over France and Germany, some being more widely distributed, and there are still forty-eight of them in existence, in whole or in part. They were fine volumes, printed on paper and vellum. Our own government purchased one a few years ago.

About the year 1462, during the strife between the rival archbishops, Diether von Isenburg and Adolph von Nassau, Mainz espoused the cause of the former, but was taken by the latter who had the support of the Emperor, lost its imperial privileges, and was thereafter subject to Archbishop von Nassau. The victorious archbishop sent many into exile, driving most of the able-bodied men out of Mainz, who carried with them to other lands the knowledge of the printing trade, which up to that time had been held secret. Within fifty years every city of consequence in Europe had printers, practically all being German. In fact, all the first printers in European countries were German.

After the art of printing became public property, Italy was among the first of the European countries to get printers, when Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz went across the mountains into Italy, on their way to Rome. Before going to Rome they stopped at Subiaco and did some work for a monastery there.

In 1464 the King of France sent a young man to Mainz to learn printing from Gutenberg. This young man, named Jenson, did not return to France, but, later, went to Italy. We are not entirely certain whether he went to Sweynheym and Pannartz, or whether he went to Venice. But we do know that he cut some of the most beautiful type ever invented. This (holding up book) is a book printed in 1471. That is what we call "black letter" type. It shows how beautiful his black letter was. The binding is still in fair condition, having been super-imposed on oak boards. That (indicating) is a reproduction of his printer's mark. A very beautiful thing. The design is the same as that copied on a "Uneeda Biscuit" box. Jenson was a very successful man, and died quite wealthy. He was one of the first to bring beauty into a book, or into the cutting of type.

The next great printer in Italy was a man named Aldus. Italy at that time was the center of culture in Europe, and people went there to trade from all other countries of the time. In 1490 Aldus was running a college, when his father-in-law died and Aldus inherited his printing business. He was, perhaps, the outstanding man in the printing industry of that day. He printed books in many languages, and no workman was allowed to work on a book unless

he could speak that language. You can see that a workman had to be quite a linguist in order to hold a job in those days. He invented what is known as "Italic" type. In Europe they called it "Aldus" type. Before he invented "Italic" type this (displaying) was the size and general style of books, and only the nobles or very wealthy people could own them.

While we are looking at this book I want to show you the unique manner in which it is printed. The pages are rubricated throughout. I think, if we do not have to hurry too much, I would like to show you some of the very wonderful illustrations. Now this (indicating page of book) is what we call the "Tree of Life." See these lovely initials which go down the pages. Marvelous colors there. Those colors added by the illuminator were generally ground from semi-precious stones, the stones being crushed and mixed with the white of an egg, albumin; the coloring remains very clear and unfaded to this day. Compare the size of this huge tome with this small 8-vo Aldus printed in 1501, the year his italics were invented. The book in italics brought the price down so every man could own books—to about 60 cents in our present currency.

Printing scattered, in the first fifty years, all over Europe. It was, I think, most responsible for the Renaissance. From books on Ptolemy men got the desire of travel—soon came the discoveries by Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci—shortly after that the reformation started. By 1560 Mercator began to have printed his well-known maps, and these maps were widely circulated. They caused people to think about things outside their own town, their own country.

Here is a book by Martin Luther, printed in 1546, showing a very wonderful woodcut of Luther by his friend, the master, L. Cranach. (Shows book.) Things were moving very rapidly at that date; the center of printing had jumped from Italy to France by 1525. In the first half of the 1500's there were many printers who made wonderful strides in the art, and were outstanding craftsmen of all time: the Estienne's, de Colines, Vascosan, and others of Paris, and Roville of Lyons; Garamond, who cut the finest Greek and Roman types; Tory with his beautiful initials which we still use in our case to-day.

The center of printing again moved from France to Holland about 1600, and much fine work comes to us from that period. Here is a little book that may give you some idea of the work done at Plantin's plant. This book had never been cut down, as so many of them were at that time, many of them being trimmed until the type was

cropped. You can see (indicating) that it is just full of wood cuts, some of them very lovely things.

A man named Caxton came to the low countries to handle some matter of a wool treaty for England. He was not at that time a printer, but a man of consequence in the wool trade. However, he seems to have stayed in Bruges, and made translations of two books, *The History of Troy* and *The Game and Playe of Chess*, and later entered the service of the Duchess of Burgundy, a sister of the King of England, who granted him a yearly pension, and he there continued his *History of Troy*. About 1471 Caxton learned the art of printing, but at what date he brought his press to England and set it up at Westminster is uncertain; it was probably 1476. Caxton, while not the greatest printer of his time, did some great things for England and English literature, for through him purer copies of Chaucer were preserved for posterity. England is unique in two things—its first printer was a native son, and it is the only country which had its first book printed in its native tongue, as books until that time had been printed for the most part in Greek or Latin.

The first printing press in America was established in Mexico City, being brought over in 1539 shortly after the Spanish invasion. This press was sent to Mexico City from Seville, Spain, by a German printer named Kromberger. He sent an Italian, named Pablos, to run the press under contract. As I recall it he had to print 3,000 sheets daily, which was quite heavy printing in those days; he was to receive no salary, just his living expenses, and any moneys he made during the life of the contract had to be put into what we would call "surplus." If Pablos made a mistake, ruined any paper, or had a loss of any kind, that was to be taken out of his share of the final settlement. He was not to enter into any other kind of business; was to act as agent, without commission, for the sale of Kromberger's books, and this contract was to last for ten years, at the end of which time Pablos was to receive one-fifth of the net profits of the business. It was a rather hard contract, but he stuck it out, and later evidently owned the business himself. He was sent over to print religious tracts in the various Indian-Spanish tongues. I will show you a piece of printing from the first press in Mexico (indicating). It is not very good printing.

I will jump back to England, because, shortly after 1622 the first English newspaper was started, printed in book form and issued once a year. It was against the law to print anything of a local

political nature in England, so newspaper contents were limited to the happenings on the continent and in the Orient. The newspaper did not have a very wide sale, as it was hard to be interested in news over a year old. It was printed by Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, who, with Archer, were the first three men to have anything to do with newspaper printing in England.

Getting back to America: Our first Colonial press was established in Cambridge, at Harvard University. In 1638 the Reverend Mr. Glover went to England and hired a printer by the name of Stephen Day, and his son Matthew, and secured a printing press. On the return voyage Mr. Glover died of smallpox, but his widow survived, and in about six months she decided to marry again. She married the president of Harvard University, and the first press was run there in 1639 by Stephen Day. This part of a book (displaying), printed in the Indian language, was found in an Indian tepee. These books were translations of the Scripture and various religious works by John Eliot, and were printed at Cambridge on the Harvard press.

Printing now rapidly spread all over the colonies; it went over the Alleghanies, and into the Mississippi valley about the year 1800. The first printer in Kentucky was John Bradford, who printed this first school book (holds it up), a grammar, in Kentucky about 1802. This third issue of the first newspaper west of the Mississippi was printed in July, 1808, by an Irishman, Joe Charless, at St. Louis, in the Louisiana territory. From there we get to our own state.

Our first printer was Jotham Meeker, who was born in Ohio, in 1804. He was twenty-six years old when our government established its Indian territory, west of Missouri and Arkansas, north to the Missouri river. Meeker, a missionary at heart, made a perilous trip from Cincinnati by boat and wagon to Shawnee mission, an outpost of the Baptist Missionary Board in the Indian country.

With him he brought his wife, and a small printing outfit. Meeker had learned the printing trade in Cincinnati when nineteen; had gone into Michigan at twenty-five, on missionary work, and there worked out a system of translating English into Indian.

With this system, the ability to speak three Indian tongues and his knowledge of printing, he opened his plant at Shawnee mission and printed his first job on March 8, 1834. This was fifteen years

before the "forty-niners"; thirteen years before the Mormon migration, and nine years before Frémont's expedition in 1843.

It is hard for us to appreciate the life the Meekers had to live, and to comprehend how he could work out a system of translation which made it possible for an Indian child to learn to read, as he put it "in a few days." You must realize that the "learning" on the part of the Indians had to be done simply and easily, as the Indian lacked patience for study and application.

Meeker's was a wonderful system, worked out to have a letter represent an articulate sound of the Indian's speech. This differed from the Cherokee, and all other systems. McCoy, in his *History*, says that twenty-three letters were all Meeker required for translation into any Indian tongue. Meeker translated and printed in nine different Indian tongues.

The first newspaper printed in Indian was printed by Meeker at Shawnee mission, *The Shawnee Sun*. Fifty-one books or pamphlets were printed while he ran the press, from 1834 to 1837, and at Ottawa from 1849 to the time of Meeker's death in 1855.

I will stop now, and let Mr. Kirke Mechem tell you about the Meeker press.

The Mystery of the Meeker Press¹

KIRKE MECHEM

AS THE title suggests, this paper describes an attempt to solve a mystery. In January, 1931, Chas. F. Scott, publisher of the *Iola Daily Register*, wrote that Giles E. Miller, owner of the *Guy-mon* (Okla.) *Herald*, possessed the first printing press ever brought to Kansas. Mr. Scott believed the State Press Association would like to present this press to the Historical Society, but first he wanted to check its history. In so doing he made amateur detectives of the Society's staff, for we were soon lost in such a maze of conflicting testimony that it is only now, over three years later, that all the misleading fingerprints may be tabulated. As a detective story should, this account begins with the established facts.

A century ago this year, in February, 1834, Jotham Meeker set up Kansas' first press at the Baptist Shawnee mission, just south of the city limits of the present Kansas City, Kan. On the first day of March he set the first types in the new territory, and on the eighth of that month he made the first press impression. During the next three years Meeker produced about ninety pieces of printed matter, mostly in the form of booklets of a religious nature, translated into various Indian languages by himself and other missionaries. In 1837 he became a missionary to a band of Ottawas who had settled near the present city of Ottawa, being succeeded as printer by Rev. John G. Pratt. In 1846 Pratt removed Meeker's press to Stockbridge, an outpost of the Baptist Shawnee mission north of the Kansas river, near the Missouri. In 1849, Pratt having discontinued the use of the press, Meeker transported it to Ottawa, where he used it spasmodically until his death in January, 1855.

The history of the press to this date may be considered authoritative, for it is based on a journal, now in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society, which Meeker kept from 1832 to within ten days of his death in 1855. On January 12, 1889, thirty-four years after Meeker's death, Mr. Pratt, in answer to an inquiry from Franklin G. Adams, first secretary of the Historical Society, wrote:

This first Press in the Territory after being used by myself in printing these various books—was removed about July, 1858, to the Ottawa mission,

1. Read at the annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, October 16, 1934; with some new material added.

which had been under Mr. Meeker's supervision since my arrival in the country 1837. After its removal, Mr. Meeker reprinted some of the books which had become exhausted, & some new ones. The Press, on the death of Mr. Meeker in 1854 remained at that point until 1856-7 when, by the direction of the Board of Missions, I sold it, and all the material, to G. W. Brown of Lawrence, Kan., then publishing the well known *Herald of Freedom*, and it was utterly demolished in Quantrels raid on that City.

Presumably when Pratt wrote 1858 instead of 1849 as the date for the removal of the press to Ottawa, he made a slip of the pen; also, after so many years, he could hardly be expected to remember the exact date of Meeker's death. There has just come to light a letter Pratt wrote to his home office in October, 1857, which verifies this sale and incidentally gives an interesting glimpse at the business methods of its first secular owner:

At Ottawa, I left word with Bro. Jones to sell the Press to any one who would pay him cash \$400. A newspaper editor at Lawrence, who had often spoken of purchasing the establishment, sent a team and persuades Mr. Jones to believe I had consented to sell on a six months credit, and took the whole concern away. I have seen him since and he has given me a written obligation to pay the whole within the time specified.²

Many years later Brown also commented on his purchase of the press. In a letter to Miss Zu Adams in 1907, he said:

The Meeker press I bought of Rev. Pratt, or Platt, agent for the Baptist Missionary Society, in the spring of 1857. I sold it to S. S. Prouty, who established a small paper at Prairie City, and ran it for a time. . . . I had all the type, with the vowels and ws in *terrible* excess. They were of pica size. We used the latter for printing the bills for the legislature.³

From this point, however, the trail becomes as devious as any reader of murder mysteries could desire. For the past three years the staff has worn the spiritual habiliments of Sherlock Holmes in the search for clues. The scent has led all over eastern Kansas, as far west as Cimarron and Dodge City, back into the hills of Missouri, and for a time grew very odoriferous in northern Oklahoma. The stories of the principal witnesses will be given first. You will recognize many of these persons; they are reputable citizens; their worst offense was in their proneness to accept hearsay in the place of evidence.

The first statement is in a letter from S. S. Prouty to R. B. Taylor, dated at Topeka, November 15, 1869. Mr. Prouty says:

2. Extract from letter of John G. Pratt to Solomon Peck, dated October 20, 1857, Delaware, K. T., quoted in letter from Forrest Smith of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, New York City, to the Kansas State Historical Society, October 24, 1934.

3. Extract from letter of G. W. Brown to Miss Zu Adams of the Kansas State Historical Society, August 7, 1907.

On the 25th day of June, 1857, I started the *Freemen's Champion* at Prairie City. . . . I issued eleven numbers of the *Champion* when I was compelled to suspend its publication for the want of patronage. The material of the office was purchased of G. W. Brown at Lawrence for \$450 and the purchase money was furnished by the Prairie City town company. The press was an old-fashioned Jews-harp press and was brought into the territory in 1834 by Rev. J. Meeker and was employed by him to print tracts thereon for the Indians in their vernacular. The old press is now at Cottonwood Falls and on it is now printed the *Chase County Banner*.

The facts given above are also included in an article on Kansas newspaper history, printed in volume 1-2 of the *Kansas Historical Collections*.

Six years later George W. Martin, in his *Hand Book of the Kansas Publishing House*, published in Topeka in 1875, wrote:

The state of Kansas should recover that Meeker press, and preserve it at the Capital. Kansas will have a centennial some day. From Meeker, the press passed into the hands of George W. Brown. In 1857, Brown sold it to S. S. Prouty. Prouty owned the press for years, and used it in the publication of the *Freemen's Champion*, and the *Neosho Valley Register*. Prouty sold it to S. Weaver, who used it at Leecompton. From thence it went to Cottonwood Falls, and from thence to Cowley county. It is now supposed to be in the Indian territory, on its march of conquest. It was a Seth Adams manufacture, oval at the top. There were twenty stars on it, indicating that at the time of its manufacture there were twenty states in the Union. This was in 1817, as the twenty-first state was admitted in 1818.

In 1875, the *Fredonia Citizen* indicates that controversy regarding the press had already arisen. On June 18 the *Citizen* said: "Considerable has been said by the papers since they commenced writing their respective histories as requested by the committee appointed at the last meeting of the editorial convention, in reference to the oldest press in Kansas, and the claims of several for 'priority of settlement' have been set up." The *Citizen* then quoted the above statement from Martin's *Hand Book*. This was the year the Kansas State Historical Society was organized; the reference is to an attempt Secretary Adams was making to compile a newspaper history from statements secured from members of the editorial association.

Two years later Adams apparently believed he had located the press. On July 10, 1877, he received the following letter from W. H. Kerns of Sedalia, Mo.:

Your letter in reference to the "Meeker Printing Press" received. I owned the press some two or three years in Winfield, Cowley Co., Kansas. It was brought to Sedalia. I sold it to a party in Windsor, Mo. From here it went to another town in South Missouri. Will find out and let you know in the course of a few days. It is the same press throwed in the river at Lawrence

by "Border Ruffians," and its history is full of interesting items. Your society should have it by all means and anything that I can do will be done with pleasure.

Six months later Adams wrote again to Kerns, and on February 18, 1878, Kerns replied:

Yours of Feb. 9 at hand. I had forgotten about the press until your last letter. I met the brother of the man who owns the press, who states the press is in south-east Missouri having started four or five papers in Missouri since I brought it to this state. He states his brother wants \$100 for the press. The press does very good work yet. I have had him to write to his brother in reference to the press, not stating that your society desired the press for in that event he would ask a fancy price. I asked him to write his lowest cash figures, as I desired to run a small paper. I understand he has another press in his office and can spare this one. It will probably cost you \$100 and the freight, but I have made him a less offer. I do not remember the name of the town in which it is. As soon as Mr. Hitchcock hears from his brother I will write to you. I will charge your society nothing for my efforts and had you written to me when I owned it I should have presented it to you.

The correspondence languished until early in January, 1883, when Kerns asked if the Society was still interested. Adams replied that he thought he could raise the money either by subscription or from the legislature and asked Kerns to set a price on the press. And, with what seems now an undue optimism, he added, "Some of our old printers will readily identify the press." Kerns did not reply, and on the 24th of January Adams wrote again, saying that the legislature was in session and requesting a quotation.

When Kerns received this letter he was in St. Louis in the midst of a private depression. He wrote, ". . . I can only make a proposition without any explanation for its amt. I can urge failure in business in Kansas, losses etc., through all of which I was the owner of the 'Old Meeker Press.' If your Society wishes to pay \$3,000 for the press I will produce it about Mar. 10th."

Adams replied that the Society "could not think of asking for the appropriation of any such sum. Our entire estimates for all purposes are but \$5,450—and this includes \$100 which we put in for the press." He informed Kerns that the Society had no means except what was received from the legislature, and that legislatures do not appreciate relics. He closed by offering \$150, as the outside sum that could possibly be secured.

Kern's answer on February 9 indicates that his \$3,000 dream had been rudely shattered. He brusquely stated that he did not care to make any more propositions. "I shall leave the place where it is unknown," he wrote, "and if the Historical Society is too poor to pay

anything for it I shall bury its history so deep it will never be straightened out."

The next year, August 4, 1884, however, when his disappointment had cooled, Kerns wrote to Adams from St. Louis:

It has been some time since I wrote you regarding the old Meeker press. I am out about \$150 on the old thing, and it will cost \$100 to get it from the present owner who does not know the history of it. I am the only person living now who can produce it and give the evidence to prove it. . . . Now, if I am paid my losses, I will secure press for above amts.

Adams replied that the Society had no funds, and that unless the directors or the Kansas Editorial Association would contribute, the matter would have to await the next session of the legislature.

This seems to have closed negotiations; at least no further correspondence can be located in the files. No description of the press appears in any of the letters. Adams certainly believed he was bargaining for the original Meeker press, but whether mistakenly there is no way of knowing.

While Adams was still dickering with Kerns, F. H. McGill, of Leavenworth, wrote a letter which was published by John A. Martin, editor of the *Atchison Champion*, in the issue of June 12, 1878. McGill reported that the editor of the *Clifton Journal*, while in southern Kansas, "saw a press in the Oxford *Independent* office which he believed to be the oldest in the state, and says also that the same once had lain in the Missouri river and subsequently had been thrown into the Marais des Cygne by a pro-slavery party. "In 1870," McGill's letter continued, "A. J. Patrick and G. H. Beach, of Olathe, purchased an old press and a small amount of type in Cottonwood Falls, which had been used in the publication of the old *Banner* of that place, and started the *Winfield Censor*, the first paper published in Cowley county." McGill then stated that he had worked upon the *Censor* in 1871, and went on to describe it in the same terms Martin had used in his *Hand Book*. His letter ended with the following paragraphs:

The *Censor*, of Winfield, was changed to the *Cowley County Telegram* in 1872, and from that time it is not known what became of the old press, as the *Telegram* was enlarged to a seven-column paper which could not have been printed upon that press.

The old press spoken of by the *Clifton Journal* is undoubtedly the same which Messrs. Martin and Prouty have mentioned, and which was bought by Patrick & Beach at Cottonwood Falls and moved to Winfield, and which is now in the Oxford *Independent* office, idle. Every effort should be made by the Kansas Historical Society for its capture.

It will be noted that McGill's letter introduces several interesting new facts. The old press has now received duckings in the Marais des Cygne and the Missouri, in addition to the occasion when, according to Kerns, it was "thrown" in the Kansas river at Lawrence. It must be remembered that it was originally a Baptist press. But if McGill was correct, and the press was at Oxford, it could not have been subject to sale by Kerns from some unknown place in Missouri.

Before Adams had finished his correspondence with Kerns, the well-known Andreas' *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), had been published. In a sketch on Meeker, Andreas accepts Martin's statement regarding the disposition of the press, but where Martin said it was "supposed to be" in the Indian territory, Andreas states it as a fact. The *History* also said: "The type and other material used at the mission farm by Mr. Meeker were scattered broadcast on the prairie by the Indian children, and as late as 1865, handfuls of type could be picked up near where lies buried one of the most zealous missionaries that ever labored in any land."

According to these contemporaneous accounts, therefore, at the time the first comprehensive history of Kansas was published, the old Meeker press was in three places: Oxford, Kan., somewhere in Missouri and somewhere in the Indian territory. That was fifty years ago, and most of the subsequent stories of its wanderings, of which there have been hundreds in the half century, have been versions of the above statements, with an occasional remarkable combination of all three. But there is still another story from which it appears that at the very time the press was in these three places it was actually in Dodge City.

This account was printed in the *Topeka Journal* on February 1, 1902, under an Elmdale, Kan., date line. It declared that the oldest printing press in Kansas belonged to Charles Garten, editor of the *Elmdale Reporter*, who used it every week in getting out that paper. Pictures of Garten and the press illustrated the story. Following a brief sketch of the Mission history of the press, which for the most part was correct, the article stated:

Many little incidents as to the destroying of the office of the *Free State* are now almost forgotten. Once when the office was destroyed the type were thrown into the street, and the metal was used in making balls for "John Brown's" cannon.

During Quantrell's raid in 1856 [sic] the press was thrown from the second-story window, and one of the main castings was broken, yet it has never interfered with the working of the press.

Ten years later, in 1866, the press, together with a few fonts of type was bought by Sam N. Wood, who established the *Chase County Banner* at Cot-

tonwood Falls, Kan., and continued its publication until August 3, 1867, when Theo. A. Alford took charge, running the paper until November, 1868. The paper then went into the hands of a stock company, with Judge W. R. Brown as editor and H. L. Hunt as local reporter, who published the paper for one year. The press was then taken to Winfield, Kan. The next adventure was in 1870 by Beck, Fallett & McClure, who ran an 8-column, 4-page paper called the *Kansas Central Index*, but at the end of nine months turned the press over to Albert Yale, who, with John Gifford, moved it to Wichita in January, 1871. The press remained in Wichita for a number of years, but was finally exchanged to the Great Western type foundry, of Kansas City, and some twenty years ago was sold to N. B. Klain, now editor of the *Dodge City Globe-Republican*, but who was then editor of the *Dodge City Times*. The press was then moved to Cimarron, where it was used in publishing the *Cimarron New West*. It then became the property of W. C. Shim, but afterwards went back to Judge Klain, and for five years was stored in an old barn at Dodge City. In April, 1890, the press was purchased by Chas. B. Garten, who started the *Elmdale Reporter*, and the press has been doing good service ever since.

The old press is of the Washington hand press make, bearing the name plate of Ladew, Peers & Co., and was made by the Cincinnati Type Foundry and Printers' Warehouse Company. It bears many marks and ornaments significant of revolutionary war times, such as guns, swords, drums, cannon balls, flags, and a large eagle adorns the top.

Strangely, this version of the history of the press has been reprinted but a comparatively few times. Usually the earlier accounts were accepted. E. C. Manning, in his *Biographical, Historical & Miscellaneous Selections* (1911), traced it from Lawrence to Emporia, then to Cottonwood Falls, then to Winfield, from where, he said, "it was transported to some town in southwest Missouri." He makes the statement that "the Winfield town company only paid Sam Wood three hundred for the press and the whole printing office outfit."

A news item in the *Topeka Capital* on May 23, 1925, under a Strong City date line, stated that S. E. Yeoman of that city had helped rebuild the press following its immersion in the river at Lawrence by "border ruffians." According to this article, Mr. Yeoman, aided by F. E. Smith, "soon after brought the press to this county where it was set up in Cottonwood Falls. . . . The paper was originally printed in the interest of equal suffrage, being backed by Eastern stockholders."

A few years after the discovery of the press in Garten's possession at Elmdale, E. D. Smith of Meade, Kan., sent to Geo. W. Martin, then secretary of the Society, a clipping from an unidentified paper stating that Meeker's press had been found in the office of the Guymon (Okla.) *Herald*. Its history was traced, according to the

usual formula, down to the *Cowley County Censor*. But here a new note was introduced, for the article stated:

After that a Sedalia (Mo.) newspaper man bought it and took it out of the state, but according to R. B. Quinn, former editor of the *Guymon Herald*, it again worked its way westward and landed in Liberal in 1888 or 1889 as the property of Lambert Wilestadt. In 1890 it was moved to Hardesty, Okla., and used in getting out the *Times*, a paper succeeded by the *Hardesty Herald*, which later became the *Guymon Herald*.

The historic old press was made under one of the earliest patents issued, the number of the patent being close to 100 as shown by a plate fastened to the bed of the press, which has been removed since the press was moved to Guymon. It is thoroughly old-fashioned and looks just about like the one that Benjamin Franklin used, according to the pictures in the histories.

The discovery of this ancient press aroused new interest throughout Kansas and adjoining states. A year later, on November 3, 1909, the *Kansas City Journal* reprinted the above article *verbatim*. On November 21, 1909, the *Kansas City Star* said: "It is known that the press was shipped from Philadelphia to Leavenworth, Kan., at an early day and that it passed year after year from town to town along the Kansas frontier. . . . Quinn says that the name of the maker was something like 'Bronstrub.'" On September 17, 1911, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* printed an illustrated feature story from Hutchinson about the Guymon press, stating that it was the Meeker press. "It is treasured highly," said the writer, "and it was only after much pleading on the part of the Hutchinson Typographical Union that the local organization was given permission to use it on the float to be exhibited by them in the parade during the celebration of the semicentennial of the admission of Kansas into the Union as a state." In addition to these out-state papers, most of the leading Kansas journals carried news items or feature stories in which the press at Guymon was identified as the Meeker press.

In the summer of 1929 J. T. Crawford, of Topeka, general secretary of the Kansas State Baptist Association, became interested in this press, by that time generally accepted as the one which his church had brought to Kansas. After some correspondence with the owner he went to Guymon, and with the assistance of the employees succeeded in bringing forth from under much debris the major portion of the old press. The old wooden standards had withstood the ravages of time, as had the iron track and upper tympan, with the screw setting firmly embedded in the heavy wooden impression beam. The impression screw and lever, and the

moving bed and frisket were missing, as was also the heavy frame which served as a base, and other small attachments.

The next day the press was expressed to the Kansas State Historical Society, where under the direction of Crawford and Wm. E. Connelley, secretary of the Society, who approved its authenticity, the missing parts were made of wood and fitted into their places. Later, on October 15, 1929, the press was put on exhibition and was the subject of a lecture given by Crawford at the Kansas Baptist Convention at Kansas City, Kan. The press was then placed in the museum of the Kansas State Historical Society for several months before it was returned to Guymon. It has since been exhibited in numerous places in Oklahoma and has been the subject of many newspaper and magazine articles.

It is not surprising that this Guymon press was accepted as the Meeker press. The credentials of the other claimants had long been buried in newspaper and correspondence files. It was only by accident, after Charles Scott proposed to secure it permanently for the Society, that suspicions arose. A little digging into the records disclosed discrepancies. Further research brought forth the conflicting accounts just related. It became apparent that until an authentic picture or description, or the name of the maker of the press which Meeker brought to Kansas, could be obtained, identification was not possible.

This realization led to a re-reading of Meeker's journals and correspondence and an examination of the available records of those who had had personal knowledge of the press before it was moved to Lawrence. This search disclosed the curious fact that neither Meeker nor his contemporaries ever mentioned the name of the manufacturer or gave an identifiable description, although it is referred to several hundred times in the journals and correspondence preserved in the Society's archives.

Meeker purchased the press at Cincinnati early in September, 1833. *The Baptist Missionary Magazine* for 1834 lists an appropriation of \$550 for this purpose.⁴ Meeker's expense account lists as paid, September 10, 1833, the following: "Printing apparatus including transportation, \$468.13." An explanatory note adds: "In the article of Printing apparatus I include \$35 worth of Paper and Ink. All wooden articles which can be made by a carpenter belonging to the Printing establishment I concluded to not purchase in Cincinnati." The press was shipped by boat by way of the Ohio,

4. *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Boston, 1834, p. 238.

Mississippi and Missouri rivers to Independence Landing, where it arrived on October 2. Meeker did not get the press ready for operation, however, until after the first of the year, and the first press run was not made until March.

Apparently this was as close as we would ever come to a description of the press. Letters to historical societies in Ohio and to printing establishments and others in Cincinnati failed to elicit any further information. As a last resort the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society in New York was appealed to. This was considered a last resort because it was assumed that in the copies of Meeker's voluminous correspondence with his home society which the Historical Society possesses, all his communications had been recorded. But in this we were mistaken. On August 8, 1933, the Mission Society wrote a letter containing the following brief statement:

In a letter from Mr. Meeker dated February 27, 1837, he gives a list of articles in the office as follows:

"One Super Royal Cast Iron Smith Press, with Ball rack and Ink block, two Friskets, two Bodkins, two pr. points, Sheep's foot, wrenches, etc., but no Roller, Mould nor Frame."

This brief inventory was the long-lost clue. While it would not lead to the hiding place of Meeker's press it would at least test the authenticity of the other claimants. But an unexpected difficulty arose when the attempt was made to secure a picture and specifications of the Smith press. Finally, after correspondence with a number of authorities in the East, Sidney A. Kimber, of the University Press, Cambridge, Mass., furnished a detailed description with pencil drawings. From his letter and other sources the following description of a Smith press was secured.⁵

The Smith press was patented in 1821 by Peter Smith, brother-in-law of Robert Hoe, founder of the well-known firm of that name. Smith and Hoe entered into partnership, and this was the first of a long series of patents granted to the Hoe company. The frame was of cast iron, and in place of a screw with levers, Smith substituted a toggle joint, which made the press superior in many respects to any up to that time. The press was manufactured for many years, but its production was discontinued about 1880, as the Washington press, also made by Hoe, was more popular. The Smith press, like the Washington, obtained its power from the

5. Letter from Sidney A. Kimber, May 9, 1934; *A Short History of the Printing Press*, printed and published for Robert Hoe, New York, 1902; *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*, Howard Lockwood & Co., New York, 1894; *American Encyclopaedia of Printing*, Menamin & Ringwalt, Philadelphia, 1871; letter from Henry L. Bullen, Typographical Library, Jersey City, N. J., May 21, 1934.

straightening of a toggle joint, but they differed in one respect. In the Washington the knee-joint was pressed in; in the Smith it was drawn in. A super-royal Smith press had a bed $32\frac{1}{2} \times 26\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and a platen $28 \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ inches. A type form could be printed the size of the platen if special care was taken; usually the maximum size of the sheet to be printed would be about an inch smaller each way than the platen. These dimensions, however, cannot certainly be applied to Meeker's Smith press, for they were taken from a Hoe catalog of 1854, and Meeker's press may have been smaller.

In the light of this information it is interesting to recheck the statements of those who claimed to have owned or used Meeker's press. Prouty said it "was an old-fashioned Jews-harp press," and that in 1869 the *Chase County Banner* was being printed on it. He also indicated that he bought it prior to June, 1857, when he started the *Freemen's Champion*. So far, it has been impossible to determine what a Jews-harp press was. Possibly that may have been a name applied to the Foster hand press, which had a large cast iron harp on the frame under the bed between the legs; or it may have been applied to the Stanhope press, whose iron frame could be said to resemble a huge jew's harp. There is nothing connected with the Smith press, or its history, to indicate that it ever went by this name. There is also a discrepancy between the statements of Pratt and Prouty. Pratt says the press was destroyed by Quantrill, which would have been in August, 1863; yet, Prouty, in 1869, says positively that it was then in Cottonwood Falls.

Geo. W. Martin, in his *Hand Book*, accepted Prouty's statement that the press was in Cottonwood Falls, but said it was a Seth Adams, oval at the top, with twenty stars on it, indicating that it was made prior to 1818. If it was a Seth Adams press, of course, it could not have been Meeker's press, and if it was made prior to 1818 Seth Adams was a very precocious inventor, for he was then only eleven years old, having been born April 13, 1807. He first began manufacturing presses in 1832.⁶

In none of Adams' fruitless correspondence with Kerns is any mention made of the make of his press. The fact that Kerns said he bought it in Cowley county may mean that he had Prouty's old press. If he could be trusted in his statement that it was the "same press thrown in the river at Lawrence by 'Border Ruffians,'" which is doubtful, it must have been another press. Either he or Pratt could have been mistaken about the date of the destruction of

6. *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*, p. 9.

presses in Lawrence. The date of the "Border Ruffian" raid, so-called, was May, 1856, seven years before Quantrill's massacre. Presses were either destroyed or thrown in the river on both occasions. Since Brown bought the press in the spring of 1857 it is quite probable that it was the destruction of his plant in 1856 which necessitated the purchase of another press.

McGill's letter of 1878 in the *Atchison Champion*, claiming that the press then reposed in the plant of the *Oxford Independent*, says it was "an oval lever, six column, and had nineteen stars on the face of the oval." McGill has subtracted one star from the total given by Martin, but there can be no question the type of press was the same, and therefore could not have been Meeker's.

The story of Garten's press at Elmdale, which had arrived there by way of Lawrence, Cottonwood Falls, Winfield, Wichita, Kansas City, Dodge City and Cimarron is disproved by the fact that it was made by Ladew, Peers & Co., and was "of the Washington hand press make."

We come now to the press discovered at Guymon, Okla., which in recent years had been commonly accepted as the Meeker press. Despite the conflicting accounts of its travels, this press alone is small enough and old enough to qualify. But when it was learned that the Smith press which Meeker purchased was made of cast iron the press at Guymon also was eliminated, for it had been made of wood.

All efforts to identify the Guyman press failed, however, until in the *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking* there was found a picture of an old Ramage press which coincided exactly with the remaining parts of the Guymon press. But about that time the *Kansas City Star* article of November 21, 1901, came to light, in which R. B. Quinn who bought the press in 1901, was quoted as having stated that when he got the press it bore a plate. The name of the maker, as he remembered it, was something like "Bronstrup." Seemingly this ruled out the supposition that it was a Ramage press. But shortly afterward, in the *American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking*, the following paragraph was discovered:

BRONSTRUP PRESS.—A hand-press formerly made by Frederick Bronstrup of Philadelphia, the successor of Adam Ramage, and having three sizes. The largest is 22¾ by 29½ inches, the next 20 by 26 inches, and the smallest 16 by 22 inches. The material is chiefly wrought iron, and the press stands securely without a stay.

This statement explained the seeming discrepancy. Presumably Bronstrup either had a number of Ramage's old wooden presses on

hand when he succeeded to the business, to which he attached his name plates, or he continued to make them for a time after he began manufacturing iron presses. There can be little doubt that the Guymon press is of the old Ramage type, and there is no question that it was sold with Bronstrup's name plate on it. While this disproves the claim that the Guymon press was Meeker's it does not lessen its value as a genuine product of one of America's first press makers. Adam Ramage began business in Philadelphia about 1800 and was the only one of consequence in the country. The press at Guymon is probably an older press than the one Meeker used, it was used many years in both Kansas and Oklahoma, and it should be preserved.

So, after all this elimination, nothing remains to be eliminated. The question may still be asked, as it was when this Society was organized in 1875, "What has become of Kansas' historic press?" Perhaps it was destroyed in one of the raids on Lawrence or was disposed of in some obscure transaction of which, so far at least, we have no record. Possibly Kerns did take it to Missouri, and it may still be in existence in some country print shop. Certainly the myths relating its migrations, if they are old enough to be called myths, are as curious as any in the annals of Kansas—and Kansas history contains some strange myths. But whatever the state does, it does wholeheartedly. Where only seven cities strove for the distinction of being known as Homer's birthplace, Kansas, in the short space of seventy-five years, has furnished ten towns with claims on a press which in all likelihood was never seen in any of them.

The Annual Meeting

THE fifty-ninth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and the board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 16, 1934.

In the temporary absence of the president, H. K. Lindsley, the meeting was called to order at 10 a. m. by the vice president, F. H. Hodder.

The first business was the reading of the annual report of the secretary.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 16, 1934

The years of depression have greatly increased the use of libraries throughout the country and, unfortunately, libraries were among the first public institutions to suffer. With the demand for services increasing from twenty-five to upwards of fifty per cent, income in many instances was cut in even greater proportion. This is more largely true of public libraries than historical societies, although many state societies were crippled by drastic reductions in appropriations. It is estimated that the demands on our Society have increased approximately twenty-five per cent in the past two years. While it is regrettable that salary cuts had to be made, the number of employees was not reduced. The staff has been kept busy with routine work and much that should have been done in the way of cataloging and organizing books and other collections was necessarily postponed. Considerable organization of material was accomplished under a CWA project early in the year. Accessions of manuscripts, documents, books and relics were not so large as in the preceding year, but many valuable additions were received which will be mentioned in the reports of the various departments.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Illness and the inability of members to attend prevented several meetings of the executive committee. Advice of the members was sought in all matters of consequence, however, and in accordance with the constitution and by-laws they have approved all expenditures. The committee and the Society suffered a great loss in the death of H. K. Brooks. Mr. Brooks had been a member of the Society for many years and had always taken an active interest in its work. His knowledge of the history of the state and his experience as a successful business man made him an invaluable member of the committee. Mr. Brooks had been reappointed, with W. W. Denison and E. A. Austin, for a two-year term following the 1933 meeting. Upon the death of Mr. Brooks, President Lindsley appointed Thomas Amory Lee to succeed him on the committee.

APPROPRIATIONS AND THE LEGISLATURE

Appropriations requested for the biennium beginning July 1, 1935, were filed with the budget director in September. The executive committee thought it unwise to ask for salary increases, although the members believed the

salaries inadequate. It is understood that some state departments have asked that salary reductions made by the last legislature be restored. The committee felt that if a general restoration of salary cuts is made the legislature will treat all departments equally whether or not requests appear in the budget. The contingent fund was cut from \$2,500 to \$1,500. A request was made that this appropriation be increased to \$2,000. Two years ago the Society asked for \$1,800 for newspaper racks which are badly needed to care for papers now filed on the floor in the basement where they are difficult of access and subject to deterioration. This request was then refused and it is again renewed. The present staff is inadequate to handle the increased demands, and two or three additional employees are badly needed. Additional steel manuscript cases are also needed. It was felt that the times do not warrant these requests and they were not made. The budget as submitted is believed to be necessary and reasonable.

CWA PROJECT

Eighteen persons were employed by the Society under a Civil Works Administration project for ten weeks, from January 15 to March 22, 1934. The Civil Works Administration furnished \$2,412 for the project, which went entirely for salaries. The Society spent \$79.20 for working materials and rental of office equipment. Supervision was supplied by department heads. An account of the work accomplished appears in this report under the department headings.

A summary of work accomplished under CWA projects by state historical societies, which was read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in April, indicates that the Kansas Society accomplished more in its own collections than any society in the country, although several sponsored projects for the organization of county archives which employed more persons.

THE PROPOSED FERA PROJECT

In September an application was made for a Federal Emergency Relief Administration project which would employ twenty-seven persons for five months. This is known locally as the Kansas Emergency Relief Committee, or KERC. It was hoped this project would be in operation by the time of this meeting. More than thirty persons had already been interviewed when the Society was notified that a change in rulings regarding personnel had been made which would limit employees to those available from the relief rolls. Whether this limitation will make it possible to secure qualified persons for the work proposed cannot be determined until those available from the relief rolls are interviewed. Word was received last week that the project has been approved. It is hoped work can be begun by the first of November.

Tentative plans for work under this new project include the following: Completing the cataloging and labeling of pictures in the picture collection; completing the cataloging and reclassifying of books in the general library; indexing names in the first Kansas official census reports for the years 1855, 1857 and 1859; indexing Kansas corporation records which contain copies of all charters issued by the state from 1863 to 1909; continuing the indexing of original correspondence of Kansas governors; preparing a general index of the *Kansas Historical Collections* from volume 1 to volume 17, inclusive;

reclassifying and relabeling relics in the museum; copying documents and correspondence in the manuscripts and archives collections, and mending books. Probably not all the indexing mentioned can be accomplished. No final decision can be made until the qualification of the workers is appraised.

LIBRARY

The library received over 3,000 requests for information, some requiring much time and research and others needing but brief answers. The number of books and pamphlets added is about the same as during the preceding year.

Interest from the Pecker bequest fund, a bequest which can be applied only on the purchase of New Hampshire books, was used for the purchase of twenty-one volumes dealing with the genealogy and history of that state. Interest from the Booth bequest fund was spent for the latest edition of the Americana encyclopedia.

An interesting collection of Civil War music was given by Mrs. Maud C. Cramer of Garden Grove, Calif. The music belonged originally to Ella Jane Hillyer, daughter of George S. Hillyer, a pioneer of Grasshopper Falls. Joseph K. Lilly of Indianapolis presented a complete set of reproductions of the songs and compositions of Stephen Collins Foster. Of particular note is a pamphlet purchased for the Kansas library, *Periodical Account of Baptist Missions Within the Indian Territory for the Year Ending December 31, 1836*, by Isaac McCoy.

Subjects on which extended research was made during the year by historians and students are: Civil rights of women in territorial Kansas; Presbyterian missions in Kansas; Methodist missions in Kansas; Holladay stage coach line; history and development of schools in Doniphan county; history of education in Montgomery county; Pierre and Auguste Chouteau; panic of 1857 and its political consequences; history of Osage county, 1870-1890; slavery in Kansas; relief of 1874-1875; history of Sherman county; the frontier and the labor movement; Gerrit Smith; Old Bill (William S.) Williams; history of the Baptist church in Kansas; Frémont sentiment in Kansas in 1864.

Six trained librarians were employed in the library under the CWA project last winter. Approximately 45,000 books and pamphlets were classified and a small part of these were labeled and shelf-listed. Additional trained librarians are needed on the regular staff to continue this work. There are also hundreds of valuable books, pamphlets, maps and broadsides which need expert mending and backing for their preservation.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Many valuable manuscripts were accessioned during the year. These deal with various phases of the state's history from territorial days to the present. Donors to whom we are indebted include: Theodore Ackerman; James B. Brinsmaid; Clinton H. Colleston; Mrs. R. K. Fry; Mrs. Lee Redden Gordon; W. B. Haines; W. P. Harrington; Grant W. Harrington; Bliss Isely; Mrs. Arthur M. Jordan; Mrs. L. G. Kennedy; T. M. Lillard; Wilder S. Metcalf; Ormon L. Miller; M. E. Palmer; Paul Parrish; L. C. Penfield; Paul Popenoe; Lena Robitaille; Mrs. Elmer O. Swatzell; H. M. & J. P. Sydney; Webster Wilder; Dora Skelton; Clayton Wyatt.

Much use has been made of the manuscript collections. Papers of the United States Indian Superintendency and the New England Emigrant Aid Company, the correspondence of Jotham Meeker, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, George Luther Stearns, Thaddeus Hyatt, Charles Robinson, John James Ingalls and others have furnished data for researchers.

Under the CWA project much sorting and classifying was done in the vast collection of federal archives acquired from the old Topeka post-office building. The papers have been placed in eight general groups: correspondence and records of the Topeka post office; documents and correspondence of land offices; documents and correspondence relating to bankruptcy; court records, documents and correspondence; alien enemy registration; pension records; and miscellaneous correspondence. There has been some organization of the alien enemy registration, court records and correspondence, and bankruptcy papers. Of especial interest is the large group of papers from the territorial period of which there are approximately eight thousand. As rapidly as it is possible to do so, these important manuscripts will be made available for research.

STATE ARCHIVES

There were fewer accessions in this department than in the preceding year.

Seven bound volumes relating to Harper county were given by Mrs. Myron Miller and Phil Sydney, of Anthony. These include abstracts, tax records and other material. Eleven maps with explanatory manuscripts were received from club women of the first congressional district, presented through the Women's Kansas Day Club. These maps show locations of historic sites and include the counties of Atchison, Brown, Doniphan, Jackson, Jefferson, Leavenworth, Marshall, Nemaha and Washington. A similar map of Bourbon county was also received.

Subjects on which research was done include ferries, lost town sites, the old Osage mission, Osage ceded lands, Cherokee neutral lands, battle fields, military camps, churches and numerous less general topics. Records of many of the noted women of Kansas were furnished the Women's Kansas Day Club. Many family records were supplied from the original census reports.

NEWSPAPER SECTION

A *Union List of Newspapers*, a publication listing the newspaper holdings in the libraries of the United States and Canada, is being compiled under the auspices of the Bibliographical Society of America. The committee in charge, under the chairmanship of Dr. J. T. Gerould, of Princeton, asked for a list of the Kansas Society's holdings. With the assistance of four CWA employees, the Society brought up to date the list of Kansas newspapers owned by the Society as shown in its *History of Kansas Newspapers*, published in 1916, and its list of out-of-state publications which had not been revised since the list was last published in the *Eleventh Biennial Report* in 1898.

Thousands of volumes of our out-of-state holdings are magazines and properly are cataloged through the library. In this compilation, for the convenience of the Bibliographical Society, an attempt was made to list only the newspapers owned by the Society, thus separating for the first time the actual holdings of the newspaper section from that of the library. The report showed a total of 8,062 out-of-Kansas bound newspaper volumes.

The 1934 annual *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* received by the Kansas State Historical Society was published in July. The edition listed 738 newspapers and periodicals which were being received regularly for filing. Of these, 59 were dailies, 11 semi-weeklies, 519 weeklies, 19 fortnightlies, nine semimonthlies, two once every three weeks, 73 monthlies, nine bimonthlies, 22 quarterlies, 13 occasionals, one semiannual and one annual, coming from all the 105 Kansas counties. In this list were included 460 weekly community newspapers. On January 1 the collection of Kansas newspapers totalled 42,010 bound volumes.

Accessions of old newspapers for the past year include: six issues of the *Concordia Cyclone*, published in 1881 and 1882, from Marion Ellet, Concordia; miscellaneous United States newspapers of the middle nineteenth century from J. B. Brinsmaid and Mrs. Lee Redden Gordon, and an incomplete file of *The Jayhawker Press*, Newton, 1923-1933, from Ralph T. Baker, of Topeka.

PICTURE COLLECTION

With the assistance of three CWA workers, the Society was able to sort, catalog and shelf-list nearly five thousand pictures during the year. Of these, 3,430 were unmounted pictures and portraits of persons prominent in Kansas history, and 1,333 were unmounted pictures of localities, or objects such as monuments and buildings, which often required more than one subject heading and cross reference.

Work of this nature must necessarily proceed slowly, but progress is anticipated this winter if our application for the new project under the KERC is approved and capable workers are furnished. Over ten thousand pictures yet remain to be worked.

There were 207 pictures and portraits accessioned during the year.

MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum for the year ending July 1 was 33,617, a gain of 674 over the preceding year.

There were ninety-four accessions of relics and museum objects. Among the most interesting accessions was the Civil War uniform which was worn by Gov. Samuel J. Crawford. This uniform and a number of other items which belonged to Governor Crawford were donated by his grandson, Marshall Crawford. An outstanding accession was an old Spanish bit which was found in western Kansas in 1885. This is a crude wrought-iron bit of the type used in the sixteenth century, and it is possible that it once belonged to some member of Coronado's expedition of 1541. It was presented by Paul Jones of Lyons. An ancient trunk was the gift of Harry Hutchings of Lawrence. Mr. Hutchings lived on property adjoining the Sir Walter Raleigh estate in England, and when as a boy of 15 he came to America, he was presented with one of three trunks stored in the attic of the Raleigh home. The trunk has been in Mr. Hutchings' possession ever since, and he states that it is one which had belonged to Raleigh. The initials W. R. appear in brass studs on the top of the trunk.

ACCESSIONS

Total accessions to the Society's collections for the year ending June 30, 1934, were as follows:

Library:	
Books (volumes)	1,330
Pamphlets	3,998
Archives:	
Separate manuscripts	11
Manuscript volumes	7
Manuscript maps	11
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	86
Newspapers (bound volumes)	794
Pictures	207
Museum objects	94

These accessions bring the totals in the possession of the Society to the following figures:

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines.....	353,060
Separate manuscripts	924,795
Manuscript volumes	27,223
Manuscript maps	501
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	10,365
Pictures	15,143
Museum objects	32,780

THE QUARTERLY

The *Quarterly* is now completing its third year. A number of valuable contributions to the history of the state have been printed in the past year. Among the articles which attracted favorable attention was one entitled "A Southerner's Viewpoint of the Kansas Situation, 1856-1857." This consisted of letters which A. J. Hoole wrote to his family in South Carolina while he was living in and near Lecompton during the territorial troubles. George A. Root's series of articles on the ferries of Kansas has also aroused interest. Much credit for the high standard of the *Quarterly* is due to Dr. James C. Malin, associate professor of history at the University of Kansas, who is associate editor.

OLD SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION

There are five organizations coöperating with the Society at the old Shawnee mission: the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of American Colonists, the Daughters of 1812 and the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society. These are all state-wide organizations with the exception of the latter. The rooms which have been assigned to these societies are gradually being repaired and furnished. In the east building four rooms have been remodeled and decorated. A stone wall was built along the creek south of the west building to prevent damage by high water. Along the road south of the north building a stone retaining wall sixty feet long and averaging four and a half feet high was built. The seven acres north of Mission road were graded and filled to permit the use of a power mower. Despite the drought the grounds present a better appearance than they have since the state acquired the site.

The appropriations granted for the mission are inadequate and should be increased. The amount allowed for maintenance by the legislature of 1933 was \$750 a year. The request made to the budget director asks that this be

increased to \$4,000 a year. This property, consisting of three large brick buildings now nearly one hundred years old and sixteen acres of ground, is one of the most important historic sites in the Middle West. The state purchased it at a cost of \$50,000 and it deserves more consideration than it has received from the legislature.

FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

The first capitol building continues to attract many visitors. For the year ending October 1, 1933, there were 6,647 as compared with 11,546 the preceding year. This decrease is due to the fact that highway No. 40 through the Fort Riley reservation was closed for several months while it was being repaired. It is interesting to know that 35 per cent of the visitors come from other states. The salary of the caretaker, who is required to be in attendance every day, including Sundays, was reduced by the legislature of 1933 to \$37.50 a month. Our budget request asks that this be restored to \$50 a month.

FORT HAYS FRONTIER HISTORICAL PARK

This park, which was created by the legislature of 1931, is managed by a board of which the secretary of the Historical Society is a member. A reforestation camp was established at the park in the summer of 1933, and a crew of nearly two hundred men landscaped the grounds, built dams and made roads on land belonging to the park and to the adjoining experiment station and Fort Hays State College. At its last meeting the board voted to request \$4,000 a year from the legislature for the maintenance of this park.

PIKE PAWNEE PARK

In 1901 the legislature appropriated \$3,000 for a memorial monument to commemorate the visit of Zebulon Montgomery Pike to the Pawnee Indian camp at this site. Last spring this monument was blown over in a high wind and the top of the shaft was broken. Since any repairs which could be made would materially reduce the size of the shaft many persons in that part of the state, believing a new monument should be erected, requested that action be deferred until after the 1935 session of the legislature.

KANSAS ARCHÆOLOGY

This summer archæologists of Kansas were surprised to learn that a group of men, said to represent the Nebraska Historical Society, had excavated Indian village sites in Kansas and had presumably taken a considerable number of artifacts from the state. The Kansas Society had no knowledge of this archæological expedition. There are many village sites in the state which have not yet been despoiled. These should be protected until they can be scientifically explored, and when they are excavated the Kansas Society should have an opportunity to secure representative artifacts.

LOCAL AND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Since the last annual meeting two county historical societies have been organized, and the Society has assisted organizers in several other counties which have not yet affiliated. A number of the local and county societies in the state are doing good work in gathering historical documents and relics. Members of the state Society are urged to lend their assistance to local associations.

This report would be incomplete without mention of the members of the staff of this Society. They are uniformly courteous, loyal and conscientious. The secretary acknowledges his indebtedness to them for what has been accomplished in the past two years.

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary.*

Upon the conclusion of the reading of the report of the secretary it was moved by F. A. Hobble that it be approved and accepted. Seconded by F. B. Bonebrake. Carried.

The president, H. K. Lindsley, having arrived, Mr. Hodder relinquished the chair to him. Mr. Lindsley called for the reading of the report of the treasurer of the Society, Mrs. Mary Embree, which follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

STATEMENT OF MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND FROM OCTOBER 13, 1933, TO OCTOBER 12, 1934

Balance October 13, 1933.....	\$731.11
Life membership fees	230.00
Annual membership dues	196.00
Refund of postage money.....	177.00
Postage on <i>Quarterly</i>	1.00
Return of subscription	2.25
Interest on Liberty bonds	297.50
Liberty bonds at cost.....	5,911.63

Total amount on hand.....	<u>\$7,546.49</u>
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Expenditures:

Expense of annual meeting.....	\$37.00
Pictures and prints.....	29.35
Traveling expenses	178.23
Extra clerk hire.....	333.41
Subscriptions	124.30
Money advanced for postage.....	314.00
Premium on bonds.....	10.00
Payment to Belleville Monument Works.....	19.00
Sign for Indian cemetery.....	3.82
Flowers	17.82
Gifts to janitors.....	13.50
Rent of safe deposit box.....	3.30
Payment on exchange of bonds.....	3.50
Filing annual report of Society and Mission.....	2.00
Notary renewal	2.00
Southwest Press, clippings.....	3.40
Remington Rand Inc., repairs and machine.....	46.25
Southwest Bell Telephone Co., payment.....	7.15

Total expenditures	\$1,148.03
Balance, October 12, 1934.....	6,398.46

\$7,546.49

Liberty bonds	\$5,911.63
Cash	486.83

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST FUND

Principal, Liberty bonds.....	\$950.00
Balance, October 13, 1933.....	62.66
Interest from October 13, 1933, to October 12, 1934.....	41.38
Total amount received.....	<u>\$104.04</u>
Expenditures:	
Goodspeed's Book Shop for New Hampshire books.....	62.70
Balance, October 12, 1934.....	41.34
	<u>\$104.04</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST FUND

Principal, Liberty bonds.....	500.00
Balance, October 13, 1933.....	66.48
Interest from October 13, 1933, to October 12, 1934.....	21.78
	<u>\$88.26</u>
Expenditures:	
Americana Corporation, set of <i>Americana</i>	87.73
Balance, October 12, 1934.....	.53
	<u>\$88.26</u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS FUND

Principal Liberty bond (interest in membership fund).....	\$1,000.00
Respectfully submitted,	MARY EMBREE, <i>Treasurer</i> .

The above and foregoing statement preceding this one, of the membership fund and of the trust funds—Jonathan Pecker bequest fund, John Booth Bequest fund, and Thomas H. Bowlus fund, has been examined by the committee October 12, 1934, and approved.

EDWIN A. AUSTIN,
THOMAS AMORY LEE,
T. M. LILLARD.

On motion of Mrs. Flora R. Godsey, seconded by Dr. E. Bumgardner, the treasurer's report was approved.

The president called for the report of the executive committee. In the absence of Edwin A. Austin, the secretary was asked to read the report:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The executive committee of the Kansas State Historical Society hereby submits the following report:

The constitution of this Society by the second paragraph of the sixth section provides:

For the transaction of necessary business when the board of directors is not in session, there shall be an executive committee of five members to be chosen from among members of the board of directors as follows: the president elected at the 1931 meeting shall appoint two members for one year and three members for two years and thereafter each newly elected president

shall appoint members to fill vacancies as they expire, the term of office being two years. Subject to the general direction of the board of directors, and in conformity with the state laws governing the Society, the executive committee shall be authorized to exercise the powers of the board and shall be responsible for the management of the Society and the carrying out of its policies.

Under the above provision the committee for the past year has been W. W. Denison, chairman, Edwin A. Austin, T. M. Lillard, H. K. Brooks, recently deceased, and Thomas Amory Lee appointed in his place, and Sam F. Woolard.

The committee holds monthly meetings on the third Friday of each month except during the summer months, the president and secretary also attending.

At the last meeting of the executive committee before this annual meeting, the committee examined the books of the treasurer and the receipts and disbursements of the Society, including the membership fund, state appropriation, and other receipts and disbursements, and the report of the state accountant, and the cash on hand at the National Bank of Topeka to the credit of the Society up to the date of this report.

In compliance with the constitution the following vacancies on the board of directors were filled by the executive committee: For the year ending October, 1934, C. L. Brokaw, Kansas City, Kan., Charles M. Correll, Manhattan, and Mrs. Mamie Axline Fay, Pratt, to complete the terms of H. K. Brooks, Topeka, and A. E. Van Petten, Topeka, deceased; and Charles Curtis, Topeka, removed from the state; and for the year ending October, 1935, W. F. Lilliston, Wichita, Ralph R. Price, Manhattan, and Mrs. T. T. Solander, Osawatomie, to complete the terms of Noah L. Bowman, Garnett, C. E. Cory, Fort Scott, and H. L. Humphrey, Abilene, deceased, and they now submit their action for approval.

The report of the executive committee would not be complete without mentioning the loss of Harry K. Brooks. Mr. Brooks died since the last annual meeting of the Society. In him the Society lost an active, energetic and faithful member. Mr. Brooks had served upon the executive committee of the board of directors for many years. It will be remembered that he married the daughter of the late Col. J. N. Harrison, who was president of the Society in 1914-'15, and it may be said that Mr. Brooks inherited from his father-in-law his first interest in the Society. The company of which he was the president and principal owner, The Capital Iron Works, furnished practically all the steel used in the construction of the building and of its metal fixtures. Mr. Brooks was always interested in the financial affairs of the Society and was one of the safeguards of its treasury. His place as a friend, member and efficient officer of the Society will be hard, indeed, to fill.

W. W. DENISON, *Chairman*,
EDWIN A. AUSTIN,
T. M. LILLARD,
THOMAS A. LEE,
SAM F. WOOLARD.

On motion of Dr. E. Bumgardner, seconded by R. C. Rankin, the report of the executive committee was approved and accepted.

The report of the nominating committee was read by Mrs. Henry F. Mason, chairman:

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations beg leave to submit the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

For a one-year term: Thomas F. Doran, president; F. H. Hodder, first vice president; E. E. Kelly, second vice president.

For a two-year term: Kirke Mechem, secretary; Mrs. Mary Embree, treasurer.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. HENRY F. MASON,
ISABELLE C. HARVEY,
ERNEST A. RYAN,
JAMES C. MALIN, *Committee.*

On motion of Justice John S. Dawson, seconded by J. G. Egan, the report of the nominating committee was accepted.

There being no further business for the board of directors the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at 2 o'clock p. m. The meeting was called to order by President Lindsley.

Mrs. Eliza E. Goodrich, of Kansas City, Kan., a life member of the Society, was introduced. She explained her connection with the historical society of Wyandotte county and displayed a photostat copy of the *Shawnee Sun* and several other articles and relics. She presented a print of a group of pictures, including portraits of early-day residents, to the Society.

The secretary read telegrams and letters from members who were unable to be present.

The annual address of the president, H. K. Lindsley, was then read. His paper, "The Value of History," appears as a special article elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*. At the conclusion of his address, Mr. Lindsley said:

At this time I would like to say, also, that the Society is fortunate in having an executive staff of specialists, and a secretary who is more than efficient, looking after the detailed work of our Society. I want at this time to give them these words of appreciation for their work during the past year, and I know you all join me in sincere appreciation of their efforts.

The principal address was made by Robert T. Aitchison, of Wichita. At the request of President Lindsley, he was introduced by Mr. Mechem, who said:

It is a pleasure to me, personally, to have with us my friend, Robert Aitchison, of Wichita. He is a printer and publisher, and will give an address

which is peculiarly appropriate. This year is the one hundredth anniversary of the introduction of printing into Kansas by Jotham Meeker, in 1834. Mr. Aitchison is an authority on printing, and an artist as well, and is the maker of the two-colored charts hanging on the west wall of this room, giving the history of printing in America, and the history of printing in Europe. They were both designed and printed by Mr. Aitchison, and they show in some detail the beginnings of the art of printing. You will be interested to know that these charts have received international recognition, and are hung in libraries and universities all over the world.

I also wish to say that in honor of Jotham Meeker, the first printer in Kansas, we have on display on the rack in the rear of the room, and on the counter, a number of early papers of Kansas, including some of those printed by Meeker in the first years of printing in Kansas.

It gives me more than ordinary pleasure to introduce to you Mr. Robert Aitchison, who will illustrate his talk with rare imprints from his private collection.

Mr. Aitchison's paper, "Early Imprints," appears as a special article elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Society, read a paper, "The Mystery of the Meeker Press," in which were presented the results of an investigation into stories of various presses which have been claimed to be Jotham Meeker's original press. His paper appears as a special article elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

The report of the committee on nominations for directors was read by Mrs. Henry F. Mason, chairman, as follows:

OCTOBER 16, 1934.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations beg leave to submit the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending October, 1937:

Austin, E. A., Topeka.
 Berryman, J. W., Ashland.
 Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M.,
 Council Grove.
 Brokaw, C. L., Kansas City.
 Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
 Davis, John W., Dodge City.
 Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.
 Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.
 Frizell, E. E., Larned.
 Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.
 Hamilton, Clad, Topeka.

Haskin, S. B., Olathe.
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
 Jones, Horace, Lyons.
 Kelley, E. E., Garden City.
 Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
 Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.
 McCarter, Mrs. Margaret Hill, Topeka.
 Mercer, J. H., Topeka.
 Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
 Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
 Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
 Rupp, Mrs. W. E., Hillsboro.
 Scott, Charles F., Iola.
 Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.

Shirer, H. L., Topeka.

Van de Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.

Wark, George H., Caney.

Wheeler, Mrs. B. R., Topeka.

Woolard, Sam F., Wichita.

Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. HENRY F. MASON,

ISABELLE C. HARVEY,

ERNEST A. RYAN,

JAMES C. MALIN,

E. E. KELLEY, *Committee.*

On motion of Edwin A. Austin, seconded by F. A. Hobble, these directors were unanimously elected for the term ending October, 1937.

President Lindsley called upon Mr. Mechem to introduce editors who had been invited to take part in the program in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of printing in Kansas.

Charles H. Browne, editor of the Horton *Headlight*, and a director of the Society, spoke extemporaneously, as follows:

TALK OF CHAS. H. BROWNE

Mr. President, and members of the Society: I think it is a little bit late, after these very fine speeches, to hear from a mere Kansas editor, of whom there are five hundred or six hundred scattered throughout the state, and who do not always attend these affairs in the capital city. However, when Mr. Mechem wrote me, I thought it might possibly be of interest to you to know the reactions of a newspaper man to some of the history-making events of this state in connection with its military forces. It happens to have been my privilege to have been a member of the National Guard of the state of Kansas for around thirty years, and also to have been in the newspaper business at the same time. Now, I think you all know that it is the custom of all military forces to try to suppress or censor military news while it is the business of a newspaper to disseminate the news. So I have had a dual job of taking part in military maneuvers, and keeping even unusual events out of the news. I have been thinking of a few little things that took place, which will never be quoted as history, because those who participated were unable to mention the events, and, as a result, much has probably been forgotten by even those who took part in them. Mr. Mechem, your secretary, who served in the 137th infantry in France, understands what I mean.

As a little sample of this, I recall an incident which happened in 1916. As all of you, no doubt, remember, Kansas sent two regiments of volunteer soldiers to the Mexican border. This was the first time that the volunteers were permitted to actually go into action as the National Guard, for Kansas state troops were not permitted to go as National Guard to the Spanish War. That great figure, Gen. Fred Funston, was commanding general of about 200,000 troops on the border, including the punitive expeditionary force commanded by General Pershing in Mexico. There was no actual war at that time with Mexico; we were there, however, to keep peace—75,000 regulars

and 125,000 National Guardsmen—some from every one of the forty-eight states. Funston was in direct command of all troops, including the National Guard units, and perhaps had as much to do with preventing actual warfare at that time as anyone, including the President of the United States. Right at that time the gasoline driven truck was coming into general use, and a number of them were sent to the Mexican border, and Funston was directed to move two or three regiments by trucks as an experiment. Trucks for the movement of troops was something that had never been tried in the United States before, but a year or two later in the World War they were used every day for that purpose.

Funston knew we had two Kansas infantry regiments at Eagle Pass, Tex., and, as I understand, he wanted to see the officers, but it was impossible for him to go to Eagle Pass. Being resourceful, he just thought he would move them up to San Antonio in the trucks. No one had ever thought of moving hundreds of foot soldiers by trucks then, but less than two years later we moved divisions of 27,000 men in that way and thought nothing of it. Among the Kansas officers at Eagle Pass were Gen. Wilder S. Metcalf, Maj. Albert H. Krause, and others, who had served with Funston in the Twentieth Kansas in the Philippines in 1899.

That is a little incident of no particular importance, but it shows how Funston, the outstanding hero of the Spanish-American War, used his wits, and the resources at hand, to get an opportunity to see these Kansas soldiers and the intimate friends of his early military career.

Of course, during the World War, all movements of the army and navy were concealed, and nothing was allowed to be printed about it, and we used to say that nobody but the Germans knew when you went anywhere. When one battalion of the Thirty-fifth division went into the trenches, the Germans put up a little banner, saying, "Welcome, 35th Division." (Laughter)

Another incident that I never could put into my newspaper was this: Back in the early stages of the war my home town was Horton, as it is now, and the Eighteenth infantry was moved from El Paso to the Atlantic seaboard for early service in France. General Pershing had asked for this regiment as a part of the First division, and they moved through Horton in May of 1917. I went down to the train and talked to the officers. They knew they were going to France, and I did, too, and yet I couldn't put one thing in my paper about it, because of the strict censorship of that time.

The First division did more fighting than any other division in France. The Eighteenth, when it joined the First division, had in its ranks some 700 Polacks. These men had enlisted in the hope of being allowed to form an all-Polish regiment, but in the various transfers the Eighteenth got them all, and there wasn't an officer in the regiment who could talk to these men. The First was the first division to go to France, and yet a quarter of them were Polacks, who knew very little about the United States, but they were our first representatives in France. I have heard people say that the First division was almost wholly composed of native-born Americans, but they evidently hadn't heard about those Polacks.

I went to France with the Thirty-fifth division—was an officer in the 139th infantry. You can talk all you want about certain regiments being composed

of men from Kansas, or men from Missouri, or men from Texas, or any other one state, but I'll tell you that they were shifted around so much that they were finally a combination from all states.

The 139th infantry finally got to New York. It took every railroad to move this Thirty-fifth division—to get it to New York. The 139th, the regiment I was in, went from Kansas City to Detroit; traveled all night through Canada, and went down from there to New York. Other regiments were routed through Illinois, Kentucky, and even Georgia. It took at least two weeks to get them across the United States. And that was the way we went to war. When we got to France, this same division, the Thirty-fifth, was moved from up near Calais, near the English Channel, to the front lines in Alsace, not far from Switzerland, in three days. They moved us in cattle cars—you've heard about them, I know—little cars about as big as a truck, and tiny engines with whistles that sounded like those of a peanut stand. They didn't tell you how many days you would be on the train, but they got you there.

After we got to New York, the men of the 137th infantry—the all-Kansas regiment—were all loaded on board a ship. Then they found some bombs, or a broken propeller shaft, or something, and so they unloaded all of them and distributed them to other ships. Company "H" of Lawrence, 137th infantry, went over on the same ship that I did, which also carried all the 3,600 men of the 139th infantry.

An interesting thing happened after our arrival in France. We were in England a short time, and then were sent over to France, to Le Havre. There company commanders were called together by an American army officer, who told them that he had orders to give to them this information, which they would communicate to their men. He said, "You are now in the British army. This regiment is a part of the British army. You will eat British food, and probably wear British uniforms when those you have on wear out." I was a National Guard officer; my men had all enlisted voluntarily a year before. They were not drafted men, but volunteers like those who fought in the Spanish-American War and the Civil War—half of them Kansas men, and perhaps half Missouri men, and now they were in the British army.

Astounded, but obeying orders, I lined up my company and repeated what I had heard, adding this: "These are orders. You thought you were enlisted in the United States army, but you are now in the British army, and if any of you don't like it, you have my permission to fall out and go home." Nobody went home—we were three or four thousand miles from there, and so we stuck.

Our division was moved from that area, and so we eventually got rid of this British control. We were moved up near Switzerland. My battalion were placed in trucks; went through a tunnel; passed unusual signs, with different kind of reading. I said, "We are in Germany, I know we are, those are German type buildings," and it turned out that we were in German Alsace. It is my belief the Thirty-fifth division was the first American division sent into German territory, whose men were actually on German soil, and that is another thing that has never been printed.

In a little town there a Kansas chaplain of our regiment announced that church service would be held in a little Lutheran church. It was the first

Protestant church I saw in Europe. Our band played in lieu of an organ, and the chaplain, a very fine man, got up and announced that the regular minister was away on military service. And when we asked the chaplain after the service, "What army is this duck in?" he said "In the German army." I am taking too much time.

(Mr. Lindsley told him to go on.)

The National Guard units of Kansas have participated in a tremendous number of engagements as volunteer soldiers, right on down from Civil War days, yet, until lately, we had nothing that might show our honorable service such as they have in the British army, regimental insignia. The 137th infantry of Kansas, which it has been my privilege to command for the past thirteen years, now proudly wears its new regimental insignia. I want to show it to you. It took our regiment at least five years to get the insignia that we should have had years before. And the man who had more to do with it than any other is Lieut. Col. Harrie S. Mueller, of Wichita. It is a coincidence that he is present here to-day.

I want to show you the actual coat of arms of this all-Kansas 137th regiment of infantry, as drawn up by the quartermaster corps of the United States army and approved July 14, 1932, by the U. S. government, to carry on the history and traditions of your Kansas regiment. (He indicates as he talks.) This green canton at the top stands for service on the Mexican border. Space has been left to show the service of Kansas soldiers in the Civil War and the Indian wars when we can prove connection between our present regiment and the officers and men who were engaged in those early wars.

These (points) are real little bolos, and represent the service of the Twentieth Kansas in the Philippines. The sunflower, of course, represents Kansas.

Now, an interesting thing, in my opinion, is this bar across here (indicates), which is one distinctive thing that no other American army regiment has. That was secured by the untiring efforts of Colonel Mueller. He wrote the French war department and asked them to pick something from the coat of arms of some town in France which was lived in, passed through, or captured by this particular regiment, the 137th infantry, to put into the coat of arms, or insignia of the regiment. They were very much interested, and they took this bar (indicates), which is really a baton of a marechal of France; took it from the coat of arms of the town of Varennes, which had acquired it, as representing a marechal of France in the time of Louis the XVI. At the time of the Revolution in France Louis the Sixteenth and Marie Antoinette were trying to escape from France, but were recognized at the little town of Varennes by a young French army officer who arrested them and returned them to Paris. He later became a marechal of France.

In 1918 the 137th infantry actually captured the town of Varennes during the Meuse-Argonne offensive—after it had been occupied by the Germans for over four years. The French military authorities felt this gave all officers and men of the 137th infantry the right to wear it—this baton taken from the coat of arms of the city of Varennes. I hope you who are interested will look this over.

It has given me pleasure to tell you a few small incidents which I haven't been allowed to print, nor even allowed to tell when in the army. None of

them are of great importance, but possibly carry some interest. They would have been doubly interesting at the time they happened, had I been allowed to put them into print.

I thank you. (Applause.)

Following Mr. Browne, O. W. Little, of the *Alma Enterprise*, addressed the members:

TALK OF O. W. LITTLE

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I was much interested in hearing about our friend Jotham Meeker, who engaged in the printing business in Kansas a hundred years ago, because the paper with which I am associated was established fifty years ago, and celebrated the anniversary of its establishment last week. I might have been a relation of Meeker's, as at one time I was rather sweet on his grand-daughter, and I thought she liked me, but that was as far as I ever got.

My father came here, and lived here in Topeka the winter of '57 and '58; he went to high school here, and lived with a Doctor Martin. I don't know whether any Topeka people knew him or not. In the summer of 1858 he stayed with Dr. S. E. Beach, above Dover, on Mission creek. He only stayed there while he was having the "shakes"—in other words, malarial ague. From his account he had them good and plenty.

I haven't anything of particular interest to offer you. I was very much interested in the secretary's story about the Meeker press. Charlie Scott wrote me about the press when he heard from the man at Guymon and we were both trying to do some sleuthing. After listening to your secretary's paper, I thought there wasn't much left of the story of the press—like the Dutchman's cider barrel, nothing left but the bung-hole. (Laughter.)

I am going to tell you about my first acquaintance with Harvey Parsons, who died here a year ago. I knew him all his life. When I first knew him he lived up near Keene, on a farm; then he came to Topeka. After coming to Topeka he was the police reporter on the *State Journal*, and there has never been another like him. It was while he was working as a police reporter that his cartoons began to bring him into prominence.

I have taken some satisfaction in the thought that I started "Harve" in his work as a cartoonist. While he was out on the farm some of his friends told me of his ambition to draw things, and gave me an idea of what his trend was in that line. I made some connection with him, and told him that if he wanted to draw some cartoons for my paper to go ahead. The first cartoon he sent in was based on the catch-line of a paper in a neighboring town, the *Star*—the phrase being "Search the *Star*." His cartoon showed an old hayseed searching the *Star*, and the individual shown happened to be an exact picture of one of my subscribers—a good friend. Harvey never saw him, didn't know him at all, but he couldn't have drawn a better picture of him than that cartoon. The old gentleman didn't like it, and he stopped the paper. I hadn't thought of any connection in looking at that cartoon, but when he stopped the paper, I knew what ailed him.

The next week he drew a picture of a place in a neighboring town where they sold some of the liquid that is usually sold to folks in the backroom of

the hotel. The sheriff down there had put a padlock on the door. I forget the catch line under this picture, but it showed about six of the rather prominent men in town weeping while they looked at this padlocked door. They got their papers on Friday, and on Saturday I got letters from most of them stopping the paper. (Laughter.)

I went over to see Harvey, and I told him, "This is too expensive. I can't afford it—it is costing me too much to have them mad every week. You ought to be on a larger paper." Anyway, I wrote letters to Albert Reid and Mr. MacLennan, whom you all knew, and Harvey came to Topeka and got a job. He was a very unusual man. Through all the years I knew him he continued to develop, and his death was untimely, to me at least.

I was glad that Charlie Browne got a chance to talk about the army—to tell us some of the unwritten history which he couldn't print. I think telling about it is more interesting than writing about it, anyway.

I thank you. (Applause.)

The president called for reports of committees. He was informed that Mrs. W. B. Gresham and several members of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society had been in attendance at the meeting with the report which they had been invited to read. Due to the lateness of the hour they found it necessary to leave for their return trip to Kansas City, with the request that their report be accepted and filed. On motion, their report was accepted and placed on record.

At the request of John C. Hugin, a life member of Belleville, the following article by John F. Stanton was made a part of the records of the meeting. It had been hoped that time would be found for the reading of this tribute to the pioneer home, but the lateness of the hour prevented.

OUR FATHER'S CASTLE

It nestled in the brow of a hill, by the side of a winding trail.

The tomahawk and fire brand of a hostile Indian could harm it not.

The blasts of winter held it in its frozen grip, and spread an icy mantle of sleet and snow over it; as if to hide its homeliness.

Spring came and the lightning played about it.

It was lost to view in a sea of flames as a wind-driven prairie fire surged around it.

The tornado writhed and twisted and spent its fury on it.

The scorching sun and winds of summer beat upon it.

Yet in the calm of autumn the moon beamed through the window upon the children in the little trundle bed.

Through cold and heat; through flame and fury that had raged over them: they had played or slept in that peace, safety, and comfort that mother earth has ever given to them that seek the shelter of her bosom.

Within its crowded space the new-found neighbors gathered to minister to some misfortune or celebrate some joyous event. Its narrow walls were ever broad enough to shelter some weary traveler from the chill of night or storm.

Its tiny stores were large enough to divide with some less fortunate neighbor.
It was home to those who fought with drought and hunger.
It was home to those who would and did an empire build.

To-day it is as but a dent in the hillside—as a blur in our memory may we commemorate it in legend and in song.

The old dugout—the refuge of the pioneer.

The castle of the homestead.

May we in these dark days of depression and drought, kindle anew the flame of the fraternity of the old dugout.

May we stand neighbor to neighbor and as shoulder to shoulder in this common cause to all.

Through the far stretches of our country hearts bleed over our plight.

The government and great agencies of mercy are bending to aid us.

Let us stand as our fathers stood—as neighbor and brother. And the depression, heat and drought will not have destroyed all.

And we shall find that much of the dross has been burned from the gold within us. And we shall emerge from under this thing with a better faith in humanity.

A better understanding of our government.

A better hope for our future.

A better love for our neighbor.

And a better respect for our neighbor's God.

Let us in our hearts abide again in Our Father's Castle. —J. F. STANTON.

There being no further business the annual meeting of the members of the Society adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by the president. He asked for a re-reading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. The following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: Thomas F. Doran, president; F. H. Hodder, first vice president; E. E. Kelley, second vice president.

For a two-year term: Kirke Mechem, secretary; Mrs. Mary Embree, treasurer.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary*.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1934

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1935

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.

Capper, Arthur, Topeka.

Crosby, E. H., Topeka.

Dawson, John S., Hill City.

Denison, W. W., Topeka.

Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V., Larned.

Doran, Thomas F., Topeka.

Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.

Harvey, Mrs. Sally, Topeka.

Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.

Hodder, F. H., Lawrence.
 Hogin, John C., Belleville.
 Huggins, Wm. L., Emporia.
 Johnston, Mrs. W. A., Topeka.
 Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
 Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
 McLean, Milton R., Topeka.
 McNeal, T. A., Topeka.
 Malin, James C., Lawrence.
 Mason, Mrs. Henry F., Topeka.
 Moore, Russell, Wichita.
 Morehouse, George P., Topeka.

Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
 Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
 Russell, W. J., Topeka.
 Smith, Wm. E., Wamego.
 Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie.
 Spratt, O. M., Baxter Springs.
 Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence.
 Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
 Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
 Wilson, John H., Salina.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1936

Beeks, Charles E., Baldwin.
 Beezley, George F., Girard.
 Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka.
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
 Browne, Charles H., Horton.
 Dean, John S., Topeka.
 Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.
 Gray, John M., Kirwin.
 Harger, Charles M., Abilene.
 Harvey, Mrs. Isabelle C., Topeka.
 Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.
 Kagey, Charles L., Wichita.
 Kinkel, John M., Topeka.
 Lee, Thomas Amory, Topeka.
 McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
 Malone, James, Topeka.
 Mecham, Kirke, Topeka.

Metcalfe, Wilder S., Lawrence.
 Morrison, T. F., Chanute.
 Norris, Mrs. George, Arkansas City.
 O'Neil, Ralph T., Topeka.
 Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
 Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
 Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka.
 Sawtell, James H., Topeka.
 Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
 Soller, August, Washington.
 Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
 Stone, Robert, Topeka.
 Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
 Walker, B. P., Topeka.
 Woodward, Chester, Topeka.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1937

Austin, E. A., Topeka.
 Berryman, J. W., Ashland.
 Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M.,
 Council Grove.
 Brokaw, C. L., Kansas City.
 Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
 Davis, John W., Dodge City.
 Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.
 Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.
 Frizell, E. E., Larned.
 Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.
 Hamilton, Clad, Topeka.
 Haskin, S. B., Olathe.
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
 Jones, Horace, Lyons.

Kelley, E. E., Garden City.
 Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
 Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.
 McCarter, Mrs. Margaret Hill, Topeka.
 Mercer, J. H., Topeka.
 Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
 Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
 Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
 Rupp, Mrs. W. E., Hillsboro.
 Scott, Charles F., Iola.
 Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
 Shirer, H. L., Topeka.
 Van de Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
 Wark, George H., Caney.
 Wheeler, Mrs. B. B., Topeka.
 Woolard, Sam F., Wichita.
 Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Sketches concerning early Washington and Marshall county history are featured in Grant Ewing's column, "Notes By the Wayside," published from time to time in the *Barnes Chief*.

Pictures of Norton county's pioneers, as taken from Lockard's *History of Norton County*, have appeared occasionally in recent issues of the *Norton Champion*.

Recollections of early-day Nicodemus by George Moore were recorded by W. F. Hughes in his column, "Facts and Comment," printed in the *Rooks County Record*, of Stockton, March 29, 1934.

Falls City (Neb.) history was reviewed by David D. Reavis in his column, "Through the Years in Falls City," published in the *Falls City Journal* from May 10 to June 28, 1934. Mention was made in the series of articles of the Indians and Doniphan county and of the activities of James Lane and John Brown in the Falls City area on their way to and from Kansas.

George J. Remsburg, a former Kansas newspaper publisher, is associate editor of the *Pony Express Courier*, a monthly journal now being published at Placerville, Calif., a historic California mining town of gold-rush days. The *Courier*, since its inception on June 1, 1934, has been replete with historical articles of the gold rush and pony express eras. Mr. Remsburg is an able writer of history and his present series in the *Courier* maintains the high standard of his previous writings. His recent articles of especial interest to Kansans include: "Pony Express Riders I Have Met," "Kansas Governors in California History," "Marysville, Kansas, a Historic Town Born in the California Gold Rush," and "Buffalo Billions."

A recently revealed memorandum dictated by Lieut. James D. Mann a few days before his death throws considerable light on the Battle of Wounded Knee Creek, the Junction City *Union* reported in a brief review of the incident printed in its issue of June 25, 1934. Lieutenant Mann's memorandum in full appears in a recent issue of *The Cavalry Journal*, of Washington, D. C.

Early maps of Russell county were discussed by J. C. Ruppenthal in his column "Russell Rustlings," appearing in the *Paradise Farmer*, June 25, 1934. Only about ten place names appear on the twenty-

five township maps made by a United States survey in 1866-1867, Mr. Ruppenthal reported.

The story of the development of the Fort Hays Frontier Historical Park was written by J. P. Cammack, the construction superintendent, for the Hays *Daily News*, June 28, 1934.

Arkansas City post-office history was reviewed by L. B. Mohler, postmaster, in the Arkansas City *Tribune*, September 20, 1934. Gould Hyde Morton, the first postmaster, was appointed May 16, 1870.

A twelve-page brochure entitled *History of First Baptist Church of Emporia*, was recently published by Miss Adelaide Jane Morse. The church was originally organized in Emporia in October, 1859, with nine members. They all moved away soon afterward, and no meetings were held until February 8, 1868, when the present church was organized.

Mayfield church history was reviewed in a two-column article printed in the Wellington *Daily News*, October 11, 1934, and *The Sumner County News*, October 17.

The history of Schoenfeld Reformed church of Wheatland township, Barton county, was published in the Hoisington *Dispatch*, October 18, 1934. The church celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding October 7.

"A Brief History of Pawnee County," by Harry H. Wolcott, was printed in the Larned *Chronoscope* in its issues of October 18 and 25, 1934. Mr. Wolcott prepared the narrative for use at a meeting of the Pawnee Women's Farm Bureau Units held at Larned on October 12.

The history of the 137th infantry, to which Company D of Dodge City belongs, was reviewed in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, October 22, 1934.

A history of Rice county's School District No. 19, more commonly known as Hebron, was sketched by R. H. Smith in the Lyons *Daily News*, October 23, 1934.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Strong City Grace Evangelical Lutheran church was observed with special services held at the church on October 14, 1934. Only one charter voting member, William Eckhart, Sr., of Bazaar, is now living, the *Chase County Leader*, of Cottonwood Falls, reported in its issue of October 24.

Winona forty-five years ago was described by J. C. Rice in an interview with J. G. Felts, published in the *Logan County News*, of Winona, October 25, 1934. Mr. Rice, while living in Winona, was president of the townsite company.

Fifty years of Protection history was sketched in the *Protection Post*, October 25, 1934, commemorating the city's founding in October, 1884. A copy of the town company's charter was printed as a feature of the edition.

Clearwater history was briefly reviewed in the *Clearwater News*, October 25, 1934. The city celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding with special ceremonies held October 31.

The Salem Evangelical Lutheran church, southeast of Marysville, celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its founding October 19 to 21, 1934. Histories of the organization were contributed by Everett W. Nelson to *The Advocate-Democrat*, of Marysville, October 25, and by Byron E. Guise to the *Marshall County News*, October 26.

Early days along the eastern part of the Kansas-Indian territory border were described by James H. Hale in a four-column article published in the *Yates Center News*, October 26, 1934.

Members of the Blessed Sacrament Catholic parish of Kansas City celebrated the silver anniversary of the pastorate of the Rev. Eugene I. Dekat, October 28, 1934. A review of the Reverend Dekat's accomplishments was included in a history of the parish printed in the *Kansas City Kansan*, October 28.

Hardships of pioneer days were described by Mrs. James Lynch, of Miller, in an article published in the *Emporia Gazette*, November 1, 1934. Mrs. Lynch came to Lyon county in 1869.

Names of old settlers and the dates of their arrival in the Cheney vicinity, as registered in the guest books at the Cheney Fair and Homecoming held October 24 to 26, 1934, were printed in the *Cheney Sentinel*, November 1.

Kansas City school history was briefly reviewed in the *Kansas City Kansan*, November 4, 1934.

Some highlights of Rice county history were sketched by Frank Hoyt in the *Lyons Daily News*, November 6, 1934. In the *News* of January 4, 1935, Mr. Hoyt described the county's Indian scare in

the latter 1870's, and in the issue of January 9 he told of the blizzard of 1886.

Horse thieves and the punishment meted out to them in Butler county in 1870 were discussed in the *Douglass Tribune* in its issue of November 9, 1934. The article was reprinted in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, December 2. Additional notes on the subject were supplied by W. F. McGinnis in the *Tribune* of November 23.

The World War experiences of Lieut. John Wesley McManigal of Horton, and Joseph S. Simpich of New Franklin, Mo., were related by A. B. MacDonald in an Armistice Day feature published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, November 11, 1934. The article with illustrations was reproduced in the *Horton Headlight*, November 15.

Excerpts from the diary of Elisha Root, pioneer Wichitan, were printed in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, November 11, 1934. Mr. Root began his diary on his arrival in Wichita in 1872.

The history of old Wilmington, in present Wabaunsee county, was reviewed in the *Emporia Gazette*, November 13, 1934. The city was established at the junction of a road from Leavenworth with the Santa Fé trail. H. D. Shepard, who settled there in 1858, opened the first store.

A brief history of the Rogers Mills trading post which was operated by Darius Rogers near present Chanute during the Civil War period was published in the *Chanute Tribune*, November 17, 1934.

The history of the Wichita Indians was sketched by Paul I. Wellman in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, November 18, 1934. The Wichitas were living at the present site of the city of Wichita in 1867, when they were removed to the Indian territory.

A three-day observance of the eightieth anniversary of the founding of the Lawrence First Methodist church was held November 18 to 20, 1934. Notes on the history of the organization were published in contemporaneous issues of the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World* and the *Douglas County Republican*.

Early Liberal and Seward county history was briefly reviewed by Mr. and Mrs. B. B. Gant, western Kansas pioneers, in the *Liberal News* in its issues of November 20, 21, and 23, 1934.

Norton's first school was recalled by Mrs. Fred Duvall in an article published in the Norton *Daily Telegram*, November 21, 1934. The school was established in a dugout in 1873. Joel Simmons was the teacher.

A historical feature story entitled "Merriam Forty Years Ago and To-day," was contributed by John W. Sanders to the Merriam *Leader*, November 22, 1934.

The railroad bond election in Anderson county in 1868 and the part played in it by the Irish of Reeder township was recalled by J. E. Reddington, of Waverly, in the Garnett *Review*, November 22, 1934. A history of the Emerald Catholic church near Harris was another of Mr. Reddington's contributions to the *Review*, in its issue of December 13.

Immanuel Lutheran church of Lawrence celebrated the tenth anniversary of the dedication of its church building November 25, 1934. Brief histories of the organization were published in the Lawrence *Douglas County Republican*, November 22, 1934, and the *Daily Journal-World*, November 23.

The reminiscences of George W. Bragunier, pioneer merchant of Topeka and Emporia, were printed in the Emporia *Gazette*, November 23, 1934. Mr. Bragunier came to Kansas in 1867.

Kansans, whose biographies have recently been sketched in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* include: Dudley Doolittle, of Wichita, November 25, 1934; Hugo Wedell, Chanute attorney, December 30; Frank Milligan, business manager of Fort Scott *Tribune*, January 6, 1935; Frank W. Sponable, Paola banker, January 13; L. D. Brewster, Baxter Springs mining operator, January 27; Fred Harris, Ottawa attorney, February 3, and Charles D. Welch, Coffeyville attorney, February 10.

The history of the old Mickel hotel and the early town of Waterloo was discussed by Marie A. Olson in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 26, 1934. W. L. Mickel erected the hotel in 1856, and two years later he laid out the town of Waterloo with the hotel serving as the post office.

A history of Fall, in southern Leavenworth county, was sketched in the Leavenworth *Times*, November 27, 1934. Fall was originally named Fall Leaf in honor of Po-na-kah-wo-wha, a Delaware Indian chief whose home was in that vicinity.

The history of Winding Vale school, District No. 20, of Jackson county, was contributed by Mrs. Charles E. Taylor to the *Holton Recorder*, November 29, 1934. The district was organized on April 26, 1862.

"'Billy the Kid' Rode to Grave in Wagon Repaired by 88-year-old Pittsburgan," was the title of a brief article relating the reminiscences of W. S. Jones, which was published in the *Pittsburg Advertiser*, November 29, 1934. Mr. Jones was an early settler of Pittsburg, arriving there in 1874.

The founding of Osawatomie was briefly reviewed by Addie Mullins in the *Osawatomie Graphic-News*, November 29, 1934. The city was established in the middle 1850's.

The execution of John Brown seventy-five years ago was recalled in a two-column review of his life published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, December 1, 1934. The article was contributed by Laura Knickerbocker of Topeka.

Life in old Auburn, a territorial contender for the state capital, was discussed by Frank D. Tomson in a two-column article printed in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 2, 1934.

The experiences of Charles Fish while a member of the Second Colorado cavalry on the Indian frontier were briefly related in the *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, December 5, 1934.

Several historical sketches of early-day Edwards county were featured in the *Kinsley Graphic*, December 6, 1934.

The history of the Leavenworth, Kansas & Western railroad, a part of the Union Pacific system, was briefly reviewed in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, December 6, 1934. The line from Knox in Leavenworth county to Clay Center in Clay county, and the Belleville "connection," were abandoned early in 1935.

A history of the Canton Methodist Episcopal church was sketched by Mrs. E. P. McGill in the *Canton Pilot*, December 6 and 13, 1934. Mrs. McGill has attended the church since its organization in 1880.

Sherman county history as recollected by George Bradley, Goodland pioneer, has been featured in *The Sherman County Herald*, of Goodland, starting with the issue of December 6, 1934. Other articles of historical interest published in recent issues of the *Herald* include: "Methodist History" and "When the Rock Island Built Into Goodland," December 20, 1934, and the reminiscences of D. W. Dillinger, early resident of Sherman county, February 7, 1935.

"Early Day Gunmen Gave Color to Picturesque Setting of Dodge City," was the title of a two-column article by Dr. H. O. Simpson, which appeared in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 9, 1934. In an introduction to the article the editor wrote that Doctor Simpson moved to Dodge City in 1884 and was well acquainted with the "Bad Men" who now sleep with their boots on at "Boot Hill."

Life in central Kansas in the early days was recalled by C. Crotinger in the *Great Bend Tribune*, December 11, 1934. Mr. Crotinger first arrived in Great Bend in the latter 1870's, but took a claim in Rush county later where he lived for thirty-nine years.

The *Osborne County Farmer*, of Osborne, celebrated its sixtieth anniversary with the issuance of a special historical edition December 13, 1934. Biographical sketches of prominent pioneers, histories of Osborne's newspapers, churches, and early stores were printed. Other features included a review of the slaying of William W. Osborne by Mrs. F. S. Gibler in 1880, and a sketch of Vincent B. Osborne, the man for whom Osborne county was named, by Bert P. Walker; "Brutal Butchery of Henry Kuchell," by Del Cox; "Early Days in Grand Center," by H. P. Tripp; "Early Settlement of Osborne County," and "Early Settlement of Mt. Ayr Township," by C. E. Williams; "First Sunday School and Preaching Service in Osborne County," by Mrs. Eunice S. Bliss; "A Famous Buffalo Hunter [Jeff Durfey]," "Tragic Death of General Bull," and "The Pennsylvania Colony."

An article describing the Hugoton-Woodsdale county-seat fight written by C. A. Hitch of Guymon, Okla., was printed in the *Liberal News*, December 14, 1934. The story was originally published in the Guymon *Panhandle Herald*.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Burlington First Methodist Episcopal church was observed with a week of special services held from December 10 to 16, 1934. Names of pastors serving the church were included in the brief history printed in *The Daily Republican*, Burlington, December 14. Additional historical information was printed in the *Republican* on July 11, 1913, John Redmond, the editor, reports.

A list of Reno county's senators and representatives, with the years their terms started, was contributed by Don Fossey, present Reno county legislator, to the *Hutchinson News*, December 15, 1934.

Settlement of Moehlman Bottom, Riley county farming community, was discussed by Mrs. Charles Kientz in a paper read at the recent fiftieth anniversary celebration of the founding of Moehlman Bottom school. A résumé of the paper was published in the *Manhattan Mercury*, December 15, 1934.

The Topeka First Presbyterian church celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary with four days of special programs starting December 16, 1934. Names of ministers of the church were included in a brief history of the organization printed in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 16. A more detailed history edited by the church anniversary committee appeared in a recently published, attractively bound 145-page book.

Early-day reminiscences of Mrs. Almeda Greever were recalled in the *Hutchinson News*, December 17, 1934. Mrs. Greever came to Kansas territory in the middle 1850's.

A bronze tablet, dedicated to T. W. Whiting, donor of Madonna park in Council Grove, was unveiled December 17, 1934. A brief history of the park was featured in the *Council Grove Republican*, December 18.

"Scene of Father Padilla's Martyrdom Remains the Basis of a Kansas Dispute," the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* reported in its issue of December 22, 1934. Both Herington and Council Grove claim to be the burial place of Father Juan de Padilla who accompanied Coronado and, from a study of the evidence available, either place could be approximately correct, the *Star* related.

The experiences of John L. Barr, of Fort Dodge, as a member of the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry, were recorded in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, December 22, 1934.

Mrs. Nettie Morss of Howard who is a member of the 1935 Kansas house of representatives is the ninth woman to become a member of the legislature. She is the first since 1931 when Kathryn O'Loughlin McCarthy was a representative in the Kansas house. The former women legislators were named in an article published in the *Topeka State Journal* and other Kansas newspapers, December 22, 1934, which reviewed the highlights of Mrs. Morss' career. A house in Highland Park thought to be a stopping place of John Brown in his "Underground Railroad" activities was described by Marianna Chase as another feature of this issue of the *Journal*.

Some of the troubles confronting the newly organized state of Kansas in 1861 were discussed by T. A. McNeal in his article entitled "The First Kansas State Legislature," published in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 23, 1934. Another article, "The Legislature of 1862," appeared in the issue of January 6, 1935.

Excerpts from the weather diary of Miss Sarah P. Ladd were printed in the *Kansas City Kansan*, December 23 and 31, 1934. Miss Ladd came to Kansas in the early 1840's and kept a daily account of the temperature readings to 1877. The three books in which the diary is written now belong to K. L. Browne, Sr., of Kansas City, and are considered a valuable addition to the weather records of northeast Kansas.

The survey of the southern boundary of Cowley county was discussed by Bert Moore in the *Winfield Daily Courier*, December 24, 1934. The first survey was a part of the southern boundary of Kansas project marked in 1857 by a party under Col. Joseph E. Johnston.

Early days at Fort Dodge were recalled by Albert Fensch in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, December 24, 1934. Mr. Fensch soldiered at Fort Dodge from 1877 to 1881. Other features of this issue included an article listing the business establishments in Dodge City in 1878 comparing the number of firms operating then with those doing business to-day, and a brief historical review of Ford county schools.

Reminiscences of the late Dwight B. Christy, an early settler of Pawnee county, were printed in the *Great Bend Tribune*, December 24, 1934. Mr. Christy was one of the crew from Larned who held up a westbound immigrant train in order that names of the men in the party might be added to a petition, the official acceptance of which would make the surrounding territory a *bona fide* county, the article related.

Pioneering in early-day Kansas was described in an article relating the experiences of Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Welch, of Hartford, which was published in the *Emporia Gazette*, December 25, 1934.

A history of Mount Joy school, District No. 67, was briefly sketched in *The Daily Republican*, Burlington, December 25, 1934. The school district was organized in the fall of 1879 and located in the southwest corner of S. 10, T. 21, R. 17.

"Tales of covered wagons, bushwhackers and Indians still resound on the plains at 142 creek crossing on the old Santa Fé trail," wrote a correspondent in the *Emporia Gazette*, December 26, 1934. Charles Withington established a trading post at this crossing in present Lyon county in June, 1854.

Garnett's Methodist Episcopal church celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding, December 30, 1934. Names of former pastors were included in the historical sketches of the church published in the *Garnett Review* and *The Anderson Countian* in their December 27 issues.

The experiences of A. R. Wells in a Kansas blizzard in 1886 were sketched in *The Sherman County Herald*, of Goodland, December 27, 1934.

Brief reviews of navigation over the Arkansas river at Arkansas City were printed in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, December 27, 1934, and the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, December 31. Agitation for water transportation at Arkansas City reached its height on June 30, 1878, it was reported. On that date the *Aunt Sally* steamed into "port" after completing a trip on the Arkansas from Fort Smith, Ark., with a cargo of merchandise.

Garnett history was briefly sketched by Harry Johnson in the *Garnett Review*, December 27, 1934, January 3 and 17, 1935. The city was established in 1856 by Dr. George W. Cooper and associates. Other stories by Mr. Johnson covering more specific phases of Garnett history have been published in the *Review* almost regularly in recent months.

Peru history was discussed in detail in the *Sedan Times-Star*, December 27, 1934; January 3, 10, 17, and 24, 1935. Winnie Looby-Severns contributed the articles.

Carrie Nation's visits to Wichita and her campaign against the saloons in that city were recalled by David D. Leahy in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, December 30, 1934. Mr. Leahy exploded some ideas concerning Mrs. Nation and told a few diverting incidents in her career, in this two-column article.

A biography of Chief Charles Bluejacket, for many years a resident of Kansas territory and Johnson county, was published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, December 31, 1934. His old home, erected in 1857 near Shawnee, is still standing.

The history of Kansas City, Mo., and vicinity, was reviewed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal-Post*, December 31, 1934, marking the eightieth anniversary of the founding of the Kansas City *Enterprise*, the forerunner of the *Journal-Post*.

Starting with the issue of January 2, 1935, the *Chase County Leader*, of Cottonwood Falls, is republishing a "History of Chase County," which was compiled some years ago by D. A. Ellsworth.

The early history of the Kansas Pacific (now the Union Pacific) railroad was reviewed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, January 2, 1935.

Cheyenne county history was briefly discussed by Earl N. Conway in the St. Francis *Herald*, January 3, 1935. The county was organized on March 10, 1886.

Members of the Arkansas City Trinity Episcopal church held special services January 6 and 7, 1935, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the organization. A history of the church was sketched in the Arkansas City *Tribune*, January 3.

A copy of the certificate incorporating the Mound Valley Town Company was printed in *The Times-Journal*, Mound Valley, January 3, 1935. The document was dated June 23, 1868.

Chetopa newspaper history was briefly reviewed in the Chetopa *Advance-Clipper*, January 3, 1935. The *Advance* was founded January 6, 1869, by Col. John W. Horner and A. S. Corey.

A five-column review of the history of Kansas newspapers under the heading, "Centennial of First Printing Press in Kansas," was contributed by Eaton B. Going to the Osawatomie *Graphic-News*, January 3, 1935.

Recollections of early-day Kansas by Mrs. Emma Whistler, of Burlington, who came to Kansas territory in 1855, were sketched in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 6, 1935.

A map of sites of moundbuilder remains discovered in Butler county and a discussion of the progress made in tracing the cultures of the ancient races throughout Kansas were contributed by Ray E. Colton to the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, January 6, 1935. Mr. Colton has contributed similar stories to other newspapers of the state in recent months.

Early wine making in the present boundaries of Doniphan county was briefly discussed by George J. Remsburg in the Atchison *Globe*,

January 8, 1935. The Bourgmont expedition made wine from grapes given them by the Kansas Indians in 1724, Mr. Remsburg related.

The sixty-fifth anniversary of the organization of the El Dorado First Presbyterian church was observed January 9, 1935. A history of the church was sketched in the *El Dorado Times*, January 10.

Early-day Arkansas City was described by W. A. Leonard of Newport Beach, Calif., in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, January 10, 1935. Mr. Leonard recalled Arkansas City's preparation for an Indian raid in 1874 and his boat trip down the Arkansas to Little Rock in 1875.

C. L. Willey's recollections of the blizzard of 1888 were recorded by Byron E. Guise in the *Marshall County News*, of Marysville, January 11, 1935.

The history of the Arkansas City First Presbyterian church was reviewed in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, January 11, 1935. The church was formally organized on January 12, 1873.

Brief sketches from the history of Washington county are being featured in the *Washington County Register* published at Washington. The series started with the issue of January 11, 1935.

The great blizzard of January, 1886, was discussed by old timers in the *Hutchinson News*, January 11, 15 to 19, 1935.

A biographical sketch of Maj. John Dougherty, trapper, Indian agent and freighter, was contributed by George J. Remsburg to the *Leavenworth Times*, January 17, 1935.

Hutchinson thirty years ago, was described in the *Hutchinson Herald*, January 17, 1935.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Halstead Presbyterian church was observed January 20, 1935. A history of the organization was contributed by the Rev. T. R. Mordy, present pastor, to the *Halstead Independent*, January 18.

A story of the S. F. Lewis family of Bavaria, which is now in its second generation, was read recently before a meeting of the Saline County Chapter, Native Daughters of Kansas, and was published in the *Salina Journal*, January 18, 1935.

The introduction of telephones into Kansas was briefly reviewed by W. R. Kercher in the *Topeka State Journal*, January 21, 1935.

In Mr. Kercher's opinion, a grocery company in Lawrence brought in the first telephones used in the state in the spring of 1877. Topeka, Manhattan and Leavenworth experimented with the invention a few months later, putting it into practical commercial use by 1879.

Ottawa school history was sketched in the *Ottawa Record* January 23, 1935.

The early history of Bonner Springs was recalled by C. L. David in a four-column article printed in the *Bonner Springs Chieftain*, January 24, 1935.

A history of the Harveyville Methodist Episcopal church was reviewed in the *Harveyville Monitor*, January 24, 1935. The church, which in January celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, received its charter from the secretary of state January 20, 1885.

Pioneer life in Kansas and particularly in Woodson county was described by A. H. Harris of Seattle, Wash., writing in the *Yates Center News*, January 25, 1935.

The removal of the Shawnee Indians from their lands near Columbus, Ohio, to present Johnson county was discussed in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, January 26, 1935. The treaty, which arranged for the removal, was ratified by the United States senate April 4, 1832.

Wichita's transportation history was reviewed in an article, "From Mule Cars to Motor Busses in Wichita," published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, January 27, 1935. A man named Chapman built the first mule car line in 1882, the *Eagle* reported.

The exploration of Etienne Venyard de Bourgmont, in the Kansas City region in 1714 were discussed by Dr. Dorothy Penn, of Leavenworth, in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, January 28, 1935.

Kansas editors and their newspapers who have become famous in the state's history were reviewed by E. E. Kelley in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 29, 1935.

A history of the Columbus Christian church, by Mrs. Zora Newlands, was read at homecoming ceremonies held January 27, 1935. The history, as sketched by Mrs. Newlands, was published in the *Columbus Daily Advocate*, January 30, and *The Modern Light*, January 31. The church was organized in 1871.

The visit of President R. B. Hayes to Neosho Falls in 1879 was described by R. H. Trueblood in the *Yates Center News*, February 1, 1935. The President was a guest at the Neosho Valley District Fair.

A history of the Center Methodist Episcopal church, near Leon, by Mrs. Louise Kenyon, was a feature of the fourth annual Methodist booster edition of the *Leon News*, February 1, 1935. Center church membership is now affiliated with the Leon church. An article describing early-day Leon as recalled by Mrs. George A. Kenoyer, wife of one of the city's founders, was also included in the edition.

The history of *The Morton County Farmer* at Rolla was briefly reviewed in its tenth anniversary edition issued February 1, 1935.

Early days in Shawnee county as witnessed by the late Mrs. J. W. Marsh were described in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 3, 1935. The article, which was prepared several years ago by Mrs. Marsh, was submitted by Mrs. J. D. Vance, a daughter.

"Setting Kansas Right on Its Own Birth Date," was the title of an article by David D. Leahy discussing Kansas' admission into the Union seventy-four years ago, which was published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, February 3, 1935. Mr. Leahy contends that the actual birth date of Kansas was February 9, 1861, when Governor-elect Charles Robinson, took over the office of governor from Acting Governor George M. Beebe, a representative of the federal government. An article upholding January 29, the date upon which President James Buchanan signed the bill admitting Kansas to the Union, as the official birth date, was contributed by Kirke Mechem to the *Kansas City Times* April 10, in answer to Mr. Leahy. Mr. Mechem cited the observance of birthdays in other states and contended that Kansas was only following precedent.

Ellsworth Methodist Episcopal church history was reviewed in the *Ellsworth Reporter and Messenger* in their issues of February 7, 1935. The church on February 10 observed the fiftieth anniversary of the erection of the present church edifice.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society held its annual election of officers on October 22, 1934. Those elected were: Mrs. Walter E. Gresham, president; Mrs. R. R. Sandmeyer, vice president; Mrs. Carl Harder, secretary; Mrs. Fred Carter, treasurer; Mrs. A. E. Fraser, historian; Mrs. Ross Smith, custodian, and Mrs. Ed Walmer, assistant custodian.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Haskell Institute, U. S. government Indian school at Lawrence, was observed November 10 to 12, 1934, with special ceremonies held at the Institute. More than a thousand Indians participated in the presentation of the historical play "A Pageant of the Wakarusa," directed by Mrs. Margaret Pearson-Speelman, on the evening of November 10. Elizabeth Washakie, a full blood Shoshoni of Wind River, Wyo., played the part of her famous Indian ancestor, Sacajawea, who acted as guide for the Lewis and Clark expedition into the Northwest. An Indian village, set up near the stadium, was another interesting feature of the three-day celebration.

At the annual organization meeting of the Lindsborg Historical Society held on November 12, 1934, John A. Holmberg was re-elected president, and G. E. Eberhardt was re-elected secretary. New officers are: Dr. H. J. Thorstenberg, treasurer, and J. A. Altenborg, vice president. All directors were re-elected. The board includes the officers named above and the following: Dr. Birger Sandzen, C. R. Rooth, A. W. Carlson, Henry Olson and C. A. Nelson.

Nearly 500 persons attended the Golden Jubilee Memorial dinner held at the Hotel Kansan in Topeka, December 1, 1934, honoring Chief Justice William Agnew Johnston's completion of fifty years' service on the Kansas supreme court bench. Letters of tribute to Justice Johnston from persons of national prominence and excerpts from the speeches of Fred Dumont Smith, Justice Rosseau Burch, Judge Otis E. Hungate, Tom McNeal and Circuit Judge George T. McDermott who spoke at the event, were recorded in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, December 2, 1934. A biographical sketch of Justice Johnston was a feature of the *Capital* of November 24.

Organization of the Chase County Historical Society was effected at meetings held in Cottonwood Falls in December, 1934. C. W.

Hawkins, of Clements, was chosen president; C. A. Sayre, Cottonwood Falls, and George Topping, Cedarpoint, vice presidents; Henry Rogler, Matfield Green, secretary, and S. H. Baker, Cottonwood Falls, treasurer. The directors are: George Starkey, Falls township; Lawrence Rogler, Bazaar township; Mrs. O. B. Harvey, Diamond township; Mrs. C. P. Thompson, Homestead township; J. E. Jackson, Cottonwood township; W. R. Sayre, Cedar township; N. B. Scribner, Toledo township; J. E. Stout, Strong township, and Mrs. E. G. Crocker, Matfield township. Members of the executive committee as named by President Hawkins include: S. R. Blackburn, Geo. E. Dawson, Carl Park, L. L. Chandler, and G. H. Grimwood. F. A. Smethers, Mrs. Carrie Breese Chandler, and Howel H. Jones have been appointed historians. Over 200 persons have signed as charter members of the society, which is affiliated with the Kansas State Historical Society.

The annual meeting of the Shawnee County Old Settlers' Association was held at the First Baptist church in Topeka, December 5, 1934, celebrating the eightieth anniversary of the founding of Topeka. Newly elected officers are: Ira Williams, president; Beatrice Burge, vice president, and Ruth Burge, secretary-treasurer.

Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, noted Kansas author and lecturer, was the guest of honor at a dinner given by the Kansas Authors club in Topeka, January 30, 1935.

The Kansas State Historical Society in coöperation with the Kansas Chamber of Commerce is planning a comprehensive marking and mapping of all historic sites in Kansas. Permission will be sought of the Kansas State Highway department to erect approach markers on the highways a half mile on either side of designated points of interest in order that travelers will know they are nearing a place of historic importance. All markers erected on the highways will be of uniform types. Local communities will be urged to place markers on the historic sites in their vicinities. Members of the marking committee are: F. W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, chairman; Frank Haucke, Council Grove; W. A. Bailey, Kansas City; Kirke Mechem, Topeka; W. E. Archer, Hiawatha; D. E. Ackers, Topeka, and E. C. Mingenback, McPherson.

Interesting paleontological discoveries have been made recently in southern and western Kansas. George F. Sternberg, curator of the museum at the Fort Hays Kansas State College, one of the

paleontologists so engaged, has shipped part of his collection to the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

A park, located on the site of old Fort Zarah, headquarters for soldiers protecting travelers and settlers in the early days, is being established on Walnut creek, three miles east of Great Bend. The land was donated by Miss Grace Gunn of Great Bend. The Kansas State Highway department and the Kansas Emergency Relief committee will assist in the beautification of the tract. Other Barton county sites and trails of historic interest will be appropriately marked through the operation of a KERK project under the supervision of H. K. Shideler, county engineer. The Kansas State Historical Society has assisted Barton county historians in the preparation of some of the historical data necessary for the project.

Photographs of Harvey county pioneers and early-day scenes are being collected by the Harvey County Historical Society. John C. Nicholson, of Newton, is historian.

A monument was recently erected on the spot where Knute K. Rockne and seven other men perished in an airplane accident southwest of Bazaar in Chase county. The granite shaft, which was erected through the efforts of the Kansas Rockne Memorial Association, bears the following inscription: "Rockne Memorial—In memory of Knute K. Rockne, Waldo B. Miller, H. J. Christen, John Happer, Spencer Goldthwaite, C. A. Robrecht, Robert Fry, Herman J. Mathias, who perished on this spot in an airplane crash March 31, 1931." W. C. Austin, Kansas state printer, is president of the memorial association.

The number of bound newspaper volumes in the Kansas State Historical Society's newspaper division far exceeds the total number of volumes preserved in any similar state institution of the United States, a recent survey by the Nebraska State Historical Society discloses. The information as published in a recent issue of the *Nebraska History Magazine*, of Lincoln, was obtained through questionnaire letters sent to sixty of the leading historical institutions by Dr. Addison E. Sheldon, secretary of the Nebraska society. Names of the more prominent organizations and the number of bound newspaper volumes in their newspaper collections are: Kansas, 50,072; Wisconsin, 30,000; Ohio, 20,000; Missouri, 18,317; Minnesota, 17,100; Texas, 17,000; California, 13,740; Nebraska, 12,000; Iowa, 8,523; South Dakota, 7,150; Illinois, 6,000; Indiana, 6,000; North Dakota, 4,132.

An attractively printed and bound 408-page history of Butler county entitled *Butler County's Eighty Years, 1855-1935*, by Jessie Perry Stratford, of El Dorado, has recently been published. Detailed histories of the county's cities and townships, biographical sketches and portraits of pioneers and leading citizens were featured.



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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.

The Second Book on Kansas

An Account of C. B. Boynton and T. B. Mason's "A Journey Through Kansas; With Sketches" of Nebraska"

CORA DOLBEE

THE second book on Kansas came out of Ohio. Its title was *A Journey Through Kansas; With Sketches of Nebraska*. The names of two men appeared jointly as authors, C. B. Boynton and T. B. Mason, but the composition was evidently the work of Mr. Boynton alone. The two men had belonged to a commission sent to Kansas in September, 1854, by "The American Reform Tract and Book Society" and "The Kansas League" in Cincinnati to explore the territory and report upon the conditions and the resources.¹ The title page characterized them as "a committee from the 'Kansas League' of Cincinnati."² The "Commissioners' Preface," giving official sanction to the statements of the book, bore both their signatures as commissioners.³ The unsigned "Preface of the Writer" explained that these statements were of "all facts . . . concerning the aspect, resources, and productions of the country."⁴ For the grouping of those facts and the manner of presentation the author alone was responsible.

Available records do not reveal with which group the idea of the exploring party originated. Interest in Ohio in the territorial question had been concurrent with the congressional debate. Her sympathies were Northern, and many of her citizens desired to migrate to Kansas. The Kansas League of Cincinnati, like the county Kansas leagues of Massachusetts, made capital of this spirit and tried to serve the needs of the western settlers as they set out on their momentous mission. To the league, therefore, information about the territory, drawn from observation, would be most helpful.

1. Boynton, C. B., and T. B. Mason, *A Journey Through Kansas; With Sketches of Nebraska* (Moore, Wiltach, Keys & Co., Cincinnati, 1855), p. V.

2. *Ibid.*, p. I.

3. *Ibid.*, p. III.

4. *Ibid.*, p. VI. Although this preface does not tell who "the Writer" was and might be interpreted to imply it was a third and different person, the author of this article has inferred the writer was Mr. Boynton. The book was from the first attributed to him and so credited in all contemporary reviews and references and in subsequent catalogs. Recently H. C. Houlton, cataloger for Argosy Book Stores, Inc., 114 East 59 street, New York City, in Argosy catalog No. 78, has interpreted this preface as meaning "the Writer" was a third and unnamed person. (Letter to author of this article, May 27, 1935.) A letter of C. B. Boynton to Amos A. Lawrence, March 14, 1857, referring to *A Journey Through Kansas With Sketches of Nebraska* as "my little book," seems to the author of this article ample proof of the other long-accepted interpretation. (Letter in archives of Kansas State Historical Society.) "The Writer's" characterization of self, moreover, is wholly in keeping with the known facts about Mr. Boynton and his life.

The American Reform Tract and Book Society, organized in Cincinnati in November, 1852, had had as its underlying idea "the application through literature of Christianity to the betterment of personal and national life in practical affairs, especially to the promotion of the antislavery cause, while temperance and other reforms were not to be neglected."⁵ Two of the articles of the constitution, said to have been especially noteworthy, explained in part both the interest of the society in furthering a free emigration westward and also the religious interest of the commissioners in their report of their journey thither.

Art. II. Its object shall be to promote the diffusion of divine truth, point out its application to every known sin, and to promote the interests of practical religion by the circulation of a sound evangelical literature.

Art. III. It will receive into its treasury none of the known fruits of iniquity nor the gains of the oppressor.⁶

From the first both Mr. Boynton and Mr. Mason were officers in this society, the one being corresponding secretary and the other being treasurer, and both being directors besides.

On August 9, 1854, in behalf of the directors, Mr. Boynton sent forth a letter explaining the society's plan of operation in the cause and soliciting funds for their work.

Rooms of the
American Reform Tract and Book Society

Cincinnati, August 9, 1854.

DEAR SIR:—The directors of the American Reform Tract and Book Society, address you as a friend of human rights, and as opposed to the Nebraska fraud. We are at this time earnestly engaged in efforts by which we hope to assist in securing Kansas and Nebraska for free institutions. An opportunity is now offered, whereby with the aid of our fellow citizens, a timely and effectual blow may be struck.

We wish by special agents and colporteurs to scatter broadcast over these territories such publications, and to diffuse such influences, as shall, by the help of God, create and sustain a public sentiment of the right character, against the time when States shall then be organized. Unfortunately, all who are removing to these Territories, from the Free States, even, are not fully instructed, nor so firm in their decision as to be in no danger of indifference or change. Already voices of warning come to us from true men on the ground who ask us to be prompt in the diffusion of light. Our own publications and such as we can command are fitted to this work. We wish to send at once the corresponding secretary of our Society to visit and examine these new Territories, and it is desirable he should take with him one or more who shall remain and act as agents and colporteurs, distributing our publications, and collecting useful information in regard to the country, its resources, and pros-

5. Ford, H. A., and K. B. Ford, *History of Cincinnati* (1881), p. 280. Photostatic copy used.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

pects, by which our future efforts may be guided. We need funds for the publication of our tracts and books, and for sending them and these agents and laborers at once into this important field. Emigrants are pouring in, and what is done must be done quickly. May we not ask from you a special donation to meet this exigency, and for the common cause of freedom? If we can be promptly supplied with means, we will fill these territories with men and publications that will speak for God and humanity.

Should you think proper to aid us, please enclose your donation to T. B. Mason, Treasurer, 180 Walnut St., Cincinnati. By order of the Directors.

CHARLES B. BOYNTON,
*Corresponding Secretary.*⁷

The general nature of the meager salutation, "Dear Sir," did not indicate at all the persons to be circularized.

The letter was used not only as a circular but also as a communication in at least two publications. One was *The National Era* in Washington, which carried it in the issue of August 24, 1854. Apparently the letter was used there as an advertisement, for it appeared at the top of a column of advertisements, without editorial comment. The form of the letter and the prominent position given it on the page, however, make it seem like a personal communication to the editor. Gamaliel Bailey, the editor, was a former Cincinnati, who was, perforce, interested in the Ohio-Kansas plan.

The second publication known to have printed the letter was *The Christian Press*, a monthly edited by Mr. Boynton himself and issued by the American Reform Tract and Book Society, Cincinnati. *The Christian Press* had just changed from a weekly publication to a monthly. As a weekly, circulating mostly among Congregational subscribers, it had served both as a religious and as an anti-slavery organ. As a monthly it was to be "devoted entirely to the anti-slavery cause."⁸ Its first issue, September, 1854, carried the Boynton circular letter in one place and in another an editorial upon it, entitled "A Personal Appeal."

We ask every reader of this paper to consider the circular of the A. R. Tract and Book Society, which we publish, as addressed to himself individually.

The decision of the question of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, if rightly settled by Northern freemen, in spite of the fraud of slaveholders and politicians, and against their efforts, will also decide the question of the extension of slavery.

By its publications and agents this Society can now, if rightly assisted, do an important work in these battlefields of freedom. Already, it is said, there are ten thousand settlers in Kansas, and this number increases with a rapidity that calls for immediate effort. The times and the signs of the times are

7. Circular copy of letter by Charles B. Boynton, August 9, 1854, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. I, p. 89, in library of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

8. *The Christian Press*, Cincinnati, September, 1854, p. 6. Photostatic copy used.

auspicious. Large numbers from Slaveholding States are moving in their opinions, and are open to conviction. They may be brought to aid in making these territories free.

Brethren and friends! shall this Society be aided, or must the opportunity be lost.⁹

No record has been available of the financial results of the appeal of the circular letter by Mr. Boynton, or of the editorial in his monthly.

The same September issue of *The Christian Press* gave in still another article another motive for this exploration of the territories. This was the advantage first hand knowledge of Kansas and Nebraska would be to the editor of the *Press*.¹⁰ Personal inspection of the region, its soil, its climate, and its resources would enable him to make the paper "the medium for original and authentic information to the friends of freedom and those who are considering the question of Emigration." An additional statement to the effect that the journey was undertaken in behalf of the society so that its efforts might be intelligently directed in extending religion and freedom into the new territories, suggests that the Tract and Book Society was primarily responsible for financing this exploration of Kansas.

Possibly the commission received some support from another source. On September 5, 1854, the Worcester *Daily Transcript*, in reporting a meeting of the American Missionary Association held in Central church in Worcester, September 3, told of the work of the association in Kansas through a representative sent from Ohio. Although his name was not given, the characterization and the time of his going indicate that the representative was Mr. Boynton.

In Kansas, the Association has already made a beginning. A clergyman from Ohio has gone thither to explore the country and to establish depots for religious and other publications. On his return he will be prepared to advise young missionaries and others going there as to the most eligible sites for location. Tracts of anti-slavery character have been sent there. Three missionaries have been commissioned to go into this territory, and the Association is corresponding with others for the same purpose. It is the aim of the Association to do its part in making Kansas, if possible, another New England.¹¹

The object of the American Missionary Association was "to propagate 'an anti-slavery gospel.'" Its purpose, therefore, was so similar to that of the American Reform Tract and Book Society that

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *The Home Missionary*, official publication of the American Home Missionary Society, October, 1854, stated that "one missionary is under appointment to go to Kansas—S. Y. Lum," v. XXVII, pp. 152-153. The issue of November, 1854, v. XXVII, p. 171, added, "We have one brother already on the ground, and others will be sent as soon as reliable information comes that they can employ themselves with advantage to the cause of Christ."

the one representative could serve both organizations in Kansas at once. The American Missionary Association was an orthodox Congregational society; and Mr. Boynton was in 1854 pastor of a Congregational church in Cincinnati.¹² The missionary society, moreover, of which *The Christian Press*, when a weekly, had been the organ, had recently been united with the American Missionary Association.¹³ Therefore it would seem plausible to suppose the association now shared the responsibility undertaken by the monthly *Press*. Although the emigrants from Ohio did not explain their aim as that of "making Kansas, if possible, another New England," they did expect by transplanting Northern institutions there to make and keep the territory Northern. These particular Ohioans were themselves New Englanders largely, but a generation removed, and the life they had established in Ohio was modeled on the life of the New England they had left behind; but now as they considered migrating still farther westward, they characterized this same culture they would take along as "Northern."

Whether the commission consisted of more than two members is not a matter of positive record in Kansas to-day. The title page of the published report, *A Journey Through Kansas*, designated the two, C. B. Boynton and T. B. Mason, as the "Committee from the 'Kansas League,' of Cincinnati." To the "Commissioners' Preface" their names only were attached in signature as though they alone had constituted the commission. In 1893, W. L. Mason of Milwaukee, son of T. B. Mason, wrote Franklin G. Adams, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, that his father and Mr. Boynton had been appointed a committee of two by the Kansas league to visit the territory of Kansas in the interests of the anti-slavery movement.¹⁴ In the same letter, however, Mr. Mason told that H. V. Boynton, son of C. B. Boynton, had accompanied the two older men. *The Christian Press*, December, 1854, also stated that he "accompanied the party." The presence of the younger Boynton may not have been official. The report referred to him but once; then it honored him by quoting a three-page extract from his journal to show the effect of a cloudless night at the Big Blue in Kansas upon "the youngest member of the party."¹⁵ The sketch, entitled "The Heavens at Big Blue" was the most imaginative and most finished description in the book. Prefatory comments of the father, also in

12. *Vide post*, footnote 19.

13. *The Christian Press*, September, 1854, p. 6. Photostatic copy used.

14. Mason, W. L., letter to Franklin G. Adams, September 6, 1893, in "Biographical Circulars," v. II-M, in library of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

15. Boynton, C. B., and T. B. Mason, *A Journey Through Kansas*, pp. 82-85.

praise of the unusually beautiful night scene, attested the genuineness of the impression it recorded. The description accompanying the map used as frontispiece indicated that the son had made the original drawing of the map too. The *December Press* referred to the map as a "new" one, "drawn by H. V. Boynton."

The background of the commissioners accounted in part at least for their interest in the American Reform Tract and Book Society and its anti-slavery activities. Both were Massachusetts men by birth. Charles Brandon Boynton was born in Stockbridge, June 12, 1806.¹⁶ He attended the Stockbridge academy and entered Williams college in the class of 1827. Ill health, which seems to have handicapped him frequently through his life, necessitated his leaving college in his senior year. For a time he engaged in business, becoming president of the first railroad company in Berkshire county.¹⁷ He studied and practiced law, and served as a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Later he prepared himself for the ministry by studying theology privately with the Reverend Mr. Woodbridge of Spencertown, N. Y., and was ordained by the Columbia Presbytery in October, 1840. His first charge was at Housatonic, Mass., 1840-1845.¹⁸ The second charge was at Lansingburg, N. Y., 1845-1846. His third call, coming in 1846, was to the Vine Street church in Cincinnati, at that time the Sixth Presbyterian, where he remained until March, 1856. Before 1849, this church became Congregational and was known thereafter as "the Vine Street Congregational Church."¹⁹

Mr. Boynton had grown up and lived in the East where the anti-slavery movement had had its chief support, but not until he came west was he himself actively interested in the question. In Cincinnati, however, where the controversy was waged fiercely during the fifties, he bore an important part. In the circular letter of August 9, he indicated that his proposed journey to Kansas in behalf of the American Reform Tract and Book Society was the wish of the directors.²⁰ In his own preface to *A Journey Through Kansas* he suggested that his trip was of his own election, undertaken in part to recuperate his health. "With this party [the commission] the writer united himself, partly for the purpose of aiding in executing the com-

16. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. I, p. 342.

17. *Dictionary of American Biography* (Scribner), v. II, pp. 536-537.

18. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia* gives the place as Housatonic, Conn., and the period as three years instead of five.

19. After 1849 the Cincinnati directories carried the name of "Vine Street Congregational Church" as Mr. Boynton's church.—Statement of Davis L. James, Sr., in letter to author of this article, January 5, 1933. Mr. James is a retired book dealer of Cincinnati.

20. *Vide ante*, pp. 116-117.

mission, and partly in the hope of recruiting his exhausted strength by a ramble over the 'prairie land' of Kansas."²¹ The suggestion here of Mr. Boynton's relationship to the "party," more than any other extant statement, leads one to suppose that the commission may well have had more than two or three members.

The second known member, Timothy B. Mason, was born in Medfield, Mass., November 17, 1801.²² Information about him is meager. A relative of Lowell Mason, the musician and song writer, he seems to have had music as his own primary interest, and he must have been something of a musician himself. The exact time of his coming to Cincinnati is not certain, for he was not listed in the directories there until 1836; but he must have been there as early as 1834, for in that year he helped to found the Eclectic Academy of Music, of which he continued as director until 1840.²³ The Cincinnati directories carried the name of Mr. Mason as a resident of the city from 1836 to 1857²⁴; in the earlier years his occupation was "professor of music"; later it was "piano dealer." In 1844 he was the conductor of the newly founded Handel & Hayden Society, which was in existence up to 1849. From 1853 through 1855, he was also entered as "treasurer of the American Reform Tract and Book Society," and in 1856 just as "agent." In 1839, Mr. Mason had compiled and published a book, entitled *Mason's Young Minstrel*, a new collection of juvenile songs with appropriate music, arranged by himself.²⁵ Mr. Boynton's son, Henry, married a daughter of Mr. Mason.²⁶

Mr. Mason's responsibility was apparently to explore and observe, and possibly to contribute, from notes or from memory, facts upon the geographical features of the territory, and officially to sanction the written report. If he helped in the writing of the composition, Mr. Boynton gave him no credit. Once in the course of the record, Mr. Boynton did refer to him. At Council Grove, where the explorers had opportunity to see an encampment of Kaw Indians, Mr. Mason transcribed one of their songs.

On Sunday evening there was loud riot and revelry in their camps and all seemed to join in yelling out a song, which was so softened and modulated by

21. Boynton, C. B., and T. B. Mason, *A Journey Through Kansas*, p. V.

22. "Biographical Circulars," v. II-M.

23. Wilby, Eleanor S., librarian of Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, in letter to author of this article, February 16, 1933.

24. Although Mr. Mason's name does not appear in the city directories of Cincinnati after 1857, he may have continued to dwell there afterward. Miss Wilby thinks he may have gone into the country to live. He died in Cincinnati, February 10, 1861.—*Cf.* "Biographical Circulars," v. II-M.

25. The copy of this book in the library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, in the University of Cincinnati Library building, is of the "revised, enlarged, 4th edition," copyrighted by Truman & Smith of Cincinnati, and published in Boston. It is called v. I.—Statement of Eleanor S. Wilby, librarian.

26. Statement of Miss Wilby, drawn from Cincinnati records.

floating half a mile, as to enable Mr. Mason to write down its principal notes, and after his return he performed or imitated it on the organ, much to the *astonishment* and amusement of those who heard.²⁷

The text did not indicate the occasion to which the author here alluded. Shortly after the return of the commissioners to Ohio, late in October, however, Mr. Boynton gave an address at his church on Vine street, descriptive of the tour. Afterward, according to the newspaper story, "while the collection was being taken, Mr. Mason gave on the organ an imitation of an Indian war-song."²⁸ This press notice and the reference in the book, quoted above, are the only records found, for this review, of Mr. Mason's part in the report.

Mr. Boynton's first accounts of the journey seem to have been oral. *The Daily Columbian* of October 17, in announcing a regular meeting of the Kansas League for Thursday night, added, "it is expected the Rev. C. Boynton will make a report of his explorations."²⁹ The Vine Street Congregational Church address upon the subject occurred a week or ten days later. The two extant records of this occasion, on file in Kansas to-day, summarized his remarks.³⁰ He divided Kansas territory into three sections geographically—northern, middle, and southern, and two divisions agriculturally—the east and the west. The varied beauty of the country he found indescribable. The prairie stirred in him a feeling of sublimity as did the sea. He spoke at length upon the laws of squatter life, the conditions of the settlers now in the territory, and the inducement to other emigrants to follow.

The Ohio commission, the reader should know, did not travel much farther west in the territory than Fort Riley and Council Grove. Mr. Boynton's comments, therefore, did not refer to the prairies in the western part at all; nor in the address did he even mention the far western region toward the Rocky Mountains. What he talked of was for the most part what he had seen, or the conclusions to which he and his fellow travelers had come from what they had seen and heard. Although to-day some of his generalizations may seem ill-founded, the report appealed at the time as convincing, for it was based upon actual observation.

Following the formal address, the president of the Kansas League of Cincinnati, one Mr. Jolliffe, spoke to the audience. "In a few

27. Boynton, C. B., and T. B. Mason, *A Journey Through Kansas*, pp. 123-124.

28. "Webb Scrap Books," v. I, p. 178. The news clipping citing this information has neither source nor date attached. It evidently comes from a Cincinnati paper, probably the *Gazette*; inserted in the "Scrap Book" between other articles bearing the dates of October 4 and October 26, it would seem to be of about the same date itself.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 178; *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, January 6, 1855.

pertinent remarks he set forth the purpose for which the commissioners were sent, the expense of sending them, about \$500, the design of publishing their report, and appealed to the audience for aid."³¹ The newspaper story did not record the success of the appeal. Nor has any other statement come to light in regard to the financing of the trip or the publication of the written report.

The first notice of publication found by the writer of this article appeared under the caption of "Kansas," in *The Daily Columbian*, October 27, 1854.³² It was virtually contemporary with the report of the Vine Street Congregational Church address.

Moore, Anderson, & Co., have in press, and will issue in a few days, the very able report of the Rev. C. Boynton, relative to his recent exploration of Kansas Territory, on behalf of the Kansas League of this city. In addition to its merits as the fullest and most reliable account yet published, of this land of promise, and its being accompanied by an original map, this report will contain one feature, which will especially commend it to the attention of our mercantile community. This will be its remarks upon the prospective magnitude of Kansas trade, and the only means by which it can be permanently secured to this city.

To have completed the manuscript of the two hundred and sixteen page report and have got the book in press by October 27 would have called for as concentrated and rapid work as Edward Everett Hale found himself performing in *Kansas and Nebraska* the preceding August. Presumably October was well begun before the Ohio commission came back to Cincinnati. Not until after their return was the form of the report determined upon; therefore, the author could not have begun the composition of it enroute. Twice, moreover, in the text, he referred to the date on which he was writing particular parts of the book. In chapter XXII, the date was November 16; in chapter XXVII, it was November 28.³³ The announcement of *The Daily Columbian* to the effect that the book was in press on October 27 was, therefore, somewhat premature.

The point, however, to which this advance review of the book called the attention of "the mercantile community" was a point the finished publication made conspicuous in both chapters II and XIX.³⁴ If the publishers had already contracted for the book in October, part of the manuscript may have already been in their hands, and its emphasis upon the commercial advantage to southern Ohio of a westward migration may have been made known to the

31. "Webb Scap Books," v. I, p. 178.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

33. Boynton, C. B., and T. B. Mason, *A Journey Through Kansas*, pp. 160, 208.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-9, 139-141.

reviewer. All the subsequent notices of *A Journey Through Kansas*, name as publishers, not "Moore, Anderson & Co.," but "Moore, Wilstach, Keys & Co." While the book was preparing, the firm was evidently reorganizing.

The second announcement of the book was an advertisement in the New York *Tribune* October 30, 1854. It listed the book for November publication and noted the wide appeal of its contents. The book was not issued, however, in November. The third notice, appearing as an advertisement in *The National Era*, on December 14, repeated the description of the *Tribune*. Varied itself in form and composition, it was designed to make a varied appeal.

Our Orders

Now Count by Thousands

The universal interest now felt in the subject is shown by the large orders we are receiving for the new book, to be published, in December, entitled

A Journey Through Kansas With Sketches of Nebraska,

Describing the country, climate, soil, mineral, manufacturing, and other resources; the results of a Tour of Observation made in the autumn of 1854, by Rev. C. B. Boynton and T. B. Mason, committee from the "Kansas League of Cincinnati." With a new and authentic map from official sources, with emendations by H. V. Boynton. One volume, 12 mo. paper, price 50 cents.

Interwoven with the facts and statistics, presented in this volume, there will be found many exciting and amusing incidents of travel, narrated in a style of great beauty and vigor, which can not but attract many minds not directly looking to this land of promise for a future home for themselves or friends.

☛ Dealers will find this work one that will meet a ready sale among railroad travellers, and, through the agency of canvassers, in all sections of the country. Liberal discounts given.

☛ Orders should be forwarded promptly, or it will be quite impossible for them to receive as prompt a response as may be desirable.

—Moore, Wilstach, Keys, & Co., Publishers
25 West Fourth St., Cincinnati.³⁵

This advertisement added two bits of information to our knowledge of the book; one was the date of publication—December; the other was the work upon the map by H. V. Boynton. The names of both Mr. Mason and Mr. Boynton appeared as authors; and, as on the title page of the published book, they constituted a "Committee from the 'Kansas League of Cincinnati,'" nothing being said about the American Reform Tract and Book Society.

³⁵. New York *Tribune*, October 30, 1854. *The National Era*, Washington, D. C., December 14, 1854. Adv.

The fourth notice of *A Journey Through Kansas* was a brief paragraph in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, December 23.

We understand that a book entitled "A Journey Through Kansas," by Rev. Mr. Boynton, of this city, will be published in a few days, by Moore, Wiltach, Keys & Co. We have seen some of the proof sheets of this book, and predict for it a rapid and extensive sale. We shall notice it more at length in a few days.³⁶

On December 27 the same paper carried an advertisement, beginning "Published This Day," and followed by virtually the same account of the book as that appearing in *The National Era* except the first paragraph was omitted entirely.³⁷ The *Gazette* advertisement also dropped the statement offering liberal discounts to dealers. To the paragraph urging prompt orders, it added, "They [the orders] are pouring in promptly." Four months, then, after the exploration of Kansas by the Ohio commissioners, their report upon the journey was published in book form. A review of the nature and the substance of that report follows.

A Journey Through Kansas With Sketches of Nebraska, as the author explained in the preface,³⁸ was a description of many of the scenes and incidents of "that far and almost unexplored territory" which had so deeply interested him and his companions on their autumn visit there. Facts and statements concerning the aspect, the resources, and the productions of the country he presented "with the sanction of the commissioners," but he conveyed them primarily through the medium of narrative for which he alone was responsible. The purpose of the story form was to "make a more vivid impression, . . . obtain a wider circulation, . . . and awaken an interest" in readers in Kansas and Nebraska and the cause they represented. The underlying motive was, of course, to encourage free emigration there.

As the emphasis in the title would suggest, Kansas received the fuller treatment. Of the twenty-eight chapters, only one discussed Nebraska separately. Most of them were short, varying from three to twelve or thirteen pages; the longest chapter numbering fifteen pages in all, was rightly, perhaps, or at least fairly, the chapter on Nebraska.

The discourse was for the most part narrative. It followed, with some divergence, the chronological order of the actual journey of the commissioners, with reflections upon their various experiences or

36. *Cincinnati Gazette*, December 23, 1854. Photostatic copy used.

37. *Ibid.*, December 27, 1854. Photostatic copy used.

38. *A Journey Through Kansas*, pp. V-VI.

the experiences of other adventurers before them about whom they heard along the way. Now and then the narrative paused for whole chapters of descriptions of scenery or expository discussions of purely informational nature.

Chapter I told of the general ignorance of the needs of territorial exploring parties and included some amusing speculations as to desirable outfits for the journey. Although most men now talked "as if Kansas were a familiar subject, studied and comprehended," few had formed "any well-defined ideas of the position, aspect, and resources of this great Territory."³⁹ The commissioners from Ohio had, therefore, found making plans for the trip far more difficult than fitting themselves out for a voyage to Europe.

In chapter II the journey itself began, but not until chapter V did it touch upon Kansas. Meantime, however, the writer told of ways and conditions of travel emigrants would desire to know. Two chapters told of the journey up the Missouri by boat from St. Louis to Kansas City. Interspersed with the narrative of the author's own experience were accounts of the river, its availability for navigation, the operation of the steamboats then upon it, the surprisingly extensive business they carried on, and the prospects of development for Kansas City, still known as Kansas and still but a village.

Kansas City, which appeared "like a village of from six hundred to one thousand inhabitants," was contending with Weston, a place of some four thousand inhabitants, for the territorial emigrant trade as well as that for Santa Fé and California. Kansas City was largely under the influence of Eastern capital; yet its location in a slave state made its future hard to predict.⁴⁰ In Weston, too, were both slave and free elements.

In chapter VI the Cincinnati party boarded the Weston ferry to enter Kansas. Twice before they had touched upon the territory. On leaving Kansas City, Mo., they had noted at the mouth of the Kansas, on the Wyandot reservation, the beautiful sloping site for a town that might well become a "rival free-soil city."⁴¹ Thirty miles beyond, on the west bank of the Missouri, they saw their first "squatter city," Leavenworth, three and one-half miles below the fort. In this strange city "squatted" upon the lands of the Delawares, where government officials had declared squatter sovereignty had no jurisdiction, they found twelve hundred and more "sovereigns" had already set up their thrones.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-31.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

A squatter city has little resemblance to any other city; it belongs to a distinct genus of cities. This is a large and important one, the capital, as many hope, of Kansas, and is therefore worthy of description. There was one steam-engine, "naked as when it was born," but at work, sawing out its clothes. There were four tents, all on one street, a barrel of water or whiskey under a tree, and a pot, on a pole over a fire. Under a tree, a type-sticker had his case before him, and was at work on the first number of the new paper, and within a frame, without a board on side or roof, was the editor's desk and sanctum. When we returned from the territory to Weston, we saw the "notice," stating that the editor had removed his office from under the elm tree, to the corner of "Broadway and the levee." This Broadway was, at that time, much broader than the streets of old Babylon; for, with the exception of the "fort," there was, probably, not a house on either side, for thirty miles.⁴²

Leavenworth City had commercial aspirations, but it could never rival Kansas City in trade. Fort Leavenworth, beautifully situated on a rolling bluff where scattering forest trees gave it the appearance of a cultivated park, made only a meager show as a fort, but it was an important military depot. It had become "the principal point of departure for troops and government supplies of all kinds, for Santa Fé, Fort Riley, Fort Laramie, and Fort Kearney, and other western stations, and the number of horses, mules, oxen, wagons, and the large amount of stores of all kinds, required in these operations" was an important item for future Kansas agriculturists to consider.⁴³

The first impression Kansas made upon her visitors was of the fertility of her soil. Along the Missouri river bottom between the Weston ferry and Fort Leavenworth, "every description of vegetation" appeared on magnified scale. The most common timber was cottonwood, oak, and elm, many of the trees being conspicuously tall and thick in diameter.⁴⁴ Though these river bottom lands were fertile, they were unhealthful and on that account not extensively cultivated.

The following twenty-one chapters did not trace the succeeding impressions of the journey in chronological order. Instead, they grouped facts and features according to subject and interspersed information with entertaining narrative. Chapter VII told of the geographical and commercial divisions; chapter IX, of climate and productions; chapter X, of temperature and quantity of rain; chapter XI, of streams, springs, wells, and timber; chapter XXI, of the Indian lands and reservations; chapter XX, of the homestead and

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32. The author's phrase, "five and six feet in diameter," seems somewhat exaggerated.

preëmption law; chapter XIV, of town sites and settlements, and chapter XVII, of the inhabitants now in the territory.

In reviewing the geographical divisions the reader must remember the Rocky Mountains still marked the western boundary line of Kansas territory. Mr. Boynton, in his book survey, divided the territory into three districts: the eastern, lying along the river and state of Missouri; the western, stretching along the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains; and the central, extending between and having but general boundaries. Depending upon personal observation and all other available known sources of information, he characterized the eastern district as an agricultural region, the western boundary of which was an average distance of two hundred and fifty miles from the Missouri but bent farther westward along the head waters of the Kansas to some three hundred miles. The western district he called "the western New England or American Switzerland, abounding in beautiful streams, timber, and fertile and sheltered valleys."⁴⁵ The central district was a belt of land deprived of moisture by the mountain ranges on the west and lying west of the line reached by the northward winds from the Gulf of Mexico; the plains in this district were destitute of timber, but the buffalo grass that covered the sandy soil with a scanty verdure was exceedingly nutritious and would afford pasturage for the flocks and herds of civilized life as it had already long done for buffalo, elk, antelopes, and deer. In confirmation of his pictures the author quoted several June and July entries from Colonel Frémont's journal.

Natural features of the country, Mr. Boynton felt, would largely determine the commercial divisions of the territory. Although he admitted only time would fix the exact place and number of trade centers, he prophesied the development of four: The northeastern portion of Kansas, near the Missouri valley, would demand a commercial depot of its own on the Missouri near St. Joseph where the railroad from Hannibal was planned to terminate. The central district along the valley of the Kansas, including the valleys of the Smoky Hill and Republican forks, promised to be the central route of the Pacific railroad which, with the river boats, should the river prove navigable, would draw commerce to the towns along the river and the railroad. The southeastern portion, drained by the head waters of the Osage and Neosho rivers, must depend upon a railway to Kansas [Kansas City] or upon the southwestern branch railway

45. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

from St. Louis. The southern portion, along the Arkansas river valley, the commissioners did not visit but learned about from "an intelligent gentleman" who had passed down the valley and who pictured it as a fertile, well-timbered place that should "offer great advantages to a large colony possessed of considerable capital."⁴⁶

Mr. Boynton characterized Kansas as the land of streams and springs. By borrowing the Nebraska part of the Greater Nemaha and incorporating it within the northeastern limits of Kansas territory, he gave Kansas three "large river" valleys. The one of the borrowed stream to the north was the shortest. That of the Kansas and its tributaries in the center had its head waters far toward the Rocky Mountains. The Arkansas to the south, with its origin far within those mountains, ran for five hundred miles across Kansas territory. With the Osage, the Marais des Cygnes, and the Neosho rivers in the southeast part, they covered all the eastern part of Kansas with a network of streams, and their tributaries watered the central part and portions of the western part reasonably well.

In their three hundred miles travel the Ohioans always found water, at suitable intervals, for themselves and their horses, without leaving the main roads. In the autumn season, too, when they made their trip, many of the small streams and springs were dry. The deepest well they found was thirty-five feet, and the temperature of the several wells tested was 54° Fahrenheit. Water of some of the wells and springs was suitable for washing, but most of it was "hard."

The timber supply interested the Ohioans especially. Within the territory they had found the erroneous opinion prevailing among settlers that timber and fuel were scarce and dear; and every squatter had consequently made it his first object to secure a claim with a tract of timber both for his own use and for an investment.

This subject is one of prime importance, and deserves a careful consideration; for if prairie farms, destitute of timber, can not be cultivated successfully, then, except for stock-raising, Kansas will prove of but little value. If the prairie farmer is to be at the mercy of the owner of timber, and *tree-tops*, for fuel, are to be sold at five dollars a cord, as in some locations now, it will be long before the territory is changed into a populous State.⁴⁷

Apprehending little difficulty if the settlers would exercise judicious management of all the resources at hand, the author devoted seven

46. *Ibid.*, p. 44. The "intelligent gentleman" making this prophecy may have been Max Greene or some other member of the exploring party of the American Settlement Company of New York that chose Council City (now Burlingame) as the site of its first colony in Kansas.—*Cf.* Max Greene's *The Kansas Region*, p. 109.

47. *A Journey Through Kansas*, p. 67.

pages of chapter XI to a discussion of the timber growth of Kansas. Enumerating the kinds of trees growing in the different sections, he showed Kansas had more timber than people had commonly supposed.

Added to this chapter on the water and timber supply were brief discussions on the cost of a farm and farming, and on minerals, mines, and manufactures. Average crop yields were listed. California and Oregon emigration and the Santa Fé trade would insure a steady cash market at home for all productions. Development of manufacturing resources would extend this market further.

Mr. Boynton had no full or accurate knowledge of minerals and mines; but he named numerous minerals which he had seen or other persons claimed to have seen: bituminous coal, carboniferous limestone, iron, lead, tin, zinc, gypsum on the Smoky Hill fork, copper on Turkey creek, clay for bricks, and potter's clay. If Kansas should become a free state, her free settlers of mechanical skill and experience in the East would "at once furnish manufactures of wood, iron, leather, hemp, and a countless variety of articles" and make Kansas soon "present a copy of manufacturing New England."⁴⁸

Chapter XXI, which located the Indian lands and reservations, showed that they formed only an inconsiderable portion of the territory in area but that they embraced some of the most desirable parts of the country, especially of the timber lands on the Kansas and its tributaries. Necessity, the author felt, would soon compel a change; either the treaties would be modified or the government would purchase the lands entire.

So far as the great ends of civilization and Christianity are concerned, the most of these Indian lands are so occupied by the tribes as to be useless to the world, or rather they are obstacles in the progress of the country. . . . How their territory is, without injustice to them, to pass into the possession of the whites, is a question we can not answer, and yet we can not doubt that the transfer will ere long be made.⁴⁹

On the mouth of the Kansas, between that river and the Missouri, the Wyandots had six square miles. On the north side of the Kansas the Delawares held a tract ten miles wide, extending west from the Wyandots, forty miles along the river. Thirteen miles west of the Delaware reservation began the Pottawatomie tract, fourteen miles wide on the north side of the Kansas and four miles wide on the south side, and stretching westward for thirty miles. The Shawnee reservation, ten miles wide and forty miles long, lay on the south

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-76.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-155.

side of the Kansas, beginning about four miles from the Missouri and extending westward. The Kansas, or Kaws, had a small tract in the neighborhood of Council Grove; with the Osages, Ottawas, and Sacs, this tribe held some of the best timber and bottom lands on the Osage and Neosho rivers. The Iowas had small reservations in the north of Kansas. Unofficial reports indicated some of these lands were soon to be ceded or sold. Over some lands lately ceded by the Delawares, the government and "squatters" were now in dispute; the treaty had been designed to exclude the right of pre-emption but already there were twelve hundred settlers on the lands.

Chapter XX, entitled "Homestead and Pre-emption Law," consisted wholly of directions to prospective settlers. Since no homestead law existed to apply to Kansas, the law of pre-emption must be their guide.

By the law of pre-emption, any person being the "head of a family, or widow, or single man, over the age of twenty-one years, and being a citizen of the United States, or having filed his declaration of intention to become a citizen, as required by the naturalization laws," is entitled to enter upon any unoccupied public lands, and "claim" any number of acres not exceeding one hundred and sixty, (a quarter section). He must make a "settlement" upon the land thus claimed, and erect thereon a dwelling. This claim and settlement must be made in person, and the claimant must "inhabit and improve" the same—in order to have a *legal protection* against others who might claim the same ground.⁵⁰

Inasmuch as the lands of Kansas were unsurveyed, the settler would be expected to file a description of his "claim" with the surveyor-general within three months after the survey should have been made, and would then supposedly be allowed twelve months to make payment to the government; but as the government survey would not be complete until the following spring, settlers would enjoy use of their claims for two years, virtually, before the government would require payment.

In further explanation the chapter included a two and one-half page abstract of the pre-emption laws, and a one-page letter from the commissioner of the land office. Mr. Boynton explained that the purpose of the pre-emption law was to protect the settler in his claim to one hundred and sixty acres, allowing him to pay for it as indicated above; but he also stated that the government would permit a man to purchase, on the day of public sale, as much as ten thousand acres, if no other person should object or overbid

50. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

him. To only the quarter section, however, would he have *legal* security.

The chapter on town sites and settlements was a mixture of facts and speculation. When the commissioners visited Kansas in September, the New England settlement at Lawrence was the most advanced and most promising. Twenty miles west of it, at Tecumseh, was Stinson's settlement. Atchison was already laid out on the Missouri with an eye to the trade of northeastern Kansas. Below it was Leavenworth. Choosing as sites places where the principal streams and valleys struck the Kansas or where the main lines of roads, like the Oregon, California, and Santa Fé trails crossed the river, emigrants had already formed settlements at Salt creek, Hickory Point, Stranger creek, Grasshopper river, Soldier creek, Catholic mission, Lost creek, Vermilion, Rock creek, Big Blue, Wild Cat creek, and Fort Riley, all on the north side of the Kansas. Similar settlements the Ohioans found from Council Grove toward the Missouri along the Santa Fé trail in the northern part of the territory; the chief of these settlements was on the Big Blue where the government road to Forts Kearney and Laramie crossed the river. At Council Grove⁵¹ and at Fort Riley natural conditions led the travelers to believe important towns must develop. Between Fort Riley and the mouth of the Kansas they foresaw another trade center, but were not sure whether it would be at Lawrence. At the mouth of the Kansas, on Kansas soil now reserved to the Wyandots, they placed the commercial capital of Kansas.

The New England settlement at Lawrence received the fullest treatment, being given two full pages.⁵² Part of the account was a description of the place as it appeared on the day of the commissioners' visit. On that day there had been "an auction sale of the choice of claims," fifty-six choices being sold at a premium of five thousand dollars. The plan for the city had been made, and "for the present . . . a town lot will be donated to any one who will occupy and improve" it.⁵³ At Lawrence alone there were then supposedly four hundred persons.⁵⁴ The sketch also told of the two

51. Council Grove was also called Big Spring.—*Ibid.*, p. 43.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

53. Correspondence from residents of Lawrence, printed in Northern and Eastern papers at this time indicated that one-fourth of the 9,000 city lots would be given to persons that would build upon them within a year.—S. F. Tappan, in *The Atlas*, Boston, November 1, 1854; E. D. Ladd in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 4, 1854. Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols wrote November 2 to the *Springfield Republican*, November 18, 1854, that "no person can have a city lot without binding himself not to deal in intoxicating drinks."

54. *A Journey Through Kansas*, pp. 160-161. In the narrative of the commissioners' actual September journey, inserted in chapter XXII on November 16, the date of writing, Mr. Boynton gave a fuller picture of Lawrence and used other figures, referred to before on p. 98. At the time of the November writing there were 600 heads of families in Lawrence and nearly a thousand people all told. Here, as elsewhere, Mr. Boynton cited no sources.

steam saw mills, the steam-driven printing press, the plan for a public building for school and worship, the proposal of the Emigrant Aid Company to supply food and other necessities at lower rates than the settlers could procure for themselves, and the hotel purchased in Kansas City to be used as a receiving house for emigrants. In a brief paragraph that followed, the author expressed the hope that at other points other companies would emulate the noble work of the Massachusetts company at Lawrence.⁵⁵

The discussion of the inhabitants of the territory said little about the inhabitants, but it did say much about local conditions and sentiments they must face. Since no census had been taken, no one had any real knowledge of the population of the territory. General opinion, in September, 1854, placed the estimate at some four to five thousand in all. Major Ogden, at Fort Leavenworth, thought there were twelve hundred on the Delaware lands alone. These figures, however, were all merely estimates. On all sides the commissioners found the practice of staking fictitious claims, sometimes by little associations of slave sympathizers to keep out "the abolitionists," and sometimes by the free-soilers to exclude slaveholders. Usually these associations had consisted of a few speculators and politicians who had passed "terrible resolutions . . . saving the Union, and protecting and extending 'our peculiar institutions.'" ⁵⁶ Mr. Boynton predicted early cessation of such hostilities. The different parties would have to mingle, from proximity and from the strong necessity of companionship and of social and business relations. Already a "free-soiler," in western phrase, was not necessarily an anti-slavery man; rather, he was a person willing all should come and decide the question of slavery when there, fairly, by the popular vote. Even in Missouri this "free-soil" principle prevailed, the Ohioans believed; and most slaveholders to whom they talked had considered the question settled against them. If Eastern and Northern emigration should continue, the commissioners were sure of a triumph for the free-state cause. The two facts that contributed most to this assurance were, first, the character of the productions suitable for the soil and the nature of the resources which would appeal to men with large families and small means who would not desire the presence of aristocratic slaveholders

55. *Ibid.*, p. 93. The opening paragraph of the chapter on "Town Sites and Settlements," written only a few days after the chapter itself, stated that "The New England settlement on the Waukereusa has since received some large accessions. . . . A large colony, as is said, has selected Council Grove as its center, and some claims have been made in the vicinity of Fort Riley."

56. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

in their neighborhoods; and second, the expectation that a large portion of the lands of Kansas would be "claimed" or "squatted," previous to the survey, in one hundred and sixty acre plots, too small for plantations.⁵⁷ The discussion ended with an exhortation, however, to every free man of the East and North whose circumstances would allow, to go and aid in making the cause of freedom sure.

The thirteen remaining chapters that were primarily narrative contained much additional information. The unexpected beauty of the Kansas prairies, so different from the prairies of Indiana, Illinois, or Iowa, called for both descriptive and expository treatment.⁵⁸ The view from the bluffs above Fort Riley, at the confluence of the Republican and Smoky Hill forks, appealed as one of the most beautiful.⁵⁹ Only a small part of the territory had as yet been explored; the field either for individual enterprise or for the establishment of colonies was wide and inviting.⁶⁰

Pictures of the Indians and Indian life appeared frequently in the book. Stories of the travelers' own encounters with them enlivened some of the pages. Tales of their superstitions and beliefs, current among the settlers, were repeated.⁶¹ Their skill in horsemanship had vivid portrayal.⁶² Their ability in warfare received unwilling praise.⁶³ Incredulously the Ohio travelers listened to the young American officers at Fort Riley explain the superiority of the mounted Indian in close combat. With a trained horse, with a bow and arrow, and with a spear he excelled over the dragoon, untrained in horsemanship and riding a horse that was but a raw recruit. The Indians of the plain might be called the American Cossack before whom the artillery was almost useless. Stories of massacres of both emigrants and soldiers on the western plains supported the officers' point of view. The Indians' love of tobacco—"chebok," as they called it—seemed their most obvious weakness; only for it would they make voluntary advances to the white man.⁶⁴ In different places in the book Mr. Boynton asserted his belief that the Indian race had nearly finished its course.

As surely as races, like individuals, have characteristics peculiar to themselves, capacities which indicate fitness or unfitness for certain modes of

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-132.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-49, 86-90.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-49, 106, 114-117.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-173.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 108-109.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-112.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

thought or action, so certain does it appear that the Indian race will never assume the forms of the Anglo-Saxon civilization. . . . As a race, and nationally, they are lost already, and will disappear. They have played their part through, in the world's development, and they are nearly ready to leave the stage.⁶⁵

From the Kaws, observed in encampment near the Methodist mission at Council Grove, he drew most of his conclusions about the apparent destiny of the race.

Fort Riley, seen at this time, made a better impression as a fort upon the Ohio commissioners than did Fort Leavenworth. Established in November, 1853, and built largely in 1854, it still had a freshness of look. White lime-stone from the neighboring bluffs had been the chief material used. Cheaply obtained and cheaply hewn, it gave the appearance of durability.⁶⁶ The architect was from Cincinnati.⁶⁷ The setting added to its charm.

Standing on a broad, low eminence, swelling gently up from the Kansas valley on the east, and from that of the Republican on the south, and southwest, its cluster of white buildings presented a neat and attractive appearance, and doubtless the beauty of that picture was enhanced, in our eyes, because we had lately looked only on unsightly cabins. It was a sweet-looking "oasis," not indeed a green spot merely, amid sands, but a little isle of beauty, rising out of the prairie ocean, bright with a *civilized smile*, and wearing the decorations of taste and skill.⁶⁸

Purity of the air, the Ohioans felt, would keep the fresh color long undimmed. A lengthy description of the natural background made by the Republican, the Smoky Hill, and the Kansas rivers and the surrounding hills and woods gave a full view of the place.⁶⁹ To us now, who have always thought of Fort Riley as one of the permanent military posts in the United States, one statement of Mr. Boynton's regarding its intended fate seems strange. Officers stationed there in the early fall of 1854 told him that as soon as the settlements in Kansas reached to the fort, the government designed giving up the position, selling out the grounds and buildings, and establishing a more western station.⁷⁰ More western stations came, of course, but Fort Riley also remained.

Throughout their journey the Ohioans felt the importance of the position of Kansas and of the nature of the population that should settle there. Situated in the heart of the continent, the territory was bound to be the center of extensive commerce—"an exchange

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107, 114-115.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

point between the Eastern states and the farthest West." ⁷¹ The question of her settlement, moreover, had become the preëminent political interest of the day.

Kansas may be regarded as a political upheaval. Like islands that have been formed in the night by volcanic action, or mountains suddenly lifted out of the plains of South America, Kansas has been upheaved from the political ocean, by the internal fires of party, and has become at once one of the most prominent objects on our continent. With thousands, who a few months ago had never even heard of Kansas, it is now the chief subject of thought and inquiry.⁷²

In the different proposals for occupation of this crucial territory Northerners, at least, also saw a grave moral issue.

Upon the question of the settlement of Kansas, the fate of the slave-power now hangs, more especially than upon the movements of political parties. The contest for the possession of this Territory will end in giving an effectual if not decisive blow to the defeated party. From a defeat there, slavery can never recover itself, and if the slave-power is victorious, it will have at its disposal almost every conceivable earthly advantage.⁷³

Ohioans, of course, were bent upon securing the new territory from the dominion of slave power and establishing out of it "a genuine Puritan state, . . . both as a model and center of influence, and a point of departure for other enterprises in favor of freedom." ⁷⁴ A free state there would be to all the vast regions of the West and the Southwest, "even to the Rocky Mountains and Mexico, the dawn of a new era, decisive of their destiny." ⁷⁵ With boundary lines invisible to the eye between the territory and Missouri on the east and the Indian lands on the south, a free state would wield there an unobtrusive but irresistible influence over even the slave holders and the slave state itself. The free institutions of school and church and society would make of her a model state that would direct to all the other unsettled territories of the Southwest a free emigration, "which would prevent forever the formation of another slave state in all that region." ⁷⁶ In the *middle ground* of Kansas herself, emigrants from all states, both Northern and Southern, must concentrate and mingle. The moral power of their intermingled life and interests would be felt upon Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia in inestimable ways, the author believed, even to the point of rendering disunion impossible.⁷⁷

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

74. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

In all the four separate chapters (XIX, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII) devoted to the momentous nature of the Kansas question, Mr. Boynton emphasized the value of colonization.⁷⁸ He pointed out the great significance of the coming of the first New England party the summer before.

Rightly considered, one of the most suggestive scenes that has been looked on for a hundred years in this country, was when the first large emigrant party from New England stepped upon the slave soil of Missouri, at St. Louis, on its way to Kansas. In that silent, unheeded act, was the inauguration of a new era, unknown though it might be to the actors themselves. It was the advance-guard of freedom's hosts which was taking possession of the lands and dominion of slavery in the name of God and humanity. It was the first ripple of that new stream of emigration which, for years to come, is to swell on that southern shore with a broader and stronger tide.⁷⁹

Believing that the opening up of the territories to Southern settlement had been the first and only motive of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he thought of this Northern movement as a triumphant way to oppose it.

We regard this idea of the colonization of the West and Southwest—the conquest of slavery by the showing of the more excellent way—as one of the grandest conceptions of modern times. It is a peaceful march of freedom's armies in a holy crusade, for the securing of human rights, and the extending of a true Christian civilization to our remotest borders.

It will plant Northern energy, skill, capital, and industry, upon a new and nobler theater. It will move men in masses, so that their character, sentiments, and institutions, will all be preserved entire. It is not merely emigration—it is *colonization*—and these colonies, if properly formed, and wisely conducted, will settle, under God, the question of American slavery.⁸⁰

Nor was it settlement of the question in territories only that was to be thus achieved. The Missouri Compromise had hitherto been a wall of defense for slavery in the South as it had for freedom in the North. Now, by its repeal, the North had been thrown open to slavery, but so was the South opened to freedom. If the North could only be true to herself, no one could doubt the result.⁸¹

Upon the people of his own state he laid a special charge.

Especially do we, of Ohio, hope that southern Ohio will not hesitate to take interest and part in this great enterprise, but that she will cause herself to be represented by one of the largest and noblest colonies in Kansas. The stake which Cincinnati has in this enterprise, is a very deep one, and her business men should give it a prompt and serious consideration. . . . Nothing has lately been presented to Cincinnati, of more importance than to bind Kansas, and all that surrounding region, to her by all the affinities

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-141, 201-216.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138, 200-201, 210-211.

which free institutions on both sides can create, and by sending there, in large numbers, the sons and daughters of Ohio to bind Kansas to her by the ties of kindred and old association.⁸²

So had Ohio been bound to the states farther east whence her people came; from northern Ohio, as a result, trade had been secured to New York and Boston, and from southern Ohio, to Philadelphia.

Not only the commercial advantage to Ohio as a whole did Mr. Boynton note thus frankly, but he also pointed out the special opportunity to emigrant aid companies. Like the New Englanders who formed the first Emigrant Aid Company in Massachusetts, the Ohio commissioners encouraged other companies to hope to secure a rich return for capital employed; judicious management was the only suggested prerequisite.⁸³ The remuneration would come in the form of increased value of the lands which the companies would themselves retain.⁸⁴

The fifteen-page chapter on Nebraska compared the two territories of Kansas and Nebraska in size and nature.⁸⁵ Not knowing any part of the northern territory himself, the author drew upon the accounts of others and upon supposition. He divided the country into six general districts, each characterized by common geographic features. These sections he described at length, picturing the prevailing contour of each and pointing out the adaptability of it to habitation. Elements of reputed grandeur or peculiar beauty he emphasized. He supplemented his own discussion with lengthy quotations from Edward Everett Hale's *Kansas and Nebraska*,⁸⁶ from an unnamed missionary's account of the climate near the Canadian border line, and from the description of the valley of the Yellow Stone by an unknown writer in the *New York Tribune*. He also praised Frémont's journal for its accuracy as observed by himself in traveling over parts of the same routes.

Frequently through the book the author alluded to the obligation of the church in settling the fate of the territories. In the chapter on "Nebraska" he said the determining of the question belonged "of right to the churches of this land."⁸⁷ The question was a question of morals and religion. The colonization he would

82. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 183-197.

86. *Ibid.*, 192-194. Cf. *Kansas and Nebraska*, by Edward Everett Hale (Phillips, Sampson & Company, 1854), pp. 70-71.

87. *A Journey Through Kansas*, p. 196.

make "a Christian colonization."⁸⁸ Emigrant churches should become the nuclei around which society would then form itself and make of Kansas not only a free state but a model state. Were such churches organized in the different parts of the country, the different missionary societies might aid in sustaining their pastors. Where Christians of different sects might settle in the same locality they should unite in an organization liberal enough to embrace all.⁸⁹ The religion, however, should not be so liberal as to be unorthodox in its practices. Chapter III began with severe censure of the second Emigrant Aid party sent out from Massachusetts, for not resting in St. Louis over the Sabbath.

This party, numbering about one hundred and thirty, reached St. Louis on Saturday, and instead of resting in St. Louis over the Sabbath, as we have since understood it was the intention of the officers of the society that they should do, proceeded immediately up the river—thus trampling down one law of God, in a mission professedly undertaken to vindicate another.

This desecration of the Sabbath by a band of emigrants from Massachusetts, as most of them were, and connected as they were with a society organized for the very purpose of opposing an immorality, was a cause of grief to the best friends of the movement in the West. It served to divest the whole enterprise of a moral character; and to this extent diminished its power.⁹⁰ Forbidding travel on the Sabbath was only one of several orthodox ideas appearing in *A Journey Through Kansas*.

Different manifestations of nature were the handiwork of God. The Kansas prairie was "a magnificent picture of God"; its wonderful beauty was "the workmanship of God."⁹¹ The three substitutes for timber and wood—stone, coal, and osage orange—were the provision of God.⁹² The mounds of the prairies had "been upheaved there by the hand of God."⁹³ The expanse of plain was particularly impressive.

Over the vast plateau the heavens seem spread out on purpose to curtain it in; a dome, "whose maker and builder is God," and which, glowing, as it is, with excess of light, seems to send down to us the glory of some "upper sky," the *shining through* of a heavenly splendor.⁹⁴

Customs and behavior of the pioneers already in the territory were weighed by orthodox standards. The head of the house who had given up saying grace at table had lost his Christian graces and

88. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

90. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 78.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

became a dead or frozen disciple.⁹⁵ Satan followed the weak and wavering Christian even into the wilderness. In Lawrence the Ohioans admired the cheer and hope and energy of the settlers, the scene reminding them of Plymouth Rock. Their wish for it was like a prayer: "Would that there might be found there the same depth of piety, the same sublimity of faith and loftiness of aim!"⁹⁶

In spite of his exhortation to the new communities and to the settlers to be religious, Mr. Boynton unhesitatingly criticised the work of the missions. The mission at Council Grove, supported by the Methodists, provoked his chief rebuke; but its failure was only representative of the disappointing effects of most of the Indian missions.

The "Mission" is merely a school, the Kaws not consenting to have the Gospel preached among them. They send a few of their children irregularly to a school, in which little or nothing is, or can be done. The name of "Mission" does not very well describe the thing; and this, we think, is not the only "Mission," in Kansas, to which the same remark would apply. It would do no harm, if this whole subject of Indian missions were somewhat more closely investigated by the churches. Some unexpected disclosures might be made, perhaps, by such a scrutiny, and the matter would be stripped of much of the heroic, and the romantic, with which it has been so largely invested. Many dreams of Christian Indian nations just budding into life on the frontier, would, probably, be put to flight, by a journey even through Kansas.⁹⁷

Individual Indians, Mr. Boynton believed, might yet "be snatched as brands from the burning, and as trophies of the surprising grace of God," but of national vitality among the American tribes there was now none. Their probation as communities was over; their judgment day was passed; *nationally*, they were among the lost.⁹⁸

Ignorance of the history of the open, uninhabited prairies was due to God's not yet having seen fit to disclose one of the most interesting secrets of the past.⁹⁹ Mr. Boynton's own conjecture was that the plains were once the cultivated fields of a race that had since passed away. The mounds were the remains of fortifications, of ruined temples and of walled cities.¹⁰⁰

That was the substance of the report of the exploration of Kansas in the autumn of 1854 by the Ohio commissioners. In putting their findings into the seminarrative, semi-informational form of *A Journey Through Kansas*, Mr. Boynton made interesting reading

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-82.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 119. Cf. pp. 91-96.

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-91.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 90. Cf. pp. 164-165

of what could easily have been barren fact, and he lent importance to personal incidents that without factual setting would have seemed insignificant. The information was for the most part of general nature, derived primarily from observation. With the exceptions of the quotations above from Edward Everett Hale's *Kansas and Nebraska*, the *New York Tribune*, and Frémont's journal, and the weather reports supplied by the officers at Fort Leavenworth, the author cited no authorities for his subject matter. His information was, on the whole, nevertheless, authentic. The book recorded more mistaken opinions than it did errors of fact. Opinion was clearly opinion, however; and speculation was speculation; the author offered neither as fact.

Lack of exact information led both him and the maker of the map to place all of the Nemaha river in northern Kansas.¹⁰¹ From frequent evidences of coal along the course of exploration, Mr. Boynton concluded erroneously that a coal supply was general and abundant throughout the territory.¹⁰² Having no difficulty in a dry season in finding water readily all along the way for both man and beast, he supposed water would be found in every section of land.¹⁰³ The statement that the Ohioans "saw no streams in the country, except the Kansas, whose waters are turbid,"¹⁰⁴ may have been wholly truthful, but any Kansan reading the remark feels they could not have looked upon many Kansas streams. To appreciate the frequent comment upon the good Kansas roads, the reader needs information about the general condition of roads elsewhere in 1854; so few of the natural thoroughfares in Kansas, however, could ever have been rightly described as "the finest roads in the world"¹⁰⁵ that he feels the author was little-traveled or frankly extravagant in remark. The "mucilaginous elm," which the Ohioans noted among the chief trees of the territory,¹⁰⁶ Kansans have long since characterized as "slippery elm." The idea that "fall planted potatoes might, perhaps, succeed best," must, to people who understand potato growing, be the most smile-provoking statement in the book.¹⁰⁷ Failure to understand fully the extent of the issue at stake in Kansas and the strong feeling in both North and South upon it, explain the sincere but false prophecy that the border warfare by Missourians

101. *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 94. Frontispiece. *Vide post.*, pp. 142-143.

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-67, 158.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

was over "to return no more."¹⁰⁸ Rightly the Ohioans sensed that much of the trouble was bluster, "empty gasconade,"¹⁰⁹ with provocation from both sides, but they jumped too hastily to the conclusion that serious ruffianism was over. These are the most obvious incorrect or inaccurate ideas about Kansas and Kansas matters appearing in *A Journey Through Kansas*.

The frontispiece of the book was "a map of Kansas with portions of Nebraska, etc., redrawn from official sources with emendations by H. V. Boynton."¹¹⁰ Middleton, Wallace & Co., Cincinnati, were the engravers; Moore, Wiltach, Keys & Co., were the publishers. The map itself measured $6\frac{7}{8}$ by $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches; it was printed on a page $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches square; and it had a single fold. Besides Kansas, it included those portions of other territories and states lying between meridians 94° and 106° and between latitudes 35° and 43° . It embraced portions of Utah, New Mexico, Texas, Indian territory, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and Nebraska. The geography of Kansas and Nebraska, as represented in the map, is of especial interest in this study.

The territory of Kansas occupied the central portion of the map. Only that part of Nebraska territory south of latitude 43° appeared. The map, like that used as a frontispiece of Edward Everett Hale's *Kansas and Nebraska*, was but an outline map. Boundary lines, river courses, forts, and towns were its chief inclusions; the Santa Fé route from Kansas (Kansas City) to Santa Fé, N. M., was marked with two lines of travel as far west as Council Grove; the northern was by way of Forts Leavenworth and Riley; the southern lay south of the Wakarusa river. Forts and towns had almost the same locations as in modern maps. The New England settlement was designated as such, though it had already chosen the name of Lawrence for itself;¹¹¹ none of the other settlements mentioned in the text were marked on the map at all. The plains south of the great bend in the Arkansas river were called Salt Plains. Pike's Peak was the only Kansas marking in the Rocky Mountain range. Shaded sections along the Kansas river and one small place on the Kansas side of the Missouri river opposite St. Joseph evidently indicated Indian reservations; why, however, these Indian lands were so marked and others in the territory were not designated at all is not clear. Most of

108. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

110. Legend accompanying map.

111. The New England settlement chose "Lawrence" as its name after Amos A. Lawrence, treasurer of the Emigrant Aid Company, October, 1854.

the rivers followed almost the same courses as in modern maps, with two exceptions. The greater Nemaha in the map, as in the text, was placed entirely within Kansas.¹¹² The Cimarron river, which is now known to unite directly with the Arkansas in latitude 36°, longitude 96° 15', united in the Boynton map with the Salt Fork in latitude 37° 30', longitude 101°. In the portion of Nebraska shown in the map only rivers and forts appeared. The Rocky Mountains followed a general northeasterly line. Long's Peak was the only mountain noted separately.

In so far as neither the map nor the text indicated the "official sources" used by H. V. Boynton in making his emended drawing, no one can tell at all what his sources were and whether they or he were responsible for the right or the wrong features of the work.

The map was an interesting supplement, nevertheless, to the text. Although it did not indicate the course of the route the Ohioans followed in their own explorations, it noted the chief places Mr. Boynton talked of in his report—places in both Kansas and Missouri, including the Missouri river as far east as Lexington. It therefore made locations relatively clear and so added to the reader's graphic knowledge of the western territories.

In December, 1854, after the written report had gone to press, Mr. Boynton's monthly magazine devoted a column to the prospective publication. It discussed the purpose and noted the contents of the work. The reviewer described it as the result of personal observations of Mr. Boynton and Mr. Mason, who had traveled between three and four hundred miles in the territory and visited the principal points of interest. Their intention, he said, had been to collect information for prospective emigrants, and he believed that in every essential particular the information might be relied upon. The article ended with an account of the arrangements for sale of the book.

By an arrangement with the publishers, the editor of this paper is able to supply this work at their prices. Any order, therefore, addressed to Rev. C. B. Boynton, editor of the *Christian Press*, Cincinnati, will receive attention. The publishers' prices are as follows:

Single copies, paper, 50 cents.

25 copies and less than 100, 33⅓ per cent discount.

100 copies and less than 500, 40 per cent discount.

400 copies and less than 1,000, 45 per cent discount.

1,000 copies and over, 50 per cent discount.

112. *Vide ante*, p. 141.

This book will also be for sale as soon as published, at the American Reform Tract and Book Society's Rooms, 180 Walnut street.¹¹³

Published on December 27, 1854, *A Journey Through Kansas* received its first lengthy review in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, January 15, 1855; it was the notice, evidently, that had been announced December 23.¹¹⁴ The review was printed in the morning edition of the *Gazette*, January 16.¹¹⁵ It was unsigned, the nameless writer referring to himself by the editorial "we." A half-column in length, the review alternated approval and disapproval of the subject matter and treatment. It characterized the work first as a "pleasant, unpretending little volume of 216 pages, . . . a good book, well-prepared." It commended the authors for tact and judgment in the selection of material, but it would have preferred to have them relate the narrative of their experiences "in one continuous and unbroken chain" and reserve the statistical matters for consecutive chapters at the close. It found pleasant the descriptions of backwoodsmen and squatter life. It accepted the Boynton picture of Indian life in Kansas as "correct, though painful," and supported the judgment with the knowledge that "practical Indian life is not pleasant, and is far from being romantic, whatever reciters of legends and writers of novels may say to the contrary." It regarded the decided anti-slavery attitude of the book as its most distinctive feature. It found the views given with such "Christian candor and sincerity," however, as not to offend "intelligent and candid men." A southern Ohio paper, the *Cincinnati Gazette* had proslavery as well as antislavery readers whom it must satisfy; but it had more concern for the welfare of the western emigrants and the enviable opportunities for an independent life awaiting them on the spacious prairies of Kansas. Persons weary of living "hived up in big cities" should find in the "far-off and beautiful country . . . an inexhaustible charm." The *Gazette* review was for the most part a recommendation that should have advanced the sale of the book, and its enthusiasm for the open spaces should of itself have furthered emigration thither directly. The review made no quotations, for want of space, but saw little use for them since the sale price of the volume was fifty cents at the bookstore of the publisher in Cincinnati.

The second review found in Kansas to-day, appeared in *The Puritan Recorder*, January 18, 1855.¹¹⁶ Prefaced by a biblio-

113. *The Christian Press*, December, 1854, p. 23. Photostatic copy used.

114. *Vide ante*, footnote 36.

115. *Cincinnati Gazette*, January 16, 1855. Photostatic copy used.

116. "Webb Scrap Books," v. II., p. 196.

graphical description of the book and statement of the place of sale, the article made general comment upon the purpose of the Ohio commission and its findings in the territory and praised the author for the nature of his report. It repeated Mr. Boynton's impressive warning to the North that from undue confidence, want of vigilance, or lack of well-directed effort, there was still great danger of the territory's being subjected to slave tyranny.

The issue of the *Herald of Freedom* for January 20, 1855, under the heading "A Tour Through Kansas," printed one and one-half columns from the account of the journey, but described the source of it as a "pamphlet," recently published by Messrs. Boynton and Mason; passages quoted were taken verbatim from scattered places in the book. Apparently they had been selected and arranged in a folder or pamphlet for advance notice. Further indication that the "pamphlet" must have arrived earlier than the book appeared in the following remark. "His book describing the country, soil, climate, mineral, manufacturing, and other resources, will be read with interest. Will the publishers be so kind as to favor us with a copy?"¹¹⁷ Had the Kansas editor already had a copy of the book at his disposal, he would not have printed this bold request.

Comparison of the *Herald of Freedom* quotations with the text of the published book reveals that the passages used embraced parts of chapter VIII on scenery and incidents; and from chapter XI on streams, springs, wells, and timber, and on materials for fences and dwellings. Not quoted in the order in which they appear in the book, the passages had different groupings and bore different captions.¹¹⁸ Some of them were of whole paragraphs, reproduced consecutively; others were of parts of paragraphs; and some were of single sentences.

The editor of the *Herald of Freedom* evidently believed the book on Kansas based on the observation of the Ohio explorers would interest people already in Kansas as well as the people in Ohio who contemplated emigration there. The Kansas paper, of course, had as wide a circulation, too, outside the state as in it; and notice of the new book printed in its columns would reach readers in many communities in the North. In the prefatory remarks the editor reminded the reader of his review of Mr. Boynton's Vine Street

117. *Herald of Freedom*, January 20, 1855.

118. Parts entitled "Scenery and Incidents" came from chapters VII and XI of the book, pp. 45-49, 65-68; "Building Material," from chapter XI, pp. 69-70; "Markets," from chapter XI, p. 74; and "Mines and Manufactures," from chapter XI, p. 75.

Congregational Church report of his Kansas journey in October, 1854.¹¹⁹

In March, 1855, *Harper's Magazine* published an appreciative account of the contents of *A Journey Through Kansas* and the author's treatment of the material.¹²⁰ It characterized the book as "a graphic record" of the tour of the exploring party. It found the detailed description a contribution to the knowledge of the region. The fresh and lively sketches of Indian life it valued as the testimony of credible eye-witnesses. It commended the author's wise hopefulness of the capabilities of the new territories and their development.

The fact that the information came almost entirely from the author's own observation constituted its chief worth in the estimates of all the reviewers. It was only the second book, to be sure, upon the territory of Kansas, but it was the first book for which the author made exploration himself of what he wrote. To the public, therefore, its information would be fresh and attractive; and it would appeal, the reviewers believed, as being authoritative. So, at least, they all announced it. So, as far as records reveal, the public seems to have received it.

The book probably failed to challenge interest long. Such was the opinion of the writer in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, who characterized the book as "an interesting account of a country before the trouble over slavery had grown acute."¹²¹ When the question of slavery became intense, the territory and its settlement were but incidental to the principle at stake. Books of narrative nature written by residents of the territory who were participants in the affairs, or at least witness to them, soon began to flourish. Beside their dramatic appeal, books of information, even though narrative-coated in part like *A Journey Through Kansas*, could win little favor.

The size of the edition of the book is not known. Mr. W. L. Mason wrote Mr. Adams in 1893 that "a limited number" of the books were published.¹²² Kansas has no record of the places of sale or the proportion sold. In March, 1857, Mr. Boynton wrote Amos A. Lawrence, treasurer of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, that "the people are not yet very familiar with the

119. *Vide ante*, pp. 122-123.

120. *Harper's Magazine*, March, 1855, v. X, p. 569.

121. *Scribner's Dictionary of American Biography*, v. II, pp. 536-537. This was published in 1929. George H. Genzmer was the writer of the Boynton sketch.

122. Mason, W. L., letter to Franklin G. Adams, September 6, 1893.

aspect, attractions and resources of Kansas, as all have been fully occupied with the events there transpiring.”¹²³ The remark implied his book had not had the sale he once expected it would have. A postscript to the letter referred to a lost package of the books, amounting to thirty or forty dollars worth, that had been sent by express to Dr. Thomas H. Webb, secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company in Boston, but that had not been delivered. After much delay, the publishers had ordered them not to be delivered; they believed the express company, which had been responsible for the tardiness, would be obliged to pay. The company had refused payment, however; then the publishers had failed, and the loss had devolved upon the author. Supposing the books were still in some express office in Boston, he now offered half the lot to Mr. Lawrence for gratuitous distribution, and the rest he would claim himself.

Thirty or forty dollars worth of *A Journey Through Kansas*, if of the paper-bound issue advertised in 1854-1855, would have meant from sixty to eighty copies. The writer of this article has seen but three copies of the book; each is firmly bound in board covers with leather back and corners, and must have sold for more than fifty cents.¹²⁴ These copies are, nevertheless, of the same first, and probably only, edition of the book ever issued.

Although active interest in the report of the Ohio commissioners seems to have waned early, its author for a time contemplated making a second journey to the territory and writing a second book.¹²⁵ Correspondence with Amos A. Lawrence about the proposition indicated that the New England Emigrant Aid Company was being thought of as part sponsor.¹²⁶ Rapidly changing conditions in Kansas, however, soon rendered the plan impracticable. In 1857, in inquiring how he might further serve the cause of freedom by use of pen or tongue, Mr. Boynton again referred

123. Boynton, Charles B., letter from Pittsfield, Mass., to Amos A. Lawrence, March 14, 1857, in official correspondence of New England Emigrant Aid Company, archives of Kansas State Historical Society.

124. Two of these copies are in the Kansas State Historical Library at Topeka. The third is in the Watson Library at the University of Kansas. Joseph Sabin, in his *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (N. Y., 1867), v. II, p. 384, does say, "A third edition has been published."

125. As editor of *The Christian Press* Mr. Boynton had kept up his anti-slavery interests. In the issue of December, 1854, he published an unsigned letter from a correspondent in Leavenworth urging nonresidents of the territory to circularize the residents, the actual residents that is, with a tract upon the freedom of Kansas. The title suggested for the tract was "Shall Kansas be a Free or Slave State?" Protesting against the interference of Missourians along the border in territorial elections, the correspondent wished to make the 3,000 qualified residents and voters alive to the question themselves. His estimate of a population of 3,000 voters varies from the estimate of 10,000 settlers, in the September issue of the *Press*. *Vide ante*, p. 117.

126. In official correspondence of New England Emigrant Aid Company.

to the proposed second book, supposing that it would not then be of much consequence but believing the people in the territory were not yet "very familiar with the aspect, attractions, and resources of Kansas." As pastor of the South Church in Pittsfield, where he had come for his health, he was helping to "spread right principles and feelings" in his native Berkshires, but in his desire to be nearer the scene of action himself and at the same time find a still more favorable climate, he even proposed migrating to Kansas and, with his three sons, then verging upon manhood, trying "to *exhibit* at least the dignity of free labor, if we c'd do nothing in its defense."¹²⁷ Mr. Boynton mixed his motives frankly, but he was apparently sincere in his wish to aid the free-state cause. He did not migrate to Kansas, however, and he did not again write in defense of her cause.

127. The letter of March 14, 1857, to Amos A. Lawrence, also sought information about the colonization of Virginia as proposed by the New England Aid Company.

Ferries in Kansas

PART VII—SALINE RIVER

GEORGE A. ROOT

THE Saline river rises in the southwest corner of Thomas county and flows practically east, crossing Thomas and Sheridan; it barely touches the southwest corner of Graham, and crosses Trego and Ellis counties; it makes a turn to the southeast into Russell, and crosses over into Lincoln county; then it traverses the southwest corner of Ottawa and the northern part of Saline counties, to join the Smoky Hill about a mile from the village of New Cambria or about six miles east of Salina. The stream is about 235 miles long¹ and drains an area of approximately 3,311 square miles.²

The earliest printed reference to the stream we have located was by Etienne Venyard de Bourgmont who, on October 18, 1724, while on a visit to the Padouca Indians, records: "We found a small river where the water was briny."³ This could be none other than the Saline river. Just how early the stream was called the Saline we have not learned. Pike, the explorer, crossed the river while on his way to visit the Pawnee village in 1806.⁴ Carey's *Atlas*, published in 1817, names the stream the "Grand Saline," while Colton's *Map of Kansas*, for 1857, called it the "Grand Saline Fork." The stream derives its name from salt springs which impregnate its waters.⁵ The water, however, is said not to be salty above the mouth of Salt creek, Russell county.⁶

The United States Geological Survey describes the Saline as sluggish and with a bed composed of sand and mud. A gauging station was established at Salina, May 4, 1897, which was discontinued November 30, 1902.⁷

The Saline river traverses a section of the finest farming and hunting territory in Kansas, and not until about 1859 was much known of that particular section. The late James R. Mead, of Wichita, wrote a good description of the Saline river country, and said that

1. Blackmar's *History of Kansas*, v. 2, p. 639. Everts' *Atlas of Kansas*, pp. 225, 241, 249, 252, 285, 295, 303, 330.

2. U. S. Geological Survey, *Water Supply and Irrigation Papers*, No. 66, p. 142.

3. Pierre Margry, *Memoires et Documents Pour Servir a L'Histoire des Origines Francais des Pays D'Outre Mer* (Paris, 1888), v. 6, p. 432.

4. Coues, *The Expedition of Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike*, v. 2, p. 405.

5. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, p. 12.

6. Statement of Jacob C. Ruppenthal to author, March 29, 1935.

7. U. S. Geological Survey, *Water Supply Papers*, No. 84, p. 108; No. 99, p. 227.

tributaries on the north side of the stream were unnamed until in 1859 he gave them the names by which they are still known.⁸

Although big floods have occurred from time to time in the stream, the earliest of which we have printed record is that of 1858,⁹ which swept away such bridges as spanned the river at that time. Another destructive flood occurred during early June, 1867.¹⁰ The flood of 1903¹¹ did vastly more damage, as the country by that time was pretty well settled.

The old military road up the Smoky Hill crossed the Solomon river near its mouth, and about nine miles farther on crossed the Saline at a point about a mile a little west of the village of New Cambria of later date. This crossing was at the point where the Union Pacific railroad bridge was constructed, and a short distance north of the Ben Holladay stage station.¹² The first ferry on the Saline above its mouth was the one operated by James Jasper Woodward at this point. The earliest mention of this enterprise we have located was in the *Junction City Union*, of June 4, 1864, which printed the following notice: "Free Ferry.—Jim Woodward is running a free ferry across the Saline. In addition to this inducement, the road to Salina by way of his ferry is considerably shorter than by any other. Freighters would do well to try that route."

Lieut. J. R. Fitch, who surveyed a route up the Smoky Hill for the Butterfield Overland Despatch, mentions Woodward's ferry as being seven miles west of the Whitley & Hall ferry.¹³

Woodward's ferry probably was first operated as a free ferry, he apparently having some sort of an understanding with Salina merchants who made this free service possible. He was attentive to business and had the reputation of crossing his patrons with promptness and despatch. This free service probably was terminated by 1866, when the Woodward family organized themselves as the Saline River Bridge and Ferry Company. The new company consisted of J. J. Woodward, R. W. Woodward, Hugh T. Woodward, J. B. Woodward and U. S. Shreves. This corporation proposed to operate bridges or ferries over the Saline river at a point between the mouth of the river and where the Saline crosses the northern boundary of Saline county, on the line between townships 12 and 13, R. 4W. The principal office of the company was located on the west bank of

8. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, p. 12.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

10. *Ibid.*, v. 10, pp. 626, 627.

11. U. S. Geological Survey, *Water Supply Papers*, No. 99, p. 227.

12. *Junction City Union*, August 8, 1866.

13. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17, p. 191.

the river at a point known as Woodward's ferry. Capital stock of the enterprise was listed at \$80,000, in shares of \$100 each. Their charter was filed with the secretary of state June 29, 1866.¹⁴

This ferry must have gone out of business by 1867, or when the bridges came. George W. Martin, an old friend of Woodward, paid him this tribute:

James J. Woodward, the king of ferrymen, whose crossing of the Saline in the days of staging and footing, both gratified and annoyed the traveling public, now that railroad bridges and county bridges encompass him on all sides, has turned his attention to grinding and sawing. Jim is always bound to make himself useful, and frequently in passing by we have wondered whose enterprise it was which turned out great piles of fine lumber, changing to the hum of industry the bellowing and cursing incident to an old-time ferryboat with water, "no bottom," and the mud approaches thereto "quarter less twain." He is now running a first-class sawmill, and in saying this we do not mean to say that he did not run a first-class ferry. But levity aside, we are glad to note this improvement, and only wish there were more such men as Woodward to push on such enterprises. He has recently attached a run of burrs for grinding corn, and we understand that it is his intention during the coming season to add a first-class flouring mill. We wish Jim luck in all his undertakings, and may a mill rise on the banks of the Saline, an enduring monument to that historic point, "Woodward's crossing of the Saline."¹⁵

By 1865 there was much discussion favoring bridges. At the fall election that year Saline county was to vote on the proposition of issuing \$10,000 worth of bonds for the purpose of bridging the Saline and Solomon. The Junction City *Union* being the nearest paper, became an outspoken champion for bridges. In its issue of October 28, 1865, it said:

Our neighbors of Saline county have before them a proposition to vote the issue of ten thousand dollar bonds with which to bridge the Saline and Solomon. A practical and sensible expenditure of money. Far different with our neighbors over in Riley, who propose to vote bonds for the building of a courthouse. To build a courthouse now would be like putting jewelry on a hog. Riley is like Davis—within her limits she can get so far away from a settlement as to be in danger of wolves and wild beasts. Be practical and not ornamental, at least while there are so few taxpayers.

G. Schippel's was the next ferry upstream, and was located on the road directly north of Salina. This was the first ferry service inaugurated on the Saline river.

Gotthart Schippel, a native of Germany, was born on May 6, 1835. He came to America in 1852 and settled in Iowa, where he farmed until about the middle of June, 1857, when he came to Saline county, following the Leavenworth-Fort Dodge wagon trail to the

14. Corporations, v. 1, pp. 186, 187.

15. Junction City *Union*, March 14, 1868.

site of the Saline river ferry. Although it was his intention at first to cut hay for his stock, he also dealt somewhat with the Indians. He had some traffic with the Kaws, but was soon obliged to leave on account of the unfriendly Cheyennes, who were numerous and powerful. Afterward he went to Kansas City and brought some goods to Kansas Falls. He chopped wood and ran a sawmill during the winter of 1857-1858. The following spring he returned to Saline county and located on S. 29, T. 13, R. 2 W, where he began farming and stockraising. In 1857 the government had a pole and plank bridge across the Saline for the use of the supply trains going to Dodge. They had also built at the bridge head a log house, since dismembered and strewn about Salina as souvenir and relic material. Mr. Schippel took possession of this log house. Mr. A. M. Campbell, Sr., had observed the building on a previous reconnoitering trip into central Kansas in 1856 or 1857. When he came in 1858 to settle in the territory he expected to move into the log house, but when he was within a mile of it, he saw a stack of hay in the creek bend and knew he'd been outdone. Schippel was comfortably settled and was making a little cash—something which was very scarce in that part of the country in those days—selling hay and anticipating correctly the sale of corn to the government and independent freighters.

Eighteen fifty-eight was the year of the flood, and the Schippel house was built on the only dry land in the vicinity of the old bridge house. The river rose steadily. Mr. Schippel, Indians, trappers and freighters all hauled rocks and logs to weight the bridge down on the breast of the current. Finally they went onto it themselves on foot and horseback. There must have been some great floundering when the old bridge went out regardless of their attempts to hold it down. Mr. Schippel was then invited by the government to supply ferry accommodations. They hesitated to build a bridge because they expected a railroad to be built soon. Schippel built a ferry boat, 12 x 30 feet, with top-opening doors, one at each end, for landing and loading purposes. The old oak planks are around the Schippel property yet, adze-hewn and drilled for heavy wooden pins. Schippel and his passengers operated the boat by ropes and pulleys tied to trees on the banks. There are no pictures of the ferry, and no documentary evidence of Mr. Schippel's agreement with the government since he would "sign" nothing. John Schippel, son of the old ferryman, states that the ferry was most successful financially, some days his father taking in from three hundred to four hundred dollars. Schippel sold hay and corn to the government, operated a

sort of store and commissary and trading post for the Indians, and saved his money. When the Union Pacific was built up the valley and wiped out the ferry business, Gotthart Schippel was able to buy the land—the present Schippel estate north of Salina—around the old ferry. In the early 1880's he owned over 1,000 acres, about 600 acres of which were under cultivation at that time. He was married in 1872 to Miss Clara Wary, a native of France. They had four children. Mr. Schippel served Salina as a member of the city council for several terms.¹⁶

Gotthart Schippel located on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ S. 29, T. 13, R. 2 W, and started his ferry. One authority states that he saved planks from the bridge on the Saline that went out in the flood of 1858, and used them in the construction of his ferry boat. This ferry is said to have run for nine years. Many of the government troops and Pike's Peak travelers used it, and Mr. Schippel often sold hay and corn to them. Some of the planks and also the "tie plate" iron of the old ferryboat are in the museum of the Saline County Historical Society.¹⁷

In 1859 William A. Phillips obtained from the legislature a charter for a ferry across the Saline at the town of Salina, with the exclusive privilege of landing within two miles of that town, up and down the river, for the period of twenty-three years. He was to keep a good and sufficient boat or boats at all times sufficient to cross the traveling public and was to be entitled to take toll for this service, the county board being allowed to fix ferriage charges. The ferry was to be placed in operation within nine months, or the privileges granted by the legislature were to be forfeited. This act was approved by Gov. Samuel Medary, February 10, 1859.¹⁸ If this ferry went into operation we have failed to find any mention of it.

The next ferry of which we have knowledge was at the town of Lincoln, about thirty or thirty-five miles upstream, being established by Elias Rees, who built the first mill on the Saline in Lincoln county and operated his ferry in connection with it. The ferry was started about 1873 and ran almost a year, being discontinued when a toll bridge, also built by Mr. Rees, was put into operation. The ferry charge was ten cents for each person crossing.¹⁹

High water in the Saline river at Lincoln in 1873 caused considerable inconvenience and no doubt interrupted ferry business. The

16. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 709. Letter of R. Lynn Martin, Brookville, October 7, 1934, to the author, the data being obtained in an interview with John Schippel, a son of Gotthart.

17. From a letter of Mrs. A. M. Campbell, Jr., to the author.

18. *Private Laws*, Kansas, 1859, p. 119.

19. Letter from J. Albert Smith, of Lincoln, to the author. Mr. Smith also wrote: "I have lived here fifty-one years and never heard of any other ferry in this section."

following items from the *Lincoln County News*, Lincoln, tell the story:

The dam at Rocky Hill, we learn, has been seriously injured by the cantankerosity of the Saline.—May 22, 1873.

The river is said to be higher than at any previous time the present season.—May 22, 1873.

River still on the war path.—May 29, 1873.

The bosom of the Saline river has been swelling with emotion in consequence of the several "drouths" last week.—June 5, 1873.

In consequence of high water the mail experienced considerable difficulty in coming up from Salina last Monday. Royal, being the most perserving cuss we ever saw, weathered it though and returned on Monday as usual.—June 5, 1873.

The Saline river has got on the largest "bender" of the season, and is making tracks as fast as possible for the Gulf of Mexico.—June 19, 1873.

Sometime during the fore part of the year Mr. Rees started work on his bridge, and the county also started work on some projects of its own. Mention of these activities are recorded in the following items from the *News*:

A temporary bridge is being built on the Saline just below Rees' mill to facilitate ingress and egress to and from our city. Is it not about time some steps were taken to build one or two permanent bridges in the county?—June 19, 1873.

We understand that a portion of the new bridge the citizens of this and Valley township have been building over the Saline, has taken a new departure in consequence of the first little freshet that occurred.—July 3, 1873.

The bridge over the Saline at Rees' mill is now completed, and persons who come to our city can cross without fear of ducking.—July 24, 1873.

Immigration still pours in without any prospect of ceasing, so long as a claim is vacant in so good a county as ours.—October 27, 1873.

In 1859 Representative Graham, of Nemaha county, introduced House bill No. 167 in the legislature, "An act to establish a ferry at Covington, on the Salina river," which was read and referred to the committee on public roads. A search through the records of the Kansas State Historical Society has failed to locate a town of Covington on the Salina (or Saline) river. However, the act failed to pass and the ferry was never put into operation.²⁰

So far as we have been able to learn, the Rees ferry before mentioned, was the uppermost and last crossing of the kind on the Saline river.

20. *House Journal*, 1859, p. 153.

Swedish Settlement at Stotler¹

MARIE A. OLSON

IN A valley drained by Salt creek in northeastern Lyon county is a unique community which is inhabited by people of Swedish descent. This community is known by the name of Stotler. It is a rural community, but of a distinctive character. Most of the inhabitants are children and grandchildren of sturdy Swedes who chose Stotler as their place of abode back in the 1870's and 1880's.

The social as well as the religious life of the community centers in its two Swedish churches. One church bears the name of the Stotler Mission Church and the other is known as the Stotler Lutheran Church. Originally there was but one church in Stotler, but some thirty years ago dissensions arose in the congregation. Differences in regard to doctrinal beliefs caused a number of families to leave the Mission Church and to build another church nearby. These two churches adhere loyally to the faith brought by God-fearing fathers from Sweden. Even today scripture reading and prayer finds its place in the daily program of most homes. The people of Stotler like music, and singing is one of the leading community activities. Various musical organizations find important places in the churches.

The Swedish language has not yet been entirely abandoned. The older folks converse in Swedish and occasionally the younger folks speak Swedish with their parents. In most homes one finds both Swedish and English books. Swedish papers find their way into many of the homes. The Swedish language is still spoken in the churches, but the Swedish services have dwindled in number so that only one regular service each month is conducted in this language. Swedish is used almost exclusively in the Sunday School classes for the older people.

Old Swedish customs are still deeply cherished by both the old and young inhabitants. When a neighbor woman pays a friendly visit to a Swedish friend, the hostess serves the customary Swedish coffee. The hostess would consider it a breach of etiquette not to adhere to this practice. At no time are Swedish customs better brought into play than at the Christmas season. Christmas Eve

1. Historic facts and incidents for this article have been obtained from the oldest Swedish settlers now living in Stotler, and have been agreed upon by more than one reliable individual. Only such material was used as appeared to have its truth definitely established.

is the beginning of festivities. The celebration on this evening is entirely a family affair. Each family gathers at home for Christmas supper after which presents are exchanged around the Christmas tree. At 5:30 on Christmas morning the people, both old and young, gather at church for Christmas services. The old Swedish hymn "Var Halsad Skona Morgonstund" peals forth from the churches, which are lighted by Christmas candles. The old Christmas story is the text of the morning. These services are the height of the Swedish Christmas festivities. As the crimson rays break forth in the east, the worshippers turn their footsteps homeward. The remainder of Christmas Day is customarily spent in family groups. In the evening the children of the Lutheran Church give a program consisting of recitations and songs. A few evenings later a similar program is given by the Sunday School children of the Mission Church. These programs are the children's affairs and are events to which they eagerly look forward. Christmas festivities continue for about a week, during which time the various families invite relatives and friends to their homes. These much-loved Swedish customs will likely continue to be observed for years to come.

The land on which Stotler is located was once a part of the great territory claimed by the Osage Indians. In 1846 it became a part of the Indian reservation for the Sac and Fox Indians of the Mississippi. In 1859 the Sacs and Foxes agreed to sell the western half of their Kansas reservation and by the year 1864 this land was opened to white settlement. The region now included in Stotler was a part of this area. It was purchased by a land company in the East known as Seyfert, McManus & Company. This company later sold the land to private individuals.

When the first settler found his way to the community, the prairie region was the home of wild plants and animals which thrive on the Kansas plains. The red men roamed the region, and frequently pitched their tepees along Salt creek. Except for a few scattered trees along the creek, there was nothing to obstruct the view for a distance of many miles. An early trail (known as the Burlingame trail and the Lawrence-Emporia road) wound its way across the prairie from Burlingame, passed over the region which was to become Stotler, and then continued its way towards Emporia. Over this trail rolled numerous westward-bound prairie schooners, and now and then a government train carrying provisions for soldiers stationed in the western forts plodded over the prairie trail.

It was some time in the latter sixties that the first settler followed this road to Salt creek and built his prairie home near its eastern bank by the side of the old trail. This first pioneer was France Cabbage. His brother, John Cabbage, later chose a site for his home on the other side of the creek. Two other Cabbage brothers, Sylvester and William, owned land in the neighborhood, but they never lived on it. The little huts in which the Cabbage families lived were typical frontier homes with rude furnishings. One old settler tells of having visited one of the Cabbage homes on a stormy day. Snow had blown in through the cracks in the poorly built house and lay in piles on the floor. Straw had been placed over the bed so that it might be kept dry. But it was not the Cabbages who were destined to make Stotler. Before many years passed, both families left the community.

In 1869 a young Swede, Claus Peterson, with his family, set out from Michigan to find a home in Kansas. After arriving in Ottawa, he set out on foot one morning to investigate the land in the vicinity of what is now Osage City. In the evening the weary and hungry Swede chanced to stop at the home of James Fagan, who was a land agent. After being shown the land in the region, young Peterson selected a site on Salt creek adjoining the claim of John Cabbage.

To this land Peterson brought his family and his youthful friend, A. P. Walstrom, with his family. The two young men in partnership bought one hundred acres and built a two-room house out of native lumber. This dwelling was a rude hut with cracks between the boards and no ceiling. The stove pipe passed out through a hole in the roof. For three years the two families lived in this house, each occupying one room. Finally Walstrom decided to move on to his farm of fifty acres. Walstrom and Peterson then dissolved partnership and the former moved his room of the house to his farm.

The first years which these two Swedes spent on the Kansas plains were years of hardship. Both were extremely poor, but industrious. They paid for their land by cutting trees in the Fagan woods, located eight miles to the south. Burlingame, twelve miles away, was the first trading point for the families. Many times Peterson and Walstrom walked to this point and returned carrying what little provisions the families could afford to buy. One day Peterson purchased a plow, and walked home carrying the plow on his back. Finally, each of the men purchased a horse, and thus together they had a team. For four years the families of Peterson, Walstrom, and Cabbage were the only settlers in the community.

These were years of hard work and privation. Now and then in their work the parents and children would pause to watch the white-topped wagons roll by. Scarcely a day passed but some wagon hurried by, and frequently they came in groups of twelve or fourteen. Oftentimes they camped by the creek and came to the Peterson home to ask for hay or other provisions. The prairie schooners were a welcome sight to the busy settlers.

Early in the spring of 1873 two Swedish-speaking families from Galesburg, Ill., came to Osage City in a freight car, which was loaded with stock and rude accommodations. The fathers, Magnus Lungren and John Sutherland, selected land in the neighborhood of Peterson and Walstrom, and immediately built a one-room shack. In this roughly built hut the two families lived together for several months. Towards fall Lungren made a cave on his farm. In this cave the young Lungren family lived for several years. Before the coming of the winter Sutherland dug a cellar under his one-room hut. Thus he was better prepared for the winter snows. In that same year Johan Blex and his family took up their abode in a simple prairie home in this budding Swedish colony.

The following year, 1874, several more Swedes took their places among the home-makers of the community. These had come to Osage City in 1870 or 1871. In 1869 a Swedish committee had been sent out from Princeton, Ill., to investigate the possibility of buying land in the newly opened region in the neighborhood of what is now Osage City. The investigation and report of this committee led to the coming of numerous families. At first the men worked on the building of the Santa Fe railroad, which in 1870 had reached Osage City. Later they worked in the stone quarry and strip mines. The Swedish-speaking settlers who came to Stotler in 1874 were led by Swan Fager, who in February moved his family to the roughly built house in which the John Cabbage family had lived. Mr. Fager worked in the mines in Osage City and consequently was away from home most of the time. In the fall Mrs. Fager and her oldest son dug a cellar, over which they placed the one-room building. Early in the spring of that same year Gust Rudeen and his family built a simple hut on the land which had been owned by France Cabbage. Others who turned their footsteps towards the Swedish settlement that year were Swan Lundholm, Andrew Chelberg, and C. I. Johnson, all of whom built caves as their first Stotler homes.

The succeeding years saw a stream of other Swedish immigrants come to the community. Among those added to the list of residents appear such names as Lagergren, Anderson, Johnson, Fagerstrom, Hogberg, Ogren, Polson, Bergman, Ericson, Eastburg, Melgren, Sutherland, Lundstadt, Sanders, Christensen, and Olson.

The first years of life in Stotler were trying ones for these colonists. All the settlers were poor and could afford only the most meager living. Many times the meals consisted of black bread and coffee or mush and milk. Before wells were dug, water was taken from the creek. Farming did not progress rapidly. Each settler could at first break up only eight or ten acres. For a number of years corn was planted by hand, a hole being made with a hoe and the corn dropped in and then covered. This was customarily the children's task. Quite early some of the families commenced using hand planters. A two-shovel plow drawn by one horse served as the first cultivator. Corn, cattle, and hogs could not be sold for cash as they are today. Hence the settler would barter a hog or bushel of corn for clothing or groceries in Burlingame or Osage City. If he purchased a plow or other implement, he paid for it with cattle or hogs. Money was scarce, and interest rates were high. There were no banks nearby, and if money was to be borrowed, it had to be obtained from well-to-do individuals, who charged around 20 percent interest.

Since there were no fences to separate the various claims, the cattle were let out in the morning and allowed to roam at will. In the evening it was the task of the children to go after them. This was a chore which in pioneer days was not an easy one. Those who were boys and girls at that time relate how the cows sometimes wandered six or eight miles from home. Tales are told of times when the children were lost and did not find their way home until ten or eleven o'clock at night.

Many were the hardships that the Swedish pioneers suffered. Prairie fires were a constant hazard. Grasshoppers destroyed crops and left the pioneers destitute. Sickness took its tragic toll. In the community cemetery, which is today neglected and almost forgotten, lie the bodies of some seventy or eighty of these pioneer Swedes. Many of them were children who were unable to withstand the hardships of pioneer life. Many incidents are related about the hardships which the Swedes suffered when working in the Fagan woods. The men's bedding was spread on boards in the

open air. In the morning they often awoke to find several inches of snow on their beds.

The hardships of pioneer life fell equally heavy on the women. It was their task to care for the homes during the long weeks when the men were away working. Bravely they met the Indians when they came to the doors to beg for food. An incident is told of an Indian who came to the John Sutherland home when the young wife was alone with her infant. After eating what he wished, he lay down by the stove. The young wife had outside work which she had to attend to so with heavy heart she left the child alone with the Indian. After finishing her work, she anxiously rushed in to see if her child was still alive. To her great surprise and joy, she found the Indian quietly rocking the crying child. The Indian slept behind the stove during the night and left early the following morning.

The inconveniences and fears of pioneer life were many. There were no calendars in the homes and this often resulted in a confusion of days. The story is related of a man in the settlement who started to Osage City one day with a load of potatoes. As he was passing his neighbor's house, he was informed that it was Sunday. (The Sabbath was strictly observed in this community.) On another Sunday visitors to one of the homes found the housewife washing, and it was with difficulty that the guests could persuade her that it was not a week day. There was also an absence of newspapers. It happened one day that the cavalry returning from one of the Indian wars passed through the community. Some of the settlers thought that war was commencing. One mother became so frightened that she took her children and with them she hid in the cornfield. In the earliest days of the community letters had to be mailed at Osage City or Burlingame. This was a great inconvenience. Early one morning a woman from Rapp, a neighborhood east of Stotler, arrived at the Lagergren home. This woman had arisen at three o'clock and had walked the five miles to Stotler in order that she might receive assistance in writing a letter to her husband. After writing her letter, she returned to Rapp, and then walked five miles to Osage City to mail her letter.

The Swedish pioneers were sincere Christians, and immediately upon establishing their homes they began assembling in the various homes for the purpose of reading and studying the Bible. Each home had its daily period of Bible reading and prayer. As soon as the school was built the pioneers commenced having services

there. Frequently traveling preachers visited the settlement. Rev. C. P. Melgren, one of the settlers in the community, was called as the first pastor.

One of the earliest projects in the community was the building of a school. This was done in 1874. The site was a treeless hillside. The building was small and had but three small windows on each side. Desks and seats were made of rough native lumber. A rudely built teacher's desk and a stove were also installed. To this rudely furnished school, eight pupils came during the first year.

Before many years elapsed a post office was established in the Swedish community. It was named in honor of Jacob Stotler of Emporia, who was influential in its establishment. The post office of Stotler was first located in the home of A. P. Walstrom, later in the S. P. Lundholm home, and still later in the William Sanders home. The Stotler post office was used until the starting of the rural routes from Osage City in 1901. For many years a mail wagon brought the mail from Osage City on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. When the railroad reached Miller, the mail was taken from there. The first survey of the Missouri Pacific Railroad crossed Stotler and hopes were at once raised that Stotler would become a town, but these hopes were soon doomed to disappointment.

By the eighties and nineties the second generation had begun to play a prominent part in the life of the community. In the early eighties the school building became too small to accommodate all the pupils and consequently a larger building was erected. The number of pupils in the school at one time reached seventy-five, and for a number of years the enrollment ranged between sixty and seventy. Usually three pupils sat in each seat in those days.

Among the subjects taught were reading, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, spelling, and penmanship. From this list the pupils were permitted to select almost any subjects they pleased. Spelling and penmanship were the most popular. For a number of years the school term was six months in length. Pupils did not attend regularly. The larger boys and girls sometimes attended for only two or three months during the winter season. There was no such event as graduation. Consequently, boys and girls continued to go to school until they were twenty or twenty-one years old. The first examinations in the Stotler school were not given until the term of 1895-1896. At that time the pupils thought that it was a terrible ordeal to answer questions over a whole month's work. Pupils were not placed in grades and no report

cards were given until 1898. Before that time the pupil's progress in school was designated by his being in the First, Second, Third, Fourth, or Fifth Reader. The Stotler school during those years was made up almost entirely of Swedish pupils. Much to the displeasure of the teacher the pupils talked Swedish continually on the playground.

For many years the social center of Stotler was the school. It was the scene of many happy events in the eighties and nineties. There were singing schools, which met at the school and which attracted large crowds of young folks. Then there were night schools in which various subjects were taught. There were also literary meetings, which were the highlights of social life. It is said that young folks within a radius of eight or ten miles would wend their ways to the Stotler school for "Literary." The programs of the literary society varied, but of most interest were the debates, and the ciphering and spelling matches. Ordinarily the young folks walked to these events. Family visiting was common. It was not unusual for a father and mother to load their family of six or ten children into the lumberwagon and go to visit a neighboring family.

The church which was organized when the first pioneers came to Stotler prospered. Until 1892, the year in which the Mission Church was built, services were held in the schoolhouse. These meetings were well attended although almost everyone walked to services. Groups of twenty-five or thirty young folks would leave the school together and would have a hilarious time on their way home. Even prayer meetings were well attended in those days. Of outstanding interest were the "Mission Meetings," which were held almost every year. Swedish-speaking people from other towns came. They were met in Osage City and were taken to Stotler in lumberwagons. Houses were small and since there were not enough beds to accommodate the guests, many of them slept on the floors of the various homes. Sometimes several preachers came to the meetings. The buildings in which the services were held were packed with listeners. Revivals frequently broke out at these meetings. Oftentimes the settlers in Stotler went to Osage City to attend revival meetings. It happened quite often that the fathers loaded their families into lumberwagons, drove the ten miles to Osage City, and returned after the meeting in the evening.

As the years passed the colonists in Stotler prospered. The rude huts gave way to larger houses. Large fields of corn and wheat appeared. Trees grew up around the homes. Roads were laid out

and bridges built. The telephone found its way into most homes. Daily newspapers brought news from distant places. Today Stotler is a typical rural community in outward appearance. The Swedes have built a community which fills its place in Kansas. The Swedish descendants are loyal Kansans, but proud of their Swedish heritage. Many Swedish ideas and customs are so firmly entrenched in the hearts of the young folks that they will be an influence in the community for years to come.

The Kinsley Boom of the Late Eighties

Final Installment

JAMES C. MALIN

A LONG with the swelling of the buds on the sand hill plums each spring, the annual crop of settlers came to replace those who had starved out the year or years before. Weeks before the plum thickets were white with bloom, the emigrants headed West in white-topped wagons or in trains which deposited them at desolate way stations. The immigrants hoped to make their fortune, and the communities to which they came hoped for a large crop of immigrants, if of nothing else, because of the stimulation to the year's business which flowed from this importation of cash even in the limited quantities possessed by these small farmers. During frontier and drought years about the only cash which came into a frontier town was railroad taxes and wages, and the spendings of the homeseekers. It was with anxiety and no doubt with foreboding that they looked for signs of a big immigration in 1888. On January 28 the *Daily Mercury* recorded, whether fancifully or not—the point need not be pressed—that “the prairie schooners are beginning to sail westward.” On February 1 it announced that 50,000 copies of the paper would be printed in March for circulation in the East. The immigration prospects were summarized February 7 from the *Larned Chronoscope*: “Had there not been a partial failure of crops in some localities of this state last year the immigration would have been unprecedented.” The article pointed out further that “the distressing drought last year in Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Missouri will create in the minds of the people of those states an uneasiness and a disposition to look for a better place,” and in view of the additional burden imposed by the financial depression in that region, this discontent would be intensified. It was estimated that the emigration from that quarter would be divided, about four-fifths to the West and one-fifth to the South. The prediction was made further, that the terribly cold winter in Dakota and Nebraska and the high temperature on the Pacific coast would direct most of the emigration to Kansas and Texas. Southwest Kansas boomers thought that their region had not received a fair share of publicity from the state immigration bureau and organized a Southwestern Kansas Immigration Society. The *Daily Mercury*, February 28,

reported that a meeting had been held in Kinsley at which a decision was reached to have Edwards county represented, money was pledged, and committees appointed to interview the county commissioners for aid, to manage the advertising program, and to welcome visitors. As late as May 30 the *Mercury* reported that the railroads were working up a big immigration and that "in a few weeks it will be pouring in upon us like an avalanche."

Kansas had her rivals at the boom business in 1888. The San Luis valley of Colorado was being opened as an irrigated district under the management of T. C. Henry, formerly of Abilene, and his advertisements in the *Mercury* promised home markets, no crop failures, no hot winds, no chinch bugs, no grasshoppers, no blizzards, and no coal famines. The most threatening rival, however, was Oklahoma, not yet opened to settlement. For several years the Oklahoma boomers had kept up the agitation and in 1888 the opening appeared imminent. A mass meeting was held in Kinsley as in many other Kansas towns to protest to the Kansas delegation in congress against the pending bill. In discussing the call for the meeting the *Daily Mercury*, February 11, maintained that the movement was the work of "town-lot boomers, land sharks in some of the border towns, backed up by Kansas City. . . . The opening of this Indian country will rob Kansas of 100,000 people direct while it will have the effect [of] diverting fully that many more from settling in Kansas." When the appointed time arrived it was reported that the board of trade rooms were packed with citizens voicing similar views.

The protest of the Greensburg *Republican* was reprinted on February 18:

Kansas City would be the principal winner, and can afford to spend money lobbying this measure through congress; but the state of Kansas would be the principal loser and ought to oppose it. It would be worse than a failure of crops, or a siege of drought and a grasshopper raid combined. If our senators and representatives in congress do not oppose and defeat this measure the shadow on the dial of Western Kansas will go back five years.

Six days later in another exchange the voice of the *Salina Journal* was echoed in the same key.

The railroad question was raised early in the year and January 31 the *Daily Mercury* declared that the Frisco and Rock Island railroads would extend their lines during the course of the year, and Kinsley was just waiting and doing nothing. If these companies came there must be some inducement, and the editor insisted that

Kinsley must present its case. On February 10 the same paper reported that the Omaha, Kansas and El Paso Railroad would be built from Kinsley to the south line of the state "at once, or in a short time at least." A four-line item in the same issue, however, leaves a reader wondering. It read: "The officers and directors of the Kinsley and Milkyway Rapid Transit Company will meet this evening for the purpose of discussing the practicability of running a branch line to the moon." Was it just another vagary of Hebron's sense of humor, or had the printer's devil put one over on the "Old man"? The issue of the following day recorded that the stockholders meeting of the O. K. & E. had been held the preceding day, officers were elected, with Hebron of the *Mercury*, secretary, and the president had reported that arrangements had been made to finance construction to the south line by way of Ford City. For some reason new flights of fancy did not come easily to the *Mercury* in booming railroads in 1888. The leap-year issue of February 29 reprinted substantially a last year's article about the Santa Fé cutting out its arcs. The only other significant mentions of railroads occurred on April 6, when the president of the O. K. & E. appeared before the board of trade stating that construction would begin as soon as the bonds were voted, and April 17 when a promise was made of a speedy bond election.

One of the most peculiar features of the boom of 1887, as it was reflected in the press of Edwards county, was the neglect, almost omission, of agriculture. There were no discussions of field crops, or of live stock, varieties of products, adaptation, or methods of production. The ballyhoo was railroads, town lots, and manufacturing. The farmer came into the picture only as an incidental factor connected with the other three subjects. Other cities and towns had behaved similarly.

During the long winter the Kansas boomers themselves became conscious of the omission, and there were numerous instances where western Kansas papers in 1888 began to emphasize the necessity of building a sound prosperity on the product of the local farms. In this connection the *Mercury* fell in line urging the business men to get behind the sugar factory and to assist in modernizing its machinery to produce sugar as well as syrup. This would provide a market for sorghum, the sure crop of Edwards county, and on January 12 it returned to the rural question suggesting "that it was high time an effort was made to boom our farming lands, just a little. City building is all right and proper, but the country

must be kept in the line of procession. . . .” A few days later it advised all farmers to plant a little flax, in view of the papier maché plant, and even if there was no market for the straw the seed was as valuable as any other crop.

The failure of crops the preceding year was so serious that many farmers did not have seed to plant another crop. As early as February 22 the *Mercury* reported that Greensburg had raised \$800 to buy seed for Kiowa county, but except for flax seed, Edwards county did not act until March, when the board of trade arranged to advance seed of all kinds to farmers unable to buy through the usual channels.¹⁵ They would do nothing about the sugar mill, however, and a meeting reported in the *Mercury* April 6 that Bennyworth, the owner, stated that it was too late to expect to renovize the mill for the current season. The conclusion seems justified that, except for the imperative matter of spring seed, the business and boom leadership, although conscious of something lacking, did not understand how or where to take hold of the agricultural problem. Their peculiar talents were much more fitted to the attempt to revive the industrial boom of 1887.

The first boom article in 1888 of the type so common the year before was printed by the *Daily Mercury*, February 3:

Already our people have caught the inspiration of the great boom coming, and are marching in time to the music. There are more new buildings planned in Kinsley today than ever were built here in any two years of the city's history, and there are more inquiries being made by eastern people regarding our city than ever before; and it is safe to presume that when spring opens there will be such a rush to Kinsley as our most ardent and enthusiastic boomer never dreamed of . . . By the middle of April or the first of May the probabilities now are that more than a million dollars worth of buildings—business houses, hotels, factories and machine shops will be in the course of erection.

In addition to all this we have here one of the finest and best waterpowers in the state, a stream, whose banks on either side might be dotted with mills and factories and still not exhaust its power.

Fortunately for Hebron's equanimity the phrase “Oh, Yeah” had not yet been invented. He might have pointed in defense to the report in the same issue of the paper, however, that the First National Bank had just declared a four per cent dividend on its first six month's business and placed \$1,500 in its surplus fund besides. The next day the headlines to the news story of the meeting of the board of trade ran “Over forty new members added. . . . Four hundred dollars subscribed in ten minutes. Which amount will be quad-

15. *Daily Mercury*, March 9, 1888.

rupted at the next meeting, Tuesday evening. Everybody jubilant over our prospects. 'Tis not Wealth, nor Fortune, nor High Estate, but Git up and Git that makes men Great. Measured by this standard our people are Great. Great is Kinsley and the *Mercury* is Her Prophet."

Again on February 11 the *Daily Mercury* expounded its theory of booming:

There are several hundred towns in Kansas, each represented by a good newspaper or two, and each clamoring to be heard on the subject of the merits of the locality in which it is located. These towns may be compared to as many men in a room, all talking at once and each anxious to be heard. Speaking for the *Mercury* we propose to talk loud enough to attract attention.

The big meeting at the Opera House February 10, under the auspices of the board of trade, was reported in the local papers and in the *Topeka Commonwealth*. The features of the evening were speeches by the men representing the two big manufacturing enterprises, packing and papier maché. R. R. Beemis, president, and George W. Adams, secretary, spoke for the Interstate Packing Company, and George Quigley, of Randolph, Mo., patentee, and F. E. Parker spoke for papier maché. The *Daily Mercury*, February 15, pictured Kansas " 'Tis a land of mighty rivers flowing over sands of gold. All nature conspires to boom sunny Kansas in 1888." ¹⁶ The issue of February 18 boasted that "God might have made a better country, but doubtless He never did," and on February 17 declared that—

The prospects of Kinsley could not well be brighter than at present. . . . Should the present plans materialize, Kinsley will, in the very near future become the leading manufacturing and commercial city of Kansas. Not a second Hutchinson or Wichita, but a city of from fifty to seventy-five thousand in the next two years.

But like the wasp and his relatives the sting was in the tail, because near the end of the article he added the qualification: "We must, however, have the nerve to grasp our opportunities. So far our people have done nothing, absolutely nothing." The particular enterprise then being urged was the organization of a stock yards company, because without such facilities Kinsley could not become a live-stock market.

Until this spring boom revival there had been nothing explicit published concerning the method of subsidizing industries in this money-

16. The sentence " 'Tis a land of mighty rivers flowing over sands of gold," was taken from a song of the pioneers which usually bears the title "Out in the West." It may have had originally a definite authorship, but it took on the character of a folksong with different versions and with an indefinite number of stanzas.

less country to attract them to Kinsley. The first definite reference occurred in the above editorial on the stock-yards company, and in the next issue the matter became the subject of a full-length article.

The plan was for land owners in the city and vicinity to list their lands and to pledge in so doing half the profits from the sale of the lands as a bonus to the new industries. The explanation represented that the same principle was involved as in federal land grants to railroads of alternate sections. The grant of lands made the railroad construction possible and enhanced the value of all land near the road. The same idea applied to Kinsley bonuses meant that without the prospective industries the land would enhance in value very slowly, while with the industrial development all land would be benefited. Half of these profits on land listed on the bonus plan would accrue to the companies during the period in which their capital investment was unproductive, and the other half retained by the land owners would exceed greatly the whole profit obtainable if the industries did not locate there. For a community without cash such a scheme sounded attractive.

The organization of the Kinsley Water Power and Land Company with a capital stock of \$300,000 was announced in the *Daily Mercury*, March 1. A meeting was reported March 28, at which the officers of the packing house and papier-maché factory presented a proposition for a canning factory. They solicited an offer of a suitable bonus to transmit to the canning interests they were representing. A committee was appointed and the next day the report was published that an understanding had been reached which it was thought would be favorably received.

Under the caption "No Boom for Kinsley," the *Daily Mercury*, April 10, presented in display headlines "A plain unvarnished statement of facts. It is what we are sure of that makes us happy. Kinsley not driven to false representations to create a market for town lots." The article which followed employed much the same technique as the notorious article of December 15:

Our readers will remember that a few weeks since we stated that we were through with writing boom literature. That we have religiously lived up to this promise our patrons can attest. Indeed so well pleased are we at the result of the experiment that nothing could induce us to publish a boom article. . . . A plain statement of facts concerning the great enterprises going in here is sufficient.

Then followed reference to the "mammoth packing house and papier-maché factory" and the announcement that work on the packing plant would commence April 17: "With the mammoth

industrial and commercial enterprises going in here the great need of our city was felt to be in the line of more railroads. This long-felt want, we are happy to state is about to be filled."

The bond election for the O. K. & E. was to be called at an early date. The D. M. & A., about which hope had almost been given up, would arrive about mid-summer and would connect with the Kingman-Larned road at Turon. The Frisco and Rock Island would be built also before the end of the season. These were the predictions of the *Mercury*.

A week later the *Daily Mercury* carried five boom articles. One of them mentioned under "Possibilities" the desire of the Portable House Company of Grand Rapids, Mich., to locate there, and the board of trade was said to be corresponding with a boot and shoe company of Massachusetts. Another article announced the organization of the Union Stock Yards Company, and the possibility of a second packing house. There were certain peculiar things about the issue of April 17. Except for a few locals the issue was reprinted complete April 18. One of the articles was a reprint from the previous year, "Kinsley's Find," the story of the waterpower, published as though it was a new discovery. This reprinting of the ebullitions of 1887 was becoming a habit, and this was the fifth time it had occurred within a few weeks.

During the remainder of April and May the booming continued, the *Mercury*, April 2, for instance announcing self-consciously, "The population of Kinsley to be quadrupled the present season, this is no lie, we have our little hatchet with us." Three days later, in competing with Ralph M. Easley of the *Hutchinson News* in bragging like small boys about their respective towns, Hebron boasted that his town "becomes a competitive [live stock] market with Kansas City, St. Louis and Chicago." And before long, he continued, Hutchinson would be buying Kinsley paper, and Kinsley canned goods, and would be patronizing Kinsley as its wholesale center instead of Kansas City and Wichita. On April 26 the paper recorded the arrival in Kinsley of the president of the papier-mâché company, but nearly a month later he arrived again, to start operations on the plant. In the meantime the packing house was actually under construction, and May 21, the *Daily Mercury* reported thirty-six men at work. *Banner-Graphic* locals recorded progress also, from week to week, commenting that it was not so important how fast the work was done, as that work continued to be done at all. The *Daily Mercury* gasped for breath May 22 assuring its readers that

"The Mercury will 'say something' just as soon as there is something to say. It will not be a great while either." It was June 20 before it committed another boom article, an exhausting effort from which it never recovered, and then on July 14 it quietly expired, leaving a brief note of farewell, half hopeful of a glorious resurrection in the life to come:

We'll see you later. As soon as business livens up and Kinsley starts out on another boom we'll be on the ground with the *Daily Mercury* to carry the news to Mary. For the present we propose to give the people a rest. . . .

At the present time a daily is hardly a necessity in Kinsley, and when regarded in the light of a luxury it is just a trifle too expensive.

There is no necessity for moralizing or philosophizing over the matter—the daily is a thing of the past. Good bye. We'll come again sometime—perhaps.

Eighteen-eighty-eight was another year of short crops. Corn was the principal field crop, and August 9 the *Weekly Mercury* admitted there was no use denying that the dry weather has injured the yield, but enough would be raised for home consumption and to spare, and even "should the worst possible luck befall us, Edwards county will raise four times as much corn this year as last." There was a little wheat acreage that year, but the crop was reported fair. Oats were rather generally very short. After viewing the prospects, the *Banner-Graphic* concluded July 6 that "we are now convinced that what Kansas needs more than anything else is scientific farming aided by a little more capital." It was thinking of farming, however, in terms of corn. Comments on crop prospects later in the season pointed to the planting of a larger wheat acreage than formerly, but West Kansas had yet to find itself in this matter.

The year which had begun with such apparently high hopes of retrieving the disaster of 1887, turned to disappointment long before its close. The immigrants had not come, neither had the railroads, nor the industries, the rains or the crops. Drought had come again and stayed. A correspondent wrote to the *Banner-Graphic* that "while crossing the Arkansas during the summer, I noticed clouds of dust rising from the river's bed. It struck me quite forcibly that the river needed irrigating, just enough to lay the dust." In hopes of aiding the farmers to meet their dire need of money income, the Kinsley board of trade attempted to establish a periodic live-stock auction in September, advertising from Newton west, in order to get better prices for stock. The project died. The board again agitated the sugar-mill question, but with no better results. Finally the farmers called a meeting to give consideration to the establishment

of cheese factories. Eventually two coöperative plants were organized, at Kinsley and at Lewis, which afforded some cash to the communities immediately adjacent to those towns.

Even while booming was most hysterically insistent, news items inadvertently revealed more than was intended. Many of the less tangible boom towns, such as Fargo Springs or Ravanna, collapsed as quickly as they had come. Others suffered disastrous fires, which frequently visited boom towns, by coincidence, after the bubble had burst. In March, 1888, at Coldwater, a whole block burned, and at Cimarron the whole north side, except one brick building. Taxes for 1887, which became delinquent after June 30, 1888, were advertised in August. At the top of the first column, the *Mercury* printed a short paragraph from an exchange: "Kansas is one of the biggest and grandest states on the American continent. It has 106 counties, is a total abstainer from strong drink, Republican in politics, prolific in soil, and inexhaustible in resources." Then followed five columns of tax-delinquent real estate; three of Kinsley city lots, and two of farm lands. It is evident that Kinsley's boom resources were about exhausted, but not quite. Several near-by towns, early in 1888, had promoted the boring of test wells to locate salt, or coal, or gas. Although Kinsley had ridiculed this movement at the time, it had admitted condescendingly that more salt underlay Kinsley than Hutchinson. Kinsley had anticipations of bigger enterprises in those days. By December, 1888, the town was somewhat humbled, however, and a movement was organized to bore a hole in the ground for just anything. Like the other booms it failed, no hole was bored, and Kinsley was left still wondering "what might lie beneath the surface." By January, 1889, the Kinsley fire department was reported to be "getting plenty of practice."

The dispersal or eclipse of the boomers was relatively a quick process. Most of them, after the collapse, fell into such obscurity that their departure or later activities were not made a matter of specific record. Along with the boomers, many of the established business enterprises passed out of existence. The Edwards County Real Estate Co., managed by Arthur, the official booster of the board of trade, was dissolved in February, 1890. The real estate and loan agents, instead of carrying quarter-page advertisements, disappeared altogether from the *Mercury* in 1890 and were represented in the *Graphic* by only two obscure notices. The stores continued to sell for "cash only," and came to boast of the virtues of the "spot cash idea."

A prolonged depression brings forth other marks of its demoralizing ravages, and usually the last phase of a boom and its collapse is the rise of political discontent. In 1887 there had been a People's party movement in the county elections. In 1888 the national and state elections provided a wider range of agitation. The Knights of Labor became active as early as January, and in the late summer political organization produced vociferous Union Labor and Prohibition parties. The Democratic *Graphic*, while supporting the Democratic ticket, nevertheless gave aid and comfort to the other two minority parties, avowing that as neither had a newspaper through which to present its views, the *Graphic* would undertake to give them full publicity. The Republican ticket was elected, but the leaders of discontent set about preparing a continuous system of agitation, partly through the organization of a Union Labor club which held meetings every week for discussion of economic issues, especially money and tariff.

The political campaign opened early in 1889 for a year in which only county officials were elected. The *Mercury*, May 30, took notice of the so-called People's party movement, insisting that the people were really quite unaware that such a "spontaneous uprising of the 'people'" was taking place. Rather it was a movement with two or three politicians as wet nurses and "the capital stock . . . is in its name . . . spelled with a capital P. Its assets will be based upon the supposed gullibility of the 'People'." A week later the *Mercury* again belabored the political "soreheads." In the November election the People's party polled a modest vote, but did not elect any candidates. Their boom was not yet ripe.

The next stage in the evolution of the political boom began in January, 1890, when the so-called Edwards County Farmers Alliance was organized at Kinsley with county-seat politicians as ring-leaders. The unsuccessful People's party candidate for county treasurer in the election of the preceding November was chosen president, and the candidate for register of deeds secretary. In spite of the name this was merely the Kinsley subordinate alliance, and in a few weeks others were organized throughout the county. The real County Farmers Alliance was organized at a delegate convention held at Lewis February 17. The Alliance was represented as nonpolitical, and in that guise drew membership without respect to party lines. But as summer wore on it became clear that the leaders of the Union Labor party of 1888 and the People's party of 1889, combined with regular Democrats, were really in control and

were determined on using it for political purposes. During its early months the Alliance discussed agricultural problems, especially those touching the marketing of farm products, but later in the year they turned almost exclusively to the political issues of 1890 as they were drawn between the Republican and Democratic parties, the Alliances opposing the Republican party on tariff, trusts and money. In effect, the Alliances took essentially the Democratic position on all the main issues of the campaign.

In March the Kinsley Alliance, renamed Sunflower, adopted a political platform and pledged itself not to support any candidate who would not pledge himself to it. The state Alliance, later in the month, took similar ground. The Republican *Mercury* supported the Alliance movement through the early part of the year, but denounced the attempts of the political element, especially the Sunflower Alliance, to make it a political party. Finally, July 24, with the calling of Alliance nominating conventions to put candidates of their own into the field, the *Mercury* turned definitely against it, declaring that "The Alliance is now an opposition political party, and of course must be treated as such." The Kinsley Sunflower Alliance, not satisfied with casting votes against the Republican party ring in the county, voted August 30 a boycott of the *Mercury*. Shortly afterward, the County Alliance, acting as a People's party central committee, issued a call for a People's party convention to meet September 13 to nominate a county ticket. The outcome of the election in November was a clean sweep for the People's party in county offices, including a mortgage company lawyer for county attorney.

The aim and excuse for booming was to get rich quick. It was a speculation or, to put it more vulgarly, a form of gambling. In the boom the mania had passed through several phases, in each of which a particular feature had received a larger emphasis than others; the small-farmer boom based on free government land or cheap government and railroad land, then the townsite boom, the railroad boom, and the industrial and town-lot boom. With the collapse of the boom as a whole, the emotional defense of a disillusioned and nearly desperate people alternated between religion and politics; religion from January to planting time, and politics from harvest (or the time when harvest should have come) to November, but in the nineties it settled down to politics pretty much all the year round. The political program took the form of an appeal to the government to rescue them from their folly and from

the visitations of nature, and quickly to make them rich. They blamed their misfortunes on the political party in power, on somebody else, not on themselves. The protective tariff, they said, required the farmer to buy in a protected market, and sell in a free market; the trusts forced prices of finished products to the maximum, while manipulating the markets for raw materials so that the farmer received less than cost of production; the bankers, through control of credit and curtailment of the volume of money, beat down farm prices and wages, strangled the producing classes, and consolidated in their own hands the wealth of all.

These boomers being gamblers themselves found it not unnatural to use the gambling terminology in their political revolt, and, holding a bad hand, accused the dealer of dishonesty and called for a "new deal,"¹⁷ the People's party. It is admitted that this diagnosis of the movement is not complete, but in touching on the Populist movement as a phase of the boom, this aspect of it must be sharply emphasized. Undoubtedly the movement had two important aims, recovery of losses and reform, but the motives were badly mixed, and it is probably impossible ever to know exactly where to draw the dividing line between them.

While there can be no doubt that a higher price for farm products would have afforded the community a larger income, there is serious question whether a moderate difference in price through these years would have changed materially the situation as a whole. The outstanding fact for some ten years after 1886 was that the commercial surplus of farm products at any reasonable price would have yielded a wholly inadequate income on a normal capitalization of land, improvements and equipment, both urban and rural. Viewed in terms of the inflated capital values resulting from the boom, the situation was hopeless for most land holders, especially if in debt. Only a limited number of land owners, however, and mostly speculative buyers, had purchased farms at highly inflated figures. For the most part to the average resident farmer of Edwards county high price land was not the dominant factor, for in large measure they had received their farms free as homesteads or timber claims, or at low prices as pre-emption claims. If they were heavily in debt, it was for improvements, or because of insufficient income resulting from crop failures and low prices, or because of small farm units and insufficient working capital, or combinations of these elements. The question of the size of the farm unit scarcely received mention in the contemporary

17. *Kinsley Mercury*, May 30, 1889, "We the People."

press discussions. The quarter section farm predominated and relatively few men had adequate capital to operate that efficiently, while the minimum-sized unit should have been a half-section or larger.

The Populist enthusiasts among historians have been prone to interpret the party almost entirely in terms of reform, although they are not agreed on just the nature of the reform. In Edwards county it is significant, therefore, to test briefly the current hypothesis. On July 13, 1893, the People's party convention met at Larned to nominate a candidate for the judgeship of the sixteenth district. A bitter fight ensued in which the worst of old line party tactics were employed in selecting Fred S. Hatch, and Editor French, in reviewing the episode in the Populist *Graphic*, concluded with the vehement declaration that "the methods pursued by his [Hatch's] supporters in Pawnee county . . . were a disgrace to the party and an outrage on its members." Nevertheless on November 3, the last issue before election, the *Graphic* called on all Populists to vote the ticket straight. The same issue also praised W. S. Hebron, former *Mercury* editor and former postmaster, recently dismissed from government service for embezzlement, for his remarkable Populist speeches in which he "completely captured" his audience.

After some years in control of the county offices a Populist voter protested in the *Graphic* against the fact that no reform had been instituted. He said that he voted for the party because it promised to reduce taxation, but his taxes had been increased 33 per cent; county officers' fees were retained by the incumbents instead of being applied to reduce taxation. The *Graphic* defended the party record, one of the main points being that the officers were following strictly the law. The issue was then joined squarely by the protestor:

The present officials are to blame because, as reformers, they have not made the slightest attempt to expose these old Demo-Republican laws. No, the moment they get to sucking the public teat, I am sorry to say, they went to "sawing wood" and said nothing, just like their Demo-Republican predecessors.¹⁸

Somewhat later one of the county officers was "smoked out" and replied in the *Graphic*, March 29, in a classic of reform literature. He warned that the discussion of salaries and fees "may create dissension in our party," and then continued:

The article referred to above implies that it would greatly please him, or them, for the present incumbents of the county offices to preach their own funeral sermons and proclaim themselves fools at one and the same time

18. Kinsley *Graphic*, March 1, 8, 1895.

by taking less than the Republican statute makes it lawful for them to take. If there is a readjustment of salaries of county officers desired by the tax payers of this county, it will have to come through the People's party. The present law is Republican. I have worked for reform for 20 years, and will not be the last to advocate it now. Let us be active, harmonious and united, and never let it be said that the People's party lost their prestige in Edwards county by petty dissensions in their ranks.

If further illustration is necessary it may be found in the conduct of the register of deeds, T. H. Evans, in 1897. At that time the owner of a half-section of land in the Ohio City project sold it, but the fees which accumulated in the filing of the papers on the numerous tracts into which it had been subdivided amounted to more than \$700. The purchaser then refused to accept delivery and though the transfer was not completed Evans sued the owner to recover his fees. Judgment was rendered in favor of Evans September 7, 1897, for \$766, plus costs of \$34.80, and the land was sold by the sheriff to satisfy the claim. Mrs. Evans bid it in at \$200, the court accepted the bid, and the transfer was recorded May 14, 1898. Two days later the property was sold by Evans for a consideration of \$1,200.¹⁹

A correspondent of the *Graphic* in the issue of May 31, 1895, put his finger on a vital spot in a jeremiad on the crop outlook of the season: "If it don't rain pretty soon and the wind stop blowing, we will have to have another campaign to redeem Kansas this fall." The election did not turn out that way, however, even though the harvest was nearly a failure. The People's party and the Republican party divided honors evenly in county offices. In other words Populism was slipping, and in the presidential campaign of 1896 they fused with the Democrats and did whip up a campaign to redeem Kansas. In order to accomplish this, and in the face of sharp minority protests, they threw overboard their reform platform and united the whole opposition to Republicanism on the single issue of silver.

The weakness of the People's party was not so much in the inadequacy of the reform program, even though that was defective, but rather in the "reformers." As individuals, they themselves had not been regenerated. Certainly nothing can be said in defense of the Republican county ring in Edwards county, but the Populists were little if any better. Whatever the good intentions in the beginning of the reform agitation, it turned out to be primarily a case

19. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1897. Records of the Register of Deeds, Edwards county, Kansas, for the south half of S. 29, T. 24, R. 18.

of the outs trying to oust the ins by capitalizing on the misfortunes of the post-boom period.

The liquidation of the boom and the accompanying readjustment was a long-drawn-out process, covering over a decade. The people never did quite learn that prosperity would not return next year with a big spring immigration, a bumper corn crop, or a new industrial plant of some kind. On January 10, 1889, the *Mercury* seemed almost convinced:

It must be confessed that times are a trifle dull at present, but it should be remembered that it is only about six or eight weeks until the grass will start to grow.

P. S. We have been consoling ourself with this reflection for a week, but now that we have reduced it to writing we can't for the life of us see where the consolation comes in. We don't propose to eat grass, by a darned sight.

Six weeks later one cannot be so sure that booming was over:

The "booming" business seems to be over in Kansas and nobody cares to renew a boom of any kind; but the people of Kansas never let up on business enterprises, and are always keeping an eye on the main chance. Every town in Kansas, however small or unimportant, has something on foot to benefit the place. Salt wells, gas wells, coal mines, sugar mills, canning factories, foundries, creameries, paper mills and many other enterprises and industries are being considered and pushed forward. . . . It is this spirit of watchfulness and perseverance that keeps Kansas at the head of the procession.

The *Banner-Graphic* on March 15 was much less restrained in its article which opened with a similar condemnation of "wild speculation" and then urged the energetic development of "the grand and varied natural resources" of the country; gas, paint, salt and other substances—even diamonds might turn up.

To the disaster of drought and depression in western Kansas was added the opening of Oklahoma, which drew from the *Graphic* the second-hand, but no less fervent, comment that "Now that we have Oklahoma, hell is no longer a necessity." Kinsley and Edwards county sent forty or fifty of its citizens with good references to assist in the boom. The *Mercury* made the claim that there was not a farmer in the crowd. Kinsley was well represented in Guthrie, Lisbon, and Kingfisher. One lumber dealer loaded his stock in a car and joined the other forty-six lumber yards at Guthrie, while Hebron, in addition to editing the *Mercury* at Kinsley, edited a paper at Kingfisher. Although the Kansas boomers in Oklahoma had complete schooling in the art, and possessed absolute confidence in their extraordinary talents, they found it quite impossible to make a fortune out of nothing, and by the middle of the summer many

were returning. They found that even Kinsley offered greater prospects than Oklahoma.

During the spring of 1890 several conventions were held throughout southwest Kansas in the interest of an immigration bureau,²⁰ and in later years there were similar revivals, but all met the same fate. Population was moving out, not in. At the peak of the boom in 1887 the state census reported Kinsley population at 1,206 and the county at 4,717. Except for an increase in 1893, the decline in inhabitants was continuous until 1897, when the city figures were 681 and the county 3,024. The county did not again reach the boom numbers of the year 1887 until 1903, and the city of Kinsley until 1904.

In contrast with the boom period the economic history of the county in depression is concerned almost solely with agriculture. Kinsley, the city, settled back into the obscurity of a country village where farmers brought their eggs and butter on Saturdays and traded for a few groceries. Its only distinction was the doubtful one of a county court house with an empty treasury.

The certainty of the sorghum crop kept the sugar-mill issue alive, but not enough capital could be raised to modernize the machinery, so the plant operated only as a syrup mill. Kaffir corn was relatively new to western Kansas and the papers carried several articles during the spring in which its culture was discussed. There was no kaffir boom, but gradually the new plant became established as a reliable dry-weather forage and seed crop. For some time certain live-stock men had taken the initiative in coöperating with small farmers in horse breeding and in 1889 substantial shipments began to eastern points. Probably also part of the horses shipped were the better class of horses sacrificed by hard-pressed farmers to secure a little cash. These out-shipments of horses continued for the next two years. During this season several live-stock men entered heavily into the transient cattle business, buying their stock in Colorado, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona for grass fattening or even finishing in Edwards county. Many of these cattle were sold in small lots to farmers, or were handled by farmers on shares or a rental basis. In the following years, in addition to this type of business, Kinsley became for a time an important distributing point for western cattle to be placed in the eastern Kansas blue-stem pastures or in the corn-belt feed lots.

The wheat yield of the county in 1889 was large, but the acreage was small, and the corn crop was fair, but the price almost nothing.

20. Kinsley *Banner-Graphic*, February 28, March 7, 1890; *Mercury*, March 8, 1890.

There was much talk of burning corn instead of coal. The Edwards County Bank in September offered loans to farmers to enable them to buy cattle to feed hoping thereby to aid its patrons to realize a larger income on the corn. Hay shipments were large during the winter and supplemented other sources of income. In the spring an attempt was made to interest farmers in raising castor beans, but they did not make anyone rich. The good wheat yield of 1889 was followed by another in 1890, and Turkey hard winter wheat was gaining the ascendancy. Short items in the papers indicate clearly the trend:

The wheat crop of this county this year will relieve a number of farmers of quite a large amount of indebtedness and put them on their feet so that they can be a little more independent in the future.—*Graphic*, June 27, 1890.

An immense crop of wheat will be sown this fall, as it is the only thing a man can rely on to meet his taxes and interest.—*Graphic*, July 25, 1890.

The *Mercury* reported August 21 that the wheat acreage would at least be quadrupled over the last year, and "taking into consideration the prices that farmers are realizing for their grain this year it is by odds the most prosperous of any in the history of the county." Kinsley implement men were well pleased with this development because they sold an unusual amount of machinery, especially drills.

General conditions were not as favorable as these optimistic reports indicate. Corn and feed crops were short and before spring live stock was reported suffering from the severity of the winter and from scarcity of feed. During 1891 dry weather and chinch bugs damaged all crops, but the short yields were offset to some degree by high prices during August and early September. Later in the fall prices of both grain and live stock collapsed. Among the newer experiments induced by these conditions was an emphasis on irrigation and alfalfa as forms of insurance against complete loss of farm income.

The drift toward wheat and the prolonged depression caused absentee landowners to take more aggressive steps to realize some income from their unsalable holdings. The years 1892 and 1893 were especially noteworthy for the amount of sod broken for these absentees. The temporary increase in population and the enlarged farming operations of 1893 caused a turn in the tide of the horse business and heavy importations from the East were recorded. Then crop failure stopped the movement and outshipments were resumed the following year.

The time came when even wheat did not produce and again ex-

periment was the order of the day. Broom corn had been fairly certain as a supplementary money crop, but in 1894 the price was abnormally low. Renewed interest was taken in pump irrigation and in alfalfa. An attempt was made in 1895 to start hemp culture. The cheese factory was revived by Kinsley business men to replace the coöperative plant of earlier years, but most farmers had disposed of their milk cows in order to raise wheat during the wheat boom and the milk supply within reasonable distance of this factory was insufficient.

The crop failures of 1894 brought disaster to a large part of Kansas, and government relief seemed to be the only way out. The legislature acted accordingly. Among the relief measures was one authorizing the distribution of seed to farmers in the form of loans in the fourth, sixth and seventh congressional districts; one for the distribution of coal; and another requiring local officials to make fireguards at public expense. By March 8, Edwards county had advanced coal to 100 families in amounts ranging from 500 to 800 pounds, and ninety-nine applications for seed were filed. By a perversion of the fireguard law, local officers in western counties decided to make fireguards in the spring instead of in August in order to get protection, to save moisture and to get money into circulation among farmers. The first two allegations were probably excuses, while the last was the reason.

The winter wheat crop was reported from South Brown township in the *Graphic*, March 29, 1895, as "wheat dull; twenty-five cents per acre asked, no bids, no sales." Root blight had killed most of the wheat. South Brown reported again May 31: "We have no wheat that will make twenty bushels to the acre, but we have 'scads' of it that will go twenty acres to the bushel." The pastures by this time were reported dry enough to burn, and the same correspondent reported further "Weather cold—sand drifting—people blue—fruit killed or blown away—hurrah for Kansas." In July he suggested again, with his usual shrewd cynicism, that "If wheat should bring \$1 per bushel, we suppose the farmers of Edwards county will sell every cow, pig and chicken they have, and try to get up another overproduction."²¹

Nature and the price system succeeded, however, in preventing both dollar wheat and overproduction. On August 2 the *Graphic* reported that the grasshoppers were stripping the leaves from the trees. Two weeks later, the smut damage to corn was estimated

21. *Graphic*, July 12, 1895.

at one-third. As late as September 27 the local items reported "No wheat sown yet, and but little preparation made in that direction, owing to dry weather," but October 11 the Lewis items recorded rains that put the ground in fine condition, while South Brown commented that "This cool, dry weather is hard on flies, grasshoppers, chintz bugs, Republicans and other pests." Yields for the season were reported at the same time as two bushels per acre for wheat and mostly about ten for corn. The best market for such corn as was raised was the Laird ranch near the east line of the county, which paid seventeen cents per bushel for ear corn. During the winter of 1895-1896 some outside relief came to this part of Kansas from the Santa Fé railroad which was engaged in laying new steel. Homesteaders came to Kinsley from as far south as Oklahoma to earn a little cash by working on the steel gang.

The year 1896 was similar only in a different manner. Among the new crops offered to the farmer was peanuts, but there was little opportunity to make them a money crop. The early summer was dry and damaged early corn, but during the remainder of the crop season rainfall was favorable. Irrigation plants were idle. The curse of the season was of different origin. Insects of all kinds appeared in appalling numbers. Possibly the extremely dry, hot weather of preceding seasons had upset the balance in the insect world by killing off certain species that normally preyed upon others. Whatever the explanation they ate "everything . . . green, except the inhabitants," according to the South Brown correspondent. Grasshoppers finished what the dry weather left of the early corn as well as the peach crop. Whitehead army worms cut off the wheat heads just before they matured. Potato bugs ruined the potato crop and disappeared only when there was nothing else left to eat. Red ants damaged the corn, aided by cut worms and grasshoppers. South Brown challenged any township to "show more worms, greater variety, and better quality." In the midst of calamity the South Brown Populist cynic pretended to be hopeful that the next season would be "free from all kinds of pests" under "McKinley and protection." The wheat that had promised twenty bushels per acre yielded five, and in late October the grasshoppers and drought were playing havoc with the next year's crop. Corn yields made about 70 per cent of the expected crop.

Everybody was agreed on at least one thing, that the famed Kansas "Eyetalian climate" was not performing according to the specifi-

cations of the real-estate agents. Instead of man limiting himself to the adaptation of his mode of living to the conditions provided by nature, he is perennially cursed with the urge to change and to improve upon nature to make it conform to his wishes by rain-making, irrigation and timber growth. Private advisers had been urging throughout the decade that farmers irrigate and plant orchards and windbreaks. The state government now revised its irrigation law and the government was again aiding and abetting man's conspiracy by advertising that forest trees would be furnished free, except freight, to all who would apply to the commissioner of forestry at Dodge City. Black locust trees predominated in the tree stock offered, but other varieties included on the list were honey locust, white ash, box elder, alianthus and elm.²²

If Kansas people could have thought of other crops to experiment with no doubt they would have given them a trial. At that time the agricultural colleges and experiment stations had not developed far enough to have accomplished much toward doing this experimental work under a system of governmental subsidy. The farmers did their own experimenting, for the most part. A decade of drought had not resulted in the discovery of any crops that could survive with certainty. Cattle, hard winter wheat, sorghum and kaffir corn, while not drought proof, had made the best showing, although the verdict against the corn tradition, associated naturally with live stock, had not been decisive.²³

22. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1895.

23. An amount of land in cultivation in Edwards county is given in the following table compiled from the reports of the State Board of Agriculture. As the figures given there include prairie grass under fence it has been necessary to adjust the printed figures to determine the number of acres under the plow.

Year	Acres	Year	Acres
1883.....	15,726	1891.....	54,172
1884.....	22,364	1892.....	62,047
1885.....	29,904	1893.....	72,908
1886.....	50,621	1894.....	79,556* [69,556] ?
1887.....	33,777	1895.....	93,441
1888.....	39,177	1896.....	89,331* [79,331] ?
1889.....	44,588	1897.....	84,800
1890.....	31,200	1898.....	94,706

* There are serious defects in most of these statistics, and some years are clearly out of line. The declines in field crops in 1887 and 1890 are possibly too extreme. The figures for 1894 and 1896 are unquestionably defective. The item most clearly out of line in the computations is that of prairie under fence. The figures for the five years most concerned are given below:

Year	Acres	Year	Acres
1893.....	16,195	1896.....	8,810 [18,810] ?
1894.....	2,837 [12,837] ?	1898.....	30,102
1895.....	13,759		

It does not seem reasonable that the fluctuation in fencing could be so great from year to year, otherwise the farmers must have spent most of their time tearing down and re-

Bank failures, tax delinquency, tax evasion, tax deeds, mortgages, stay laws and redemption laws were painful subjects, but were the intimate and persistent companions of Edwards county people during this dry decade. The historian is more fortunate than they, inasmuch as he can exclude such subject matter altogether from his narrative or limit the space allotted it for his particular purpose. Both defensive devices are resorted to here. The first bank failure was that of the Edwards County Bank in October, 1890, followed by the Exchange Bank in 1893. The *Graphic*, February 16, 1894, carried the announcement of the dissolution of the First National Bank and its reorganization as a state bank with a reduced capital. The reasons for this action were set forth in a short statement which is highly significant to the historian of the national banking system:

We have taken this step because the limited amount of banking business in this section does not pay the expenses incident to the National system and leave us a reasonable interest on the amount of capital required by law to be invested in order to retain a national charter.

The personal property valuations in Edwards county for purposes of taxation in 1883, before the boom, totaled \$112,844. This item rose to \$309,551 in 1886 and then decreased to a low of \$32,307 in 1896. In Wayne township at one time only three persons paid

building fences. The figures in brackets are suggested as being more nearly in accordance with conditions as reflected in the press.

The changes in the field-crop program in Edwards county by decades is tabulated below, in the average acreage per farm:

Year	Corn, acres.	Oats, acres.	Winter wheat, acres.
1885	16.5	7.22	4
1895	40.6	16.4	97.8
1905	45.2	5.5	145.0

The above table gives some indication of the increase in acreage per farm under the plow for the decade, as well as the shift to wheat as the principal crop.

The average yields of corn, oats and wheat for the county is given in the table below:

Year.	Corn, bushels	Oats, bushels	Winter wheat, bushels.
1885	32	35	20
1886	25	25	5
1887	15	20	10
1888	10	13	11
1889	33	34	20
1890	10	25	19
1891	28	28	14
1892	10	29	16
1893	5	2	1.1
1894	5	0.15	0.1
1895	10	15	2
1896	12	3	3
1897	10	17	12
1898	13	24	9
1899	24	17	6
1900	13	16	16
1901	5	14	14
1902	14	16	7
1903	15	22	16
1904	15	22	10
1905	28	25	14

a personal property tax, and they were merchants. Land valuations in 1884 amounted to \$341,602, reaching \$553,869 in 1887 and rising continuously thereafter because of the patenting of homesteads and tree claims entered during the settlement period of the middle eighties. The average valuation per acre offers no guidance because it fluctuated narrowly between the limits of \$2.01 and \$2.33 for nearly a decade. The total valuation of city lots was \$62,400 in 1884, reached \$251,746 in 1888, and declined to \$135,922 in 1900. Railroad valuations were increased through the decade. There is more in the tax figures, however, than appears on the surface, because abnormally low valuations on personal property and on farm improvements tended to reduce the relative share of tax burden of the resident farmer, shifting it to the unimproved nonresident owned land and to the railroads.

The record of tax delinquency after the boom seems appalling at first sight, and while it was serious for the community, an analysis tends to dissipate some of the gloom. The publication list of tax-delinquent land in 1889 occupied twenty columns in the local paper, fifteen of which were Kinsley and two Wendell city lots. Farm land listings made somewhat over four columns, but part of them were small tracts adjacent to Kinsley, which had been subdivided for promotion purposes. In 1890 the list occupied seventeen columns, twelve and a half of which were Kinsley lots. In 1891 it was an eight-column story, in 1892 eleven, 1893 eight, 1894 thirteen, 1895 twelve, and 1896 ten and one-half.²⁴ The list of agricultural lands fell to a little over two columns in 1892 and 1893, rising to six in 1895, and falling to four and one-half in 1896. So far as tax delinquency reflected hard times, the city of Kinsley suffered more seriously than the rural districts from the immediate collapse of the boom. The farmers' ability to pay did not hit bottom until the middle nineties.²⁵ Some specially favored city lot owners had received partial relief by going to the state legislature for special dispensations removing parts of their additions from the city limits and freeing them from the burden of the city taxes necessary to pay Kinsley's boom debts. Others had secured relief by selling the improvements off their lots, and many north-side farms benefited thereby. South-side farmers obtained cheap buildings in a similar

24. The data for 1896 omits thirty-nine columns of Ohio City tracts which were the ruins of a wildcat promotion scheme originating in Ohio during the nineties.

25. By way of affording some standard of comparison, similar lists in 1934 occupied seventeen columns, four and two-thirds of which were agricultural land, and about half of the remainder were Kinsley city lots.

manner from Kinsley's boom rivals, the Belpre community drawing from Larned and Lewis and vicinity from Greensburg.²⁶

Tax delinquency for three years, if not removed by payment of back taxes and charges, resulted in a transfer of title by tax deed. The final test, therefore, of the seriousness of nonpayment of taxes previously reviewed is indicated by this final disposal of the land. The first large lot of tax-deed transfers was advertised in April, 1892, for taxes of 1888 delinquent after June 30, 1889. Something less than half of the land sold for taxes in September, 1889, had been redeemed, leaving a total of twelve columns advertised for tax-deed transfer in April, 1892. Kinsley city lots made up ten, Wendell one, and agricultural lands one column. In 1893 the total was over fourteen columns and in 1894 twelve and a half, but in 1895 the list dropped to five and one-half, and in 1896 to four. In 1894 and 1895 agricultural lands occupied about one column, and in 1896 one and one-half.

The loss of land by individuals for nonpayment of taxes is only one side of the problem. From the standpoint of government finance it was almost equally disastrous. The breakdown in the tax system left the county without adequate funds for several years. It was 1893 before the treasurer was able to take up the unpaid warrants issued in 1888, and it required several years more before the county was on a cash basis.

The mortgage question is too complicated to be treated adequately except as a separate study. Mortgage loans were of various kinds, certain ones bearing directly on the community, while others only indirectly became local problems. The resident-farmer debtor was the leading case under the first head. The local creditor was not an important factor, because there had been few men with capital to loan. Leaving the resident farmer who was improving his homestead out of the question for the moment, a large part of the mortgage loans were speculative. Many homesteaders or tree-claim holders had been purely speculators or farmers who were easily discouraged. Many of these had borrowed to the limit to prove up, and then deserted with the proceeds leaving the creditor to foreclose. Many other speculators bought at high valuations making only a small down payment. Their mortgages were quickly foreclosed. Many Easterners had bought land as an investment, only to suffer a collapse in its value. Just how many of each type there were, it is impossible to know, and for that reason a wholly satisfactory treat-

26. *Kinsley Graphic*, December 21, 1894, and several issues during the following weeks.

ment of this topic is impossible. Nevertheless the agricultural land holders of these types were nonresidents, they were reluctant to liquidate their holdings at distress prices, and hoped, of course, that prosperity would soon return. The resident farmers struggled to hold their farms against nonresident creditors, advocating stay laws or redemption laws, and secured the latter allowing an eighteen-months redemption period. The issue between resident and nonresident was acute. The resident pastured nonresident land or cut hay from it, and shifted as much of the tax burden as possible to his shoulders. The nonresident refused to expend money for improvements, or to plow fireguards, and the lack of fire protection resulted frequently in the partial or even complete loss of many farmers' homes, crops and live stock.

In 1896 the newspapers record that Easterners were beginning to sell out, the prices ranging from \$250 to \$750 per quarter.²⁷ This was the beginning of the end, the liquidation running its course during the next five or six years. They were taking whatever they could get—that is, when the question is viewed from the standpoint of the nonresident. Buyers were giving what the land seemed to be worth or what they could afford to pay. The rebuilding of the community was scarcely possible except it be done on the foundation of a capitalization of land at its current income value. It was a bitter process for all concerned, but this phase of the liquidation of the boom marks one of the turning points toward the recovery of the next decade. This process incidentally contributed in part also to the general increase in the size of farm units to a point where they would more nearly sustain a farm family.

27. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1896.

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 and biography.

We 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, 1933, to October 1, 1934. Government 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 February issue of the *Quarterly*.

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Kansas History as Published in the Press

Historical articles appearing in the fall, 1934, issue of *The Aerend*, a Fort Hays Kansas State College publication, included stories on early hangings in Barton county, by Elizabeth Eppstein; Charles Godfrey Leland's journey to Kansas in 1867, by F. B. Streeter; Santa Fé, another ghost town, by Bee Jacquart, and the Scott County State Park, a prehistoric playground, by Matilda Freed.

W. R. Honnell, of Kansas City, sketched the history of the Pony Express at the nineteenth annual meeting of the pioneers of Kennekuk, southeast of Horton, January 1, 1935. His talk was reviewed in *The Tri-County News*, of Horton, January 3, and the Horton *Headlight* January 7.

Pioneers of Ness county are contributing articles to an old settlers' column which was started in the *Ness County News*, of Ness City, on January 5, 1935. Much Ness county history is being recorded by this arrangement.

Notes on Abraham Lincoln's visit to Kansas in 1859 were contributed by George J. Remsburg to the Horton *Headlight* in its issues of January 7 and April 8, 1935.

Kansas' worst blizzard was in January, 1886, the Dodge City *Daily Globe* pointed out in its issue of January 14, 1935. C. M. Johnston's reminiscences of this snowfall were recorded in the *Globe* on January 16; H. B. Regnier, of Spearville, related his experiences January 17, and stories from other pioneers were published January 21.

Some experiences of William H. Garbitt in the Civil War were recounted in the Spearville *News* January 17, 1935. Mr. Garbitt was a member of the Fifteenth Kansas volunteer cavalry.

"Personal Recollections of Col. (Buffalo Bill) Cody" and "Fort Leavenworth Has the Oldest Post Office in Kansas," were the titles of two articles by George J. Remsburg published in recent issues of the Leavenworth *Times*. The first appeared on January 21, 1935, and the second was printed on January 29.

A history of the German settlement in the Pawnee river valley of Ness county was related by Fern C. Callison in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, in its issues of January 22 and 23, 1935.

The experiences of early-day settlers were printed in articles appearing in recent issues of the *Kensington Mirror*. Included among those featured were: Mrs. O. S. Wolfe, January 24, 1935; Frank Brower, January 31, and Mr. and Mrs. George Boyd, February 21. A sketch of old Germantown, four miles north of Kensington, was printed in the February 7 issue.

Pictures of Topeka scenes and personages are being published as a regular Sunday department of the *Topeka Daily Capital*. The series, which is entitled "Do You Remember When," started with the issue of January 27, 1935.

Reminiscences of Saline county and the Gypsum creek valley during the latter part of the nineteenth century were recorded in the *Salina Journal* January 29, 1935. The paper as published was read at a meeting of the Saline County Chapter, Native Daughters of Kansas, by Mrs. Edith Wellman Brown, and was compiled from data gathered by Mrs. Jennis Adams and Charles H. Wellman. Another story relating the pioneering experiences of Mr. and Mrs. S. J. Hartman was also featured in the same issue. The article was written by Lois Hartman and previously had been read by Mrs. Jess B. Smith before the Native Daughters.

A history of Lawndale school as read by H. H. Myer at a P.-T. A. meeting held at Lawndale, January 18, was published in the *Soldier Clipper* January 30, 1935. The school was organized in 1880.

"Indians Once Roamed Site of Newest Lyon County Town," was the title of an article reviewing the history of Miller, published in the *Emporia Gazette* January 30, 1935. Miller was founded in 1910.

The seventieth anniversary of the founding of Washburn College at Topeka was observed with special ceremonies held February 6, 1935. A brief history of the college was printed in *The Washburn Review* February 6.

Methodists in Ellsworth celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of their present church building on February 10, 1935. Notes on the history of the organization were published in the *Ellsworth Messenger and Reporter* in their issues of February 7 and 14.

Early Neosho Rapids history was reviewed in the *Emporia Gazette* February 8, 1935. Two other towns, Florence and Neosho City, previously occupied the townsite, the *Gazette* reported, but they were short lived. Tradition says that a townsite known as

Italia was also laid off where Neosho Rapids now stands. If true, then it, too, failed to survive.

The history of the Union Pacific Railroad Company's hotel at Ellis was discussed briefly in an article entitled "Razing of Old 'Ellis House' Will Remove Famous Social Center During Pioneer Days," which was published in the Hays *Daily News* February 9, 1935.

"It Is Half a Century Since Wild Buffalo Roamed the Kansas Plains," the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* recalled in its issue of February 13, 1935. Few were seen in the state after 1880, although strays were reported once or twice in the northwest section, the newspaper reported.

The "Legislative War of 1893" was recalled by A. Q. Miller, Sr., in an article published in the Belleville *Telescope* February 14, 1935. Mr. Miller was a member of the Clyde-Clifton company of militia which was called to Topeka for guard duty.

"Buffalo Bill" Cody's activities in northwestern Kansas were discussed in *The Sherman County Herald*, of Goodland, February 14, 1935.

Dr. Allen White's place in early El Dorado history was reviewed by J. M. Satterthwaite in the Douglass *Tribune* February 15, 1935. Doctor White, father of William Allen White, settled in El Dorado in 1869.

Notes on the battle of the Little Big Horn as taken by Gen. Hugh L. Scott, who joined the Seventh cavalry as a replacement immediately after the fight, were republished through the courtesy of the New York *Times* in a two-column article appearing in the Dodge City *Daily Globe* February 16, 1935.

Pratt Christian Church history was briefly sketched in the Pratt *Daily Tribune*, in its issues of February 16 and 18, 1935. The church was chartered on February 17, 1885. Two of the twenty-seven charter members are still living.

Judge Wm. P. Campbell's reminiscences of early-day Kansas were related by David D. Leahy in an article published in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle* February 17, 1935. Judge Campbell settled in the El Dorado vicinity in 1869 or 1870.

Biographical sketches of the following Kansans were featured in the Sunday issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* in recent months:

Solon H. Wiley, Fredonia manufacturer, February 17, 1935; Wint Smith, head of the Kansas State Highway Patrol, March 31; S. C. Bloss, Winfield lawyer, and speaker of the 1935 Kansas House of Representatives, April 14, and Fred A. Seaton, Manhattan newspaperman, April 28.

Thirty years' service as a rural mail carrier were reviewed by Albert Peffley in *The Butler County News*, of El Dorado, February 19, 1935. A brief history of El Dorado's rural mail routes was discussed by Mr. Peffley in the *News* February 26, and other reminiscences were written for succeeding issues.

Pioneering hardships encountered by the late Joe Hart, one of the early settlers in Alton vicinity, were discussed in an article appearing in the *Alton Empire* and the *Osborne County Farmer*, of Osborne, in their issues of February 21, 1935.

Letters from former editors of the *Montezuma Press* occupied a page and a half in its twenty-first anniversary edition issued February 21, 1935. R. E. Campbell founded the newspaper as the *Montezuma Chief*, February 20, 1914.

Excerpts from letters written by Thaddeus Hyatt in 1860 concerning the drought in Kansas were printed in the *Atchison Daily Globe* February 22, 1935.

A brief history of Douglass High School, organized in 1883, was published in the *Douglass Tribune* February 22, 1935. J. R. McGregor was the first teacher.

The history of Old Pete's ranch, in Clark county, was sketched in the *Dodge City Daily Globe* February 23, 1935. The ranch was established in the early 1870's.

Extracts from a paper on life in early Tecumseh, which was read by Mrs. George Kreipe at a recent meeting of the Shawnee Grange Institute, were published in the *Topeka Daily Capital* February 24, 1935.

Life in southeastern Kansas in the early days was discussed by Ben Hamilton, of Clyde, in an article printed in the *Clyde Republican* February 28, 1935. Mr. Hamilton's father was an army officer who brought his family to Fort Scott in 1853, when the boy was two years old.

A story on the life of Col. Jesse H. Leavenworth, with particular emphasis on his activities in Kansas and present Colorado and Okla-

homa, both as a soldier and as an Indian agent, was written by Carolyn Thomas Foreman for the March, 1935, issue of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, published by the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City. A biographical sketch of Milton W. Reynolds, well-known newspaper correspondent of the Kansas and Oklahoma region after the Civil War by Dan W. Peery, was another feature of this edition.

The diary of Augustus Voorhees, member of a gold-seeking party from Lawrence which journeyed to the region of present Colorado during the summer of 1858, was printed in *The Colorado Magazine*, published by the Colorado Historical Society of Denver, in its March, 1935, issue.

Articles of interest to Kansas readers appearing in recent issues of the *Pony Express Courier*, of Placerville, Calif., include an account of the death of Johnnie Frey, Pony Express rider, at Atchison, as told by Fred E. Sutton to George J. Remsburg, in the March, 1935, issue; "Buffalo by the Million [as Seen by Horace Greeley]," by E. A. Brininstool, "Pony Express Stations—Seneca, Kansas," in the April issue, and a brief history of Bent's fort, "The Frontier Fort That Kept Moving," in the May number.

Excerpts from the diary of Jotham Meeker, a missionary-printer who published the first periodical in the present boundaries of the state of Kansas, were included in Laura Knickerbocker's article entitled "Missionary Published First Newspaper in Kansas a Century Ago for Indians," which appeared in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* March 5, 1935.

The fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of the Rossville Methodist Episcopal church building was observed March 3, 1935. A history of the church was included in a mimeographed souvenir program issued by Wright M. Horton, present pastor, and in the March 7 issue of the Rossville *Reporter*.

Reminiscences of early-day Cloud county by Henry R. Honey were published in *The Kansan*, of Concordia, March 7, 1935. An article entitled "In the Airly Days" appearing in *The Kansan* March 14, related the story of an accident happening to a Captain Saunders of the state militia when he was prying lead from cartridges after the Indian raid of 1868. The powder caught fire and the results were almost fatal.

Sen. H. A. W. Tabor's activities in Kansas were reviewed in three articles appearing in the *Manhattan Mercury* March 8, 9, and 11, 1935. In 1855 Senator Tabor helped to found the Zeandale settlement eight miles east of Manhattan.

A history of Walla Walla school district No. 24, of Geary county, was published in the *Junction City Union* March 9, 1935. The district was organized on June 17, 1872.

Rev. Pardee Butler's experiences with the rabid Proslavery element in Atchison during the middle 1850's were discussed by Tom A. McNeal in the *Topeka Daily Capital* March 10, 1935. Reverend Butler was set adrift in the Missouri river on a flimsy raft, and later, on another visit to Atchison, he received a coating of tar and cotton batten—feathers being too scarce.

The introduction of Methodism into Kansas was briefly reviewed by Frank Dagenais in the *Atchison Daily Globe* March 13, 1935.

The sixty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Wichita First Presbyterian Church was observed March 13, 1935. Brief histories of the church were printed in the *Wichita Beacon* March 13, and the *Wichita (Morning) Eagle* March 15.

Biographical sketches of several of Holyrood's early citizens were published in the *Holyrood Gazette* March 13 and 27, 1935.

Changes in Arkansas City's street names were reviewed in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler* in its issue of March 14, 1935. Most of the renaming occurred in 1889, when the city commission sought to make the city's street system uniform.

Two brief articles of a historical nature were printed in the *Clyde Republican* March 14, 1935—the first, John Reynard's recollection of John Brown as he knew him and, the second, some severe storms in the 1880's.

Early-day Jackson county history as recalled by the correspondents of the *Holton Recorder* was featured in the sixtieth anniversary edition of the *Recorder* issued March 14, 1935. Titles of some of the stories describing these communities, and their contributors were: "Soldier Endures, in Spite of Cyclone, Fire, Famine," Edna Nicholas; "Cross Creek Was Early Settlement," Mrs. John Lane; "Denison, Formerly North Cedar, Early Settlement," Cloud Braum; "Why, Who and When of Buckeye Ridge," Wright Beach; "Early Cemetery Is South of Circleville," Mrs. Arthur G. Hurst;

"Life Begins in West Jackson," Mrs. Kansas E. Nott; "Rigors of Pioneers at Buck's Grove," Bertha Kroth; "Mayetta Is Center of a Pioneering District," John Page; "The Pioneers of Liberty Township Had Much to Do in Developing a Fine Farming Community," Mrs. A. S. Hay; "Whiting Grew From Wide Place in Road," Miss Jennie E. Morris; "Life Was Crude But Pleasures Were Sweet [in Buck's Grove]," Mrs. Ivan Clements; "Cirleville Was Once Known by Name of New Brighton," Mrs. Lillian Estee; "Adrian Settlers Conquer Prairie," Gladys L. Brown; "New Eureka Now Only a Memory," Mrs. Birdie Huff Lukens; "The Beginning of the History of Our Town [Holton]," Martha M. Beck; "Pleasant Valley Is Living Up to Name," Mrs. Lottie Stauffer; "South Whiting in the Pioneer Days," Mrs. Frank C. Eames; "Did Anyone Come Earlier Than Cedar Creek Folks?" Mrs. Ross Tipps; "For Seventy-nine Years These Farms [in Gibeson settlement] Have Produced," Mrs. Marion Shields; "The Story of School and Homesteads in the Point Pleasant Neighborhood," Mrs. Clarence Bolz; "Larkinburg Was an Early Settlement," Mrs. W. E. Hoenshell; "Arrington Was Once Lively Health Resort," L. H. Stepp; "Rock Houses [in South Cedar neighborhood] Prevail," Mrs. H. A. Pasley, and "Indian Reservation Fades as a Memory." Other brief articles were contributed by J. G. Kirkpatrick, of Pomona, Cal., Mrs. Olen Daniel, Mrs. D. A. Todd, Mrs. G. E. Messenger, Mrs. Wm. Walton, and Mrs. Charles Walker. More letters and articles on early-day Kansas published in later issues were sent in by the following: Mrs. Walter Cope, Mrs. James W. White, Jesse Bumgardner, Lucy and Annie Miller, Mrs. Jennie West Peace, Geo. W. James, Mrs. Bert Hay, in the March 21 number, and Mrs. Chattie Smith Trundle, in the April 25 issue.

Lyon county cattle brands were discussed in the *Emporia Gazette* March 16, 1935. The articles described some of the more famous brands registered by Lyon county cattlemen as recorded in a ledger, "Brands and Marks," which is filed in the archives of the county clerk's office.

"Who Are the Police Heroes of Wichita's Past?" the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* inquired in a headline to an article reviewing famous names associated with the department's history. The story, which was written by Pliny Castanien, was published in the issue of March 17, 1935.

Kansas Historical Notes

Biographical sketches of the Civil War veterans of Waterville and vicinity, as written and compiled by S. A. Bryan, were published by W. E. Turner, editor of the Waterville *Telegraph*, in a sixty-page, adequately indexed booklet, issued early in 1935.

A state-wide society known as the Kansas Commonwealth Club was organized at a meeting held in Wichita February 9, 1935. Plans were formulated for the organization at a previous meeting held in Wichita on January 29, where it was emphasized that the citizens of Kansas should have an opportunity to observe the anniversary of the entrance of the state into the Union and that such observance should be nonpolitical. The club will sponsor a diamond jubilee and historical exposition to be held in Wichita from January 29 to February 8, 1936, as its first major objective. The officers of the club are: R. M. Cauthorn, president; Elsberry Martin, vice-president; David D. Leahy and Margaret Hill McCarter, honorary vice-presidents and historians; Harry Van Ness, secretary, and Virgil Davis, treasurer.

The ninth annual meeting of the Kansas History Teachers Association was held at the Emporia Kansas State Teachers College, April 13, 1935. "New Viewpoints in History and History Teaching" was the general theme of the program. Titles of papers read before the association and their authors were: "The Status of History Teaching in American Secondary Schools," Della Warden, Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia; "Developments in Social History," David L. MacFarlane, Southwestern College, Winfield; "History and the History Textbook," Fred A. Shannon, Kansas State College, Manhattan; "New Viewpoints in Recent Historical Literature," R. R. Price, Kansas State College, Manhattan; "New Historical Viewpoints in Germany," Leonard L. O'Bryon, Lawrence; "History Teaching in England," Emory K. Lindquist, Bethany College, Lindsborg, and "New Viewpoints in Modern History," Frank E. Melvin, Kansas University, Lawrence. At the election of officers, J. D. Bright, of McPherson, was elected president; H. A. Shumway, of El Dorado, vice-president, and C. B. Realey, of Lawrence, secretary-treasurer. Sam A. Johnson, of Emporia, is the retiring president.

At the organization meeting of the Historical Society of Fort Harker, held at Kanopolis, April 26, 1935, Bert Woodmansee was elected chairman and Valentine Shankland, secretary. The society hopes to keep alive the memories of Fort Harker, which was a supply distributing point for military posts farther west in the late 1860's and early 1870's.

Friends of Dr. Charles M. Sheldon, noted Topeka author and divine, eulogized his useful life at a dinner sponsored by the Topeka Press Club, May 3, 1935. The speakers of the evening included Charles F. Scott, editor of the *Iola Register*; Miss Helen Rhoda Hoopes, of Kansas University; Doctor Sheldon, and T. A. McNeal. Doctor Sheldon has written forty-one books, among them *In His Steps* which has now reached twenty-three million copies.

A life-size bronze statue of John Brown was unveiled in the John Brown Memorial State Park at Osawatomie, May 9, 1935, on the 135th anniversary of his birth. The morning program included addresses by David C. Doten, of Paola; H. M. Beckett, of Olathe; Dr. Henry Roe Cloud, of Lawrence, and Bishop W. T. Vernon, of Quindaro. The dedicatory program in the afternoon, presided over by Judge G. A. Roberds, featured a brief history of the statue project by Mrs. Ida Heacock-Baker, of Parsons; a poem, "The Pioneer," written for the unveiling ceremony by Mrs. Anna L. January and read by Mrs. T. T. Solander, and the acceptance speech for the state by Gov. Alf M. Landon. The \$6,000 statue was sculptured in Paris by George Fite Waters, an American, and is mounted on a pedestal of red boulders. Funds for its erection were raised by public subscription through the efforts of the Woman's Relief Corps, Department of Kansas. Members of the statue fund committee were: Mrs. Anna L. January, Osawatomie; Ethel Kimmerle, Topeka; Bernice Ludwick, Buffalo, and Grace Wanner, Topeka. The John Brown Memorial Park consists of twenty-three and one half acres situated four blocks from the business district of Osawatomie. The Adair log cabin, part of the time John Brown's Kansas home and headquarters, is in the park and contains many historical relics and records.

A picture of W. Y. Morgan, late Hutchinson editor and publisher, has been added to the "Kansas Newspaper Hall of Fame" sponsored by the department of journalism at the University of Kansas. For names of other Kansas newspapermen who have been nominated to this honor see *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. III, p. 336.

Original manuscripts depicting early Chanute and Neosho county history were a part of a recent deposit made by Mrs. C. T. Beatty with Ross Cooper, city clerk of Chanute. The manuscripts and other documents are to be preserved in the historical collection Mrs. Beatty has assembled in the Municipal building.

A cannon has been secured to stand near Pleasanton as a memorial of the Battle of Mine Creek, said to be the only battle fought on Kansas soil between regularly organized forces during the Civil War. Plans for marking the scenes of the battle along highway 73-E and the site of the old farm house used as a hospital, also are being taken up by Linn county citizens.

The Fleming-Jackson-Seever post of the American Legion at Atchison is establishing a museum in its headquarters in Memorial hall. Harres Martin, William Simpson and Claude Warner are members of the committee detailed to secure material for the display.

An Indian burial ground was recently uncovered by workers in the Scott County State Park near Scott City. The grounds are about one half mile from the site of the old Picurie pueblo.



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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.

Mission Neosho

THE FIRST KANSAS MISSION

T. F. MORRISON

IN 1820 the United Foreign Missionary Society, an organization supported by the Presbyterian, Reformed Dutch and Associated Reformed churches,¹ established among the Osages on the Neosho river, near Fort Gibson, Indian territory, a mission school known as Union Mission.

In 1821 the same organization, under the superintendency of the Rev. Philip Milledoler, established a mission near Pappinsville, Bates county, Missouri, known as Harmony Mission. The superintendent was the Rev. Nathaniel Dodge. He was assisted by the Rev. Benton Pixley. The mission family numbered altogether forty-one persons, of which twenty-five were adults and sixteen were children. Among the members were the Rev. William B. Montgomery, Doctor Belcher, Daniel H. Austin, Samuel Newton, Samuel B. Bright, Otis Sprague, Amasa Jones, John Seeley, Susan Comstock, Mary Weller, Mary Etris, Elizabeth Howell and Harriet Woolley. All the men were married and were accompanied by their families. In the group were ministers, a physician, blacksmith, carpenter, millwright, shoemaker and two farmers. The women, many of whom had taught school in the East, were fitted to teach sewing, knitting, cooking and music to the Indians.

Members of the missionary party traveled by wagon to Pittsburgh where two boats were built, on which, with their goods, they descended the Ohio river to the Mississippi and up this river to the Missouri. Thence they proceeded to the mouth of the Osage which was ascended to the place where the mission was to be built. The objective point was reached 112 days after leaving Pittsburgh.²

Harmony Mission commenced with two Osage pupils and increased this number to fifty-five. In 1825 the Osages relinquished, by treaty, all their claims to land lying in Missouri and removed to what is now Kansas.³ Notwithstanding the migration of the Osages, which took them seventy miles from the mission, Harmony was continued until 1836.⁴

1. Green, Ashbel, *A Historical Sketch of Domestic and Foreign Missions in the Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia, 1838), p. 55.

2. [Pelham, Cornelia], *Letters on the Chickasaw and Osage Missions* (Boston, 1833), p. 68.

3. *Indian Treaties and Laws and Regulations Relating to Indian Affairs*, 1826, p. 254.

4. *Missionary Herald*, Boston, v. 32, p. 194.

The migration to Neosho county, Kansas, had commenced as early as 1815, when 1,000 Great Osages under Chief White Hair built a village about four miles down the Neosho river from present Shaw, Kan.⁵ The village was known as White Hair's Town and contained eight log houses and 100 bark and grass houses. It was a pretentious Indian town with flagstone sidewalks and a grist mill. The site of the village is on the west side of the river in section 2, township 29, range 19, Neosho county. When the first white settlers came there were eight stone chimneys standing; the houses had been burned. The Osages had been induced to come to their new home by Pierre Chouteau,⁶ the Indian trader, who had established a trading post sixteen miles down the river from White Hair's village.⁷

Continuing the program of work among the Osages, the United Foreign Missionary Society established, in 1824, Neosho Mission. In September of that year, from Harmony Mission in Missouri, came Benton Pixley, accompanied into the wilderness only by his wife and two small children. Pixley was a college graduate, a Latin and Greek scholar.

The family arrived by wagon and moved into a vacant cabin that had been built by one of Chouteau's traders. Pixley selected a site for the mission in a stately oak grove about one half mile west of the Neosho river and forty rods from a small natural lake near what is now Shaw, Neosho county. He set to work felling trees preparatory to building a log house for his home in the coming spring. He continued at this work during the fall and winter, having at the same time to provide wild game for the sustenance of his family. In the spring white men came from Harmony Mission and assisted him in erecting a large log house. Another log house was built at the time for a school room for the Osage children, and hewn log seats were placed in it. This room was also used as a church for

5. White Hair's village has been variously located by historians. William E. Connelley in his *History of Kansas* establishes the location in section 16, township 28, range 19. However, Mr. Connelley also states that Boudinot Mission was established opposite the town of White Hair, and since the site of Boudinot Mission is known to be on the Neosho river near the mouth of Four Mile creek, it would appear that the village was somewhat south of section 16, township 28, range 19. The writer establishes the location in section 2, township 29, range 19 as the result of a study of the ruins on that site, also an Indian cemetery. Interviews with pioneers and the descendants of early settlers support the theory.

6. "About 1796, Manuel Lisa secured from the then government of Louisiana, a monopoly to trade with all the Indians on the waters of the Missouri river. This, of course, included the Osages. Previous to that time the trade went to traders in competition, among these the Chouteaus. The monopoly of Lisa cast out the Chouteaus. Pierre Chouteau had at one time enjoyed a monopoly of the Osage trade. When he was superseded as agent of the tribe by Lisa, he sought some means of continuing his profitable business relations with the tribe. He determined to divide it, and to settle a part of it beyond the jurisdiction of Lisa. He induced the best hunters of the tribe to go with him to the Lower Verdigris. . . . The date of the formation of this band and its migration to the Verdigris is given as about 1803 by Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley and Mr. Dunbar, in their report published in 1806."—Connelley, W. E., *History of Kansas* (1928), v. 1, p. 207.

7. [Pelham], *Letters*, p. 163.

Osage adults on the Sabbath. The Osages built seven log houses near Pixley's for permanent homes.

In the spring of 1826, Daniel B. Bright, instructor in farming at Harmony, came to live with the Pixleys. Ground was plowed and crops were planted and cultivated. The Osages assisted with the crops and an abundance of beans, watermelons, pumpkins and 260 bushels of corn were produced.⁸ These were probably the first crops of the sort produced in Kansas by white men. Also in 1826 came Cornelia Pelham to assist the Pixleys with the teaching. She had taught at Harmony and Union missions. Her letters and daily records of events at Neosho Mission provide an excellent description of the country and its agricultural possibilities. An attempt was made to teach the Osages how to farm, but no mention is made of their agricultural pursuits after their work with the first crops in 1826. A report from the mission to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1827 sets forth the following:

Neosho is about in the center of the Osage reservation from north to south, just within the eastern line of that reservation, and without the western line of Missouri. The face of the country is neither level nor mountainous, but what is called rolling prairie. There are few trees, except on the banks of rivers and smaller streams. The soil is good and capable of producing, in great abundance, the necessaries and comforts of life. If the Indians should become moderately industrious, their external circumstances would be rapidly improved; and they could soon get all the implements, which are required, in the ordinary progress of agriculture from a rude to a more perfect state.

From 1825 to 1828 Neosho Mission was a busy place. The Indian children came daily for two months in each year to the school, and Missionary Pixley was expected to see that the noonday lunch was provided for them. Here, too, came the squaws with their small children to beg for food, while the Indian men gambled in their skin tents and bark houses in the Indian villages. The Great Osages lived in a village four miles down the Neosho river and the Little Osages lived a few miles up the stream. Strange bands of Indians came frequently to pilfer and steal and make war upon the Osages. Amidst all these exciting and dangerous surroundings, eighty-five miles distant from the nearest white settlement, this lone missionary labored, prayed, preached and taught the untutored savages, truly one of the heroes of Christianity.

For three years Benton Pixley devoted much of his time to learning the Osage language. He spent many evenings in the Indian tents and rude bark houses listening to the talk of the Indians and ac-

8. *Annual Report, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1827, p. 136.

accompanied them for months on their summer and fall hunts to familiarize himself with the language. Once he went with them on a bear hunt. They started from what is now Shaw and went down through southeastern Kansas, northeastern Oklahoma, Arkansas and through the Ozarks of Missouri. They started on the hunt in the midst of a storm of hail and rain. When night overtook them their situation was frightful; the ground was covered with ice, and of course it was not a trifling labor to kindle a fire and prepare food. However, as the missionary said later, he might have had a tolerable night, as he had two blankets to lie upon and one to spread over him to keep off the hail and rain, if it had not been for the dogs, who, to use his own words, "contended for their share of the blankets and fire with a zeal not to be controlled. They were continually walking over me, and no whipping would drive them from their purpose." Night after night he passed with no other bed or shelter than the three blankets afforded him. His food was unsalted meat, boiled, without bread or vegetables, except that every day or two they had a little boiled corn. When they started in the morning he knew not where he was going. While the weather was the coldest the Indians were not disposed to talk much, and sometimes it seemed as if his labor was almost lost in following them.

While on the hunting trip with the Indians Pixley tried to impart to them all the religious instruction his imperfect knowledge of the language would allow. One evening the chief, under whose particular guardianship he was, and whom he called his host, proposed a variety of questions to him, which it was painful to feel himself unable to answer as fully as he desired. The Indian chief propounded the following: "What made the sun turn dark in the middle of the day?" (alluding to an eclipse.) "What makes white men so anxious to get money? . . . Why do whites make the negroes slaves? . . . What land is beyond the American? . . . What beyond that?"

In October of 1827 the Rev. Benton Pixley wrote at length to the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, reporting conditions as he found them among the Osages. Of their family state he wrote:

As it respects the kinds of labor they perform I might say, speaking generally, that they perform none. They are lamentably destitute of ingenuity and aptitude in contriving and making things for their use and comfort. They seem in this respect to be inferior to the Indians, who formerly inhabited New England. Such a thing as a basket, I never saw among them. Their dress, excepting such as is used in their dances, exhibits deplorable negligence and laziness. Their game has been so abundant, that they have felt little need of

agricultural labors, and have consequently established a habit of considering it dishonorable for a man to do much besides hunting and going to war. Other employments bring upon him an insupportable derision. Indeed it is hardly possible to make you understand with what an iron-handed despotism the airy phantom, *Ridicule*, holds this people in subjection and drives them miserably along to perdition. I offered large wages to a young Osage, Milledoler, who has long attended school at Harmony, to induce him to remain with me through the present winter, and assist me in acquiring his language, he, at the same time, learning the English. This, he said, he would be glad to do, but remarked, "The Osages call me a fool." Although he understands much of our language, he can hardly be persuaded to speak a word of it in presence of the Indians.⁹

Another instance, showing the current of feeling among the Osages, and the prevalence and power of this servile fear of ridicule, is set forth in a story told by Pixley:

A boy, of ten or twelve years of age, was lounging about my house, without clothing, and apparently without shame. When I inquired the cause of his being thus destitute, his mother gave as a reason, that they were poor, and had no clothing. I accordingly gave him an old *gray* garment, which would have been an abundant covering, according to the Indian fashion. But as he still continued to go in the same condition as formerly, I inquired the cause, and was told by his mother "that he was ashamed to put on the cloth I gave him, because it was not *blue*,"—that being the color of the cloth uniformly sold by the traders to the Indians. Poor creatures! they are ashamed of nothing of which they ought to be ashamed, but are ashamed of every thing that is virtuous and praiseworthy.

You ask how this people live. If by living be meant place, manners, and accommodations,—in the summer it is on the prairies, in the winter in the village-huts; three months perhaps in these huts, and betwixt two or three months on the prairie; the rest of the time they are scattered here and there, a few families together, hunting, moving every day or two, and lodging where night overtakes them. Their accommodations are few and simple. A few wooden dishes, two or three horn-spoons, a knife, and a kettle or two, make up the amount of their household furniture. Their houses and manner of building them is equally crude. They set two rows of the little poles in the ground, of sufficient width for their accommodation, and bring them together in a curve at the top. These they cover with flags or buffalo hides, and when in their towns have mats laid upon the ground to recline and sleep upon. Their food, while in the town, is principally jerked meat, boiled corn, dried pumpkins, and beans. Wild fruits, acorns, and other nuts, in the season of them, make up what is lacking, and when their provisions are exhausted they move off on their hunts. If they kill nothing the second or even the third day, they are not alarmed. Acorns or roots of the prairie are still at hand to supply them with a supper, so that the fear of starving is the last thing that would be likely to enter an Osage mind.

The women plant the corn, fetch the wood, cook the food, dress the deer-skins, dry their meat, make their moccasins, do all the business of moving, pack and unpack their horses, and even saddle and unsaddle the beasts on

9. *Missionary Herald*, Boston, v. 24, p. 79.

which their husbands and other male kindred ride; while the men only hunt and war, and, when in their towns, go from lodge to lodge to eat, and drink, and smoke, and talk, and play at cards, and sleep; for with them it is no mark of ill manners to doze away some hours of the day in their neighbor's lodge. And were you here now, just to go through their towns on a tour of observation, you would probably find more than four fifths of the men employed in gaming, and scarcely one engaged to any useful purpose.

Writing of their religious knowledge, beliefs and customs, Pixley said:

When I tell them I came to teach them the word of God, they sometimes sneeringly ask, "Where is God? Have you seen him?"—and then laugh that I should think of making them believe a thing so incredible, as a being who sees and takes knowledge of them, while they cannot see him. They indeed call the earth, the sun and moon, thunder and lightning, God; but their conceptions on this subject are altogether indefinite and confused. Some old men, who are more given to seriousness and reflection, frankly declare that they know nothing about God—what he is, or where he is, or what he would have them do.

They speak of him as hateful and bad, instead of being amiable and good. They often say, "They hate him; he is of a bad temper; they would shoot him, if they could see him."

Of a future state of rewards and punishments, they have no conception. Some, indeed, perhaps the generality of them, have some confused ideas of a future state of existence, and suppose if they are painted when they die according to the particular mark of their family, they shall be known, and join those of their relatives who have died and gone before them. But these ideas are only what might be called the traditions and superstitions of the common people, and are regarded as foolishness by others, who, in their philosophic pride, treat it as a chimera. Only a few days since, I was declaring to an Osage the fact, that the soul existed after death in a separate state from the body. For some time he seemed, I knew not why, strangely intent upon catching a fly. Having at length succeeded, he crushed the insect to death between his fingers; then laying it on the floor, and rubbing it about until not a vestige of it remained, he triumphantly exclaimed, "What remains to exist? Where is the soul?"—drawing his conclusions that men died and returned to nothing in the same way.

Yet of all creatures, . . . they seem to be most subject to supernatural fear and alarms. This, of itself, puts a great check upon their nightly deprecations, which would otherwise be intolerable. Darkness presents so many terrors to their affrighted imaginations, especially around their towns where their dead are buried, that few have courage to go abroad at night beyond the light of their own dwellings.

As it respects their religious customs, one is often reminded of several passages of Scripture. When the women cut off their hair, which is their glory and their ornament, as they often do in case of mourning, we are reminded of the prophet's declaration, "Cut off thy hair, O Jerusalem." In cases of fasting, also the women put earth on their heads, and men ashes or soot on their faces, forcibly reminding us of those hypocrites, of whom our Saviour speaks, "who disfigured their faces, that they might appear unto men to fast."

If you invite them to eat, when their faces are thus covered with soot and ashes, they are very ready to comply, but only on condition that you first furnish them with water to wash, for except they wash they eat not, holding the tradition of the elders. In case of the death of any relative, they send for such as they choose should come and mourn for them, though others often join as volunteers. I was witness to a ceremony of this kind, where a child had recently died. While some were preparing the child for burial, five women of their choosing, as I was afterwards informed, stood around crying, or pretending to cry, making a doleful lamentation. At length they ceased, and each went to a skin of buffalo-grease standing in one corner of the lodge, and took two or three pounds apiece, as a remuneration for their services in mourning for the dead, and then quietly and cheerfully returned to their homes.¹⁰

An unfriendly Indian agent and two rival Indian chiefs brought Mission Neosho to its closing chapter. Chief Clamore of the Little Osages, who was unfriendly to missionaries, died about 1825, and his son, Clermont, succeeded him as chief. The young chief, Clermont, was also unfriendly to missionaries and encouraged his young warriors to commit depredations at Mission Neosho. White Hair, chief of the Great Osages, was friendly to the missionaries and encouraged them in their work. He and Clermont were rivals.

The religious services held by Benton Pixley at Neosho were often disturbed and broken by young Indian men. On one occasion a band of Indians broke up a meeting and destroyed the hewn log seats in the church room. Complaints were made to the Indian agent, who was not in sympathy with the mission, and Pixley closed the mission, expecting to reopen it; but it closed forever. The matter was reported to the Board of Foreign Missions and in the annual report of the board, 1829, we find the following:

In the course of last autumn and winter a difficulty arose between Mr. Pixley and the agent, which ultimately made it necessary that the station should be relinquished for the present. Mr. Pixley is not censured by the Committee. On the contrary, they deeply sympathize with him on account of the injurious treatment which he received; and especially on account of the trial which he experienced in being obliged to leave the poor natives without any teacher after he had so far acquired the language of the people as to make himself understood by means of it. In the circumstances of the case, the Committee could not take any other course than to advise him to retire from the opposition which had been excited against him by the most profligate means. He therefore removed his family to the white settlements in Missouri, whence he is expected to return to the mission whenever a suitable opening is found.¹¹

The mission was relinquished in 1829, and the Rev. Benton Pixley and his family went to Independence, Mo., where he was retained as the first Presbyterian minister in that place. This was the closing

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-81.

11. *Annual Report, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1829, p. 80.

scene, and thus the curtain fell on the first mission in what is now Kansas.

Mission Neosho, from the viewpoint of the Indians, was a failure. It did not succeed in converting them to Christianity nor did it revolutionize their habits of living. The Indians were not exactly indifferent to the agricultural skill of white men, but they could not be induced to devote themselves to such pursuits. This was especially true of the men. They were content with the efforts of the squaws, who on small tracts of land along the creeks, cultivated and produced beans, pumpkins, watermelons and corn sufficient for the family needs. The importance of the mission lay in the fact that it was the first mission in Kansas and pointed the way to the establishment of other missions.

Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company

RUSSELL K. HICKMAN

THE Kansas struggle had as a background a sharp contest of two civilizations for possession of the land. Back of all the tumult and shouting was this elemental conflict between two economic systems, in either of which control of the land was the first essential for success. One was typified to a high degree by the slaveholding Missourian of the fertile Missouri frontier,¹ the other by the enterprising Yankee, or his western descendant who had turned farmer. Back of the invasions of the Missourians into Kansas territory was more than once a claim dispute with tragic results, which became a rallying cry of the Proslavery party of Missouri.² The North, not to be outdone by the South, was by 1856 engaging in similar organized invasions on a large scale, and endeavoring to hold strategic centers for the cause of freedom.³ In this struggle the South was at a great disadvantage, as it lacked the fluid capital of the North, while the market value of slave property in a rough-and-tumble Kansas frontier settlement was extremely uncertain.⁴ Concerted efforts were nevertheless made by the western Missouri frontiersmen early in 1854 to "stake a claim in the territory," whether they intended to reside there immediately or not.⁵ When they heard of the formation of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, a "vast moneyed corporation" formed to transport "hirelings" from the Eastern "brothels," and seize the fertile lands near their very fire-sides, their anger knew no bounds, and they began to organize to

1. See Harrison A. Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, Series XXXII, No. 2. The greatest increase in slave population in Missouri during the fifties came in the fertile counties nearer the Kansas border, and along the Missouri river. Hemp was the chief crop, and was very profitable. Platte county, home of Sen. David R. Atchison, was a leader in its production.

2. The Coleman-Dow claim trouble, which terminated in a fatal shooting, led to the Missouri invasions of December, 1855. Similar troubles later around Fort Scott furnished, in part, the background of the Montgomery raids.

3. The National Kansas Committee was the directing body, headed by Thaddeus Hyatt. It had been appointed by the Buffalo convention of Kansas aid societies, in midsummer of 1856. The entrance of the Northern train, under Gen. James H. Lane, was the most spectacular of these Northern "invasions."

4. There never were more than a few slaves actually held as such in Kansas.

5. This "custom" was not peculiar to Missouri, being practiced in Iowa and elsewhere on the frontier. Participation in a nearby election, where he was legally excluded, was also frequently done wherever a frontiersman believed his interests particularly affected. There is perhaps no instance, however, in which it was done in such a mass way as by the Missourians in Kansas.

control the polls, to "beat the Yankee at his own game."⁶ Unfortunately for them, they could turn to no organization comparable to the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, and its successor, the New England Emigrant Aid Company, which could "let capital be the pioneer."

The plan of artificially promoting emigration to new and unsettled lands was not a new one, being in substance followed by land companies in our earlier history. Not long after the Revolution two classes of dealers in land had made their appearance—the speculator or "land jobber," who aimed primarily at a "quick turnover" and a large profit on as small an investment as possible; and the "land developer," who bought large tracts for the purpose of long-time investment, and might then try to "hurry civilization" by various improvements and inducements aimed to obtain and hold settlers.⁷ The characteristic American disease of land hunger, or "terra-phobia," however, usually led the promoters to overemphasize quick sales at the expense of true development, and with the unlimited expanse of cheap lands to the west, was a factor in making the panics of the nineteenth century more severe. In these plans there appears to have been in the past little effort to consciously control the political destiny of any particular region, prior to the advent of the Emigrant Aid Company.⁸ This organization (including both the Massachusetts and the New England companies), was the first to unite on a large scale the objects of investment in land and freedom in the territories, to be attained by a plan of promoted emigration.⁹ The Rev. Edward Everett Hale, in 1845 a youthful minister in Washington, was very unfavorably impressed by the admission of Texas, and wrote a pamphlet entitled *How to Conquer Texas Before Texas Conquers Us*, appealing for the immediate settlement of Texas by the North.¹⁰ Hale was one of the first to associate himself with Eli Thayer in the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, but

6. This movement was motivated in particular by the desire to protect slavery in Missouri, which would be in a critical position with Kansas free, and with enemies on three sides, as well as within Missouri itself.—See James C. Malin, "The Proslavery Background of the Kansas Struggle," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. X (December, 1923). The movement to prevent the abolitionizing of Kansas (and then Missouri) gathered its chief force in Missouri coincident with the news of the vast plans of the Emigrant Aid Company, and was largely distinct from the earlier movement to open Kansas (and Nebraska) to settlement. It culminated in the Lexington convention of July, 1855, and declined completely after the advent of Gov. John W. Geary.

7. A. M. Sakolski, *The Great American Land Bubble* (New York and London, 1932), p. 73 *et seq.* This is an enlightening though somewhat superficial treatment of the general subject.

8. Any such plan of organized emigration would have courted failure by running counter to the strongly individualistic nature of the frontiersman.

9. It was followed by a host of smaller organizations.

10. Edward E. Hale, *Memoirs of a Hundred Years*, v. II, pp. 142, 145, quoted by Cora Dolbee, "The First Book on Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. II, No. 2 (May, 1933), p. 141.

disclaimed all credit for originating the plan, and gave full credit to Thayer. "He conceived the scheme, he arranged the working details of it, and by his comprehension and ingenious combinations so adjusted it, in the beginning, that to practical men it has always seemed an eminently practical affair."¹¹

In the struggle to exclude slavery from the territories, the North should not give up in despair, Eli Thayer argued. By forming a moneyed corporation Northern emigrants could be gathered into companies and "planted" at points favorably situated to win the new territory of Kansas for freedom. The settler would be well rewarded in the increased comforts of civilization, and the stockholders would receive a comfortable dividend on their investments. What more could be asked for? When in a short space of time Kansas was free, turn to the border South, and colonize it similarly.¹² By investing money a contributor could plant a saw mill and a steam engine in Kansas. The snort of the steam engine (instead of the crack of the blacksnake), would signalize the victory of free labor over slavery. "Saw-mills and Liberty!" became a slogan of Thayer, which was widely proclaimed in the New England press.¹³

11. Hale to the editor of the *North American Review*, February 3, 1855, published in the April number (v. LXXX, p. 548), and quoted by Dolbee, *op. cit.*, p. 177. The letter was in response to a pointed query of C. H. Branscomb as to the real origin of the company. Hale remarked that his Texas pamphlet was one which "no one read, and I could not induce any one to consider the idea. It contained no plan of operation . . .," and Thayer had never seen or heard of it when he originated his plan. (Compare the Texas project of the company, in 1860, mentioned elsewhere.) Hale was much interested in properly providing for the host of foreign immigrants who reached our shores, and in 1852 delivered a sermon on this subject (*cf.* Dolbee, *op. cit.*, p. 141). Without doubt he was influential in obtaining the inclusion of plans for their transportation to the West, when the Emigrant Aid Company was projected. Extensive plans were then announced, but little was ever accomplished.

12. For further details see Thayer's volume, *A History of the Kansas Crusade* (New York, 1889).

13. For example, the *Providence Journal* of November 16, 1855, clipped in the "Thomas H. Webb Scrapbooks," v. VI, p. 223: "This droll phrase, which has become, it is said, quite a proverb among the Free State men in Kansas, really expresses very well the nature of the power which the North has in the control of the destiny of the territory." Immediate statehood depends on furnishing homes to the thousands now moving in. There is enough timber, if it can be sawed into lumber. This necessitates steam saw-mills. "But these steam saw-mills cannot be put up by squatters who need every cent they have for their oxen, ploughs, and the transport of their families. To obtain them at all, they must induce capitalists to furnish them," or some organization such as the Emigrant Aid Company.

Thayer was a leading exponent of the doctrine of organized emigration. (See in particular his two speeches in the appendix of *The Kansas Crusade*.) The general law of emigration westward following parallels of latitude could thus be avoided, and Northerners settled in communities of their own, in the South. With them would go their schools and churches, free labor, and the higher real estate values of the North. Slavery could never compete economically with freedom, and must die. Nor should one stop at the Gulf of Mexico, as Nicaragua and Central America offered equal opportunities for the gospel of freedom. In 1853 Thayer, then a representative in Washington from the Worcester, Mass., district, delivered a speech in the house of representatives, depicting in glowing terms the glory of colonizing Central America. This would relieve the pressure of population in Massachusetts and the East. "But I will speak now of that which constitutes the peculiar strength of emigration of this kind, and that is *the profit of the thing*. . . . It is profitable for every one connected with it; it is profitable to the people where the colonies go; it is profitable to the colonies, and it is profitable to the company, which is the guiding star and the protecting power of the colonies. . . ."

"Well, sir, if we give them a better civilization, the tendency of that better civilization is to increase the value of real estate, for the value of property, the value of real estate depends upon the character of men who live upon the land, as well as upon the number who

In response to the petition of Thayer and colleagues the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company was incorporated in April, 1854, under the laws of the commonwealth of Massachusetts. Its charter stated the purpose was that of "assisting emigrants to settle in the West."¹⁴ Its capital stock was limited to five millions of dollars, to be divided into shares of \$100 each. The literature of the company argued that the defrauding of emigrants could be avoided by organizing them in groups and locating them properly in the unsettled territories of the West, thereby removing the surplus of both native inhabitants and foreign immigrants.¹⁵ The settler would be enabled to migrate more cheaply and in better manner, and his actual settlement in the West would be facilitated by the erection of temporary boardinghouses, and steam sawmills and gristmills, by the company. The company would reserve only those sections in which the boardinghouses and mills were located, but as they would become the centers of the new territory the consequent rise in property values at these points would enable the trustees to dispose of their holdings when the territory entered the Union as a free state, at a profit to the company. A market would be opened in the West for Eastern products. The troubled question of freedom or slavery in the territories would thus be settled in less time than it had taken in congress, and in a decisive manner.¹⁶

Because the stockholders became afraid they might be held individually responsible for their investments, the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company never functioned. To correct the defect the New England Emigrant Aid Company was formed in July, 1854, but was not incorporated until the following February. To make provision for the interim, action was vested in the trustees—Eli

live upon it."—*The Kansas Crusade*, appendix II, pp. 280-282. From this arose the high hope of profit from a corporation, based on such principles.

In this speech Thayer appealed to the South for support, quite as much as to the North. The humor of his remarks caused frequent laughter. The congressional committee never reported on the subject. Thayer's entire position may be viewed as one of "Manifest Destiny."

14. *Charter of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company* (Boston, 1854). The capital stock could be invested in real estate, but not to exceed \$20,000 in value in Massachusetts. Not more than four dollars on the share was to be assessed during 1854, and not over ten dollars in any succeeding year. Each stockholder was entitled to one vote for each share held, up to fifty votes.

15. The company came to be much interested in German immigration, which had reached a high peak after 1848. In 1854 it was reported in the press as having chartered a steamer to import immigrants from Hamburg, but in actuality the plan never went much further than the stage of investigation. In 1857 Dr. Charles F. Kob was employed to set up a German paper in Kansas (the *Kansas Zeitung* of Atchison). It was then hoped to send him to Germany later, in the interest of colonization. The company had a strong penchant toward German settlers, as strongly opposed to slavery.

16. Company document, entitled: *Organization, Objects, and Plan of Operations of the Emigrant Aid Company* (Boston, 1854), pp. 3-6. Not over \$20,000 was to be invested in property in Massachusetts. However, as soon as a million dollars was subscribed, it was planned to collect a mere four per cent for the operations of 1854. Such details were not realized by the general public, who were often deluded by the reports of the tremendous wealth of the company.

Thayer, Amos A. Lawrence, and Moses H. Grinnell (later J. M. S. Williams)—acting under private articles of association.¹⁷ These trustees continued as the chief directive force in the New England Emigrant Aid Company, thereby achieving a unified and continuous course of action under both the temporary and permanent companies.¹⁸ The capital stock of the "permanent" company was limited to a million dollars, with a paper capitalization of \$200,000, consisting of ten thousand shares of \$20 each, par value. Its announced purpose, like that of its predecessor, was that of "directing emigration westward, and aiding and providing accommodations after arriving at their place of destination."¹⁹

The plan of action which was followed quite consistently by the company,²⁰ was formulated by a committee appointed at a meeting of the incorporators early in May, 1854.²¹ It was the belief of this committee, as stated in its report, that as soon as subscriptions to the stock amounted to a million dollars the annual income from this, with later subscriptions, might "be so appropriated as to render most essential services to the emigrants; to plant a free state in Kansas, to the lasting advantage of the country, and to render a handsome profit to the stockholders upon their investment. . . ." ²² The directors were advised to contract immediately for the conveyance of 20,000 persons from the Northern and Middle states to the point selected for the first settlement, to be forwarded in companies of 200, at reduced rates of travel.²³ Where settlements were planned,

17. Daniel W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas, 1541-1885* (Topeka, 1886), p. 46. Also company document, *History of the New England Emigrant Aid Company* (Boston, 1862). Thayer also tried to circumvent the financial defect in the charter by organizing the Emigrant Aid Company of New York and Connecticut under the laws of Connecticut (July, 1854), but its operations were never extensive. For a careful study of the organization of the various companies, see Samuel A. Johnson's "The Genesis of the New England Emigrant Aid Company," *New England Quarterly*, v. III, No. 1 (1930).

18. When the New England Emigrant Aid Company formally organized in March, 1855, after obtaining a charter of incorporation, John Carter Brown was made president, Amos A. Lawrence treasurer, and Thomas H. Webb secretary. Eli Thayer and J. M. S. Williams were made vice-presidents, and also served on the executive committee. Of these Thayer and Lawrence had the greatest influence.

19. *Charter of the New England Emigrant Aid Company* (Boston, 1855). Approved by the governor on February 21. The subscribers of the "temporary" company were made associates in the permanent one. The new articles of incorporation made it clear that subscribers could not be held liable for more than the amount of their subscription. The company formally organized under the new charter on March 5, 1855, and elected a complete slate of officers.—Documentary *History of the New England Emigrant Aid Company*, p. 11.

20. The writer uses the term "Emigrant Aid Company," or simply "company" to denote what was in actuality one acting organization.

21. This committee consisted of Eli Thayer, Alexander H. Bullock, and Edward E. Hale of Worcester, and Richard Hildreth and Otis Clapp of Boston.

22. Thayer, *The Kansas Crusade*, p. 27. (A copy of the report is included.)

23. The trustees advertised for bids "for conveying not less than twenty, nor more than fifty thousand persons, during the present season. . . ." (*Boston Daily Advertiser* of June 20, 1854, clipped in the "Thomas H. Webb Scrapbooks," hereafter denoted as "Webb," v. 1, p. 19). Small wonder that the frontier Missouri slaveholder, patriotic to his section and suspicious of Eastern capital, should be given a case of the "jitters," especially when these details of the company were so widely broadcast.

The emigration under the company's auspices in 1854, as obtained by totaling the various groups, was only 703 (not including, of course, those induced indirectly to go, or those joining

a boardinghouse or receiving house should be constructed, to accommodate temporarily 300 emigrants while they were locating a place of settlement. Steam sawmills and other machines needed in a new settlement, which could not be easily bought by individual settlers, were to be forwarded by the company, to be leased or run by its agents. A weekly newspaper would be the organ of the company. The report specifically noted:

4th. It is recommended that the company's agents locate and take up for the company's benefit the sections of land in which the boardinghouses and mills are located, and no others. And further, that whenever the territory shall be organized as a free state the directors shall dispose of all its interests, then replace, by the sales, the money laid out, declare a dividend to the stockholders, and—

5th. That they then select a new field, and make similar arrangements for the settlement and organization of another free state of this Union. . . .

Under the plan proposed it will be but two or three years before the company can dispose of its property in the territory first occupied, and reimburse itself for its first expenses. At that time, in a state of 70,000 inhabitants, it will possess several reservations of 640 acres each, on which are boardinghouses and mills, and the churches and schools which it has rendered necessary. From these centers will the settlements of the state have radiated. In other words, these points will then be the large commercial positions of the new state. If there were only one such, its value, after the region should be so far peopled, would make a very large dividend to the company which sold it, besides restoring the original capital with which to enable it to attempt the same adventure elsewhere.²⁴

It was, in brief, a plan to tame the frontier and introduce at least some of the amenities of civilization in advance of the settler, by a judicious investment of capital. "Let capital be the pioneer."²⁵

During the years 1854-1855 the Emigrant Aid Company passed through a period of severe economic trial. There was a lack of agreement within the company as to the proper course to be followed. Should the aim of making Kansas and the territories free

later of which no record was kept). The total number transported by the company during its entire history probably did not number over a few thousand. In 1860 there were only 1,282 people living in Kansas who had come from Massachusetts. See the article by William O. Lynch, "Popular Sovereignty and the Colonization of Kansas From 1854 to 1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings 1917-1918*, Extra No., May, 1919.

Yet Thayer claimed, in a speech in November, 1854, that the company had already been the means of introducing 5,000 settlers.—*Congregational Journal*, November 23, in "Webb," v. II, p. 19.

24. Thayer, *The Kansas Crusade*, pp. 27, 28; *Organization, Objects, and Plan of Operations, of the Emigrant Aid Company*, pp. 3-6. The latter gives the plan in greater detail, and was evidently written later, to apply also to the final company, then planned.

25. The agents of the company in Kansas, particularly S. C. Pomeroy and C. H. Branscomb, often praised this plan, in their official correspondence. In his appeals for men and money in New England, Thayer followed a like course. Branscomb, then an agent in Kansas, wrote to the trustees, November 21, 1856: "What we especially want is the expenditure of capital in the territory. Emigration will follow capital of itself" . . . without the intervention of such cumbersome and expensive devices as the National Kansas Committee, which had spent much in getting its trains into the territory. "I have more reason than ever to admire the simplicity and efficiency of our plan. . . . Let capital be the pioneer."—"Records of the Company Trustees," v. II, "Emigrant Aid Collection."

be followed to the exclusion, in large measure, of the hope for profit? If so, it would be largely a charitable organization. But regardless of the answer to this question there was the even more pressing one as to where the finances were to be obtained to meet the running expenses of the company and support its agents in Kansas. Eli Thayer best typified the profit motive in the company, and Amos A. Lawrence the one of charity. The entire career of Thayer substantiates the conclusion that the profit motive was a leading one in his life, and that even his hopes of reform had a silver lining. There is, in fact, reason for the belief that if the Missouri Compromise had not been repealed Thayer would nevertheless have projected some kind of emigrant aid company, but when the Nebraska issue became the great one of the day he immediately placed his project in the Nebraska spotlight.²⁶ In his volume *The Kansas Crusade* Thayer discusses this problem under the heading "Charity vs. Business in Missionary Enterprise." His original plan had been, he says, to conduct a company on orthodox business principles, "able to make good dividends to its stockholders annually, and at its close, a full return of all the money originally invested. . . ." ²⁷ This would have meant the location of towns wherever advisable, and investment in Missouri as well as Kansas land. He advised the purchase of land in Kansas City, but this was blocked by his associates.

The main objection of my associates to my original plan of a money-making company was a fear that people might say that we were influenced by pecuniary considerations in our patriotic work for Kansas. Therefore, they did not desire any return for any money invested. So we went on the charity plan, and were never one-half so efficient as we would have been by the other method, and were fully twice as long in determining the destiny of Kansas.²⁸

Thayer said in another passage:

I had not then, and have not now, the slightest respect for that pride in charity which excludes from great philanthropic enterprise the strength and the effectiveness of money making. . . . Why is it worse for a company to make money by extending Christianity than by making cotton cloth? . . . The truth is, that the highest civilization is the greatest creator of wealth. She is the

26. The writer does not wish to be unduly harsh in judging the part of Thayer, and advances this view as merely a probable assumption. Early in February, 1856, Thayer replied to the attack of President Pierce upon the company (New York *Evening Post*, February 6, 1856, in "Webb," v. IX, p. 49): "The company would have been formed, and put in operation, had the Missouri Compromise remained in force. . . . The repeal of the Missouri Compromise made Kansas the best field for the operations of the company. Had Kansas not been opened to settlement, some other field would have been chosen." See, also, William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, 1918), v. I, p. 347.

27. *The Kansas Crusade*, p. 58.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 59. A more accurate conclusion might be to say that the company, despite its conflicting make-up, followed a rather continuous *business* plan, which included charitable elements.

modern Midas, with power to turn everything she touches into gold. Properly equipped, and with proper direction, she will conquer and supplant any inferior condition of men. . . .²⁹

Amos A. Lawrence, on the contrary, regarded the company as an organization formed primarily to attain a great political and philanthropic goal. He never expected it to pay dividends, and doubted that the stockholders would ever see their money again. He wrote to Professor Packard of Bowdoin:

The shape in which it is presented is objectionable, that is, as a stock company, and it imposes on those who manage it the responsibility of making dividends or of becoming odious. It was with great reluctance that I meddled with it at all; but it was just about dying for want of concerted action and for want of money and business knowledge on the part of those who had started it.³⁰

He advised a clergyman who questioned him concerning investing in the stock of the company:

Keep your money for your own use, rather than do anything of that sort. The value of land stock companies is the most delusive of all stocks. . . . Some of my coadjutors in this enterprise would, if they had the money, invest large sums in the stock, but fortunately the sanguine ones who have property are all in debt, and the poorer ones must rest content. I have taken considerable, but only so much as I am willing to contribute to the cause; and I have already given a part of this away, and intend to do the same with the balance.³¹

Lawrence opposed from the start the plan to make the company a speculative concern, and in effect announced his position publicly.³² He objected in no uncertain terms to the proposal to purchase real estate in Kansas City to the amount of \$28,000, as "contrary to the articles of agreement which we have signed as trustees, and by which we are prevented from making any expenditure beyond the amount of funds actually in our hands," and as being "for the purpose of

29. *Ibid.*, p. 60. "Now, if we apply the above reasoning to an organized, peaceful competition of free labor with slave labor in the former slave states, it will be readily seen with what certainty freedom would have been sustained." The national constitution gave freedom the power to destroy slavery. "Now if it was true, as the census proved, and as all the people of the free states maintained and believed, that our civilization was superior to that of the slave states, then we were at liberty at any time to go into the inferior states and establish free labor there." In fact, they had a great inducement to do so, by means of a corporation which could take advantage of the rise in property values which would follow the economic conquest of the South. Although this was written in 1889, Thayer's published words of before the Civil War were in much the same tenor.

30. Quoted in William Lawrence's *Life of Amos A. Lawrence* (Boston and New York, 1899), p. 80.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 80. When the campaign to sell the stock of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company largely failed, Lawrence proposed that the trustees take large additional shares, and himself took a large block, to forestall failure. He gave away a considerable number of shares to such Kansas patriots as M. F. Conway, G. W. Dietzler, S. N. Wood, S. F. Tappan, and others.

32. At an adjourned meeting of the company at Chapman Hall, Boston, June 19, 1854, Lawrence announced on behalf of the trustees that all subscribers might be called on for the full amount of their subscription (contrary to the original plan) within a year, and no promise could be made to return any part. The work would go on indefinitely, until the territory was free.—Boston *Commonwealth*, June 20, in "Webb," v. I, p. 9.

speculating, to make a profit, and is not necessary in order to accomplish the object for which the society was formed. It is using the good name of the company to create a rise in value in the neighborhood of our purchases,"³³ and might place the trustees in an unfavorable light. He regarded it extremely doubtful that such property could ever be sold for cash. Lawrence actively opposed the views of Thayer, writing confidentially in October, 1854: "His views are very different from mine, and he states them as though they were a part of the plan of the society; and I requested him not to do so; but if he promulgated them at all, to say that they are his own."³⁴ Lawrence differed with Thayer in regard to the hope for profit, to the plan of Thayer to free the slave states in the near future, and to the practice of making large promises to gain emigrants, promises which could not be fulfilled.³⁵

Which of these views predominated in the early years of the company? It appears that the influence of Thayer was considerably

33. Memorandum of Lawrence, to Messrs. Williams and Thayer, August 26, 1854.—Kansas letters of Amos A. Lawrence, hereafter termed "Lawrence Letters" (copies in Kansas State Historical Society), p. 21. "We have good reason to believe that we have good agents, and I propose that our interest in land be small, and that they shall have an interest in it. Also that the emigrants shall have the privilege of buying small portions of us at prime cost." It is evident that the "articles of agreement" mentioned by Lawrence were the private ones signed when the Massachusetts company was given up as unworkable.

34. Amos A. Lawrence to Pliny Lawton (marked confidential), Boston, October 26, 1854, *ibid.*, p. 35. Compare the following letter of Lawrence to Edward E. Hale, February 25, 1855, *ibid.*, p. 54. The Worcester subscription (excepting that of Thayer) turns out to be valueless, being collected for something entirely different from the purposes of the company. The notices in the paper, that parties will go twice a week, that the fare will be only \$25 (it will be that much to St. Louis), is all "untrue and impossible, and creates confusion and distrust." He is led to the conclusion that they will have to separate from the gentlemen at Worcester. "You shall be 'Young America' and we will be the 'Old Fogy'."

At that time many pertinent criticisms were appearing in the public press, concerning the company's course in 1854.

35. This was perhaps the most just criticism of the company. The New England press was full of unfavorable accounts by emigrants many of whom had returned completely disillusioned, the "dupes" of "high pressure salesmanship" tactics. No doubt they expected too much, and knew little of life on the frontier. Many printed their "laments" in poetic form, for which prizes were offered by Eastern papers. The following comes from one of the winners, and was entitled "The Kansas Emigrant's Lament":

I left my own New England,
The happiest and the best,
With a burning Kansas fever
Raging in my breast.
Oh that fair New England!
Oh that lovely home!
If I live to reach you, surely
I never more will roam.

. . .

I came to Lawrence city,
A place of great renown,
Alas! what disappointment
To find so small a town.
The houses were unfinished,
The people had no floors,
The windows had no glass in,
And sheets were used for doors.

I sought an Astor palace,
And a table where to eat,
They gave me poor molasses,
With some bread and salted meat.
Oh my mother's pantry!

. . .

—*Herald of Freedom*, October 13, 1855.

more powerful, but that it was greatly toned down to obtain the coöperation of Lawrence and those opposing speculation, while as time went on, the company was increasingly indebted to Lawrence, who was always ready, as a last resort, to underwrite its activities, when finances could not be obtained elsewhere.³⁶ From its earliest history the company began to invest in Kansas property with the hope of ultimate gain. This hope was well expressed by the executive committee late in 1855: "The executive committee therefore feel warranted in saying, it is rendered *certain* that at no very distant day the stockholders may have returned to them the whole amount subscribed, and it is *probable* that they will receive in addition a large dividend." In addition to the securing of freedom to Kansas, was "the great probability, almost certainty of realizing a large profit on the investments already worth more than the whole stock subscriptions." However, such "estimates of pecuniary profit are based on the probability of the success of the efforts of our friends in making *Kansas a Free State*." ³⁷

The Emigrant Aid Company probably would have succumbed from financial troubles during the early years of its existence, save for the timely aid given it by Lawrence. While the original company had announced great plans for a five-million-dollar concern, it was soon decided to begin operations when a million dollars had been subscribed.³⁸ After the original charter was abandoned, and the final New England Company projected, it was decided that a capital of \$200,000 would be sufficient.³⁹ At the meetings in Chapman hall, Boston, Thayer appealed for action to save freedom on the Kansas prairies, stressed the commercial and industrial disadvantages of slavery,⁴⁰ and obtained a number of important subscriptions, notably those of J. M. S. Williams and Charles Francis Adams. Later at New York he obtained the powerful aid of Horace Greeley and the New York *Tribune*, and additional subscriptions.⁴¹ Yet, in general, sales of stock were hard to make, and cash in hand,

36. After 1856 Thayer was primarily concerned with other matters. The writer has seen no evidence, however, for concluding that any serious rupture had taken place within the company.

37. Statement of property, signed by the executive committee, and submitted to the quarterly meeting of the directors (of the New England Emigrant Aid Company), November 27, 1855.—"Emigrant Aid Collection" of documents of the Kansas Historical Society. A resume of property held at that time is given below. (Here, as elsewhere, words or phrases in italics were stressed by the original authors, and not by the writer of this article.)

38. Thayer, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-33.

41. *Ibid.* The same author, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company," in *Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity*, v. VII, pp. 55-56.

which was so much needed to carry on operations in Kansas, was even harder to obtain. The trustees, who then constituted the acting company, had signed articles of agreement preventing them from making any expenditures beyond the amount of funds actually in their hands.⁴² They were consequently in a grave quandary by late summer, 1854, with no available stock subscriptions, "since we cannot make any assessment until the sum of \$50,000 is subscribed, and now we have barely \$20,000, and from the efforts which have been made we must infer that the stock, like all stock in land companies, is looked on with distrust . . . ,"⁴³ or that other reasons prevented subscriptions. In this predicament Lawrence advised that each of the trustees take an additional \$10,000 subscription, and thereby attain the working capital of \$50,000.⁴⁴ Yet in November, 1854, only \$12,731 had been received into the treasury, and about twice that amount subscribed, on which a half had been assessed.⁴⁵ Early in 1855 important meetings were held in New England in the interest of the company and Kansas, but the financial returns were disappointing. At these meetings Thayer stressed the hope of profit from the investments in Kansas, as was his custom.⁴⁶ The financial embarrassment of the company continued, and early in March Lawrence wrote: "A crisis has arrived in the affairs of the Emigrant Aid Company, and the whole fabric must come down with a crash . . . unless we have energy enough to avert it." Pomeroy would be forced to suspend all operations, unless money could be ob-

42. Memorandum of Lawrence, to Williams and Thayer, August 26, 1854 (cited above).

43. Quoting the same document further, Lawrence appears to have distrusted the Emigrant Aid Company at this time even more than other land companies. He had considerable interests in western lands, and was himself later a trustee of the Kansas Land Trust, which acquired large holdings around Quindaro.

44. Lawrence, *Life of Amos A. Lawrence*, p. 85; Lawrence to J. M. S. Williams, September 2, 1854. It appears that Lawrence acted accordingly, but not all the other trustees. There had been no money to honor the Kansas drafts sent in by Pomeroy, and Lawrence paid them himself. The company was already six or seven thousand dollars in debt to him. "Meanwhile we are making large promises as to what we shall do for settlers, which are certain to be broken, and which will entail much dissatisfaction," Lawrence wrote.

At this same time reports were circulating in Missouri of the tremendous projects of the company, which was reputed to be immensely rich.

45. Documentary *History of the New England Emigrant Aid Company*. In the fall of 1854 the company sent a circular letter to the ministers of New England, appealing for support and funds. Receipts had been, it stated, "altogether inadequate to sustain the activity and vigor of the enterprise."

At a later time a much wider appeal was made to the same profession, with much more success (1855).

46. Clipping in "Webb," from the *Kennebec Journal*, Augusta, Maine, February 2, 1855: The meeting there was held in the hall of the house of representatives. Thayer made a long address, and stressed the importance, from a commercial point of view, of making Kansas a child of New England. Those who went out six months ago were now worth, in some cases, \$3,000 each, in their locations in Lawrence. The 600,000 European immigrants directed by the society into the Southwest, would prove a mighty force against slavery. Each state should in addition furnish its quota. The company also wanted a fund of \$200,000. They hoped to establish ten cities, and invest \$10,000 in each, which would provide a sawmill, machine shop, reception house, etc. The company takes a fourth of the lots in a city. A fourth of the profits will be divided among all who take stock. Kansas for freedom!

tained.⁴⁷ The executive committee considered the subject at an April meeting, relieved Pomeroy, but did little to solve the riddle.⁴⁸ Pomeroy addressed the first annual meeting of the company at Boston on June 1, and praised its technique in planting towns in the territory. Soon thereafter he began a series of speeches through New England, in which he appealed for money to send sawmills to the settlers, and for subscription to the company's stock.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Lawrence continued to advance money, and became increasingly irritated at the method in which business was carried on in the territory. In September he wrote to C. H. Branscomb:

It appears to me that the plan of conducting operations in Kansas with borrowed capital, and incurring debts which cannot be paid without further loans is not a good one. If, as in some kinds of business, the property acquired were convertible into cash, it would not be so liable to objections; but we have very little which can be thus converted.⁵⁰

Apparently in order to sever his connection with the financial morass into which the company was sinking, Lawrence, on September 26, 1855, handed in his resignation from the position of treasurer.⁵¹ No action appears to have been taken by the executive committee, whose members probably hoped that he would reconsider his move. Early in October Lawrence wrote more urgently: "As I have resigned my place as treasurer some way must be devised or the company must go to the wall."⁵² While still in this state of suspense, he continued to pay in an individual way, drafts on the company.⁵³ Some sort of an agreement must have been effected, as Lawrence

47. Lawrence to J. M. S. Williams, Boston, March 2, 1855 ("Lawrence Letters," p. 57): In the face of this dark situation, Pomeroy was permitted to overdraw his account, the company expecting to make it up later. Lawrence appears to have "weakened" somewhat in his opposition to speculation, at this time. He wrote Pomeroy in April (*ibid.*, p. 75): "Do not fear to buy the Kaw lands freely for the company. The company needs something to make money with, more than the trustees or outsiders. . . . As to stock subscriptions, they have almost ceased."

48. Adjourned meeting of the executive committee, April 18, 1855 ("Trustees' Records," v. I): Only \$26,840 had then been paid for shares, with nearly eleven thousand still outstanding. Lawrence reported around \$39,000 subscribed, at the first annual meeting. Despite the crisis, the executive committee authorized the purchase of a steamer, the *Grace Darling*, if Messrs. Lawrence and Webb consented. Lawrence objected, believing that such investments would leave little margin for profit.

49. *Hampshire Gazette*, Northampton, July 10, 1855, in "Webb," v. IV, p. 209: Pomeroy promised a mill for the Hampden colony, "on condition that the citizens of Hampden county will subscribe three thousand dollars to the stock of the Emigrant Aid Co." The sawmills would be the nuclei for free settlements. Money thus given for the cause of freedom "is not asked as a donation, but simply as an investment, which will pay a good dividend in a few years."

50. Lawrence to Branscomb, September 22, 1855, "Emigrant Aid Collection." He continues: "some of the executive committee have already taxed themselves to pay the drafts of Mr. Pomeroy, and may be willing to go on increasing the amount, but this makes them creditors in relation to the very property which they are appointed to hold in trust." Such was "expressly forbidden by our by-laws."

51. Letter of resignation of Lawrence included in minutes of the executive committee meeting of September 29. Lawrence added that the duties of the office were so pressing that they required the entire time of a competent person.

52. Lawrence to Dr. Cabot, October 9, 1855.—"Emigrant Aid Collection."

53. Lawrence to Branscomb, October 19, 1855.—*Ibid.* "I have not heard of the appointment of my successor as treasurer of the Emigrant Aid Company and think there must be some mistake. . . ."

retained his position. Later in the fall Thayer came to his aid with a new plan, to meet the crisis.⁵⁴

At the meeting of the executive committee late in the fall of 1855 it was made clear that the funds of the company were exhausted, and that Lawrence had advanced heavily of his own resources. Some of the committee were much discouraged, and repented having adopted the "charity" plan, Thayer states. Thayer proposed an immediate campaign for funds among the "friends of freedom" in New York, and left immediately on this mission. In that city he conferred with Simeon Draper and George W. Blunt, who called a meeting of prominent and wealthy men, to whom Thayer made a special appeal.⁵⁵ A series of meetings in New York and Brooklyn rewarded Thayer and his assistant, C. H. Branscomb, with a number of large subscriptions, among which those of Horace B. Clafin and Rollin Sanford were notable.⁵⁶ Henry Ward Beecher's congregation also contributed liberally, as did William Cullen Bryant, editor of the New York *Evening Post*. Thayer continued his campaign into the early spring of 1856, when he returned to his customary work of raising colonies.⁵⁷ The immediate crisis to the company had then passed, and the troubles in Kansas, coupled with the interest in the election of Fremont, brought indirectly a new interest in the company.⁵⁸

54. Lawrence retained his position until 1857 when he permanently resigned. At about that time he made the following summary statement (letter of Lawrence to Giles Richards, March 22): "I find that within 2 years I have sent \$20,000 and more to Kansas from my own means, and of which not a dollar can ever come back to me or my heirs, for I have never owned \$200 there which I have not given to the settlers."

Lawrence stated, in a letter in 1855, that his wealth was around \$120,000. One sixth of his private fortune was then spent for the cause of freedom in Kansas.

55. Thayer, *The Kansas Crusade*, pp. 188, 202-205. The same author, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company," in *Proceedings of Worcester Society of Antiquity*, v. VII, pp. 55-56. His appeal included the following passage: "That New York merchants were more interested pecuniarily in this result (freedom in Kansas) than were any other people in the Union; that if they would compare their sales of goods to Kentucky with those to Ohio, they would need no further argument. . . ." This was the time to act decisively, by means of a conservative company, which would in all cases support the government.

56. Clafin and Sanford each gave six thousand, Thayer states (preceding citations). Other large subscribers were Henry H. Elliott, George W. Blunt, David Dudley Field, Thaddeus Hyatt, Bowen and MacNamee, Cyrus Curtis, Moses H. Grinnell, and Marshall O. Roberts. Speaking later at Syracuse, N. Y., Thayer said that \$50,000 was subscribed in New York City. Lawrence, testifying before the special Kansas committee at Washington (May, 1856), stated that about \$95,000 had then been paid in for subscriptions to stock, plus \$4,000 of donations (34th cong., 2nd sess., *H. R. Report No. 200*, p. 874).

Clafin remarked long after this that the six thousand he paid the company in 1856 had been several times repaid by the excess of profit on goods sold in Kansas and Kansas City over what it would have been if slavery had prevailed (Thayer, p. 209).

57. Thayer was nominated for congress from the Worcester, Mass., district in 1856, and was elected. He argued that Kansas would be free, regardless of whether Fremont were elected. At the end of 1856 he left the Kansas work, and began his Ceredo, Va., project (see footnotes numbered 76 and 136).

58. Contributions were collected in many places in 1856, to relieve those injured by the troubles in Kansas (and perhaps in part to help elect Fremont). In this the machinery of the Emigrant Aid Company was taken advantage of. Its agents might accept gifts for relief, and at the same meeting take subscriptions to the stock of the company. When Lawrence resigned the treasurership in May, 1857, he said: "You will find the company free from debt, and its prosperity entire," with the shares never more valuable.—Documentary *History* of the Company, p. 22.

The early literature of the company stressed the plan to transport emigrants, but the records of the company do not indicate any income from this source. Investment in sawmills and gristmills, to be rented or sold to the settlers, offered a better hope for income or profit. The original plan of action provided that the company forward the steam sawmills and gristmills needed in its pioneer communities, to be run or leased by its agents. The pioneers themselves could not be expected to furnish such products of capital, it was argued. Thayer and the representatives of the company greatly emphasized the importance of such machinery, whereby free labor could multiply itself, and make sure a victory over slavery.⁵⁹ By the fall of 1855 the company could report a mill in each of its five settlements, although no doubt they were not all in operation.⁶⁰ So anxious were the settlers to obtain these mills for their communities that they were frequently willing to pledge the company a share of the townsite in return.⁶¹ This service would have been of signal benefit to the settlers if the company had been able to furnish the mills quickly, and keep them in good order, but the lack of ready finances, coupled at times with poor management in the territory, more than once defeated the plan. Thus 1854 passed with no mill in operation in Lawrence, and none in the entire territory.⁶² When mills finally were obtained the agents had difficulty in keeping them running properly, and further trouble in collecting the rents when due.

As a part of the plan to transport emigrants to Kansas, the company planned a series of hotels and receiving houses, to provide

59. See the speeches of Thayer.

60. Statement of the executive committee, to the quarterly meeting of the directors, November 27, 1855, "Emigrant Aid Collection." The settlements then included Lawrence, Manhattan, Hampden, Topeka, and Osawatimie. The book value of these mills then totaled \$23,400, out of a total of \$82,550 of property.

61. Manhattan, Osawatimie, Wabaunsee, Claflin (Mapleton), and Batcheller (later Milford) were examples. The company also at times authorized the sale of its mills, and the purchase of town shares with the proceeds (for example, Burlington).—"Emigrant Aid Collection." It was a general rule of the company to avoid payments in cash, as far as possible, and pay instead in company property, shares, etc. During its entire history, a considerable number of mills were owned or passed through the hands of the company. A large proportion of the real estate acquired from time to time was obtained from the town companies in return for the mills furnished, thus avoiding a direct cash outlay.—See the documentary *History* of 1862, p. 23.

62. *New York Daily Times*, January 10, 1855: "The Aid Companies have done something toward introducing Northern emigrants, but not nearly so much as their feeble efforts have stimulated the slave interests to do. With lavish promises, the Massachusetts Company induced some hundreds to go to Kansas, a large proportion of whom, disgusted before they have ever seen Kansas, or finding that their circumstances were inadequate to meet the realities of the case, have returned, some to stay, and some to take a new start in the spring. . . . There is no doubt that, at this very moment a large proportion of needless suffering is being endured by those who went out under its auspices. With a whole summer in which to provide sawmills, lumber, and boardinghouses, according to promise, the first of November found them without a mill in successful operation, and a mere tent, the sole shelter for newcomers at Lawrence. . . ."

This was a harsh but rather truthful judgment, as the company's record for 1854 was not very good, due to slowness in getting started. Later more success was achieved. At the second annual meeting of the company in May, 1856, it was reported that all five of the company's mills were in operation.

temporary shelter. In 1854 the chief hotel at Kansas City was purchased, at a reported cost of \$10,000.⁶³ In 1855 the Free State hotel at Lawrence was erected as a receiving depot for emigrants, at an estimated cost of over \$15,000.⁶⁴ By May, 1856, the company claimed to have spent \$96,956.01 in Kansas, of which by far the largest part had gone for the two hotels, and for engines and mills.⁶⁵

The plans of the company centered upon speculations in real estate, particularly in the towns which their emigrants had had a leading part in founding. The project for a future income or profit of this nature was emphasized, particularly by Thayer and Pomeroy, in the meetings in New England and the East. It was kept much more quiet in the territory, but was well known by the leading men, and many others as well. This was more than once brought forward, particularly by the Proslavery party and their colleagues in Missouri, as a general condemnation of the company.⁶⁶ Clause four of the plan of operation provided that: "It is recommended that the company's agents locate and take up for the company's benefit the sections of land in which the boarding houses and mills are located, and no others,"⁶⁷ such properties to be disposed of whenever the territory became a free state, and a dividend declared to the stockholders. This plan was put in effect at the first settlement of the company, at Lawrence, and was consistently followed thereafter.⁶⁸ In 1855 the towns of Topeka, Osawatomie, Manhattan, Hampden,

63. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, October 6, 1854. Any such exact figures are always open to question, due to the method of payment.

64. This hotel was destroyed by the raiders from Missouri in the troubles of 1856, and thereby led to a claim by the company against the United States government, which was in 1897 transferred to the University of Kansas.

65. Pamphlet *History of the New England Emigrant Aid Company* (1862). The company also took stock in the hotel at Manhattan, and considered other hotel projects. The sale of these properties later brought plenty of trouble to the company. The greatest difficulty lay in carrying out the terms of a sale which was largely not a "cash down" one. However, in such transactions the agents of the company probably were merely following current business practice.

66. For example, by John Calhoun, in an address before the "Law and Order" convention at Leavenworth on November 14, 1855 (reported in *Kansas City Enterprise*, December 1). Calhoun charged that, while political objects were kept in view, the almighty dollar was never lost sight of, as they hoped, by abolitionizing the territory, to become large land owners.

The strong criticism of the company during the winter of 1854-1855 led to a meeting of its friends at Lawrence (described by William H. Carruth in his article, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company as an Investment Society."—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VI). The activities of the company were praised, as well as the "basis" on which it was operating, i. e., a share of the town lots.

67. Thayer, *The Kansas Crusade*, pp. 27-28.

68. In addressing the first annual meeting in May, 1855, Pomeroy reported there were eight towns of prominence among which were included Lawrence, Topeka, Pawnee, Boston, Osawatomie, and Grasshopper Falls. Northern workmen thus controlled the right points. "They have their mills, and their machinery—their churches, and newspapers. With the exception of Council City, there is not another center of influence or trade in Kansas." This control of public opinion had been arrived at "quietly but thoroughly."—*Kansas Territorial Clippings*.

Boston was renamed Manhattan. The company never invested in either Grasshopper Falls or Pawnee. The latter proposed site of the state capital was a speculative project in which Gov. Andrew H. Reeder and officers at Fort Riley were interested. Council City (later Burlingame) was the projected site of the American Settlement Company.

and Wabaunsee were established.⁶⁹ By the close of that year the company estimated its real estate in the towns of Lawrence, Manhattan, Topeka, and Osawatomie (exclusive of mill properties, hotels, buildings, lumber, horses, etc.), at the book value of \$31,100.⁷⁰

No consistent rule was followed in determining the proportion of a town site to be held by the company. At times the original amount was reduced by the town companies at later meetings. It has been pointed out that in Lawrence the share of the Emigrant Aid Company was reduced from a half of the original town site to a fourth, and in the spring of 1855 to ten of the 220 shares of the town stock (two of these in trust for a university).⁷¹ At Topeka the original agreement gave the company a sixth of the lots "as a consideration for the erection of a mill, a schoolhouse, receiving house, etc.,"⁷² but this was later reduced to one thirty-sixth. At Osawatomie, on the other hand, the original proportion of a third of the town site was retained by the company.⁷³ Much discretion seems to have been left in this regard to the bargaining ability of the Kansas agents, Pomeroy, Robinson, Branscomb, and Conway,⁷⁴ who were expected to follow the accepted business practice, and do the best possible for the company, in their execution of its instructions.

The year 1856 was one of transition in the history of the company. The increased sale of stock subscriptions, coupled with the greatly increased popular interest in the work of the organization, appear to have given new hope of attaining the main objectives—freedom in the territory, and a dividend to the stockholders.⁷⁵ The troubles resulting from the incursions of the Missourians, with the blockade of the Missouri, put a temporary check upon business, but the ar-

69. Documentary *History* of the Company. Wabaunsee really did not get well under way until 1856, when the famous New Haven colony, sponsored by Henry Ward Beecher, left for that place, armed with "rifles and Bibles." Hampden was located on the Neosho, about fifty miles south of Lawrence, in the spring of 1855.

70. Report of the executive committee to the quarterly meeting of the directors, November 27, 1855, in "Emigrant Aid Collection." Total property in Kansas and Missouri was then estimated at \$82,550, distributed as follows: Lawrence, \$36,900; Manhattan, \$9,700; Hampden, \$3,000; Topeka, \$8,100; Osawatomie, \$17,300, and Kansas City, \$7,550. The Kansas City hotel had been recently sold, but the transaction had not been completed.

71. Carruth, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Also documents included in *A Memorial of the University of Kansas in Support of Senate Bill No. 2677*. Concerning the bitter quarrel over the Lawrence town site, see A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 315. In 1857 the company owned 117 lots in Lawrence.

72. Original agreement of the Topeka Town Association, December 5, 1854.—F. W. Giles, *Thirty Years in Topeka* (Topeka, 1886), p. 21. This work gives a very good account of the various steps in the founding of a town in Kansas.

73. The other two thirds was owned by O. C. Brown and William Ward—"Emigrant Aid Collection."

74. S. C. Pomeroy, 1854-1862; Charles Robinson, 1854-1856; C. H. Branscomb, 1854-1858; and M. F. Conway, 1858-1862. Pomeroy acted as treasurer of the agents, kept books, and was chief in importance in transaction of business, from 1854 to February, 1858. Thereafter Conway became general agent.

75. However, a circular of the company dated August 10, 1856, requested subscriptions to rebuild the Free-State hotel, and put up the saw and grist mills already purchased, and concluded: "But the funds of the company are nearly exhausted. . . ."

rival of Gov. John W. Geary brought a restoration of order in the fall. The company had suffered a large loss in the destruction of the Free-State hotel, but nevertheless it continued its program of investment, even though collections were not easy to make in the territory, and few sales had been completed.⁷⁶ The events of the year showed the value a well-located town on the Missouri river would be to the Free-State party and its friends at a distance. Charles Robinson was a leading promoter of the newly projected town of Quindaro, on the Missouri, three miles below Parkville, Mo. Early in January, 1857, Robinson was in Boston in the interest of Quindaro. The company purchased ten shares of Quindaro stock and made plans to aid in its development.⁷⁷ It was announced that \$500,000 had already been subscribed for investment, and that a hotel, sawmill, gristmill, machine shop, and paper mill would be constructed.⁷⁸ With such evident "puffing," Quindaro enjoyed a transitory boom, later to pass into oblivion.

In 1857 the company invested in several Wyandot floats, to safeguard the title to its properties. Pomeroy had in 1855 urged the company to invest more extensively in these claims, as sure to bring returns, but the proposal was then declined, further than laying a

76. Even the sale of the hotel at Kansas City remained "in the air," the terms having not been satisfactorily met. A little later the hotel site at Lawrence was sold to T. W. Eldridge for \$5,000.

Lawrence wrote to J. Carter Brown on July 9, 1856 ("Lawrence Letters," p. 151): "As to the Emigrant Aid Company, I have very much the same view as yourself: that it has done its work. But you always find it odious to propose the destruction of an organization of which you are a manager." Such might discourage the settlers. "As to the stock, its value will probably become steadily less, as no sales of land can be made to keep down the expenses."

Thayer was at this time becoming increasingly interested in other things. Besides being a candidate for congress, he had begun the manufacture of a new type of rifle which, it was announced, would far exceed the Sharpe in effectiveness. He was also planning his Ceredo, Va., project, with which the company declined to cooperate.

77. Pomeroy's statement of expense for September 1, 1855, to December 15, 1856—"Emigrant Aid Collection." The ten shares, valued at \$3,614.80 were obtained by trading to the town company one of the three mills which had been dumped into the Missouri river by the "border ruffians," and later recovered.—Minutes of executive committee for 1857.

Abelard Guthrie was vice-president of the town company, and Robinson treasurer and agent to sell shares. Robinson was also the Kansas agent of the closely allied Kansas Land Trust, a company formed in 1856, with its main office in Boston, to invest in Kansas land. Its depositors included J. M. S. Williams of the Emigrant Aid Company, and Oakes Ames, later involved in the Credit Mobilier scandal. Joseph Lyman was treasurer, and Amos A. Lawrence one of the trustees. The trust bought land extensively in and around Quindaro, promising Robinson a good share of the profits. In 1857 it sold a large amount of its land to Robinson, who gave his notes, signed by Guthrie. By 1860 Robinson had paid nothing on these purchases, although contrary to his agreement. This placed Guthrie in a very tight situation (see quotations from the diary of A. Guthrie, edited by W. E. Connelley, and published in the Nebraska State Historical Society's *Proceedings and Collections*, Second Series, v. III). The trust was placed in a difficult position, because of the trouble to complete the sale to Robinson, and the impossibility, after the panic of 1857, of selling any additional land. The holdings appear to have been divided in 1860. (The Kansas State Historical Society has an incomplete collection of the trust papers. These, with the diary of Guthrie, are the authority for these statements.) An arbitration in 1860 found the Quindaro town company deeply in debt to Robinson.

78. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, p. 148. Late in 1856 the company sent a saw mill to Wabauensee, but a loan was necessary to the operators to set it up ("Minutes of the Meetings of the Connecticut Kansas Colony," p. 143). Evidently it was not satisfactory, as the town company the following June offered a bonus for a mill. Pomeroy favored such going towns, rather than ones newly projected. He proposed to also finance a hotel and a Wyandot float, for Wabauensee. The latter was granted. The property stake of the company in the town was limited to the mill and site.

float at Lawrence.⁷⁹ However, the need of surety of title came to be more clearly appreciated, as the stake of the company in the Free-State towns of the territory grew. Hence the Emigrant Aid Company, on its own initiative, or in coöperation with other town promoters, arranged from time to time to locate Wyandot floats on such towns as Lawrence, West Lawrence, Manhattan, Topeka, and Burlington.⁸⁰

Simultaneous with the investment in Quindaro, the company embarked on several additional town projects. Early in January, 1857, Pomeroy was instructed to sell one of the small mills at Kansas City for not less than \$3,000, and take as large a share as possible in Wyandotte.⁸¹ Late in December, 1856, the boot, shoe and leather dealers of Boston and vicinity, at an adjourned meeting, agreed to subscribe for \$20,000 of the stock of the Emigrant Aid Company. As a reward they were given the privilege of naming two new towns in Kansas, after their principal contributors, William Claffin and T. J. E. Batcheller.⁸² Mr. Pomeroy was directed to obtain suitable locations for these projected towns, in Kansas, and appears to have had some difficulty.⁸³ His general advice to give the preference to

79. Weekly meeting of the executive committee, April 28, 1855—"Trustee's Records," v. I. By article 14 of the "Treaty of 1842" with the Wyandot Indians, as modified by further arrangement in 1854, the United States agreed to grant in fee simple to each of thirty-five named Wyandots, or their heirs, a section of land from any of that set apart for Indian use, and still unoccupied, west of the Missouri river. Such a reserve could be planted before the lands were surveyed, and would take "precedence over that of the white settler in cases where his location either precedes or is of equal date with that of the white settler" (Government regulations for such reserves). One need only recall that there were no government surveys during the first years of settlement, and that the only "title" then existing was such as squatter claim associations could enforce upon their own members, to see why that such reserves were so much in demand.

80. Other Free-State towns upon which such floats were located included Wyandotte and Kansas City (site), Big Springs, Emporia, and Doniphan. No doubt others could be added to this list. (See *Senate Documents*, 1857-1858, v. II, "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," pp. 274-275, for a complete list of such reserves.) Because of their lack of fluid capital, the Proslavery settlers did not locate as many as their rivals. A large number of these reserves were located, evidently by capitalists, along the Big Blue river above Manhattan. Each float of 640 acres covered four legal claims. Wyandot floats were so valuable that a cynic might point to them as a further good reason for the movement among the Wyandots (many of whom were now of white blood), to open Nebraska to settlement. Unfortunately even these reserves did not entirely prevent disputes by rival town companies, or previous claimants. Thus the Robitaille float at Lawrence was long in dispute, and less serious disputes occurred at Manhattan and Topeka.

81. Minutes of the executive committee meeting of January 9, "Trustees' Records," v. III. Nothing came of this proposal.

82. Minutes of the executive committee meeting of December 26, 1856. At the annual meeting in 1857 this was reported as over half the total sales of stock for the year of \$37,000. However, the "Journal" notes on April 7, 1857, p. 4, that only \$8,660 worth was actually sold. Batcheller took \$1,000 worth, and Claffin \$300. Figures given for publication at the start of a campaign are naturally much higher than the amounts that actually materialized later.

83. Pomeroy to Thomas H. Webb, January 6, 1857, executive committee minutes of January 23, in "Trustees' Records," v. III. "The Fishes, at the mouth of the Wakarusa, now want a movement. We have organized a Town Company (unknown to even our friends) the matter is kept perfectly quiet. They vote the Em. Aid Co., one sixth of the original interest. . . . But I think my influence will be sufficient to secure a Name to the Town, to suit the Shoe and Leather Dealers." He had then bought a mill of the Wyandotte company, for Wakarusa.

Another letter of Pomeroy of February 2, 1857, in the minutes of February 20: "The Fishes are in a heap of trouble. The commissioners, in allotting the land to the Shawnees, instead of leaving the land open are locating the lands of the orphan children and the absentees thereabout, so that little will be left for preëmption. It is a trick of the Proslavery officers to prevent the Yankees settling on the upper part of the Reserve." Pomeroy had been trying to "manage the Indians," and get them to go ahead with a town on lands not set off.

going towns rather than newly planted ones was finally followed, and the directors of the town of Madison, on Madison creek, were persuaded to rename their town Batcheller. The company agreed to erect a mill,⁸⁴ and obtained in return a mill site of five acres, and an eighth of the townsite.⁸⁵ Clafin, the second of these two towns, was located by arrangement with the proprietors of Mapleton, Bourbon county. A New England company had laid off the site in May, 1857, but it was later preëmpted by a company of westerners, and called Eldora. This was later changed to Mapleton,⁸⁶ and now, in the fall of 1857, it came under the financial tutelage of the Emigrant Aid Company, and was renamed Clafin. A mill was promised at an early date, but was not actually erected until 1859.⁸⁷

The most important investment of the Emigrant Aid Company in 1857 was made in Atchison. The Quindaro site did not appear sufficient, as the executive committee early in March authorized Mr. Pomeroy to establish a town in Kansas on the Missouri river, as nearly opposite St. Joseph as possible, at an expense of not over \$8,000.⁸⁸ About a month later Pomeroy wrote he was convinced that Atchison was the best townsite on the Missouri river above Quindaro. Mr. McBratney, agent of an emigrating company from Cincinnati, had made preliminary arrangements for the purchase of one half the townsite of 480 acres, including the chief paper, the *Squatter Sovereign*. Pomeroy coöperated with McBratney, and demanded further property adjacent to the town, both in Kansas and Missouri. P. T. Abell, of the town company, bound himself to obtain at least fifty-one of the original hundred shares, at \$400 to \$500

84. Minutes of executive committee meeting of October 9, 1857, in "Trustees' Records," v. III. M. F. Conway was one of the original incorporators of this town, in 1858. In 1870 the name was changed to Milford. Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, archivist clerk of the Kansas State Historical Society, has an extensive bibliography of Batcheller.

85. Valued on January 1, 1859, at \$3,792.35—"Emigrant Aid Collection." The mill was evidently not satisfactory, as the town company, in the spring of 1859, offered the Emigrant Aid Company a quarter interest in the town site of 320 acres, to get the mill into operation quickly. This was accepted (executive committee minutes of April 29).

86. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1097. The Rev. B. B. Newton, of the original town company, executed a contract with Pomeroy, agreeing to change the name to Clafin.

87. Development of these last two towns came during a period of depression, when the company was compelled to curtail operations drastically. However, it eventually carried out its contracts.

88. Minutes of executive committee meeting of March 9, "Trustees' Records," v. III. A Quindaro correspondent, of strong antislavery views, of the *Daily Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, of May 2, 1857, argued it as proved that the Proslavery men could not make a town. With all its advantages Lecompton had become merely "the abode of innumerable doggeries." Delaware City was another example, until recently a company from Lawrence bought the town, when things immediately boomed. Doniphan was another case, until General Lane and some friends purchased it. Atchison was now about to capitulate, in a similar way. However, nine-tenths of the Kansas towns "are perfect catch-penny operations, and must burst as flat as flounders."

Lack of needed capital was, without doubt, a basic reason for the failure of many Proslavery towns. Fluid capital from Missouri and the South was far less than Yankee capital from New York, Cincinnati, New England and the East. No doubt some of the above transactions were motivated by a desire to "cash in" at a favorable opportunity. The Emigrant Aid Company might also have profited by selling when the tide of emigration was at its height.

each, which would give control to the Free-State party.⁸⁹ A little later Pomeroy wrote that the bargain had been consummated by McBratney and himself. "It has been a very difficult matter to get a *controlling* share in the *Town lots*. But we have got them. I should have bought much more if I knew of any way to *pay*. The company have not *authorized me to buy*. I have taken the responsibility."⁹⁰ The Emigrant Aid Company accepted the Atchison purchase, as made by Pomeroy, and authorized a draft sufficient to complete the initial terms of the transaction.⁹¹ Late in May the executive committee considered the question of changing the name "Atchison" to something of less "evil" memory. "Wilmot" was the first choice, and "Pomeroy" second, but no definite action was ever taken.⁹²

By the summer of 1857 the Emigrant Aid Company reached the apex of its hopes, and was filled with gratification at its accomplishments. The Free-State cause had clearly triumphed in the territory.⁹³ The annual report of the directors for 1857 ably summarized

89. Pomeroy to Thos. H. Webb, April 10, in minutes of the executive committee meeting of April 24, "Trustees' Records," v. III. It was further agreed to give Atchison any "abolition name" desired. Pomeroy wrote the next day that, as soon as a rumor got abroad concerning the sale, shares and lots went up about 300 per cent. A move was made to locate a Wyandot float below Atchison, and start a rival town.

90. Pomeroy to Webb, April 18—*ibid*. He added they could now either accept, or allow him to sell to other parties. There was no town site opposite St. Joseph in which he was willing to risk any money.

91. Minutes of the executive committee meeting of April 24—*ibid*. Money from the sale of the Lawrence hotel site was used, in part. However, the commitments of the company were very large in this transaction. C. J. Higginson noted (letter of April 29, in the minutes of May 15) that an outlay of about \$11,000 cash was involved, with a like amount six months hence, and the expenditure of \$50,000 in the place by himself and new settlers, in which a flouring mill was to be included. Both Higginson and Martin Brimmer quailed at such a large outlay.

Yet contrast the following "balance" presented at an executive committee meeting of May 25: \$2,000 paid; \$1,500 promised in six or twelve months. In January, 1859, the company's property in Atchison was listed at over \$17,000.

92. "Wilmot" after the author of the famous Proviso to exclude slavery from the Mexican cessions.

When the transaction was being made, Pomeroy wrote (April 18) concerning the Atchison town company members: "B. F. Stringfellow and [P. T.] Abell are here. They have both done their utmost to *facilitate* our bargain. They both declare they have done all they could to make Kansas a slave state; now they *want to make some money*, which, to quote from B. F. Stringfellow, 'can only be done by falling in with manifest destiny, and letting it become a free state.'"—Minutes of the executive committee meeting of May 1.

The name of the *Squatter Sovereign* (formerly rabidly Proslavery) was changed to that of *Freedom's Champion*, and the politics radically altered, with Pomeroy and McBratney as editors.

93. This was undoubtedly due chiefly to the great wave of settlers from the Northern middle-west. Even the company, in its report for 1857, did not claim that even a considerable part of the population had come through its direct agency.—See its *History*, published in 1862. The census of 1860 showed conclusively that by far the greatest number of *permanent* settlers came from such states as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.—See the article by William O. Lynch, cited elsewhere. Settlers were on the move to Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, and Texas, as well as to Kansas. Although the settlers actually transported to Kansas by the company were few in numbers, they did include a number of important leaders and influential men. Historically the greatest importance appears to attach to the powerful and widespread influence of the company propaganda and advertising. Probably many settlers were indirectly influenced thereby, while the political effects were widespread. Unfortunately, this same propaganda was the stormy petrel which, when wildly exaggerated, stirred the Missouri slaveholders to action to prevent the abolitionizing of Kansas, as a safeguard to their own firesides. The reader should bear in mind that the land activities pale into insignificance when compared historically with the effects of the company as an agent of propaganda.

their accomplishments: "In view of the present condition of Kansas . . . your committee may be pardoned for dwelling with pride and satisfaction upon the reflection that this result has been chiefly owing to the operations of the New England Emigrant Aid Company," which had taken the initiative. "The truth of the great principle of the immense benefits to colonization from the aid of associated capital planted in advance of emigration, to prepare the way for a civilized community, has never been so fairly tried and so fully proved as by this company." Without its work, the territory would still have been "wild and uncultivated," with slavery established. "The policy which has built up towns in Kansas, has also, as a natural result, enhanced the value of all the permanent property of the company in the territory. . . . The value of its actual property, at a low estimate, nearly equals the total amount of the subscriptions to the capital stock."⁹⁴ Land was now worth double to quadruple the amount of a year ago, in the more thickly settled areas. This was especially encouraging, in view of the fact "that considerable sums have been expended without a direct view to pecuniary profit," and additional amounts lost by the destruction of property. If peace continues the stock will probably recover its original value, and make possible good dividends on the investment.⁹⁵ Amos A. Lawrence presented his annual report, and resigned his position as treasurer. In his official farewell to the company he remarked:

You will find the company free from debt, and its prosperity entire. Whatever may have been the result to the stockholders, the shares have never had more value than at the present time. The main object for which the association was formed—viz., the incitement of free emigration into Kansas—has

94. The statement of expense to date of all their properties totaled \$126,616.27 (June 20, 1857—"Journal," p. 21). However, the cost of the Atchison property so far (\$1,293.78) was only a small part of its real value, while no figures could yet be placed on the projected towns of Clafin and Batcheller. The above included the following:

Kansas City (hotel and site, etc.)	\$13,869.48
Lawrence (claim on U. S. for hotel destroyed, real estate, mills and sites, and West Lawrence)	55,181.00
Topeka (mill and mill sites, 10 shares, etc.)	7,146.80
Manhattan (95 shares)	12,092.08
Osawatomie (mill and site, one third town site, timber, etc.)	17,042.60
Quindaro (10 shares)	6,912.80
Wabauunsee (mill and site)	3,555.42
Burlington (real estate)	2,401.21
Atchison (103 lots and hotel, listed in 1859 as \$17,107.10)	1,293.78
Mills property (mills on way)	7,121.04

Expenses were prorated annually between Boston and Kansas, and charged to the various properties. For 1856-1857 the total had been over \$32,000. Over \$27,000 had been received from stock sales that year, and \$5,000 from donations. See the article by Carruth.

95. Quotations from the "Annual Report of the Directors" for 1857, in Lawrence *Republican* of August 6. The report noted that the great improvement from a year before was not due to any help from the government, but to the "brave and determined resistance to oppression" of the Kansas patriots. (The anti-slavery party in Kansas and elsewhere was highly prejudiced against the Democratic administration at Washington.) The tide of emigration now promised to make the aid of the company no longer needed, the report continued. The company at this time began to consider activities elsewhere, particularly in Texas.

been successfully accomplished. The corporation must hereafter be considered a land company, and be managed as such. A speedy closing-up of its business seems to me to be the surest method of yielding a return of the money expended; and, in disposing of the property, much consideration appears to be due our faithful agents. . . .⁹⁶

The approach in the fall of the panic of 1857 blasted all reasonable hope for a satisfactory liquidation of the company's holdings. The crisis, precipitated by the failure of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company late in August, spread rapidly over a wide area.⁹⁷ The west suffered most severely, as the close of the Crimean War had opened a large area to wheat production, causing that commodity to fall from \$2 to 75 cents a bushel. Kansas and Nebraska were particularly hard hit, as the settlers in these regions had scarcely gotten established (many had indeed only arrived that year). As early as September the *Kansas Weekly Herald* of Leavenworth advertised a sheriff's sale of land for taxes.⁹⁸ The *Herald of Freedom* remarked in the following June:⁹⁹ "We pity the man who is compelled to raise money now in Kansas. We were told by a moneylender, the other day, that he was receiving from 10 to 20 per cent per month, and had been paid at the rate of 20, 25 and 30 per month to discount notes." Business was nearly suspended in all Kansas towns, and men with twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars could not sell property at any price, to realize even a few hundred dollars. A movement was begun to obtain united support in an appeal to the President to postpone the coming land sales, and they were put off several times, but were held in 1859 and 1860. A similar movement was instituted to reduce the taxes, but by 1859 the advertising of delinquent taxes reached an astounding scale, including both rural lands and town lots. Vast numbers of the latter were listed as of unknown owners, presumably nonresident speculators who had abandoned their holdings on the approach of the depression.¹⁰⁰ The severe drouth of 1860 caused an almost complete crop failure, necessitated a widespread program of relief, and

96. Annual report of Amos A. Lawrence, as treasurer, May 26, 1857, incorporated in the documentary *History of the Company*, p. 22.

97. Frederic L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893* (New York, etc., 1924), p. 441.

98. Issue of September 26.

99. Issue of June 5, 1858.

100. Information derived chiefly from announcements in various territorial newspapers. The *Neosho Valley Register* of July 21, 1860, remarked that, down to the fall of 1857, Kansas had been largely dependent on Missouri for the chief articles of food, being more concerned with speculation than with the growing of crops. (It might be added that several years were usually required for a settler to establish himself.)

still further postponed recovery. Thousands sold their claims, or abandoned them, and left Kansas.¹⁰¹

What were the chances of success for the Emigrant Aid Company under such circumstances? In the past the company had depended on sales of stock to finance it, and had never accumulated a reserve of any importance. Income from rents had always been disappointing, and from sales negligible. The general policy followed in the years 1854-1857 had been one of expansion, with no apparent intention of sales on a large scale. Had no depression intervened, such a program might have slowly reached fulfillment, but in stringent times, with its credit nothing to boast of, a large reserve would be imperative to tide it over. The Emigrant Aid Company was thus totally unprepared to pass through any extended period of hard times, and was in the class of "frozen" corporations which are ordinarily expected to fail in such circumstances. By a policy of sales instead of purchases in the summer of 1857 the company might have been more fortunate. Lawrence, early in the summer, in a letter to Williams, advocated the sale of at least half their Kansas property before September first, to avoid a coming depression.¹⁰² His warning went unheeded.

The panic of 1857 brought an abrupt end to the policy of expansion, and inaugurated one of strict retrenchment. So pressing was the situation at the close of the year that the company was obliged to procure a loan to meet its obligations, and to allow Pomeroy to fulfill his engagements in Kansas.¹⁰³ Early in 1858 the resignations of Messrs. Pomeroy and Branscomb were accepted, and a new policy

101. Thaddeus Hyatt had a leading part in the program of relief. He wrote to Hon. B. F. Camp, January 12, 1861, soliciting aid from the New York legislature, and stated that his statistics, covering twenty-five counties and representing the general average, were as follows: 12,673 persons had only \$10,671, or less than a dollar each; 18,967 bushels of corn, or about 1½ bushels each; less than nine pounds of flour each; and their corn and wheat crops had been almost complete failures.—"Hyatt Papers," Kansas State Historical Society.

102. Lawrence to J. M. S. Williams, May or June, 1857 (exact date not clear), "Lawrence Letters," p. 258. Lawrence said: "1. That the land speculation now rife in the Western states must have an end before another summer. 2. That Kansas lands are higher than they will be next year. So are town lots, taking all the towns together. . . . 4. That it is for our interest to sell freely, say one half of all we own in Kansas before September 1st. . . . By this course we may in time pay over to our stockholders 50 or 75 per cent of their investments. By the opposite course, in my opinion, we shall lose the capital. . . ."

103. Letters of Pomeroy of December, 1857, in minutes of the executive committee meeting of January 1, 1858, "Trustees' Records," v. IV. Why the situation should have changed so very rapidly, is not entirely clear to the writer. The "Journal" states that, at the time of the annual meeting, there was a balance of \$10,000 in cash on hand. 1857 had been, it is true, a year of large outlays. Whether Pomeroy was in any way responsible, cannot be said without further study. (Strange to say, the more important books of the company for the first two years seem to have disappeared.)

There was at that time trouble as to the Kansas City hotel property, and claims held there against the company. To raise money, Pomeroy tried to sell the Atchison mill, but "the proposition to sell for cash was deemed a joke."

inaugurated, with M. F. Conway as general agent.¹⁰⁴ The company's property "will not be enlarged except in the towns of Claflin and Batcheller. . . . We do not intend to enter upon any new enterprises in the territory."¹⁰⁵ There was to be "a prudent husbandry of our resources, which can only be secured by *economy, method in the accounts, & a careful attention to details.*"¹⁰⁶ A plan for the gradual sale of their properties, in order to obtain the best possible returns for the times, also came to be increasingly urged.

In the program of townsite promotion the Emigrant Aid Company had been obliged to coöperate with the local town companies. As a result it became seriously involved, even in its earlier years. Thus at Osawatomie the company had obtained a third interest in the townsite, along with William Ward and O. C. Brown. Early in 1857 Pomeroy was made head of the town company, and could then better protect the Emigrant Aid interests.¹⁰⁷ A serious difference arose between Ward and Pomeroy, on the one hand, and Brown, who had formerly headed the town company, on the other. The townsite proved to be not properly preëmpted.¹⁰⁸ Even worse, however, was the course pursued by Brown, who, to avoid payment of what he owed the town, placed his property in other hands, where it could not be touched.¹⁰⁹ Thus by 1860 the town company was mortgaged to the extent of almost \$1,000, with the courts threatening a foreclosure. The Emigrant Aid Company was obliged to authorize its agent to advance \$1,000 to free its property of encumbrance.¹¹⁰

104. See footnote No. 131 concerning the serious dispute between the company and Mr. Branscomb. Whether Pomeroy supported him or not, is not clear to the writer, but at any rate both resignations took effect on March 1, 1858. No doubt Mr. Pomeroy was, from a business standpoint, too optimistic to serve the company well in times of depression, when retrenchment and not expansion was necessary. He continued to serve as local agent for Atchison and Kansas City, and apparently was still in good standing with his employers.

105. Letter of instructions of C. J. Higginson to M. F. Conway, newly appointed general agent, "Emigrant Aid Collection." The letter stated that the political objective of freedom in the territory had been attained "so far as the influence of the company through investment can attain it." The second objective of profit was now to be the goal to aim at.

106. Letter of notification of Mr. Brimmer to Conway as general agent, February 6, 1858—*ibid.* This advice seems to have been quite to the point. In the earlier years of the company Lawrence appears to have been the only one in authority who stood for the application of strict business principles.

107. By 1859 Conway was elected to this position. He was also a member of the Manhattan town company. Pomeroy, Robinson, and Branscomb were also at times on various town companies, such as Atchison, Quindaro, Lawrence, etc. The agents were greatly helped by being in such positions.

108. R. S. Stevens to O. C. Brown, Washington, February 18, 1860. The land office pronounced the entry of town sites by the probate judges as void.

109. M. F. Conway to Thomas H. Webb, May 27, 1859, and June 18, 1860. Ward had abandoned the whole affair in despair, and refused to make further payment. The company was thus left to shoulder the whole burden, or follow the example of Ward, and complete the fiasco.

The trouble at Osawatomie was merely an extreme example of a class of troubles that was constant.

110. C. J. Higginson to M. F. Conway, July 10, 1860.—Instructions of the executive committee, "Emigrant Aid Collection."

The problem of collecting rents had always been a difficult one. The attitude of many settlers, that the Emigrant Aid Company was a great charitable organization, increased these troubles. For example, the Topeka association early in 1858 advised Mr. Branscomb it would be useless to attempt the collection of more than a nominal rent for the Topeka schoolhouse.¹¹¹ The problem of rents had become so serious by early 1858 that the company issued special instructions to Conway, the newly appointed general agent, advising him that: "These rents you will henceforward insist by all means upon collecting punctually. . . ." Otherwise the "impression is thereby produced that the company is neglectful or indifferent to its own interests. . . ." ¹¹²

Conway as general agent found it virtually impossible to personally supervise the disordered business of the company all over the territory. He advised that the sales of lots, erection of mills, and the like, be left to the local agents in the towns.¹¹³ The company now authorized the sale of its property, but to obtain any reasonable payment in cash, as desired, was almost out of the question.¹¹⁴ The treasurer could no longer borrow on a simple promise of the company to pay. Before the ill-starred year of 1858 drew to a close he recommended the borrowing of \$10,000.¹¹⁵ In the face of this dark outlook, meetings of the executive committee, which had regularly occurred weekly, now became more and more infrequent during 1859. The company fulfilled its contract and voted a mill for Batcheller, but doubt was expressed as to the outcome.¹¹⁶

111. Official letter of Branscomb to the company, January 14, 1858, in the minutes of January 29. The Kansas State Historical Society possesses the contract for this building, drawn up in 1857. The company advanced money to Abner Doane, to aid in its construction. (The term "Topeka association" refers to the town company.)

112. Letter of instruction, C. J. Higginson to M. F. Conway, February, 1858—"Emigrant Aid Collection." Properties then rented included the Lawrence mill, the Pinckney street and Kentucky street houses in Lawrence, the Manhattan mill, Topeka schoolhouse, Osawatimie mill, Atchison hotel (and the Atchison mill soon to be rented). Rent of the Lawrence and Manhattan mills was then overdue, and affairs of the Osawatimie mill were in disorder.

113. Official letter of Conway to the company, May 5, 1858, in the minutes of May 14, "Trustees' Records," v. IV. "I have the Manhattan embroglio, the Topeka embroglio, besides the Williams & Critchett embroglio, the Branscomb embroglio, and a half dozen other embroglios here in Lawrence, all to straighten out. . . . I do not wish to become myself an *embroglio*, so be prudent, gentlemen."

The local agents could not have been very enthusiastic, as they were now paid a mere commission on business transacted.

114. When Pomeroy did sell a few lots in Atchison, he could make no collection. His rosy letters as to the outlook there began to cool down by the fall of 1858. He complained in addition on January 3, 1859 (minutes of January 28): "Those of us who live here are every day called upon to give a lot to a *church* or *school* or to secure the Salt Lake mail, or other purposes."

115. Letter of the treasurer, minutes of the executive committee meeting of October 22, 1858. Kansas receipts for 1858-1859 were only \$3,474, and expenses \$14,724.95.

116. Webb wrote to Conway, April 30, 1859: "I am in hopes now, they will go ahead and make a *bona fide* town. I trust the town executive committee are discreet and judicious men, who will be careful not to accumulate a debt, to ruin and sink the whole concern."

It may be stated here that Webb had a very large property interest in Kansas. This included a share in each of the following towns: Topeka, Brownsville, Lawrence, Quindaro, and Osawatimie; also lots at Manhattan, an undivided interest at Atchison with Pomeroy, another at Winthrop (opposite Atchison), and a quarter interest in the Wyandot float at

A question arose as to the exact extent of the company's property at Manhattan.¹¹⁷ It was found that in general no sales of importance were possible in such a period, but the company continued to oppose forced sales,¹¹⁸ even though current expenses made impossible a reduction in the notes outstanding. Sales were limited chiefly to the Topeka schoolhouse and the Kansas City hotel.¹¹⁹ In its extremity territorial scrip was accepted in payment of several "bad" debts.¹²⁰ The executive committee noted, in the fall of 1860, that it was "entirely unsafe to rely for any part of this needed money, upon remittances from the territory" . . . and recommended a further note issue.¹²¹ At the annual meeting in May, 1861, it was shown that rents from Kansas for the past year had been only \$915.09, and sales a paltry \$520.75. Though current expenses had been greatly reduced they were still not far from \$4,000. Non-resident landholders could make no sales, while the mills of the company were deteriorating.¹²² With the admission of Kansas as a free state the special purpose of the company had been fulfilled; "still, the Ex-Committee have always borne in mind, that our enterprise to be perfect in result, must be a success financially, as well as in every other way. It must be shown that the Free State system of settling new country, pays well, in money. This we do not absolutely despair of doing even in the case of Kansas," despite the series of unfortunate events.¹²³ It was decided to sell their entire property for \$20,000, which would leave \$5,000 above indebtedness, and with the \$25,000 due from the United States for destruction of the Lawrence hotel, might eventually admit of a small dividend to the stockholders. A few weeks later, however, it was voted inex-

Burlington. He had also a promise of a share in each of the following: Moneka, Emporia, and Tecumseh.—Letters of Thomas H. Webb to "Friend Conway," July 6, 1858, and August 20, 1859, "Emigrant Aid Collection." Webb would request a share in a city as a reward for his account in the handbooks he published for emigrants. (A share was uniformly ten lots.)

117. Official letter of Conway, April 23, 1859, in the minutes of May 13. A hotel project there also caused trouble.

118. Minutes of the directors' meeting of May 29, 1860, "Trustees' Records," v. V. "The secretary observed that the business affairs of the company continued much as they were at the last annual meeting, the year closing having proved quite unfavorable for the effecting of sales to any great extent or amount.

"The opinion was very decidedly expressed that forced sales ought not to be made, but the property carefully husbanded, and disposed of in larger or smaller parcels, from time to time. . . ."

119. The Kansas City hotel was sold to one Hopkins for \$10,000. The company objected to the unfavorable terms Pomeroy obtained, however. Eldridge intervened, claiming Hopkins his customer. The sale does not seem to have been finally completed.

120. \$2,500 from G. W. Brown of the *Herald of Freedom*, to pay his debt in full. Brown had often claimed that he owed nothing, because of his services to the cause of freedom. Also \$1,500 from S. W. Eldridge, for furniture of hotel at Lawrence.

121. Minutes of the executive committee meeting of November 9, "Trustees' Records," v. V.

122. Annual meeting of May 28, 1861, described in the documentary *History of the New England Emigrant Aid Company*, p. 26.

123. Minutes of the directors' meeting of May 28, 1861, "Trustees' Records," v. V.

pedient to sell at that time. In July Messrs. Brimmer and Lawrence, of the finance committee, reported that the income of the company was nothing, and "neither its value, nor the necessities of its management justify an annual expense of \$3,000."¹²⁴ The salary of the secretary and expenses of the Boston office were discontinued, and the salary of the general agent in Kansas reduced. Evidently the problem of paying its debts was bringing the Kansas venture to a close.

At an auction in Boston by Leonard & Company, February 27, 1862, the entire property of the Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas and Missouri was sold to Isaac Adams, of Sandwich, N. H., and Henry A. Ayling, of Boston, for a consideration of \$16,150 (excepting its claim on the United State for the Free State hotel).¹²⁵ This amount little more than covered outstanding debts, to say nothing of a dividend to the stockholders.¹²⁶ The property thus disposed of had a book value of \$143,322.98, having remained at approximately that amount for some time, with no reduction to conform to depression values.¹²⁷

In reviewing the reasons for the failure of the Kansas real-estate project, several major factors appear. There was no income to the company in the transportation of emigrants, while the indirect results, upon which it had so much doted, were hard to obtain. It was often very hard to get the emigrants to "stay put," upon which the success of a projected town so much depended.¹²⁸ The Emigrant Aid Company became so seriously involved with the affairs of the various town companies where it had interests, that its fate was virtually the sum total of theirs.¹²⁹ It has been held that the agents

124. Minutes of the executive committee meeting of July 22, 1861.—*Ibid.*

125. "Journal," p. 179. Also minutes of the executive committee meeting of March 20, 1862, in "Trustees' Records," v. V. Included in the sale were Kansas bonds and territorial scrip to the amount of \$3,500.

Isaac Adams was the inventor of the "Adams power press," which worked a revolution in the art of printing. He was a member of the Massachusetts senate in 1840. He died in 1883. Henry A. Ayling was in earlier years a member of the firm, Priest and Ayling, commission iron merchants. He later became an officer of the Union Elastic Goods Company of Boston. Both men were members of the Emigrant Aid Company.

The original agreement of sale is in the "Emigrant Aid Collection" of the Kansas State Historical Society.

126. Three notes outstanding then amounted to \$12,000.

127. For most of this property, at least, the company now had valid deeds. The "Journal" lists the following (p. 179):

Kansas City	\$12,864.08	Burlington	3,096.05
Lawrence	50,075.28	Atchison	15,127.65
Topeka	10,646.87	Batcheller	4,392.32
Manhattan	11,910.77	Claffin	2,739.20
Osawatomie	19,965.54		
Quindaro	7,456.15		
Wabauensee	5,049.07	Total	\$143,322.98

128. At least four of the company towns eventually became "dead towns," or were radically altered.

129. If the company could have had a 100 per cent interest, this would not have been the case, but usually its share was proportionally small.

of the company, in Kansas, were in part responsible for its failures.¹³⁰ It appears that in general they did their work well, for which the company more than once heartily thanked them. There were, indeed, several serious disputes, involving at least one forced resignation,¹³¹ but in general the agents coöperated well in carrying out their official instructions.¹³² No doubt the company itself was lax in its general policy, which was reflected at times by its agents in the field, justifying well the poor opinion of it as a land company held by Amos A. Lawrence. Yet the Emigrant Aid officials did considerably alter their plan as to the agents early in 1858. Under this system the local agents were paid solely by their commissions on sales and rents, and were to do much of the actual business, while a general agent (M. F. Conway), supervised the entire interests of the company. A general policy of strict economy was enjoined on all.¹³³

There is little doubt that the one chief cause of the failure of the real-estate projects of the Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas was the panic of 1857, which intervened at a decisive time in the company's history. Probably few land companies could have survived such an immense deflation in property values. The severe drought in Kansas in 1860 prolonged the depression, and made it even more

130. See Carruth's article, cited in footnote No. 66. A minute recheck of the company's finances might lead to interesting conclusions. Unfortunately the records, as found at Topeka, are not complete in this regard. It is furthermore doubtful whether the books kept by Pomeroy are in existence.

131. The most serious dispute involved the account of Branscomb, in 1857. It was submitted to Judge Russell, who found in Branscomb's favor, with the exception of the payment by Branscomb of the expenses of four persons back to Massachusetts, when the Missouri river was closed to the Northern emigrants (1856). The company refused to pay this, and, coupled with an error as to salary, threatened suit. Branscomb eventually resigned (March 1, 1858). (The Topeka Tribune of January 28, 1860, notes that suit was then being brought in the court of Shawnee county, by the company vs. Branscomb and C. Robinson, on a note and deed of mortgage.)

Charles Robinson, in his resignation in 1856, claimed he could serve the company quite as well outside, and avoid the charge of being controlled by it. Secret differences seem to have arisen. Robinson was then also becoming interested in the Kansas Land Trust, and Quindaro.

The resignation of Pomeroy from his supervisory position at an hour particularly dark for the company may possibly have been due to dissatisfaction with his general policy, and more or less "free and easy" business, which would not have worked well in times of depression.

132. The company issued very definite instructions to its agents in Kansas. Those given Pomeroy in August, 1854, will serve as a good example. He was authorized to purchase property in Kansas City and Kansas territory to an amount not exceeding \$40,000. With either of the other agents he could draw on the company treasurer for an amount not over \$10,000. He was to buy not over six sawmills, and a gristmill if necessary, and to cause receiving houses to be erected. He was to be treasurer of the agents, and keep a set of books. Deeds of real estate were to be in his name, and at least one of the other agents. He was to have a schoolhouse built in each settlement, and to encourage the establishment of places of public worship. He was to use his influence in behalf of the *Herald of Freedom*, which was to be conducted on principles approved by the trustees. His salary was to be \$1,000 a year, plus traveling expenses and a ten percent commission on sales, rents, etc.—Minutes of the fifth meeting of the trustees, August 26, 1854, "Trustees' Records," v. I.

133. Instructions to M. F. Conway, February, 1858, "Emigrant Aid Collection." The company did on rare occasions send sharp reminders as to general policy. Thus on October 1, 1856, its note to Pomeroy and Branscomb included the following: "The Executive Committee feel it to be of much importance that the agents of the Co. should in future devote themselves *exclusively* to its affairs, so that no political or other object should be allowed to divert their attention from its interests." (Perhaps this applied well to Robinson, who resigned about this time.)

severe.¹³⁴ Yet with a sufficient fund from which to draw for running expenses, the company might have kept its investments intact until the better days of the post-war period.

None of the later projects of the New England Emigrant Aid Company approached the fruition of the Kansas venture. Early in 1857 Eli Thayer began the formation of the Homestead Emigration Society, to begin the colonization with Northern capital and labor of worn-out lands in Virginia.¹³⁵ As early as May, 1856, in the annual meeting of the Emigrant Aid Company, the subject of colonization of Virginia was broached by Mr. Thayer, as a lucrative land venture which would promote the cause of freedom. The company never acted on his proposals.¹³⁶ The future Emigrant Aid program was being studied during 1857 and 1858. In 1857 the executive committee had a subcommittee on Texas, before which Colonel Ruggles of the United States army appeared, in favor of emigration to Texas.¹³⁷ In June of that year this committee reported "that highly valuable investments can be made if prompt action be had, at comparatively moderate cost. . . ." The free-soil population could be easily added to. Operations should begin immediately to check the ingress of a slave population.¹³⁸ It was decided to make further investigation, however, before taking action. At the quarterly meeting of the directors in November, 1858, Thayer made an address in favor of continuing the activity of the company in the cause of freedom. The secretary mentioned several possible fields: Missouri—now rapidly tending to free-stateism, the Cherokee country, and western Texas, and preferred the last named.¹³⁹ The committee then appointed did not report on the subject of Texas colonization until March, 1860.¹⁴⁰ They believed that immediate action was needed to secure freedom to western Texas, and "that a well-sustained band of free settlements, like the line of fire to the

134. The documentary *History* of the company states that the panic "checked at once and fatally our hopes of rapidly converting our property into money." It also stresses the drought as a powerful factor (p. 24, *et seq.*).

135. William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator*, April 17, 1857. See the speech of Thayer on organized emigration to the South, cited above.

136. Proceedings of the annual meeting for 1856, *Boston Daily Evening Traveller* of May 28, in "Webb," v. XII, p. 225. Thayer made a tour of western Virginia (now West Virginia) and eastern Kentucky in the interest of his project to develop neglected plantations and unimproved lands. Five thousand acres were finally selected in Wayne county, near the Kentucky border, in a narrow peninsula on the Ohio. Here the town of Ceredo was founded, in which Thayer planned a great manufacturing establishment along New England lines. The plan prospered well at the start, and the earlier opposition of leading Virginians to "Yankee conversion" largely disappeared. The war intervened, however, and Ceredo remained a small town.

137. Minutes of the executive committee meetings, summer of 1857.

138. Report of the committee, minutes of June 19, in "Trustees' Records," v. III.

139. Quarterly meeting of the directors, November 23, 1858.—Minutes of the meeting. He did not favor any movement, without being first assured of at least \$50,000. A committee was named to study the matter.

140. Minutes of the executive committee meeting of March 16, 1860, in "Trustees' Records," v. V.

scorpion, will turn back the advance of slavery, & turn its venom to its own destruction."¹⁴¹ The only peaceful solution of the slavery question "was the clear demonstration to the slave holders that free labor was cheaper and better in every way than slave labor," even in the cotton belt of the South. It was believed that the tide of slavery could be safely dammed up, by planting northern settlements along a 190-mile front south of the mouth of the Little Wichita river.¹⁴² To execute this plan the committee recommended the purchase of large tracts of around 2,000 acres at six or eight points, leaving about fifteen miles between the settlements. Armed settlers and machinery should then be quickly sent in, with the general plan kept a secret to all but a chosen few, "until we feel ourselves strong enough to bid defiance to the slave-power."¹⁴³ Land could be purchased very cheaply in this region. The committee recommended a \$50,000 fund, with operations to begin when \$10,000 was collected. Subscription papers were drawn up, but not enough was collected to warrant the starting of the enterprise.¹⁴⁴

Late in 1864 the Emigrant Aid Company undertook a plan to transport the surplus women of Massachusetts to Oregon.¹⁴⁵ The Rev. Sydney H. Marsh, president of the Pacific University of Oregon, called the attention of the directors of the company to the subject as early as 1860, but the war intervened, and no action was taken.¹⁴⁶ The project appears to have been largely philanthropic, and devoid of plans to invest in real estate.¹⁴⁷ The first small group of girls were sent, via the Isthmus, late in December, 1864, and a second and larger group was transported in 1865.¹⁴⁸

141. Quoting from this report.

142. South and southwest of the Rio San Antonio there was little if any danger. From a point thirty or forty miles south of San Antonio de Bexar to a point nearly due north on the Rio Llano, a distance of over a hundred miles, there was a large preponderance of German settlers, blocking the advance of slavery. This left a distance of about 190 miles to the mouth of the Little Wichita river, and through this gap slavery threatened to flow.

143. A point like Lamar on the coast would be needed to land settlers and supplies for the South. Settlers for the North would go via the Mississippi, the Red, and Arkansas rivers, and then wagons overland.

144. Quoting the minutes further (meeting of March 16, 1860). Also the documentary *History*, p. 23.

Edward E. Hale, who was prominent in the later history of the company, had been much interested in the future of Texas, as his pamphlet of 1845 had indicated.

145. Emigrant Aid circular, in "Emigrant Aid Collection." This circular, dated November 2, 1864, noted that in Oregon there were, by the last census, 40,000 less women than men, while in Massachusetts there was a large surplus. The company announced it had engaged its own vessel, and employed an Oregon agent.

146. Report to the directors, May 15, 1865, of John Williams, Oregon agent, in Oregon correspondence, "Emigrant Aid Collection."

147. At least \$850 was given for the cause. The later announcements noted that only girls of good character would be accepted.

148. The company advertised it would send its own steamer from Boston to Portland, in May, 1865. It appears to have used, instead, a government vessel to transport 300 lady passengers. (Difficulties arose on the first trip when the girls, being sent via steerage, were exposed to too many dangers.) Governor Andrew of Massachusetts, and Edward E. Hale of the company were the particular sponsors of the Oregon work. Oregon correspondence, "Emigrant Aid Collection." The *Seattle Weekly Gazette* (April 27, 1865) rejoiced at the prospect for bachelors.

Although the plan to operate in western Texas never materialized, the company still retained an interest in emigration and investment in the South. In 1862, when a bill was in congress to confiscate the lands of certain classes of former confederates, the company issued a circular suggesting that these lands be given to loyal union men, by means of an emigration southward.¹⁴⁹ The experience of the Emigrant Aid Company showed that such a movement should be organized. If the government should decide to do this, "it might use to advantage trustworthy agencies at the North," such as the Emigrant Aid Company.¹⁵⁰ A company report of the same year recommended purchases in the border states, such as Maryland and eastern Virginia, as a suitable plan for future operations.¹⁵¹ This was not done because of the lack of funds. At a meeting of the company in 1865 the proposal was advanced for the company to co-operate with the United States Mutual Protection Company, in its work of promoting emigration to the South and real-estate development in that section.¹⁵² No action was taken at that time, but the general subject made a strong appeal. In February, 1867, the Massachusetts legislature issued a new charter to the New England Emigrant Aid Company, with the object of specifically authorizing Southern colonization.

The charter of 1867 authorized the issuance of \$150,000 of additional capital stock, denominated "preferred," for the purpose of "directing emigration southward, and aiding in providing accommodations for the emigrants after arriving at their place of destination."¹⁵³ The company enjoyed a large correspondence at that time with persons in widely separated places, urging it to purchase land, particularly in Florida.¹⁵⁴ Gen. J. F. B. Jackson went on a tour of

149. Company circular, June, 1862, in the "Emigrant Aid Collection."

150. If employed, they would disclaim any idea of profit to the company or those connected with it. Signed by the executive committee, then composed of S. Cabot, Jr., M. Brimmer, C. J. Higginson, John Carter Brown, Amos A. Lawrence, and Edward E. Hale.

151. *Documentary History*, pp. 31-33.

152. This company had as its chief aim the occupation "by loyal citizens of the Northern states, of desirable plantations in the various Southern states lately in rebellion, thereby infusing into them a healthy and loyal element, and, at the same time, promoting the pecuniary interests of the patriotic men who shall be instrumental in effecting this work." It was capitalized at a large amount, and had its general offices in Washington, D. C. Hon. Alexander W. Randall, first assistant post master general, was president, and the Hon. S. C. Pomeroy, senator from Kansas, vice president. (Edward Winslow, in 1867 treasurer of the Emigrant Aid Company, was subagent for Massachusetts.) The company proposed to aid settlers on the same general plan as the Emigrant Aid Company had followed in Kansas, and was to reap a reward in real-estate profits. Official pamphlet of the United States Mutual Protection Company, in "Emigrant Aid Collection."

153. *Act to Incorporate the New England Emigrant Aid Company*, February 19, 1867. Copy in Florida correspondence, "Emigrant Aid Collection." The charter was amended to expire by limitation in thirty years. Preferred stock was to draw 8 per cent dividends, before any on the common. R. P. Waters was then president, Rev. E. E. Hale, vice president, and Edward Winslow, treasurer.

154. Knowledge of the land activities of the company seems to have been widespread at that time.

inspection of that state, and convinced the company "that capital is greatly needed there; that it may be invested with handsome profit, and at the same time so as to largely assist and encourage emigration."¹⁵⁵ It was desired to colonize settlers of small means, in units for mutual support and public influence, and thereby encourage loyal union sentiment in the state. The governor of Florida, and various internal improvement companies in that state, were ready to make very liberal offers of land.¹⁵⁶ In May, 1867, the company announced its intention of establishing a colony on or near the St. Johns river (in the vicinity of Jacksonville), on a large tract offered at favorable terms.¹⁵⁷ When twenty families agreed to unite in a colony, the company would send an agent to survey and lay out the land. It was the intention to send such a colony, at least by October. The company would remedy the chief draw-back for New England settlers—the lack of religious and educational facilities, by providing a church and schoolhouse.¹⁵⁸

The Emigrant Aid Company sold stock to finance its Florida project, but these sales never approached those made in the interest of the Kansas venture.¹⁵⁹ The cause of loyal unionism in the South did not have the appeal of "bleeding Kansas." Late in September, 1867, the company announced it had abandoned its proposed Florida colony, as announced in the May circular, because a large proportion of the emigrants wished to go unpledged as to the point of settlement, rather than in company with others.¹⁶⁰ For some months the company entertained further proposals as to Florida, nevertheless, and began to collect a new fund early in 1868, for "use in promoting emigration to Florida, and its other purposes."¹⁶¹ The next month (February, 1868) it officially denied it furnished "*pecuniary assis-*

155. Official company circular, early 1867, in the "Emigrant Aid Collection."

156. *Ibid.* Every day they received applications from small farmers of limited means, who wished to emigrate. A local newspaper was planned, to cherish union sentiments.

157. "Florida Circular," May, 1867, printed circular in the "Emigrant Aid Collection."

158. Company circular of May, 1867, in the "Emigrant Aid Collection." They would sell five shares of preferred stock at \$100 a share to each person desiring to be member of a colony. With the certificate of stock would go a written guarantee to furnish the holder a farm of from 50 to 100 acres, at from \$5 to \$10 an acre. If in a year the settler did not care to purchase, they would take back the farm, and refund the money paid, in preferred stock of the company, or its land elsewhere. All communications were to be sent to T. B. Forbush, secretary, 49 Tremont St., Boston.

159. Florida correspondence in the "Emigrant Aid Collection." One list of sales totaled \$5,300, and another \$11,400. Large subscribers included Samuel Cabot, \$1,000; John Carter Brown, 75 and 50 shares (evidently preferred and common), William Claflin, 27 and 75, Martin Brimmer, and John W. Forbes. These were largely officers or former officers of the company. Brimmer and Forbes were then both directors. Probably these subscriptions were not paid in full.

160. Company circular of September 26, 1867, "Emigrant Aid Collection." They recommended all going to Florida, however, to Capt. E. M. Cheney, their agent at Jacksonville. No doubt the company was taking a lesson from its Kansas experience, in thus abandoning the project. Settlers in the West in particular were ready to pull up stakes and "hit for the tall timber," whenever it became more inviting.

161. "Subscription Book," dated January 1, 1868, in "Emigrant Aid Collection."

tance to parties going to Florida." Neither did it have "any colonies located, organized, or in the process of organization, nor any interest in the purchase or sale of any lands." It gave advice instead to would-be settlers.¹⁶² The company continued to accept gifts for a "loyal paper" in Florida, evidently hoping to thus promote Northern principles in the state.¹⁶³

The Florida project virtually closed the eventful history of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. A final meeting of the stockholders, their heirs or proxies, was held in February, 1897, when its charter was about to expire by limitation, and its claim against the United States for the destruction of the Free-State hotel at Lawrence was then voted to the University of Kansas.¹⁶⁴

162. Pamphlet of information for emigrants (2d edition), February, 1868, in Florida correspondence. A description of land around Jacksonville, products, etc., is included.

163. A large number of gifts were made to the company for this purpose by benevolent persons. Some individual gifts were above \$100. The Union Printing Company, which published the *Florida Union*, a journal of Northern views, at Jacksonville, had appealed to the Emigrant Aid Company for funds, as it was in debt. The company could not give it money, they replied, but offered to start a subscription list instead.

164. In May, 1885, Amos A. Lawrence, Edward E. Hale, and Eli Thayer incorporated the Utah Emigrant Aid and Improvement Company, under the laws of Massachusetts. Its purposes were: "Directing emigration to Utah and aiding in providing accommodations for emigrants after arriving in that territory and assisting in establishing among them manufacturing and other industries."—*Acts and Resolves of the General Court of Massachusetts*, 1885. Capital stock was to be limited to a million dollars, only a small part of which could be invested in real estate in Massachusetts. A newspaper of the time remarked that the founders of the company proposed to effect for Utah and Mormondom what they had done for Kansas and slavery. The writer has no information as to the operation of this company.

The extensive collection of papers and documents of the New England Emigrant Aid Company (and allied companies) was sent to the Kansas State Historical Society many years ago by the family of Edward E. Hale. It includes the record books of the trustees, in which are found the minutes of the meetings of the executive committee and of the directors (five volumes); the "Journal" and "Ledger," which includes financial records from 1857 on; and a large amount of correspondence of the company with its agents and other persons, preliminary financial statements, company circulars, etc. The correspondence is so extensive that the writer has only slightly tapped it, and should prove a valuable source for future writers. There is a considerable aggregate of further information concerning the affairs of the company, which is widely scattered. The extensive collection of newspaper clippings in the "Thomas H. Webb Scrapbooks" is a notable compilation of such materials.

Ferries in Kansas

PART VIII—NEOSHO RIVER

GEORGE A. ROOT

THE Neosho was first known to the white man as Le Grande, this name having been bestowed by the French.¹ The year it received this title is a matter of conjecture. Pike, in the account of his journey to the Pawnee village in 1806, mentions the stream as a "grand fork of the White river,"² and so far as we have been able to discover, this is the first mention of the name as applied to this stream. M. Carey & Son, in their *General Atlas*, published in 1817, call the stream the Grand. Stephen H. Long, in the account of his expedition of 1819-1820, adds other names to the list. He says: "A short ride brought us to the Neosho or Grand river, better known to the hunters by the singular designation of the Six Bulls."³ This is believed to be the first printed mention of the stream as the "Neosho," while the name "Grand" river appears in an atlas as late as 1840.⁴ South of the confluence of the Verdigris with the Neosho, to where it joins the Arkansas, the name "Grand" attached for nearly a quarter of a century later. Maps of 1825 and later spell the name "Neozho." Joseph C. Brown's survey of the Santa Fé trail, 1825-1827, gives the same spelling. That Neosho is an Osage word various authorities agree, but there appears to be some question as to the real meaning of the word. One authority gives the meaning as "water that has been made muddy."⁵ The late James R. Mead, of Wichita, who spent a number of years on the border and trafficked with Osages and other tribes along the southern border of Kansas, says that "Neosho is an Osage word, meaning 'Ne,' water; 'osho,' clear. Neosho—clear water. In the Indian languages the adjective comes after the noun."⁶

The Neosho is the largest tributary of the Arkansas river on the north, and under federal law is considered a navigable stream.⁷

The Neosho is famed for its beauty, running through some of the choicest agricultural lands within the state, while its banks are

1. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17, p. 708.

2. Pike's *Expeditions*, p. 135.

3. Long's *Expedition*, v. 2, p. 253.

4. Jeremiah Greenleaf, *A New Universal Atlas*, p. 47.

5. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 826.

6. Kansas Academy of Science, *Transactions*, v. 18, p. 216.

7. 65th congress, 1st session, *House Document*, No. 321, pp. 22, 30.

lined with a wealth of native timber. The stream is formed by an east and west branch, the first named having its source in the southwest corner of Wabaunsee county, while the west branch starts at a point about fourteen or fifteen miles west of Council Grove, in Morris county. These two branches unite a little northwest of Council Grove, and flow in a general southeast direction through the counties of Morris, Lyon, Coffey, Woodson, Allen, Neosho, Labette and Cherokee, entering Oklahoma at a point a little southwest of the village of Mill Rose, Cherokee county, and emptying into the Arkansas near Fort Gibson. The Neosho is 404 miles long, of which about 300 miles are within Kansas,⁸ and has a drainage area variously given as 5,090 and 5,106 square miles within the state. Before the settlement of the state the river had a sufficient flow of water to warrant an early-day assertion that the river was navigable to a point above Parsons.⁹ However, the present-day status of the river precludes the possibility of commercial traffic on the stream except in times of high water or flood. The river drains the section of the state between the Kaw and Marais des Cygnes on the north and the Verdigris on the south.

Disastrous floods have occurred in the stream, its tortuous channel being responsible in a great measure for the destruction that followed. The following years have been recorded as flood years: 1844, 1885, 1896, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1911, and 1915, and, in passing, it might be added that the year 1935 should be added to the above list. Of those floods occurring before 1935, those for 1885 and 1904 were the most disastrous.¹⁰ In order to obtain reliable data regarding the amount of water carried by the river, a gauge station was established at Iola in July, 1895, and, following the devastating flood of 1904, stations were also established at Oswego, Labette county; at Humboldt, Allen county; at Le Roy, Coffey county; and at Neosho Rapids, Lyon county. From records obtained at these stations some interesting facts regarding the river were brought out. For instance, at Oswego, the Neosho at average low water was found to be 220 feet wide. At Humboldt, "the channel is permanent—having a sandstone bottom. The current is sluggish at low water and fairly swift at high stages of flow. The gauge is at the highway bridge about one-half mile west of Humboldt. A masonry dam is about

8. U. S. Weather Bureau, *Daily River Stages*, Part XI, p. 111; Blackmar, *History of Kansas*, v. 2, p. 352.

9. 65th congress, 1st session, *House Document*, No. 321, pp. 22, 30.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

100 yards below the bridge and is used to develop power for a grist-mill nearby." This station was abandoned in about a year. The highest water recorded there was on July 10, 1904, when the river reached a stage of 30.50 feet.¹¹ At Iola, at average low water, the river is 208 feet wide. At this point flood waters once reached a height of 17.03 feet, date unknown, while the lowest stage recorded was 2.8 feet on October 19, 20, 1908, flood stage being at ten feet.¹² On May 26, 1902, at a height of twelve feet, the river discharged 15,216 cubic feet of water a second. On August 25, same year, at a height of 16.50 feet, the flow was 25,246 cubic feet a second.¹³ At Le Roy the highest stage of water recorded was 28 feet, on June 5, 1904; lowest stage 0.0 on various dates. Flood stage occurred at 24 feet.¹⁴ At Neosho Rapids, 324 miles above the mouth, the width at average low water is 142 feet. Drainage area above this station is 2,511 square miles. The highest stage of water recorded here was 29.5 feet; lowest 0.0 on November 7, 8, 1904, flood stage being at 22 feet.¹⁵ During August, 1934, the Neosho reached a new low level in Labette county. Mr. T. A. Sprague, of Oswego, who has lived in that vicinity for many years, said that the Neosho stopped running at three points in that locality during the month of August. Mr. Sprague has lived along the Neosho for the past sixty-eight years, has kept a diary for many years, and included in his notations are many facts about the river.¹⁶

The site of the first ferry north of the Oklahoma-Kansas boundary has not been definitely located. Probably it was somewhere to the southeast of Chetopa, and within Cherokee county. In the *Chetopa Advance*, January 20, 1869, appeared the following advertisement:

ROGERS NEW FERRY NEAR THE KANSAS AND CHEROKEE LINE AT THE OLD CROSSING. The proprietor has located and put in a ferry and a number one boat for the accommodation of the traveling public. It is in thorough repair and the public will find it to their advantage to cross at this point. The roads leading to it and from it are in fine condition and persons approaching Baxter from the west will find it a saving in distance to cross at this ferry. Also, the best way from the east to Chetopa.

A week later, the *Advance* of January 27, printed the following item:

NEW FERRY. Arrangements have been made to put in a new ferry across the Neosho, just this side of the residence of Mr. Hard. Unless the proprietors

11. *Water Supply and Irrigation Papers*, No. 131, pp. 157, 158.

12. *Ibid.*, No. 37, p. 267; *Daily River Stages*, Part IX, p. 68.

13. *Water Supply and Irrigation Papers*, No. 84, p. 115.

14. *Daily River Stages*, Part IX, p. 76.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

16. *St. Paul Journal*, August 16, 1934.

of the old ferry put their boat and the approaches to the ferry in better condition, they must expect to lose all their custom. When not crossing teams, the hands ought to be kept busy with the shovel.

No further mention of the Rogers ferry has been located.

By early 1871 W. H. Barker and F. C. Lowrey applied to the county board for a license to run a ferry on the Neosho near the city of Chetopa, at the crossing of the Baxter Springs and Chetopa road. Their application was granted upon their filing a satisfactory bond and payment of a \$10 fee into the county treasury. The board fixed their ferriage rates the same as those allowed other ferries within the county.¹⁷ No further mention of this enterprise has been located.

Chetopa was the next ferry location upstream. On September 14, 1868, Messrs. C. W. Isbell and J. H. Frey petitioned the county commissioners for a license to operate a ferry at Chetopa, and the board, believing that such a ferry was much needed and would be of great utility to the traveling public, granted their petition. The county clerk was instructed to issue them a license upon payment of \$20 into the county treasury of Labette county, and otherwise complying with the law. The board also fixed the following rates of ferriage. For one 4-horse, mule or ox team, 75 cents; one 2-horse, mule or ox team, 50 cents; one 2-horse buggy, 50 cents; one single horse and buggy, 40 cents; cattle, per head, 10 cents; mules, horses and asses, 10 cents each; hogs and sheep, 5 cents each; man on horseback, 25 cents; footmen, 10 cents each. This license was for the duration of one year from the date of issue.¹⁸ At a meeting of the board of county commissioners on November 26, following, the \$20 license fee charged this ferry was reduced to \$10. Mr. Frank Frey, of Parsons, is a brother of the J. H. Frey who was connected with this ferry, and worked for his brother during his spare time.¹⁹ No further record of this ferry has been found.

In the spring of 1870 F. W. Maxon appeared to be in charge of the ferry at Chetopa, located at the foot of Maple street. He probably took charge sometime during 1869, for on April 6, the following year, he made a request to the county board through the county clerk for a renewal of his license to operate at that point. The clerk was ordered to renew his license for one year upon the filing of a proper bond and the payment of \$20 to the county treasurer.²⁰

17. "Commissioners' Journal," Labette county, 1871.

18. *Ibid.*, 1868.

19. Statement of Mrs. Sallie Shaffer, Parsons, after interview with Mr. Frey.

20. "Commissioners' Journal," Labette county, 1870.

Following high water in the year 1878, when bridges were put out of commission, a ferry was constructed the latter part of May, by J. M. Bauman, under contract with the city of Chetopa, and operated during the flood period.²¹

Chetopa was an important trading point during the late 1860's, and for a time during the period of the Texas cattle trade was a shipping point for the "long horns" to northern markets. Thousands of head of Texas cattle were daily being driven through the southeast corner of the state, headed for the packing houses east of the Mississippi river. After the building of the railroads there was occasional trouble over the accidental killing of livestock by the railroad. William Higgins, an early-day politician, editor and later secretary of state, was appointed claim agent for the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, and the greater part of his duty was adjusting claims of farmers and cattlemen for loss of livestock killed by his road. This job earned for Mr. Higgins the honorary soubriquet of "Bull Coroner."²²

In 1866 the legislature established a road from Humboldt to Chetopa, George Lisle, Henry Jackson, and William Simmons being appointed commissioners to lay it out. This road followed a trail already in use, which followed up the west side of the Neosho to Oswego and farther north.²³ In 1869 another road was established by the legislature, running from Baxter Springs to Chetopa, along the south line of the Cherokee neutral lands. J. W. Miller was the surveyor in charge of running this road, and his plat and notes are on file in the archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.²⁴

Agitation for bridges within the county began early in the 1870's, but the sparsely settled condition of the country found the settlers rather loath to incur the necessary expense in the way of taxes for these much-needed improvements. During the early summer of 1871 another move for bridges was started, and on August 21 a special election on the proposition of voting Neosho river bridge bonds to the amount of \$105,000 was held. The settlers evidently had not changed their minds, for the vote stood, for bonds, 165; against the bonds, 1,295. However, a later effort was more successful, and a bridge was built at Chetopa in 1872. This was a wooden structure and cost the city \$10,000 in bonds. It served the com-

21. Chetopa *Advance*, December 5, 1888.

22. Parsons *Sun*, June 1, 1878.

23. Plats of land surveys in office state auditor, Topeka; *Laws, Kansas*, 1866, pp. 226, 227.

24. *Laws*, 1868, pp. 31, 83.

munity for several years, but during high water in the river on May 21, 1878, the abutment on the east bank gave way and the eastern span went down "with all on board," the crew consisting of Messrs. L. M. Bedell, O. A. Sarber, J. Ritter and a Mr. Day. The latter two were somewhat injured by the fall of the bridge, but Mr. Bedell, so the *Advance* stated at the time, "did not even get his pants wet." Following this catastrophe, a ferry boat was put into operation, and until the bridge was repaired was the only means of crossing.

The next structure built was truly a "bridge of sighs," and was constructed under great difficulties and with many discouragements. It was begun in the spring of 1879, and was a combination bridge, erected by the same company that built a later one. On July 23, when nearly completed, the props having been taken out for fear of high water, a wind storm swept up the river, tearing down the east span and breaking up the frame work and twisting the iron rods so badly that it required several weeks of labor to remedy the damage. The storm that caused all this trouble was not felt anywhere else in the vicinity. By the middle of August the bridge was again upon the trestle work and ready to be braced together, when high waters swept the bridge and trestle work down the river, leaving not a stick of timber behind. It was carried from twelve to fifteen miles downstream and had to be hauled back by team. This required much time and it was not until November following that it was ready for use. The third bridge—an iron one—was built during 1888 and completed early in December.²⁵

Labette creek is the principal tributary of the Neosho in Labette county, and consequently second in importance. The stream is close to fifty miles in length, has its source in the southwestern part of Neosho county, slightly south of the town of Thayer, and joins the Neosho at a point a mile or so north and east of Chetopa. This stream was named for Pierre Labette, an early-day Frenchman who lived on the creek a little southwest of where Oswego was built later. He is said to have once lived opposite the mouth of the creek.²⁶ There is good water power on this stream, and close to its mouth was located an ancient Indian village site. As Labette creek joins the Neosho in the immediate vicinity of Chetopa, the history of its ferry is given herewith.²⁷

25. Chetopa *Advance*, December 6, 1888; Oswego *Independent*, December 14, 1888.

26. Statement of Larkin McGhee, in Case's *History of Labette County*, p. 24.

27. *Mills' Weekly World*, Altamont, December 30, 1890; Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, February 25, 1879.

On September 14, 1868, Hugh Moore, by his agent J. D. McCue, presented a petition to the county board for a license to keep a ferry on the Labette "river" at or near the Rocky Ford. His petition was granted and the following rates of ferriage were established: For one 4-horse, mule or ox team, 75 cents; one 2-horse, mule or ox team, 50 cents; one 2-horse buggy, 50 cents; one-horse buggy, 40 cents; man and horse, 25 cents; cattle, per head, 10 cents; hogs and sheep, per head, 5 cents; footmen, 10 cents. He was required to file a good and sufficient bond, whereupon the county clerk issued him a license good for one year from the date of issue.²⁸

Mr. J. O. Wiley, of Bartlett, Labette county, says the "Rocky Ford" on Labette creek was just a mile west and one half a mile north of where the main highway from Chetopa to Oswego crosses Labette creek. It was his recollection that there was a ferry which operated across the creek where the highway is now located. He was but a small boy at the time and cannot remember who operated it. He also recalls a ferry across the Neosho right at the line between Kansas and the Cherokee territory, but does not remember who ran it.²⁹

Apparently a ferry was contemplated for Hackberry creek, a tributary of Labette creek, for on July 2, 1867, the following item is recorded in the "Commissioners' Journal" of that date, but through some neglect or other cause, the name of the party applying for the license does not appear:

Ordered, that ferry License be granted to..... at the mouth of Hackberry creek in Labette county, Kansas, from the date of issuing said license by the county clerk the rate of ferriage as follows for wagon & two Horses 50 cents and wagon and 4 horses 75 cents. Buggy and two horses 50 cents Buggy and 1 horse 40 cents for man and single horse 25 cents every additional horse 10 cents, Loose stock cattle 8 cents per head. to am't of 100 head over 100 head 5 cents footmen crossing 10 cents not connected with wagon & team for sheep and hog 4 cents.

Hackberry creek flows into Labette creek in Richland township, S. 7, T. 34, R. 21E.

Oswego was the next ferry location upstream on the Neosho, and this early-day crossing was located at or near the residence of D. M. Clover. On July 1, 1867, Thomas Richard was granted ferry privileges at this place, paying \$10 for the privilege for the period of one year, and being required to file a bond of \$500 with the county to keep up the ferry as required by law. Ferriage rates were es-

28. "Commissioners' Journal," Labette county, 1868.

29. From letter of J. O. Wiley, July 3, 1935, to author.

established as follows: For wagon and 2 horses, 50 cents; wagon and 4 horses, 75 cents; buggy and 2 horses, 50 cents; buggy and 1 horse, 45 cents; man and single horse, 25 cents; every additional horse 10 cents; loose cattle, 8 cents per head to the amount of 100; over 100 5 cents each; footmen crossing not connected with wagon, 10 cents; sheep and hogs, 4 cents per head.³⁰ Richards apparently retired from the business within a year, for the following year contains no mention of his having applied for a renewal of his license.

In January, 1868, Messrs. Barner & Clover petitioned the board of county commissioners as follows:

OSWEGO, KANSAS, Jan. 11, 1868.

Now comes Barner & Clover with petition asking the board to grant to the said Barner & Clover the right to build & maintain a ferry across the Neosho river in or near the North line of Sec. 16 Town. 33S Range 21 East of the 6th principal Meridian And the Board having been fully advised in the premises and believing that such ferry is necessary for the accommodation of the public & that the petitioners are suitable persons to keep the same do & it is hereby ordered that the Clerk upon the production of a receipt from the county showing that the said Barner & Clover have paid into the co. Treasury the sum of Twenty five Dollars as tax for said ferry issue to License to said Barner & Clover granting them the right to build & maintain a ferry as above described

And it is further ordered that the rates of ferriage shall be as follows for wagon and two horses (40) forty cents for wagon & 4 horses sixty-five cents. buggy & 2 horses 40 cents Buggy & one horse 35 cents one man & horse 20 cts. & for each additional footman 10 cts. Loose cattle per head 8 cts hogs & sheep 5 cts per head and the same rates are allowed for oxen as for horse teams³¹

Mr. Barner apparently retired from the ferry by early fall, for a little over eight months later, on September 15, 1868, D. M. Clover, by his attorney N. L. Hibbard, presented a petition to the county board asking permission to start a ferry on the Neosho at a point one half mile from his residence. This license was granted and the following rates of ferriage prescribed: Four-horse, mule or ox team and wagon, 75 cents. Two-horse, mule or ox team, 50 cents. Two-horse, buggy or carriage, 50 cents. One horse and buggy, 40 cents. Man on horseback, 25 cents. Loose cattle, mules, horses and asses, 10 cents per head. Hogs and sheep, 5 cents each. Footmen, 10 cents. Mr. Clover was required to pay \$20 for his ferry license.³²

From old files of the Oswego *Independent* it is learned that that city secured a ferry when an Oswego merchant, R. W. Wright, purchased for \$300 a boat loaded with potatoes, oats, etc., which came

30. "Commissioners' Journal," Labette county, 1867.

31. *Ibid.*, 1868.

32. *Ibid.*

down the river from Erie, during the drought of 1869. The boat became stranded because of low water. The potatoes, etc., were sold and the boat pressed into service as a ferry at the crossing east of Oswego.

During the summer of 1868 the streets of Oswego were congested with homeseekers looking for claims in the Neosho valley. In Columbus, a few miles to the east, a similar condition prevailed the following year. *The Workingman's Journal*, of that place, in issue of November 12, 1869, said: "Our town presented a lively appearance during the past week. The hotels are crowded with persons who are looking at our beautiful country, many of whom are settling here, and going into business."

Reeves' ford on the Neosho was the location of another ferry. Under date of July 11, 1867, the "Commissioners' Journal," Labette county, recites that it was ordered that G. P. Reeves be granted a license for a ferry at what was called Reeves' ford on the Neosho river, to take effect upon his paying a \$10 license fee to the county treasurer. This ferry probably functioned during the ferrying season of 1868. On January 4, 1869, the county board was petitioned by R. W. Bagby to grant Simon Holbrook and R. W. Bagby a license to keep a ferry on the Neosho at a point where the Reeves ferry and west line county road crossed the river. Their petition was granted upon their paying into the county treasury the sum of \$10 as tax, the board also ordering that the rates of ferriage be the same as those established for the Chetopa ferry.³³ This ferry probably lasted until a bridge spanned the river.

Another ferry in this vicinity was that of S. M. Sovereign. We haven't discovered the exact location of this crossing; however, it was the starting point of a road which ran to Columbus and on to Broylis' ferry on Spring river.³⁴ Aside from the following item headed "A Villainous Act," we have discovered no further mention of this ferry:

We are informed by S. M. Sovereign, Esq., that on last Sunday night some rascal went to his ferry on the Neosho river and cut the large rope that spans the river, almost in two. The cut was near the center and was not observed by Mr. Patoush, who runs the ferry, until the boat was being crossed on Monday morning when it gave way. The boat was heavily loaded at the time and the river up, and only by merest chance was it saved from going down stream and perhaps doing great damage. Mr. Sovereign feels confident he knows the perpetrator, but has no evidence sufficient to convict him. He and Mr. Patoush offer a reward of \$100 for arrest and conviction of the scoundrel.

33. *Ibid.*, 1869.

34. *Laws*, 1871, p. 302.

The boat will not run again until they can send East and procure a wire cable.—Oswego *Independent*, July 6, 1872.

The next ferry location was between Oswego and Montana, about four miles north of Oswego. This ferry was started by Abner Ferguson. In a letter to the author, Mr. T. A. Sprague, of Route 1, Oswego, states: "The first boat on the river here was owned by Abner Ferguson. It was made by Andy Boyd and ironed by Jim Lindsay, a blacksmith who came to this country in the fall of 1866. The ferry was put in operation in the summer of 1867. In the absence of the father, it was run by the son, T. B. Ferguson, later governor of Oklahoma. The elder Ferguson sold out here in 1870 and went to Chautauqua county." The ferry was owned and operated by different parties until a bridge was built across the river. The last boat at this location—about four miles up the river from Oswego—upset while crossing a party, and four people were drowned. That ended the ferry business in this part of the county, according to Mr. Sprague. This ferry was granted a license without cost, on July 11, 1867, and was the first ferry operated within the county. The following rates of ferriage were prescribed:

For wagon and 2 horses, 50 cents; buggy and 2 horses, 50 cents; wagon and 4 horses, 75 cents; one horse buggy, 40 cents; horse and rider, 25 cents; every additional horse 10 cents; loose cattle, 8 cents per head to amount of 100 head; 5 cents per head for all over that amount; footmen, 10 cents each not connected with wagon and team; sheep and hogs, 4 cents each.

The location given for the ferry was rather indefinite; it was described as being on the Neosho river in Labette county, on or near the section line in Township 32. This would be between Oswego and Montana.³⁵ Case's *History of Labette County*, p. 125, states that Mr. Ferguson, in connection with Jonah Wilcox, commenced operation of the ferry near where the river is spanned by the iron bridge.³⁶

Sometime during 1868 Mr. Ferguson acquired a partner in the ferry, the "Commissioners' Journal" that year containing the following entry:

Clerks office, Oswego, Labette County Kansas, Oct. 5th, 1868.

County Commissioners met pursuant to law Present Wm Logan Chairman J. F. Molesworth & Isaac Butterworth Commiss Chas Boggs Deputy Co Clerk

And now comes Dempsey Elliott and presents the petition of Elliott and Ferguson for a license to keep a Ferry on the Neosho river at or near Montana and the board having considered the petition do grant said license and estab-

35. "Commissioners' Journal," Labette county, 1867.

36. Abner Ferguson died at his home near Emporia, where he had lived for many years, on August 22, 1900. The author is indebted to Mrs. Ruth Childres, daughter of Abner Ferguson, Mrs. T. B. Ferguson and T. A. Sprague for data of the Ferguson ferry.

lish the following rates of Ferriage to-wit for one Four horse Mule or ox team 75 cents for one two horse mule or ox team 50 cents. Two horse buggy or carriage 50 cents one horse buggy 40 cents. Man on horseback 25 cents loose horses mules asses or cattle 10 cents per head Hogs & Sheep 5 cents per head. And when the said Elliott & ferguson shall have paid into the treasury of the county the sum of 10 dollars as tax for keeping such ferry he shall be entitled to receive a license for the same under the seal of the county.

On November 26, 1868, the "Commissioners' Journal" records an entry to the effect that "the ferry license heretofore issued to Isabelle and Fry and Dempsey Elliott at \$20 each be and the same is hereby reduced to \$10 each." This entry is a bit puzzling inasmuch as the board had already granted to these same ferry operators licenses at a cost of \$10 for a year.

February 12, 1869, Elliott and Ferguson were granted a renewal of their ferry license, presenting a bond to the commissioners with A. C. Bexon and Samuel Wilson as securities.³⁷ This apparently ended Abner Ferguson's connection with the ferry business in Labette county.

By 1870 the ferry business on this section of the river appeared to be in the hands of Jonathan Wilcox and John Disner, who on January 8 petitioned the county commissioners for a license to run a ferry at Montana. This Wilcox may have been the same individual who was engaged in the ferry business three years earlier. They filed an approved bond and were granted the necessary license.³⁸

Mrs. Sallie Shaffer of Parsons, who has done much historical research in Labette and adjoining counties, has rendered invaluable assistance to the writer in examining and copying old records of county commissioners, interviewing old-timers, etc. Mrs. Shaffer states that there was a ferry on the Neosho about eight miles east of Parsons and south of the Frisco tracks. This ferry accommodated a summer resort of some importance at this location, known as "Neosho Park."

The following record is something of a puzzle as to the location described. Under date of September 5, 1871, the county clerk presented the—

Petition of J. S. Cooper and others praying the board to grant a license to B. McMillen to keep and run a ferry across the Neosho river at or near the mouth of Bachelder creek in Neosho township of ——— county. Whereupon the board grant said petition. Order that a license issue to said B. McMillen to keep and run a ferry at the point designated and at such a time

37. "Commissioners' Journal," Labette county, 1869.

38. *Ibid.*, 1870.

as he shall file a good and sufficient bond as required by law and pay to the county treasurer the sum of ten dollars. Rates of toll to be the same as for other ferries across the river.³⁹ [Bachellor creek flows into Labette creek southwest of Parsons instead of the Neosho river.]

No further mention of this ferry has been located.

The most northern ferry within Labette county was located at a point where the south line of S. 22, T. 31, in Neosho township crossed the river. On March 3, 1871, Edward Spicer and other parties petitioned the county board for a license for Edward Spicer and Isaac A. Jones for a ferry at this point. Their petition was granted, the county board directing the applicants to pay into the county treasury the sum of \$10, and also furnish a good and sufficient bond as required by law. Rates of ferriage were to be the same as charged at other ferries on the river within the county.⁴⁰

In April, 1870, county commissioners of Neosho county (?) granted a license to William Milton to run a ferry on the Neosho river at Vegetarian ford, in Neosho township, license fee being fixed at \$12.50.⁴¹ We have not yet located this ford. Neosho county has no Neosho township and Labette county has, but since Labette county had reduced ferry licenses to \$10 a year, we are inclined to think this ferry applies to Neosho county.

The earliest ferrying in Neosho county no doubt was in the immediate vicinity of old Osage Mission—now called St. Paul, after the noted Catholic missionary Father Paul Ponziglione, who spent the greater part of his life at this post. After the organization of the county the first ferry license was issued to J. P. Williams on April 2, 1867.⁴² As no further mention of this ferry has been found and a new man appeared to be in charge the next year, it is likely Mr. Williams did not operate his ferry over a year. A man named Morgan was in charge of the boat on September 3, 1868, the *Journal* mentioning that his boat was in good running order, and also that the Neosho was "on a rampage."

"Capt." S. J. Gilmore was another ferry operator in the vicinity of the mission. The *Journal* of November 26, 1868, recites that he had "purchased Mr. Ashworth's interest in the mission ferry boat." This apparently was what was known as the "lower ferry." The captain operated another crossing known as the "middle ferry," also in the immediate vicinity of the mission. One of the ferryboats

39. *Ibid.*, 1871.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *St. Paul Journal*, May 24, 1934, "Annals of Osage Mission."

42. *St. Paul Journal*, March 22, 1934.

owned by Mr. Gilmore was known as the *Legal Tender*. On the night of June 8, 1869, a great rainstorm visited the locality of the Osage Mission, and as a result the water in the Neosho rose twenty feet in nine hours. Captain Gilmore's new ferry which had just been put in operation a short distance below the Buck & Hutchings mill, was torn loose and swept down stream. The boat was recovered the following week a little north of Montana, Labette county. The Neosho below St. Paul winds back and forth from east to west for a number of miles without getting many miles to the south, and the *Journal*, in mentioning the recovery of the boat, remarked: "Although it was but nineteen miles by land to the point where the boat stopped, it is fully fifty-seven miles by the channel of the Neosho, which is as crooked as the path of a politician." D. K. Wilson was mentioned as chief engineer and pilot of Capt. Gilmore's ferry.

Neighbors and Johnson operated what was known as the "upper ferry" near St. Paul. The boat used at this point was also swept away during the freshet of June 8, 9, 1869.⁴³

About the middle of August, 1869, A. J. Saunders purchased the "middle ferry" from Captain Gilmore. In November, following, Mr. Gilmore entered into some business arrangement with the authorities of the town to keep in repair and run what was known as the old "Gilmore ferry" for the ensuing year, free to everybody.⁴⁴

Another ferry in the vicinity of St. Paul was operated during the early sixties. F. M. Dinsmore, in a paper read before the Neosho County Historical Society, said that when he arrived in St. Paul in 1865, there were but two houses between the Mission and Baxter Springs, and that one of these was at Trotter's ford on the Neosho, where a half-breed had a ferry. Mr. Dinsmore has passed away since the reading of his paper. He gave no names of anyone connected with the ferry.⁴⁵

Not having opportunity to consult commissioners' records of Neosho county, no doubt considerable data regarding ferry matters for St. Paul will be found lacking in this paper. For what information we have our thanks are extended to W. W. Graves, editor and publisher of the St. Paul *Journal*.

With the building of bridges in the county, ferrying practically ended except for a temporary ferry south of Erie, which was oper-

43. *Ibid.*, April 19, 1934.

44. *Ibid.*, August 9, 1869, May 17, 1934.

45. Letter of W. W. Graves to author.

ated until a new bridge was built to replace the one washed out by ice during the early 1880's.

On May 16, 1871, the West Mission Bridge Co. was organized for the purpose of building a bridge across the Neosho on a line between Sections 15, 22, and 16 and 21, T. 29, R. 20. Jas. M. Roycroft, Reuben Lake, Stephen Carr, John Moffett and M. J. Cavanaugh were the incorporators. This company was chartered for fifty years, their charter being filed with the secretary of state May 18, 1871.⁴⁶ This bridge, located about two miles west of the town of St. Paul, was the first built in this part of the county, and was a much-traveled structure. Late in May, 1873, the Neosho rose to a higher point than it had reached in several years. A large amount of property along its course was destroyed. The fair grounds were partly inundated, including a portion of the race track, while bottom lands were completely overflowed. In the year 1869 the waters were some two feet higher than at the time of the 1873 freshet, but less property was destroyed owing to the fact that the country was then sparsely settled. The waters, however, rapidly subsided, but the west abutment of the bridge was washed out and that end of the bridge dropped down. This mishap was most inconvenient to the whole community as the nearest bridge across the river was at Parsons, in the county to the south. The factor of expense was another handicap in making necessary repairs, as the county could spend only \$200, while the estimated expense in reconditioning the bridge was \$2,500. The *Journal* was up in arms over the situation, and inquired "Are we going to sit still and allow \$20,000 worth of township property go to ruin simply because the law does not *particularly* authorize the trustees to use a sufficient amount of township funds to repair the damage done? The farmers on the west side of the river are now compelled to go to Parsons to do their trading . . ." This evidently aroused the community, for during the latter part of June the town trustees advertised for sealed proposals for raising the end of the bridge, building a "trunk" and doing the work in a satisfactory manner. Seahner & Chesterfield took the contract, and by the end of July had a large force at work on the bridge, which was then almost completed.⁴⁷

By 1884 a new bridge was in course of construction at Osage Mission. The contractors doing the work were a bit worried about their money, refusing to accept bonds issued by the township in pay-

46. Corporations, v. 3, pp. 309, 310.

47. Osage Mission *Journal*, June 4, 11, 18, July 30, 1873.

ment, claiming that they were illegal on account of the township voting an excess over the amount authorized by law. The contractors apparently had other troubles, for a local paper at the neighboring town of Erie, the following year records: "The new bridge in process of construction at Osage Mission was swept away by the flood Monday, and as it had not yet been accepted by the commissioners, we suppose the loss will fall upon the bridge company." ⁴⁸

48. *Neosho County Republican*, Erie, April 10, July 24, 1884; May 21, 1885.

(Part VIII—*Neosho River Ferries—to be concluded in the November Quarterly.*)

Labor Organizations in Kansas in the Early Eighties

EDITH WALKER and DOROTHY LEIBENGOOD

THE labor union movement in the United States, in the modern sense, began in the decade of the eighteen sixties. This movement did not become important in Kansas, however, until the early eighties. The most of the unions appealed only to the skilled workers, but the real story of the great labor conflict after the depression period of the seventies was associated more largely with the Knights of Labor, a union which included all types of workers.

THE NATIONAL BACKGROUND

The Order of the Knights of Labor was established in 1869, at Philadelphia, under the leadership of Uriah Stephens and gradually developed into a highly centralized organization with its local, district, state and national assemblies. In 1879 Stephens was succeeded by Terence V. Powderly as grandmaster workman, who held that position until 1893.

The deliberately planned policy of the Knights was to emphasize and rely upon arbitration, coöperation and education. Although strikes and boycotts no doubt eventually proved to be the chief recruiting agencies of the Order, officially strikes were discouraged and violence was at all times condemned.

Membership in the organization fluctuated from time to time. Initiation fees were low and many assemblies after organizing and holding a few meetings dropped out of existence because there was nothing for them to do. Organizers were paid a certain per cent of the charter fee for each new assembly formed and this made for an unhealthy growth of the organization. The successful Gould strike of 1885 caused many who had once belonged to the Knights of Labor and dropped out to come back into the Order and a great many new assemblies were formed. By 1886 the organization was at its height with a membership of over 700,000. More locals were formed in that year than in the sixteen years of its previous existence.

Powderly and other leaders favored thorough organization, coöperation and political action and opposed strikes. On the other hand a large part of the new membership was attracted by the

success of the strikes of 1885, and placed implicit confidence in strikes and boycotts. The leaders found it impossible to educate these radical elements in the older ideals, and the authority of the general executive board proved insufficient to control their action.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN KANSAS

Many of the numerous labor organizations were represented in Kansas in the eighties, and in their struggle to improve their condition hundreds of Kansas wage earners joined the ranks of the growing army of organized workmen. Among the craft unions represented in Kansas were ten local divisions of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers with a membership of five hundred and seven; eight lodges of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, located at Parsons, Atchison, Ellis, Emporia, Fort Scott, Ottawa, Topeka and Nickerson; two organized divisions of the Order of Railway Conductors; four lodges of the International Typographical Union located at Lawrence, Leavenworth, Atchison and Topeka; and five lodges of the Cigarmakers International Union of America located at Topeka, Leavenworth, Marysville, Fort Scott and Humboldt.¹

Foremost among the labor organizations, however, in point of numbers and influence, stood the Knights of Labor. Introduced into the state in 1879, the Order grew slowly until 1881 and was confined to the coal regions, consisting of only three or four local assemblies. But from 1881 it increased rapidly in membership and never more rapidly than it did during the latter half of the year 1885 and the first half of the year 1886. This growth was especially noticeable following the strikes on the Missouri Pacific railway which occurred in March, 1885.² While the strike was in progress the Kansas City strikers took steps toward joining the ranks of the Knights of Labor. On March 15, the railway men involved in the difficulty with the Missouri Pacific company held a meeting at Armourdale, in which they banded together in a more permanent organization, and established a branch of the Order. Mr. Joseph R. Buchanan, editor of the *Labor Enquirer* of Denver, Colo., and a representative of the Knights of Labor, was present at the meeting and conducted the ceremonies of initiation. Later, in an interview with a reporter of the *Kansas City Journal*, Mr. Buchanan stated:

The Knights of Labor are a tremendous organization and have a vast and constantly increasing influence. They already run the Union Pacific railway.

1. Kansas Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, *First Annual Report, 1885*, pp. 90-91.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Now you see we have lots of money and lots of experience. These Missouri Pacific strikers haven't a great deal of money and no experience to speak of. By becoming members of our organization they have made themselves ten times stronger for they have the whole body of the Knights with all of their resources to back them. The Kansas City strikers have acted very wisely in joining our ranks.³

The assemblies of the Union Pacific employees had commissioned Mr. Buchanan to assist the Gould strikers and had appropriated \$30,000 to their support.⁴

Throughout the year assemblies sprang up along the Missouri Pacific line in Kansas. With a strong assembly of railroad men at Armourdale,⁵ five other thriving assemblies in Wyandotte county,⁶ and a Knights of Labor organizer stationed at Lenora, the western terminus of the Missouri Pacific line in Kansas, the Knights felt confident of a successful crusade in the northwestern part of the state.⁷ In the fall an assembly was organized at Stockton on the South Solomon branch of the Missouri Pacific, and arrangements were under way for the institution of assemblies at other towns in that region. The workers at Muscotah, Greenleaf and Downs were already organized.⁸

In Atchison, the center of four radiating railway lines, the Order was well represented by three local assemblies. The first group was established there by seventeen workmen about 1883, and two years later their numbers had increased to more than four hundred. A short time after the Gould strike of 1885, a second assembly was organized and soon boasted a membership of almost two hundred wage earners. In October a group of young mechanics organized a third assembly, and Atchison Knights felt that the real work of organization had just begun.⁹ In December they were suggesting that steps should be taken toward the formation of a state assembly with headquarters in their city, and frankly stated that their three groups had the material necessary to carry out the project.¹⁰ They were looking forward to a vigorous winter campaign when they hoped to see many local assemblies established throughout the state, and for that purpose Atchison was furnished with an additional organizer.¹¹

3. Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Journal*, March 15, 1885.

4. Ware, Norman J., *The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895; A Study in Democracy* (New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1929), p. 369.

5. *The Labor Journal*, Scammonville and Rosedale, May 9, 1885.

6. *Kansas Sun and Globe*, Kansas City, April 2, 1885.

7. *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, October 24, 1885.

8. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1885.

9. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1885.

10. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1885.

11. *Ibid.*, December 26, 1885.

That the Knights had not worked in vain is clearly shown by the statement of Terence V. Powderly on his visit to Kansas City in the winter of 1885, when he wrote:

The Knights of Labor are firmly intrenched here. Twenty-two assemblies of that Order transact their business and take a hand at shaping the future of the city. The Missouri Pacific Railway System with its 6,046 miles of railway is now manned from end to end by the Knights of Labor. . . .¹²

Both strikes and boycotts served as recruiting agencies for the Order. In April, 1885, a boycott was declared against *The Daily Commonwealth* of Topeka, by the Knights there,¹³ and apparently the use of this weapon gave new life to the Order.¹⁴ In June local assembly No. 1800 of the Knights of Labor announced enthusiastically that its group was growing rapidly.¹⁵ The same month it was stated that within two weeks nearly 500 Topeka wage earners were initiated into the various local groups of the Order.¹⁶ Labor organizations there were growing as never before and reports of continued progress were made throughout the summer and fall.¹⁷ By December of that year the membership had grown from about 500 to almost three times that number.¹⁸

However, the Order was not confined to the larger cities in Kansas where the industrial workers were found. Assemblies were located in smaller towns and scores of Kansas farmers found their way into the organization. An assembly composed chiefly of farmers was active at Lenora.¹⁹ A labor leader reported that the farmers near Independence were becoming interested in the organization, and he thought that before spring three or four farmers' assemblies would be organized there. At Muscotah the Knights proposed to hold meetings in the surrounding territory in order to interest the farmers in their organization. They felt that if these producers were united with the wage earners the power of the organization would be vastly increased. They earnestly desired to see every assembly in the land make it a special object to bring this great wealth-producing class into the fold.²⁰ Many of the farmers of Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota and Texas joined the Knights with the

12. *Ibid.*, January 2, 1886.

13. Kansas Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, *Second Annual Report*, 1886, pp. 80-81.

14. Editorial in *The Daily Citizen*, Topeka, December 29, 1885.

15. *Topeka Daily Journal*, June 24, 1885.

16. *The Daily Citizen*, Topeka, June 18, 1885.

17. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1885; August 17, 1885; September 21, 1885.

18. Editorial in *The Daily Citizen*, Topeka, December 29, 1885.

19. *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, October 24, 1885.

20. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1885.

hope that organization would render them more competent to cope with the railroads and other corporations.²¹

The labor papers in Kansas urged every worker to rally to the cause of labor and join a labor organization. Organization was the watchword. It was every man's duty thus to use his influence to bring about the salvation of the working classes. In fact, labor organs pointed out that this was the only means by which the toiler could hope to be saved from greater degradation. Laws, bureaus of labor, and boards of arbitration were valuable only when directed by the forces of organized labor. If the working men failed to control these agencies, when once won, they would simply become additional tools in the hands of the enemy.²²

It is not surprising, then, with this lively interest in labor organizations and resultant increase in numbers, that the various assemblies reached out into their communities and took an active part in their economic and political life. In a few instances, at least, the Knights ventured into or promoted coöperative schemes in industry. At Muscotah they formed a coöperative mining company. They intended to prove to the people of their city and to the assemblies throughout the state that they were Knights of Labor in every sense of the word.²³

The Atchison Knights were discussing similar plans. A scheme to establish a coöperative foundry and stove works originated in their senior lodge. As the project developed, however, it eventually included not only members of the various assemblies, but also citizens who were outside of the Order. When directors were chosen from the stockholders the only rule followed was the selection of capable men who had sufficient time to devote to the management of the business.²⁴ An office was opened,²⁵ stock in the enterprise sold, and work started on the erection of the foundry by December, 1885.²⁶ If this venture proved successful, other coöperative industries would surely follow, it was believed.²⁷ Hope assembly, not to be outstripped by a sister group, made plans to organize a company to establish a planing mill. Undoubtedly many schemes were entertained by these workers and no little discussion given to their

21. *Ibid.*, October 24, 1885.

22. *Ibid.*; *Kansas Sun and Globe*, Kansas City, June 11, 1885; *The Monitor*, Lenora, December 25, 1885.

23. *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, December 12, 1885, a reprint of a special communication to the St. Joseph (Mo.) *Leader*.

24. Editorial in *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, November 14, 1885.

25. *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, November 28, 1885.

26. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1885.

27. Editorial in *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, November 14, 1885.

adoption. That they did not always agree on such issues was shown by a speech made by their master workman, when he cautioned his fellow members not to engage in unreasonable or impractical business enterprises. He maintained that he would oppose to the last an investment by the Order in railroad building, insurance, or loan and trust companies. If the assembly possessed more money than was necessary for the ordinary expenses he advised the founding of a library for the use of the Knights of Labor. He believed, however, that there were many manufacturing industries in which members of the assembly might invest, and considered the plan of having a planing mill a wise one. If judiciously and honestly managed the enterprise would not only pay dividends to its owners, but also furnish work for the Knights. He warned them, however, that the majority of coöperative schemes failed.²⁸

The Trades-Union, published at Atchison, which exhibited such a lively interest in these schemes, was itself a coöperative newspaper published by working men.²⁹ This paper was convinced that once this plan of coöperation was in motion in Atchison and its value and wisdom demonstrated to the people, "the city would fairly bustle with all kinds of coöperative industry."³⁰ Coöperation, it pointed out, was advocated by the Knights of Labor as the solution of the labor problem.³¹

Workingmen everywhere were urged to unite, cast aside their party prejudices and support those candidates for public offices who were willing to serve labor.³² In 1885 *The Trades-Union* urged the Knight to cast his vote for the candidate who favored the interest of labor, whether he was of his party or not,³³ and announced that seven out of the twelve candidates for Atchison county offices were members of the Order.³⁴

This significance of labor gaining possession of political offices was pointed out to the Shawnee county workingmen in a letter, signed by Gracchus Colltar, which appeared in *The Daily Citizen* August 10. The writer stressed the importance of the office of sheriff in case of a strike, and urged that the matter be looked after before

28. *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, November 28, 1885.

29. *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, *passim*, April-December, 1885.

30. Editorial in *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, November 14, 1885.

31. *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, December 12, 1885.

32. Editorial in *The Daily Citizen*, Topeka, July 24, 1885.

33. Editorial in *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, October 31, 1885.

34. *The Trades-Union*, Atchison, October 24, 1885. Until 1902 the sheriff, coroner, county commissioners, county clerk, county treasurer, register of deeds, county surveyor, and county assessor were elected biennially in the odd-numbered years. The remaining county officers were chosen in the even-numbered years.—*General Statutes*, Kansas, 1901, secs. 2677, 2678; p. 568.

the strike developed and before the click of the rifles of the militia was heard. While, in his estimation, some of the county offices required no especial qualifications, he believed that in order to choose a man for an office something besides competency should be kept in mind. He maintained that if laborers voted some man a fine salary they should get something in return to aid their cause. In closing, he suggested that the laboring men of Topeka get together and nominate and elect officers in the fall election.³⁵

Such a course was adopted and, under the leadership of the Topeka Knights,³⁶ a general labor meeting was held September 12 at the district court room, where the ticket recommended earlier was endorsed.³⁷ With representatives of the industrial worker, farmer and negro included among the candidates, an effort was made to unite these groups in support of the newly formed party.³⁸ Particular emphasis was placed upon the right of the negro to representation, and it was pointed out that the Workingmen's ticket was the only one which recognized this right.³⁹ In Topeka party managers worked diligently to capture the vote of the negroes.⁴⁰

Plans for a successful campaign were carefully mapped out. Leaders were appointed to take charge of the advertising, and arrangements were made for regular meetings of the central committee of the party.⁴¹ In order to arouse interest in the new ticket it was planned to hold rallies throughout the county.

The party leaders were eager to win, but doubt must have existed in the minds of some concerning victory in November.⁴² Mr. G. C. Clemens, an earnest advocate of the rights of labor,⁴³ explained during the campaign that labor did not expect to elect its ticket in 1885, but would use the ballot this time. However, if the workers' petitions were not heeded and their wrongs redressed, he asserted that they would "make their demands felt in another way next time."⁴⁴ On the eve of the election *The Daily Citizen* sold a column to the central committee of the Democratic party in which the merits

35. Letter signed Gracchus Coltar written to the editor, *The Daily Citizen*, Topeka, August 10, 1885.

36. Editorial in *The Daily Citizen*, Topeka, August 18, 1885.

37. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1885.

38. *The Daily Citizen*, Topeka, September 14, 1885.

39. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1885.

40. *The Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, October 24, 1885.

41. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1885.

42. *The Daily Citizen*, Topeka, October 12, 1885.

43. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1885.

44. Editorial in the *Topeka Daily Journal*, October 17, 1885.

of the Democratic candidates were set forth, and in the same issue reported that the Republican party was "badly scared."⁴⁵

In these elections of 1885, of course, there were no contests for state offices, and the labor leaders had to content themselves with more or less isolated attempts to capture local offices for their candidates. The campaign in Topeka was an example of this effort. As was anticipated, all the candidates of the Workingmen's party in the Shawnee county election of November 3 were defeated. The next day *The Daily Citizen* asserted that the vote on this ticket was extremely gratifying, and pointed out that the results had proved more surprising to the managers of the major parties than to the laborers.⁴⁶ On the second day after the election, however, when returns from local elections over the state and nation indicated that the labor candidates had been pretty generally neglected, the *Citizen* said "Let the workingmen turn their attention to the country and see that it is as well organized as the city. When that is done they will stand some show at elections and it cannot be done too soon for the election for members of the legislature next fall."⁴⁷

45. *The Daily Citizen*, Topeka, November 2, 1885.

46. Editorial in *The Daily Citizen*, Topeka, November 4, 1885.

47. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1885.

Voting in Kansas, 1900-1932

CHARLES H. TITUS

FOR decades the state of Kansas has been of special interest to all those concerned with the problems of politics and especially of elections. This interest has not been limited by the boundary lines of the commonwealth, but has extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Furthermore, in making another study of voting behavior, it was noted that Kansas in the period under consideration always cast its electoral vote for the presidential candidate who won. Beginning with McKinley's election in 1900 up to and including the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, Kansas has always helped to elect the winner. The only other states possessing such a record are Ohio and North Dakota. And, finally, having made a number of studies of voting behavior,¹ especially of western states and subdivisions thereof, it was thought wise to include Kansas as a unit in this larger and more comprehensive study of voting behavior in the West.

Forty-four counties were included in this analysis, representing the different districts or geographic sections of the state, the various economic interests and activities, and the large and small units, considered both from the standpoint of area and the size of the population. Table I presents itemized information concerning each county included in this study.

Except for background purposes, the elections analyzed in the study were limited primarily to the first three decades of the twentieth century. The study was limited also to a consideration of voting for President, for congress, for governor and the other state executive officers, for the state senate and the state house of representatives.

The results and conclusions² which emerged from this study were

1. a. "Voting in California Cities, 1900-1925," *Southwest Political and Social Science Quarterly* (v. VIII, n. 4), March, 1928.
- b. "Rural Voting in California, 1900-1926," *ibid.* (v. IX, n. 2), September, 1928.
- c. "Voting in California, 1900-1926," *ibid.* (v. X, n. 1), June, 1929.
- d. "Primary Voting in California, 1910-1928." (Not published as yet.)
- e. "Voting in Wyoming, 1910-1928." (Not published as yet.)
- f. Studies of voting behavior in Montana, Washington, Oregon and Nevada have been partially completed.

2. In presenting the results and conclusions of this study, it will be helpful to distinguish between these two terms as used in scientific studies in general and in this statistical study in particular. *Results* include the mathematical or experimental findings which flow out from the actual analyses made, the experiments performed, or the calculations completed. So, in this study the *results* are composed of the statistical values derived. On the other hand, *conclusions* consist of evaluations made and inferences drawn from the results and from the relationships developed between the results and the various aspects of the study or problem under consideration.

TABLE I.—Forty-four counties of Kansas included in this study.

COUNTY.	Population (in 000).							Area in square miles.	Location.
	1900.	1905.	1910.	1915.	1920.	1925.	1930.		
Allen.....	20.0	29.2	27.7	23.5	23.5	23.5	21.4	504	SE
Atchison.....	28.8	30.0	27.8	27.2	23.5	25.4	23.9	412	NE
Barton.....	13.8	15.1	19.0	18.0	18.5	20.1	19.8	892	C CW
Bourbon.....	25.0	25.0	25.4	25.0	23.2	24.0	22.4	656	SE
Cherokee.....	42.2	40.3	37.5	36.4	33.5	34.0	31.5	605	SE
Clay.....	16.5	15.0	15.5	14.9	14.4	15.1	14.5	638	NEC
Cowley.....	31.4	32.3	33.4	30.0	35.7	41.9	40.9	1,133	SEC
Crawford.....	40.2	48.3	50.5	60.3	61.6	60.0	49.3	605	SE
Dickinson.....	22.2	22.9	25.3	25.3	25.7	25.1	25.9	838	CCE
Douglas.....	25.3	25.1	25.6	25.1	24.0	23.8	25.1	469	CE
Franklin.....	21.4	21.2	21.0	22.1	21.9	20.6	22.0	585	CE
Grant.....	.4	.4	.9	.9	1.1	1.9	3.1	578	SW
Harper.....	10.2	11.9	14.3	13.3	13.6	12.9	12.8	799	SWC
Haskell.....	.5	.6	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.8	577	SW
Jackson.....	18.0	15.6	16.1	15.6	15.5	15.0	14.7	675	NE
Jefferson.....	17.0	16.1	15.5	15.7	14.7	14.4	14.1	543	NE
Jewell.....	19.0	17.4	17.4	17.2	16.3	15.7	14.5	900	N WC
Kiowa.....	2.1	3.5	5.9	6.5	6.2	6.0	6.0	723	SWC
Labette.....	27.3	30.3	35.0	31.0	33.9	32.0	31.3	643	SE
Leavenworth.....	36.1	38.9	41.2	40.6	38.6	41.4	42.7	444	NE
Lyon.....	25.3	24.2	25.0	26.5	26.2	26.7	29.2	845	CCE
Marion.....	20.8	20.0	22.7	21.6	22.8	22.2	20.7	953	CCE
Marshall.....	24.0	23.0	23.8	21.7	22.7	23.1	23.1	905	NCE
Montgomery.....	29.0	48.8	59.7	49.8	49.6	50.1	51.4	644	SE
Morton.....	.3	.2	1.1	1.7	3.2	3.4	4.1	718	SW
Nemaha.....	20.3	20.1	19.0	18.3	18.4	18.3	18.3	716	NE
Neosho.....	20.1	24.2	23.2	23.0	24.0	22.7	22.7	580	SE
Ness.....	4.4	5.4	5.7	5.5	7.5	7.6	8.4	1,079	C WC
Osage.....	23.7	22.2	19.8	20.1	18.6	20.7	17.5	718	CE
Phillips.....	13.6	14.2	14.9	13.2	12.5	12.5	12.2	887	N CW
Pottawatomie.....	17.6	16.2	16.5	16.1	16.1	15.3	15.9	829	NEC
Pratt.....	6.8	8.2	10.6	11.6	12.9	12.8	13.3	726	SCW
Reno.....	27.4	30.8	37.5	40.5	44.6	46.6	47.8	1,242	C CW
Republic.....	18.4	17.1	16.6	16.9	15.8	15.4	14.7	704	NCE
Riley.....	12.9	13.7	15.4	16.5	20.6	19.7	19.9	604	NCE
Rooks.....	7.7	9.5	11.4	10.6	10.0	10.1	9.5	890	N CW
Sedgwick.....	42.9	50.3	73.3	73.3	92.3	110.0	136.3	994	SCE
Shawnee.....	53.7	55.8	61.8	64.7	69.2	75.2	85.2	544	CE
Sherman.....	3.3	3.6	4.5	4.1	5.6	6.2	7.4	1,049	N W
Stafford.....	9.1	10.4	12.1	11.4	11.5	11.0	10.5	796	C CW
Stanton.....	.3	.4	1.0	.8	.9	1.4	2.2	685	SW
Sumner.....	25.3	25.5	30.0	28.0	29.2	28.4	29.0	1,179	SCE
Washington.....	20.9	20.3	19.8	19.0	17.9	17.5	17.1	902	NCE
Wyandotte.....	68.1	92.8	109.8	110.6	122.2	131.7	141.2	143	NE

arranged under two general topics: (I) material related to party victory; and (II) material related to voting behavior, and are presented according to this major classification. The first of these was further subdivided into national and state or commonwealth, and the second was broken into time differences, size differences, and location differences. In each case, the results are indicated and then the conclusions presented.

I. PARTY VICTORY

In the introduction of this article it was pointed out that the people of Kansas have voted for the presidential winner at each election in this century. Table II presents a graphic picture of this behavior.

TABLE II.—Voting in Kansas and party victory in presidential elections.

YEAR.	The party electoral vote cast.	The winning presidential candidate.	Total vote cast for president.
1900.....	Republican.....	McKinley.....	354,000
1904.....	Republican.....	T. Roosevelt.....	322,000
1908.....	Republican.....	Taft.....	376,000
1912.....	Democrat.....	Wilson.....	366,000
1916.....	Democrat.....	Wilson.....	*630,000
1920.....	Republican.....	Harding.....	570,000
1924.....	Republican.....	Coolidge.....	662,000
1928.....	Republican.....	Hoover.....	707,000
1932.....	Democrat.....	F. D. Roosevelt.....	792,000

* Woman suffrage effective.

Instead of the expression, "As Maine goes so goes America," it might well be said, "As Kansas votes, so goes the election." However, even after all these years of success, one hesitates to rely too much upon the political sagacity of the people of Kansas; the next election may find the record broken.

During this period Kansas has always had at least one Republican United States senator. In 1912 William H. Thompson, Democrat, defeated Gov. Walter R. Stubbs, Republican, for this high office. In 1930 George McGill, Democrat, defeated Henry J. Allen, Republican, and in 1932 Senator McGill defeated Ex-Governor Ben S. Paulen, Republican, for the senatorship. Consequently, out of thirteen United States senators chosen directly or indirectly by the people of Kansas, ten have been Republican and three Democratic, or, in other words, for more than two-thirds of the first thirty-three years of this century, Kansas has been represented in the senate by Republicans only, while during the remainder of the period the representation has been divided. Therefore, Kansas can be thought of as Republican in its relationship to the United States senate.

The analysis of the contests for election to the United States house of representatives is limited to the period 1904-1930. In 1904 Kansas was represented by seven congressmen from as many districts and one congressman at large, while in all subsequent elections, including 1930, the eight congressmen were selected from as many districts. Table III gives a picture of the party representa-

gives a clear picture of the election results for these offices and for President and governor.

The election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912 and in 1916 and the election of Democratic governors in 1912, 1922 and 1930, seemed to have had no effect whatever upon the selection of men to the elected other state executive offices. All were Republican.

The state senate is composed of forty members chosen from as many districts. They are elected for terms of four years and all are up for election in presidential election years. This is quite different from that system used in California and the one used in selecting the United States senators. Table V shows the party strength in the upper house for the period 1908-1930, inclusive.

TABLE V.—Party victory for upper house of Kansas legislature.

Year.....	1908.	*1912.	1916.	1920.	1924.	1928.
Republican.....	34	18	31	38	32	37
Democrat.....	6	21	9	2	8	3

* One Socialist was elected to the senate at this election.

Thus the senate was clearly Republican for twenty of the last twenty-four years. In filling the two hundred and forty offices (40 offices \times 6), 49 (20 percent) were Democratic. The senate was eighty (80) percent Republican during this twenty-four year period. Omitting the 1912 election, which appears to have been an exceptional situation, twenty-eight of two hundred were held by Democrats, thus giving the Republicans eighty-six (86) percent of the voting strength in twenty of the twenty-four years. For four years (1912-1916) the Democrats had fifty-two (52) percent of the voting power. However, the upper house of the Kansas legislature is distinctly Republican and the Democrats will have to capture and hold the upper chamber for several four-year periods before another evaluation will be in order.

The Republicans have a distinct advantage as a result of electing all forty state senators at the presidential elections. Either three out of five, or four out of five times in current history, the Republican party has been successful in electing the President. This is of great help in successfully carrying state elections. One Democratic governor out of the three has had a friendly senate, while only one Republican out of nine has had an unfriendly upper house.

The lower house is distinctly Republican as measured by the number of victories obtained in the twenty-four year period under consideration (twelve elections, 1908-1930). Table VI presents the party strength as a result of the various elections held.

TABLE VI.—Party victory for the lower house of the Kansas legislature.

YEAR.	Republican.	Democratic.	Independent.	Progressive.	Socialist.
1908.....	84	40	1	0	0
1910.....	71	53	1	0	0
1912.....	51	72	0	0	2
1914.....	67	48	0	9	1
1916.....	86	37	0	0	2
1918.....	110	15	0	0	0
1920.....	113	12	0	0	0
1922.....	95	30	0	0	0
1924.....	90	33	2	0	0
1926.....	91	33	1	0	0
1928.....	101	24	0	0	0
1930.....	77	48	0	0	0

The Republicans have controlled the lower house for twenty-two of the twenty-four years under consideration, and in only two periods (1910-1912 and 1914-1916) was that control seriously challenged.

When the analyses of elections of governor, of members of the upper house, and of members of the lower house were combined, it became apparent that in nine of the twelve periods the three sections of the state government were united politically and that, in the remaining three periods, one party controlled two while the other party was in possession of one of the sections. During eight of the nine periods when unified control was present, the Republican party controlled. Only in the 1912-1914 period did the Democratic party control the three sections of the government. During each of the periods when the power was divided, the Republicans controlled two of the three sections: In 1914-1916 the governorship and the lower house, in 1922-1924 both houses, and in 1930-1932 both houses. Without adding the fact that in at least twenty-two of the twenty-four years included in this portion of the study all the elected members of the so-called state cabinet were Republican, it is quite evident that for all practical purposes and during the great part of the time under consideration, the state officials have been Republican.

II. VOTING BEHAVIOR

In this section the central question is, "What is the behavior of the unit or the comparative behavior of units under consideration?" It is not "Who won?" Consequently, the forty-four counties become the main feature. The state of Kansas, as such, is a factor only when "Time Differences" are being presented.³ "Time Differences" will be presented under two headings: (1) the behavior of the state of Kansas, and (2) the behavior of the counties of Kansas.

Table VII gives a picture of the voting behavior of the state of Kansas when electing the President of the United States. Two measuring sticks—population and voting population—are included in the table, as well as the absolute vote cast, so additional information can be developed in the process of presentation. It should be noted that the population and voting population estimates for 1932 are extremely temporary and will be revised as soon as the returns from the next census are available.⁴

TABLE VII.—Time series for the state of Kansas pertaining to the election of President.

YEAR.	Population (in 000).	Voting population (in 000).	Absolute vote cast (in 000).	Vote cast per 1,000 population.	Vote cast per 1,000 voting population.
1900.....	1,471	410	354	241	863
1904.....	1,530	447	322	211	721
1908.....	1,632	486	376	230	774
1912.....	1,684	493	366	218	743
1916.....	1,692	*992	630	373	635
1920.....	1,769	1,023	570	322	556
1924.....	1,805	1,055	662	362	627
1928.....	1,854	1,084	707	381	652
1932.....	1,900	1,110	792	416	713

* First time women voted for President.

Even at first glance, it is evident that the votes cast did not vary directly with changes in the voting population or the population. On three occasions when the population and voting population were continuing to increase, the absolute vote cast was less than in the preceding election. In the period prior to woman suffrage, the population increased about twelve (12) percent while the vote cast for President did not change appreciably. During the period since the adoption of woman suffrage for national elections, the popula-

3. In another study, not yet completed, Kansas is one of the forty-odd units being analyzed statistically. In this latter study, "Size Differences" and "Location Differences" are included.

tion has increased about ten (10) percent and the total vote cast about twenty (20) to twenty-five (25) percent.

As one examines the behavior for the entire period, two points stand out prominently and call for consideration. With the introduction of woman suffrage in the election of President, the voting population was, for all practical purposes doubled, the actual increase was 101.2 percent, and, assuming equal interest and equal training or ability, one might have anticipated that the vote cast in subsequent elections would have been approximately twice as great, but such was not the case. The mean * of votes cast in the four elections prior to the adoption of universal suffrage was 355 (in 1,000) while the mean for the period subsequent was 672, and it should have been 710 to 712. The same results appeared when analyzing the vote cast per 1,000 of the population. The mean prior to 1914 was 225, the mean since 1914 was 351, and it should have been about 450. The increase was fifty-six (56) percent instead of one hundred (100) or one hundred one point two percent. This may have been due either to a general lack of interest or to an undeveloped interest on the part of the women, or to a continued and serious loss of interest on the part of the men, or to a combination of these. The loss of interest was evident from the beginning of the period down to and including the election of 1920. Woman suffrage may not have contributed to this decline, but it certainly did not succeed in stopping the decline until after 1920—if then. In the second place, the last column, "Vote cast per 1,000 of the Voting Population," indicated the appearance of a "U" curve with the minimum point at 556 in 1920. These increases since 1920 are not as great in magnitude as the comparable decreases prior to 1920. These increases may be due, in part at least, either to the existence and growth of actual issues, or to developing interest on the part of the women of the state, or to a renewed interest on the part of the men which, in fact, means a developing interest on the part of the new generation of men, or it may be the product of a combination of these and other factors.

In California similiar results were discovered. The mean of votes cast per 1,000 of population for President prior to the adoption of woman suffrage was 183 and the mean for the period subsequent was 275,⁵ while the mean should have been about 360 to 370, if

4. For a detailed presentation of the methods used in making this and the other statistical studies of voting in western states, the reader is referred to footnote one of this article.

* Mean = average.

5. "Voting in California," *Southwest Political and Social Science Quarterly* (June, 1929), v. X, p. 7.

doubling the voting population should double the number of people participating. When voting population was the basis of the California study, the 1912 election for President was the low point in the series, and it was also the first election in which the women of the state participated, possibly indicating, as in Kansas, that either the women did not immediately rush to the ballot box, or that, when the women were allowed to vote, a considerable number of the men stayed away, or it may have been a combination of both. This similarity of behavior is significant especially when the dates are not identical, when the states are of different sizes from the standpoint of population and when they are in distinctly different geographic regions.

Nine general state officials are elected every two years. These nine are the governor, the lieutenant governor, the secretary of state, the auditor, the treasurer, the attorney general, the superintendent of public instruction, the superintendent of insurance, and the state printer. The time series showing the voting behavior as regards the election of governor and secretary of state are given to illustrate the general behavior pattern along with the results already presented.

TABLE VIII.—Time series for the state of Kansas governor and secretary of state.

YEAR.	Governor.			Secretary of state.		
	Absolute vote (in 000).	Vote cast per 1,000.		Absolute vote (in 000).	Vote cast per 1,000.	
		Population.	V. P.		Population.	V. P.
1904.....	321	209	719	317	207	710
1906.....	316	201	679	306	194	657
1908.....	375	230	773	373	228	768
1910.....	327	194	657	312	184	626
1912.....	360	214	730	347	206	704
1914.....	*528	315	564	480	286	513
1916.....	582	344	587	539	319	544
1918†.....	434	251	431	414	240	411
1920.....	547	310	535	515	292	504
1922.....	533	298	513	490	274	472
1924.....	660	366	626	597	331	566
1926.....	508	279	476	471	258	450
1928.....	671	362	618	599	323	552
1930.....	621	330	564	531	282	483
1932.....	800	421	720	.....	.....	.....

*First time women voted for general state offices.

† This election, held during the closing days of the World War, does not seriously modify apparent trends.

Similar results appeared in these series and in the series for the other state offices as in the series for President. That is, prior to 1914, the votes cast did not change appreciably from one election

to another. In the early years subsequent to 1914, the decline became evident and then in the recent elections a general increase has been indicated. An asymmetrical "U" curve is present for the governor series with the minimum points in 1918, 1922, and 1926. In addition, the 1904 and 1932 points are practically the same. Furthermore, throughout this period when a "U" curve was developing in the series of votes cast for President, a one-two, one-two, up-down rhythm appeared in the voting for state offices.⁶ Even when the presidential series was declining, the breaks in the gubernatorial series were great enough to require an increase to reach the following presidential. The series of votes cast for governor, for lieutenant governor, and in fact, for each of the other state offices, was quite uniform throughout the period (see Tables IX and X) *i. e.*, the votes cast per 1,000 of voting population in each bi-election was smaller than the votes cast in the preceding and subsequent presidential elections. This so-called rhythm in the election of state officials will be interesting to watch, especially if a wave of increases and decreases should appear in series of presidential elections and a twenty-year cycle should continue to develop in national party control.

Just at this point in our discussion, another set of differences make their appearance. These might be labeled "office differences." The votes cast for the other general state offices are practically without exception fewer than the votes cast for the chief executive of the state and the votes cast for the governor of the state are generally fewer in number than the total vote cast for the presidential electors. Furthermore, one may infer that there is a definite relationship between the size of the vote cast for an office and its relative location on the ballot. Would the total vote cast for the first office appearing on the ballot continue to be larger than the second, and so forth, or would the total vote cast for President and governor continue to be relatively large regardless of position?

Measuring the differences between offices from election to election and from period to period, gives additional information and conclusions concerning time changes. Table XI gives the differences in votes cast per 1,000 of the population and per 1,000 of the voting population for governor and lieutenant governor, and between governor, at the head of the list, and the office of state printer, at the end of the list.

6. The 1918 election indicates an exaggerated decline in contrast with the elections of 1916 and 1920, as presented in Tables VIII and IX, but one should hesitate before laying the entire decline upon the shoulders of the absent soldiers and sailors.

TABLE IX.—Votes cast per 1,000 of the population of the state of Kansas.

For—	In—											
	1904.	1906.	1908.	1910.	1912.	*1914.	1916.	1918.	1920.	1922.	1924.	1926.
Governor.....	209	201	230	194	214	315	344	251	310	298	366	279
Lieutenant governor.....	208	195	228	186	207	289	318	239	290	274	330	247
Secretary of state.....	207	194	228	184	206	286	319	240	292	274	331	258
Auditor.....	207	194	228	184	205	282	311	237	286	269	312	210
Treasurer.....	205	195	228	184	206	287	311	237	286	272	315	215
Attorney general.....	207	196	229	185	207	283	311	234	288	272	330	241
Superintendent of public instruction.....	207	195	228	185	206	286	318	237	287	274	327	246
Superintendent of insurance.....	205	194	227	183	205	278	313	238	283	268	309	210
State printer.....	.....	195	227	184	204	274	306	232	281	268	237	211

* First time women voted for general state offices.

TABLE X.—Votes cast per 1,000 of the voting population of the state of Kansas.

For—	In—											
	1904.	1906.	1908.	1910.	1912.	*1914.	1916.	1918.	1920.	1922.	1924.	1926.
Governor.....	719	679	773	657	730	564	587	431	535	513	626	476
Lieutenant governor.....	717	659	768	630	707	519	543	410	502	471	564	421
Secretary of state.....	710	657	768	626	704	513	544	411	504	472	566	450
Auditor.....	710	657	768	626	700	506	530	406	494	464	533	358
Treasurer.....	702	659	768	626	704	515	530	405	496	468	538	368
Attorney general.....	710	662	770	628	708	507	530	402	500	469	565	412
Superintendent of public instruction.....	710	659	768	628	702	513	542	407	497	472	559	421
Superintendent of insurance.....	703	657	764	622	700	498	535	409	490	451	528	358
State printer.....	.....	659	764	624	698	492	523	398	486	461	405	360

* First time women voted for general state offices.

TABLE XI.—Differences in votes cast per 1,000.

YEAR.	Of population.		Of voting population.	
	Governor— Lt. governor.	Governor— State printer.	Governor— Lt. governor.	Governor— State printer.
1904.....	1	.....	2	.....
1906.....	6	6	20	20
1908.....	2	3	5	9
1910.....	8	10	27	33
1912.....	7	10	23	32
	—M 5	—M 7	—M15	—M 24
1914.....	26	41	45	72
1916.....	26	38	44	64
1918.....	12	19	21	33
1920.....	20	29	33	49
1922.....	24	30	42	52
	—M 22	—M 31	—M 37	—M 54
1924.....	36	129	62	221
1926.....	32	68	55	116
1928.....	37	48	63	82
1930.....	50	53	86	91
	—M 39	—M 75	—M 67	—M 127

M equals the mean for the given block of differences.

From an inspection of this table it is not only evident that the differences are greater as the differences in political rank increase and as the place on the ballot is relatively prominent or inconspicuous, but also there is a fourfold increase in differences based on population following the adoption of woman suffrage and more than a twofold increase in the differences when voting population is the base. In the third period, the differences are almost doubled when comparing the governor and the lieutenant governor and they are more than doubled when comparing the governor and the state printer. This increasing loss of interest on the part of the Kansas voters—the California voters express the same feeling, whether from the same causes or not it is not now known—forces one to consider the advisability of selecting some of the state executive officers by some method other than election.

The following conclusions are apparent when the state of Kansas is analyzed as a single political unit and its voting behavior is determined from the votes cast for the President and the nine state executive offices:

(1) Prior to the adoption of woman suffrage in general elections, the voting behavior was more or less horizontal in its general appearance.

(2) Subsequent to the adoption of universal suffrage, the voting behavior has been gradually increasing in its general appearance.

(3) By plotting the values of these series of votes cast in percentages relative to population and voting population, it was immediately seen that the angles of change from election to elec-

tion became more acute or sharper as one moved from 1904 toward 1930.

(4) The differences between the various lines, indicating the relative positions of the plotted values of the series, became greater as one moved from 1904 toward 1930.

The second section under the heading of "time differences" pertains to the voting behavior of the counties in Kansas. As it was out of the question to present the twelve time series for each of the forty-four counties, the more or less representative counties shown in Tables XII, XIII, XIV and XV have been selected to give a picture of some of the results obtained in this study.

TABLE XII.—Wyandotte county.

YEAR.	Population (in 000).	Absolute vote cast (in 000) for—			Vote cast per 1,000 population for—			Vote cast per 1,000 voting population for—		
		Pres.	Govr.	Cong.	Pres.	Govr.	Cong.	Pres.	Govr.	Cong.
1904.....	87.9	14.2	14.4	13.4	162	164	153	577	584	544
1906.....	96.2	.....	12.6	12.0	.....	131	129	.....	447	427
1908.....	103.0	18.3	18.2	17.9	177	176	174	606	605	596
1910.....	109.8	.....	15.0	14.4	.....	136	132	.....	469	452
1912.....	110.1	18.8	18.0	17.6	171	163	159	563	536	525
1914*.....	110.4	.....	21.6	19.6	.....	196	178	.....	325	295
1916.....	113.0	33.1	29.2	29.1	297	262	261	479	423	421
1918.....	118.0	.....	16.7	15.8	.....	142	134	.....	233	221
1920.....	123.0	33.7	31.3	30.6	277	257	251	453	421	412
1922.....	126.5	.....	27.3	26.6	.....	216	210	.....	358	349
1924.....	130.0	40.1	39.0	33.4	309	301	258	513	498	428
1926.....	133.6	.....	25.0	24.4	.....	189	185	.....	310	303
1928.....	137.4	50.0	45.9	37.9	364	333	276	603	554	458
1930.....	141.2	.....	34.4	33.0	.....	243	234	.....	418	388

*Woman suffrage introduced.

TABLE XIII.—Crawford county.

YEAR.	Population (in 000).	Absolute vote cast (in 000) for—			Vote cast per 1,000 population for—			Vote cast per 1,000 voting population for—		
		Pres.	Govr.	Cong.	Pres.	Govr.	Cong.	Pres.	Govr.	Cong.
1904.....	46.7	10.1	9.8	9.7	217	209	207	784	757	748
1906.....	48.7	.....	9.0	8.9	.....	186	183	.....	639	628
1908.....	49.6	10.7	10.9	9.9	214	220	199	742	759	689
1910.....	50.5	.....	9.3	9.2	.....	184	181	.....	637	628
1912.....	54.4	10.6	10.5	10.5	195	192	192	676	664	664
1914*.....	58.3	.....	16.2	15.4	.....	277	264	.....	512	487
1916.....	60.6	18.5	17.0	17.2	305	279	282	565	518	523
1918.....	61.1	.....	10.9	10.8	.....	178	177	.....	328	325
1920.....	61.7	14.5	14.9	13.9	235	231	224	431	423	412
1922.....	61.0	.....	16.0	15.7	.....	261	256	.....	474	466
1924.....	60.4	18.0	18.1	16.4	299	301	272	535	540	488
1926.....	57.9	.....	13.7	13.2	.....	238	229	.....	424	408
1928.....	53.6	17.6	16.8	14.8	328	314	277	587	561	495
1930.....	49.3	.....	15.2	14.7	.....	309	299	.....	552	534

TABLE XIV.—Sherman county.

YEAR.	Popula- tion (in 000).	Absolute vote cast (in 000) for—			Vote cast per 1,000 population for—			Vote cast per 1,000 voting population for—		
		Pres.	Govr.	Cong.	Pres.	Govr.	Cong.	Pres.	Govr.	Cong.
1904.....	35.2	.8	.7	.7	218	212	200	745	725	686
1906.....	37.5	.....	.9	.9	.....	239	232	.....	769	746
1908.....	41.1	1.0	1.2	1.0	258	293	242	795	953	784
1910.....	44.6	.....	1.0	1.0	.....	225	219	.....	738	716
1912.....	42.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	229	229	225	768	769	755
1914*	41.3	.....	1.5	1.5	.....	375	371	.....	676	666
1916.....	43.6	1.9	1.7	1.7	430	398	398	796	733	732
1918.....	50.0	.....	1.5	1.5	.....	302	305	.....	559	563
1920.....	56.4	2.0	1.8	1.8	354	317	330	644	577	599
1922.....	58.7	.....	2.0	2.0	.....	335	334	.....	619	618
1924.....	60.9	2.4	2.4	2.2	402	399	367	740	734	682
1926.....	64.4	.....	2.5	2.5	.....	390	389	.....	717	715
1928.....	69.2	2.7	2.6	2.6	393	371	374	724	684	689
1930.....	74.0	.....	2.3	2.3	.....	317	317	.....	584	584

TABLE XV.—Clay county.

YEAR.	Popula- tion (in 000).	Absolute vote cast (in 000) for—			Vote cast per 1,000 population for—			Vote cast per 1,000 voting population for—		
		Pres.	Govr.	Cong.	Pres.	Govr.	Cong.	Pres.	Govr.	Cong.
1904.....	15.3	3.3	3.1	2.9	215	200	188	786	729	684
1906.....	15.1	.....	3.2	2.9	.....	211	191	.....	750	703
1908.....	15.3	3.5	3.5	3.5	228	227	226	810	806	800
1910.....	15.6	.....	3.0	2.9	.....	190	185	.....	671	649
1912.....	15.3	3.7	3.7	3.6	242	240	236	842	833	819
1914*	15.1	.....	5.1	4.8	.....	338	316	.....	594	568
1916.....	14.8	5.6	5.3	5.2	381	359	353	661	623	613
1918.....	14.6	.....	3.8	3.7	.....	263	257	.....	453	443
1920.....	14.4	4.84	4.77	4.6	335	331	318	572	564	540
1922.....	14.7	.....	5.0	4.9	.....	339	332	.....	572	561
1924.....	15.0	5.9	5.4	5.1	393	362	342	659	607	573
1926.....	15.0	.....	4.2	4.0	.....	281	267	.....	468	446
1928.....	14.8	6.0	5.5	5.4	408	373	367	681	625	615
1930.....	14.5	.....	5.6	5.2	.....	386	361	.....	646	603

*Woman suffrage introduced.

The counties included in this study have similar behavior to that of the state as far as time differences are concerned. The general confusion in voting prior to the adoption of woman suffrage has produced a more or less horizontal pattern. The decline until the period following 1920, and then the increase in the past decade, are all in accord with the characteristics of state behavior. The increase in differences between the various offices is also apparent as one examines the county series.

As the so-called rhythmic factor was examined, the one-two or up-down beat was quite apparent when the office of governor was

under consideration. In order to eliminate the factor of the introduction of woman suffrage, the analysis was made of votes cast per 1,000 of the voting population. The range of behavior could extend from 1 (complete agreement with expected behavior) to 0 (complete disagreement). The extent of this agreement is presented in the form of fractions with the denominator indicating the number of counties included in the particular set of comparisons. The accompanying table indicates to what extent the counties behaved in harmony with our theoretical expectations.

TABLE XVI.—Summary of changes in voting behavior from election to election in votes cast per 1,000 of the voting population for governor by the counties studied.

Period.....	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912	1914	1916	1918	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930
Expectation.....		d	u	d	u	d	u	d	u	d	u	d	u	d
Behavior.....		33	40	40	41	....	42	...	38	23	36	....	35	30
	42	41	41	44	1	43	1	43	42	41	1	44	44

d, downward; u, upward, in comparison with preceding election.

In addition, it is important to note that eleven counties (25 per cent of those included in this study) behaved completely in accord with the theoretical expectations, while thirteen of them deviated once and eight of them twice. Out of thirteen possible deviations, almost three-fourths of the counties deviated two times or less.

When one turns from considering the votes cast for governor to those cast for President, the factors are found to be more complicated. When the absolute vote cast was classified, it was found that, in 1908, thirty-eight counties cast a larger vote than in 1904, five cast a smaller vote, and one the same vote. In 1912 twelve went up, twenty-five down, and seven remained the same. In 1916, due partially at least to the introduction of woman suffrage, all forty-four cast a larger vote. In 1920 eight followed the upward trend and thirty-six turned downward, while in 1924, without the stimulus of woman suffrage, all forty-four counties cast a larger vote than in 1920. In 1928 thirty-seven continued upward, five declined, and two remained the same. In 1932 forty-three increased and one showed a decline. Thus, when absolute vote cast is analyzed, the elections of 1908, 1916, 1924 and 1932 indicate a strong upward or major beat and the 1912 and 1920 elections produce the downward or minor beat. The 1928 election indicates a downward beat

in relation to the 1924 election, but it is not as pronounced as the other downward beats.

Using votes cast per 1,000 of the population as the basis for analyzing changes from one election to the next, similar results are obtained.

TABLE XVII.—Summary of changes in voting behavior from election to election in votes cast per 1,000 of the population for President by the counties studied.

Election.....	1908.	1912.	1916.	1920.	1924.	1928.	1932.
Upward.....	36	5	44	2	42	33	43
Downward.....	8	39	0	42	2	9	1
No change.....			0	0	0	2	0
Significant inference.....	Up	Down	Up	Down	Up	Down	Up

Here, again, one finds strong upward or major beats in 1908, 1916, 1924 and 1932, when compared with the minor beats of 1904, 1912, 1920 and 1928. The election of 1928 does not have as pronounced a downward break except when comparing it with the surrounding elections.

Combining the analysis of behavior when voting for President with the analysis of behavior when voting for governor, the following situation becomes apparent for the period under consideration. The behavior pattern for the election of governor is a "W" eight-year cycle pattern—the outer wings of the "W" being elongated—while the pattern for the election of President is a "V" eight-year cycle pattern superimposed over the "W" (W). If, on the other hand, one wishes to think of the behavior pattern for the election of governor as a "W" eight-year cycle pattern—the outer wings of the "W" being seriously shortened, then the pattern for the election of President becomes an inverted "V" " A " superimposed over the "W" (A).

From the information presented, it is immediately seen that major beats are not associated with a particular major party. In 1908 and in 1924, the Republican candidates were successful, while in 1916 and 1932, the Democratic standard-bearers were victorious. These major beats are not related to candidates seeking election or those seeking a second term. In 1916 and in 1924 Presidents sought reelection and were successful, while in 1908 and in 1932 those seeking first terms were successful. Furthermore, there seems to be no close relationship between major beats and economic depressions

or periods of business activity. The elections of 1908 and 1932 follow periods of economic stress and the elections of 1916 and 1924 are in the midst of periods of business activity. The election of Republican and Democratic governors seems to have little in common with these patterns. Of the three Democrats elected, one was with a Democratic President (Wilson, 1912), two were carried into office in a bi-election (1922 and 1930), and none was elected at a major point on the presidential pattern. Republican candidates were successful at major points and at minor or low points on the presidential pattern and at major and minor points on the gubernatorial pattern.

Analyzing this problem of possible rhythm when votes cast per 1,000 of the voting population are used as the basis for the study, other results appear than those in the preceding paragraphs. The following summary tells the story.

TABLE XVIII.—Summary of changes in voting behavior from election to election in votes cast per 1,000 of the voting population for President by the counties studied.

Election of.....	1908	1912	1916	1920	1924	1928	1932
Upward.....	20	8	5	1	33	33	43
Downward.....	18	32	36	41	6	10	1
No change.....	2	1	1	0	0	1	0
Not counted.....	4	3	2	2	0	0	0
Significant inference.....	Up	Down	Down	Down	Up	Up	Up

Furthermore, eleven of the forty-four counties behave as the summary indicates; *i.e.*, up, down, down, down, up, up, up. Thus a "V" twenty-four year cycle pattern presents itself when voting population is used as the measuring stick. Looking back over these paragraphs presenting material which pertains to rhythm, one is puzzled concerning the significance of these observations, and asks whether any general propositions are to be evolved or extracted from these behavior patterns.

Would it be entirely absurd for one to expect or anticipate the 1934 vote for governor to be *down* when compared with the 1932, the 1936 vote for President to be *down* when compared to 1932 and the vote for governor to be *up* when compared with 1934? It will be interesting to note to what extent these anticipations are realized. The theory here presented has been upset neither by the 1932 election nor by the 1896 election (when Kansas was treated as a single unit), but has been further verified. With only one cycle available,

when voting population is the basis, it would be unwise to extrapolate beyond 1936. However, it would be interesting if the 1936, 1940 and 1944 presidential elections should prove to be down, down, down, when voting population is the measuring stick applied to the votes cast.

Consequently, from the analysis of "time differences" for the state of Kansas and for forty-four fairly representative counties of the state, certain uniformities are discovered, such as (1) the possibility of rhythmic behavior between the various elections; (2) an increase in the amount of difference between votes cast for the different offices as one moves from early elections to more recent ones, and (3) either a reticence on the part of the newly enfranchised voter to participate immediately upon being given the right to vote or the refusal on the part of an element among the men to participate in the first few elections after the adoption of the amendment, or both of these factors working together.

As attention was turned to the consideration of "size differences," the material was reclassified and the results analyzed in the light of the new relationships. For each election beginning with 1904 and continuing through the election of 1930, the counties were ranked from the one having the largest population to the one having the smallest, and in a second analysis they were ranked on the basis of voting population. Seven classes were established similar to the arrangement used in other studies. The classification is as follows:

- Class A—Population over 100,000
- Class B—Population between 50,000 and 100,000
- Class C—Population between 25,000 and 50,000
- Class D—Population between 10,000 and 25,000
- Class E—Population between 5,000 and 10,000
- Class F—Population between 1,000 and 5,000
- Class G—Population less than 1,000

The same system was used when "voting population" was the basis of operations. It should be noted that in one or two of the early elections there were no counties in Class A and in the latter elections no counties in Class G.

Table XIX presents the means of votes cast for President per 1,000 of the population by classes.

This classification of the counties of Kansas further validates a possible scientific law of voting behavior which was first suggested in March, 1928⁷—namely, the larger the population of a political unit the smaller the vote cast relative to the population. By com-

7. "Voting in California Cities, 1900-1925," *Southwest Political and Social Science Quarterly* (v. VIII, n. 4), March, 1928.

TABLE XIX

CLASS.	1904	1908	1912	1916	1920	1924	1928
A.....		177	171	297	277	338	354
B.....	185	205	191	328	286	340	365
C.....	204	217	207	357	321	361	378
D.....	224	239	231	389	340	390	411
E.....	*218	241	232	*380	*315	*352	*378
F.....	238	248	236	526	386	402	*340
G.....	334	414	265	*474	388		

* The mean is smaller than the mean in the class above.

binning Classes E, F and G, there would be only one exception to the rule for these counties. Of thirty-nine possibilities there were seven exceptions to uniform behavior in voting for President. In voting for governor, there were eleven deviations from uniformity of a possible seventy-seven, and in voting for congressmen there were thirteen deviations of a possible seventy-seven.

When the counties are ranked on the basis of voting population, the results obtained are presented clearly by analyzing Table XX.

TABLE XX.—The means of votes cast for President per 1,000 of the voting population by classes ranked on the basis of voting population (forty-four counties).

CLASS.	1904	1908	1912	1916	1920	1924	1928
A.....							
B.....				479	470	553	587
C.....	577	606	563	551	490	*552	*578
D.....	688	688	633	651	576	644	668
E.....	777	795	755	733	601	678	698
F.....	811	812	799	802	621	*666	*683
G.....	†.....	†.....	*789	†.....	839	827	695

* Deviations from the law of voting behavior.

† Three counties in 1904, three in 1908, and two in 1916 cast more votes than there were voters in the respective counties.

In this table the so-called law of voting behavior manifests itself even more clearly than in the table presenting the material based on the population. The larger the voting population of a political unit, the smaller the vote cast relative to the voting population is a statement of human behavior relative to voting activity which is applicable in Kansas and in California for the periods considered. From this and other studies partially completed, one is justified in suggesting that this statement of behavior may be universally applicable where a relatively large proportion of the population does have an opportunity to participate in the selection of governmental officials by means of the Australian ballot. Kansans and

Californians may be peculiar when it comes to voting activities, but up to the present no objective evidence has been introduced to substantiate such a position, and, until such evidence is introduced, it ought to be considered sound to assume that the voters in these two commonwealths are reasonably representative of voters in general and particularly of Anglo-Saxon voters.

Tables XXI and XXII present the behavior of the forty-four counties when voting for governor and for congressmen.

TABLE XXI.—The means of votes cast for governor per 1,000 of the voting population by classes ranked on the basis of voting population.

CLASS.	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912	1914	1916	1918	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930
A.....														
B.....						325	423	288	444	396	551	329	490	487
C.....	584	447	605	469	536	469	503	327	464	448	561	474	538	499
D.....	673	612	701	578	629	553	599	450	557	524	634	494	616	580
E.....	764	678	792	676	725	634	674	523	580	*515	665	541	644	618
F.....	782	737	821	695	814	652	755	584	582	616	*651	614	*609	*602
G.....	†	†	†	856	847	758	†930	793	803	748	821	633	*608	.....

* Deviations from the law of voting behavior.

† Votes reported are more than voting population.

‡ The reliability factor in this election for four counties is low.

TABLE XXII.—The means of votes cast for congressmen per 1,000 of the voting population by classes ranked on the basis of voting population.

CLASS.	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912	1914	1916	1918	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930
A.....														
B.....						295	421	283	443	398	511	329	487	413
C.....	544	427	596	452	525	420	493	324	450	440	*501	365	*456	442
D.....	657	580	675	485	609	509	584	447	527	512	573	463	546	529
E.....	733	664	788	612	722	575	652	515	559	*510	608	497	608	559
F.....	747	717	786	641	760	609	736	582	570	601	612	610	*571	570
G.....	†	†	†	833	820	671	†930	800	779	739	757	630	614	.....

* Deviations from the law of voting behavior.

† Votes reported are more than the voting population.

‡ The reliability factor in this election for four counties is low.

In measuring and analyzing the votes cast for governor and for congressmen, as was the case with the President, the results further validate the suggestion that the rule of voting behavior—the larger the population and the voting population of the political unit, the smaller the relative vote cast—may be universal in extent. When this possible law of voting behavior was first suggested, an important problem presented itself which up to the present time has not been solved; namely, are democracy and popular control of government through systems of elections compatible with metropolitan areas and rapidly growing political units? If there is further develop-

ment in the "back to the farm" movement, this problem may solve itself, but if the urbanization of America persists and cities continue to grow, can we expect democratic control to be established, or, if established, to be maintained over government?

Some years ago Prof. William Bennett Munro suggested that there might be some relationship between voting behavior and the area or size of the political unit or units being studied. Since that time, the author has been watching for an opportunity to follow up this suggestion. As a result, the counties included in this study were classified on the basis of acres contained within their boundaries. Five classes were established:

Class

- I.....over 800,000 acres.
- II.....600,000 to 800,000 acres.
- III.....400,000 to 600,000 acres.
- IV.....200,000 to 400,000 acres.
- V.....Less than 200,000 acres.

The results obtained from analyzing six elections for the President on the basis of this classification of counties is indicated in Table XXIII.

TABLE XXIII.—The means of votes cast for the President per 1,000 of the voting population when the counties are classified on the basis of acres contained.

CLASS.	Election of—						Number of counties in each class.
	1908.	1912.	1916.	1920.	1924.	1928.	
I.....	728	692	649	563	590	613	1
II.....	735	723	677	*553	620	655	6
III.....	810	774	720	610	675	689	23
IV.....	757	706	636	584	633	660	13
V.....	606	563	479	453	513	603	1

* A deviation.

Recognizing the meagerness of information and the absence of a distribution compatible with the classification, the uniform behavior exhibited on the part of the counties in these elections is not to be taken too seriously at this time. The presentation merely indicates another method of analyzing the possible effect that "size differences" may or may not have upon voting behavior.

Finally the results of analyzing the statistical data on the basis of "location differences" are presented and briefly compared with

results obtained in other studies. For this study the state was divided into twelve districts. The districts and the number of counties contained in each are shown in the accompanying diagram.

	West.	West central.	East central.	East.	Total.
North.....	1	3	6	6	16
Central.....	0	4	3	4	11
South.....	4	3	3	7	17
Totals.....	5	10	12	17	44

The counties included in each district are listed in the following table:

TABLE XXIV

Northwest (1).	North west central (3).	North east central (6).	Northeast (6).
Sherman	Jewell Phillips Rooks	Republic Washington Marshall Clay Riley Pottawatomie	Wyandotte Nemaha Jackson Jefferson Atchison Leavenworth
Central west (0).	Central west central (4).	Central east central (3).	Central east (4).
	Reno Barton Ness Stafford	Dickinson Marion Lyon	Shawnee Douglas Osage Franklin
Southwest (4).	South west central (3).	South east central (3).	Southeast (7).
Haskell Grant Morton Stanton	Harper Pratt Kiowa	Cowley Sedgwick Sumner	Crawford Cherokee Bourbon Allen Neosho Labette Montgomery

The two block patterns of Kansas which follow indicate, on the basis of population and voting population respectively, the voting behavior by geographic districts. The values of "M" (arithmetic mean) and of "b" (quadrennial change) in the equations of lines of best fit to votes cast for President per 1,000 of the population are

shown in the first diagrammatic pattern of the state as divided into twelve districts, while the values of "M" and of "b" in the equations of lines of best fit to votes cast for President per 1,000 of the voting population are presented in the second pattern.

BLOCK 1.—On the basis of population.

	West.	Central west.	Central east.	East.	
North.....	M 326 b +37	M 318 b +31	M 324 b +36	M 291 b +36	M 320
Central.....		M 295 b +28	M 300 b +33	M 324 b +41	M 306.3
South.....	M 377 b -5	M 306 b +29	M 294 b +31	M 285 b +32	M 321
	M 352	M 306.3	M 306	M 300	

BLOCK 2.—On the basis of voting population.

	West.	Central west.	Central east.	East.	
North.....	M 745 b -11	M 756 b -36	M 738 b -28	M 668 b -28	M 727 b -26
Central.....	M	M 700 b -28	M 680 b -27	M 694 b -28	M 691 b -28
South.....	M 827* b -44	M 717 b -28	M 614 b -23	M 649 b -26	M 702 b -30
	M 786	M 724	M 677	M 670	

* Three-fourths of the units could not be used on a number of occasions.

From an analysis of both of these patterns it is apparent immediately from the standpoint of statistical results that the farther west one goes the higher the mean is and that the mean for the central band of counties decreases less than in either the northern or the southern band.⁸

Two other geographic distribution blocks are presented indicating the changes which took place with the introduction of woman suffrage into the general elections of the state. The numbers in each section indicate (1) the mean of votes cast for the President per 1,000 of population (Block 3) and of voting population (Block 4) for the counties in the section for the elections prior to the adoption of woman suffrage, (2) the same since the adoption of woman suffrage and (3) the difference between the two means for the particular district.

8. Geographic location studies of California cities and counties produced no significant results that could be used as bases for inferences or generalizations.

BLOCK 3.—The means of votes cast for the President per 1,000 of the population prior to and subsequent to the adoption of woman suffrage in general elections and the differences between the two presented by districts.

	West.	Central west.	Central east.	East.	Total.
North.....	253-395 +142	231-385 +154	238-389 +151	219-344 +125	235-356 +121
Central.....		222-350 +128	232-355 +123	224-400 +176	226-368 +142
South.....	329-413 +84	229-357 +128	213-355 +142	204-346 +142	244-368 +124
Totals.....	291-404 +113	227-364 +137	228-366 +138	216-363 +147	

The information contained in the bottom section of this block may be of importance at this point. Prior to woman suffrage the east west totals are 216, 228, 227 and 291, indicating once again a heavier voting per 1,000 of the population as one moves from east to west. After women became a part of voting population the east west series is 363, 366, 364 and 404 and indicates no change in voting behavior as far as location is concerned as a result of enlarging the suffrage.

BLOCK 4.—The means of votes cast for the President per 1,000 of the voting population prior to and subsequent to the adoption of woman suffrage in general elections and the differences between the two presented by districts.

	West.	Central west.	Central east.	East.	Total.
North.....	769-726 —43	844-694 —150	823-674 —149	730-621 —109	792-679 —113
Central.....		770-648 —122	759-621 —138	772-625 —147	767-631 —136
South.....	888-781 —107	791-659 —132	701-599 —102	717-599 —118	774-660 —114
Totals.....	829-754 —75	802-667 —135	761-631 —130	740-615 —125	.....

Here again both series—the one prior to the adoption of the amendment 740, 761, 802 and 829, and the one subsequent to the adoption 615, 631, 667 and 754—show that interest in voting increased the farther west the political unit was located as far as votes cast per 1,000 of the voting population was concerned.

Another way by which the introduction of woman suffrage was analyzed and its influence noted was by relating the actual change

in voting population in 1915—county by county—with the actual change in votes cast in the presidential election of 1916 when compared with the election of 1912.

TABLE XXV.—The distribution of counties on the basis of—

Percent of increase in voting population by adding females 21 years of age and over.	Percent of increase in vote cast for President 1916, as compared with 1912.
2 Counties.....below 70 %	9 Counties.....below 60 %
4 Counties.....70 to 80 %	11 Counties.....60 to 70 %
6 Counties.....80 to 90 %	14 Counties.....70 to 80 %
29 Counties.....90 to 100 %	6 Counties.....80 to 90 %
3 Counties.....above 100 %	2 Counties.....90 to 100 %
	2 Counties.....above 100 %
The mean percent increase was, 91%	76.5%

Ness (W. C.—C. region) and Sherman (W.—N. W. region) showed less than one point of difference between change in population and change in voting behavior, while Rooks county (W. C.—N. region) had a difference of two and one half points between the two and Pratt (W. C.—S.) and Sumner (E. C.—S.) each indicated a five-point difference between the population increase and the voting increase. The remaining counties presented differences which were larger than those indicated in the above discussion. The increase in voting population was the larger item in all the counties except Haskell (S. W.), Morton (S. W.), Pratt (W. C.—S.), and Stanton (S. W.). Both the eastern and the east-central bands of counties had a twenty-four-point differential between percentage of voting population increase and percentage of vote cast increase (94% V. P. — 70% V. C. = E.) and (92% — 68% = east central) while the west-central band had an eighteen-point differential (91—73) and the western band had a three-point differential in which the vote cast was larger than the percentage of increase in voting population (80—83). Here again is further indication that the farther west one goes the larger the participation in election by the people in the counties of Kansas.

The outstanding inference concerning "location differences" may be limited to the statement that the farther west in Kansas the political units are located the larger is the vote cast per 1,000 of either the population or the voting population. However, this summarization is overshadowed if not neutralized by the application of the first law of voting behavior—the larger the population or voting population the smaller the relative vote cast—in that the

political units included in this study are quite uniformly smaller in population the farther west one goes in the state.

In conclusion, this study of "Voting in Kansas, 1900-1932" indicates clearly that while Kansas was giving to the country outstanding men and was experimenting with various economic and political problems and methods, it was also developing a voting behavior (1) which indicated a strong Republican leaning in state elections; (2) which might be interpreted as an ability to select accurately the winner in national elections and then voting in such a way that the electoral vote of Kansas was cast for the candidates eventually winning; (3) which conformed in general to the behavior already discovered in studying other political units—the larger the "P" or "VP" of the political unit the smaller the vote cast relative to the unit—and (4) which may involve rhythm of a more or less complex nature in moving from one election to another.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Marshall county history is recalled in Grant Ewing's column, "Notes by the Wayside," appearing from time to time in the *Marshall County News*, of Marysville. Part of these "Notes," as previously mentioned here, have also been published in the *Barnes Chief*.

"Do You Know Your City," is the title of a column appearing weekly in the *Herington Times-Sun*. The column, which features biographical sketches of local citizens and histories of the city's institutions, was started in the issue of August 2, 1934.

School records of Odin district, Cheyenne township, Barton county, covering part of the period from 1880 to 1895, were discussed in an article published in the *Hoisington Dispatch* November 22, 1934. Names of teachers and some of the pupils were listed.

A brief history of Wilson's school buildings was printed in the *Wilson World* December 12, 1934. Histories of the school band and graduating classes of Wilson High School were featured in the issue of December 19.

Some of Osborne county's sod houses were recalled by Mrs. J. A. Kyle in a two-column article published in the *Osborne County Farmer*, of Osborne, December 27, 1934.

A Christmas dinner in 1878 in what is now Graham county was described in a letter from Abram T. Hall, Sr., of Philadelphia, Pa., appearing in the *Hill City Times*, December 27, 1934.

The winter, 1935, issue of *The Aerend*, of Fort Hays Kansas State College, included the following articles of interest to Kansas historians: "Tales From a Pioneer Justice Court [Hays and vicinity]," by F. B. Streeter; "History-Making Guns of the Prairies," by Jack Saunders; "Presbyterian Indian Missions in Kansas," by Harold McCleave, and "A Plain Tale of the Prairie [early Phillipsburg and Phillips county]," by Thelma Kelly.

T. H. McGill's recollections of Samuel D. LeCompte, first Kansas territorial supreme court justice, were published in *The Russell County News*, of Russell, January 3, 1935. Mr. McGill, who now lives at Scott City, also described the equipment of *The Russell County Record* when he was employed there as a printer in 1874.

A Ness county old settlers' reunion, an event scheduled at five year intervals, was held in Ness City June 11 and 12, 1935. The *Ness County News*, of Ness City, in order to provide a historical background for the gathering, regularly printed an old settlers' column starting with its issue of January 5. The column was sponsored by O. L. Lennen and Luke Pembleton. On June 8 the reunion edition was issued. Included among the contributors for this issue were: T. P. Levan, Frank Buckman, L. L. Scott and Mrs. Joseph Langellier.

Historical articles have occupied a prominent place on the front pages of the *Washington County Register*, of Washington, since January 11, 1935, when the present series was started. On July 12 the diamond jubilee edition was issued preceding the celebration held in Washington July 17 to 19, commemorating the founding of the county seventy-five years ago. Included in this and the succeeding week's issue were pioneer reminiscences and biographies, and the following articles: "Washington Mill History," "Proceedings of the First Town Company," "Churches With First Settlers," "Early Clifton a Busy Place," "Many Prominent Hanover Families Made History," "Rebuild After Storm of 1932," "Newspapers Active in This County," "First Paper Made History," "Barnes History," "Linn History," "Washington County School History," "Early History of Lowe Township," "Chepstow History," "Washington County History," "Ballard Falls," "First Post Office in Hanover," and "Strawberry Post Office and Store."

A letter from George Stanton discussing early elections in Cheyenne county was published in the *St. Francis Herald* January 24, 1935.

Some central Kansas pioneer teachers and Pennsylvania German settlements in Kansas were recalled by J. C. Ruppenthal in his column, "Rustlings," appearing in the *Wilson World* February 13, 1935, and other Kansas newspapers of the same week.

Sedgwick high-school history was reviewed by Lois Dunkelberger in the *Sedgwick Pantagraph* February 28, 1935.

Brief histories of a store building at Cleveland, recently razed, were printed in the *Kingman Journal* and *The Leader-Courier* in their issues of March 1, 1935. At the time the building was erected in 1879 the little town of Cleveland, located in the center of the county, had visions of becoming the county seat.

The history of Company 729, Civilian Conservation Corps, now located at Camp Bluff creek, Ashland, was contributed to *The Clark County Clipper* of March 14, 1935.

Kansas in the 1850's was recalled by Joseph W. Ackley in the *Wichita Beacon* March 18, 1935. Mr. Ackley came to Kansas with his parents in 1854 and settled on Salt creek near Leavenworth.

A letter dated September 13, 1861, at Fall creek, Leavenworth county, describing the drought of 1860, was printed in *The Morton County Farmer*, of Rolla, March 19, 1935. H. W. Worthington was the writer.

Barber county old settlers met in their third annual reunion at Medicine Lodge March 14, 1935. Names of persons registering at the event were published in *The Barber County Index* March 21.

The killing of ten Confederate prisoners of war at Palmyra, Mo., on October 18, 1862, was described by Leland Smith in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler* March 21, 1935. Mrs. Anna Baker, a relative of two of the condemned prisoners, lives in Sedan.

A review of Pratt's history and brief historical notes on its library, churches, banks and other institutions were included in a thirty-four page edition of the *Pratt Daily Tribune* issued March 22, 1935.

Some of the names applied to Kansas' early counties were recalled in the *Kingman Journal* March 22, 1935.

Apparently credit for the authorship of "Home on the Range," President Franklin D. Roosevelt's favorite song, is still a matter of controversy. Samuel Moanfeldt, a New York attorney, after several months' research, believes that Dr. Brewster Higley of Smith county wrote the words in the early 1870's, and that Dan Kelly supplied the music. The story of Mr. Moanfeldt's search was told in the *Smith County Pioneer*, of Smith Center, in its issue of March 28, 1935. Dr. W. D. Kirby, in an article appearing in *The County Capital*, of St. John, April 4, advances another theory as to the origin of the song. He believes that John Trott, another Kansan, is the author and that it was written in the early 1880's.

Halstead's Mennonite Church celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its founding March 24, 1935. Names of some of the older members of the church were recorded in the *Halstead Independent* March 29.

The biography of John W. Leedy, former governor of Kansas, who

died at Edmonton, province of Alberta, Canada, March 24, 1935, was sketched in the *Le Roy Reporter* March 29. "How Governor Leedy Returned Home Rule to Wichita," was discussed by David D. Leahy in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, March 31.

"When Kansas Voted to Become a Slave State 80 Years Ago Today," was the title of a two-column article published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* March 30, 1935. The election came as a climax to the race staged by Massachusetts and Missouri to see which could get more immigrants into the territory, the *Times* reported, and the Proslaveryites won.

"Old Timer Recalls Disastrous Fire Wiping Out Fifty-six Buildings in Hays Forty Years Ago Today," was the title of a feature story appearing in the *Hays Daily News* March 30, 1935.

Sketches from Wichita's early history were published in a special section of the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* March 31, 1935, announcing the presentation of the pageant "Builders of Wichita," on April 1.

A two-column history of the Pony Express was printed in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* in its issue of April 3, 1935—the seventy-fifth anniversary of the start of the first rider over the famous route from St. Joseph to California.

Gove county's courthouse was once a hotel the *Gove County Republican-Gazette*, of Gove City, recalled in an article reviewing the history of the building published in its issue of April 4, 1935. The county leased the building in 1886 and purchased it ten years later.

A series of articles by Harry Johnson on the early history of Richmond was printed in the *Richmond Enterprise* in its issues from April 4 to May 30, 1935.

Eudora history was sketched in the *Eudora Weekly News* April 4 and May 2, 1935. The city was incorporated under territorial laws on February 8, 1859.

The drought of the early 1890's was recalled in an article published in the *Hays Daily News* April 5, 1935. The story was reprinted from the January 26, 1895, issue of *Harper's Weekly*.

Early days of Hartland were described by Mrs. S. E. Madison in an interview with India H. Simmons appearing in the *Dodge City Daily Globe* in its issues of April 6 and 8, 1935.

The golden anniversary of Kiowa's founding was observed by the

Kiowa *News-Review* with the issuance of a sixty-eight page—tabloid size—edition on April 8, 1935. Reminiscences of early-day settlers, and histories of the city's schools, churches and newspapers were published. Titles of some of the feature stories included: "The First Christmas Tree in This Part of the Country," "A. Gregory Came to New Border Town in 1884," "Happenings in 1902 as Given by J. M. Miller; a Rich Irishman," "'Uncle Bob' [R. J.] Talliaferro Came to Barber in 1873," "Minutes Give History of Kiowa Town Company," "Mrs. Bessie Norris Tells of Kiowa From '83 to '93," "T. A. McNeal Tells of 'Dynamite Dave' Leahy," "The Early Years on the Prairies Were Hard," as related by M. S. Justis, "Mound Center Community One of First Settled in This Country," "Dave Leahy Writes of Early Days in Kiowa," "The 'Last Roundup' of the Once Famous Comanche Pool," "Old Kiowa in History and Romance," by T. J. Dyer, "Sketches From the Life History of An Early Barber Settler [Jacob Achenbach]," and "Many Changes in Kiowa Since 1899, Says Mayor [Harry] Hill."

A series of articles written by John Parks, a newspaper correspondent following the Civil War, is appearing in the Lawrence *Democrat* under the heading "Some Early Kansas History." The publication was started April 11, 1935. Mr. Parks was the father of Mrs. A. L. Selig, of Lawrence, who supplied the letters to the *Democrat* for printing.

Liberal observed the fiftieth anniversary of its founding this spring. The anniversary edition of *The Southwest Tribune* was issued April 11, 1935, and that of the *Liberal News* appeared May 2. Special features in the *News* included a news chronology from 1886 to 1935, a list of Seward county officials from 1886, histories of the leading business houses, post office, courthouse, newspapers, and biographical sketches of the city's leading citizens. The *News* was first published April 22, 1886, at Fargo Springs.

Twenty-two names appeared on Sumner county's first census, the Wellington *Daily News* reported in its issue of April 11, 1935. A photostatic copy of the census taken by Zinni Stubbs July 20, 1870, was recently obtained by Marie Sellers, regent of the Wellington chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. It showed eighteen of the inhabitants were males. The original copies of this census are on file in Washington and in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka.

Proposals introduced in the U. S. senate in the early 1890's by Sen. William A. Pepper, from Kansas, were discussed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* April 13, 1935, in an article entitled "Populists Had a 'Share the Wealth' Plan Before Congress 40 Years Ago."

A request has been made to the Kansas State Planning Board to establish a state park in the vicinity of Independence Crossing or Alcove Springs to commemorate the place where the old Oregon and California trail crossed the Big Blue river, in Marshall county. The early history of the Springs was reviewed by Earl E. Strimple in the *Topeka State Journal* April 13, 1935. A history of Topeka's old Adams house, in later years known as the Baltimore hotel, was sketched by Dwight Thacher Harris as another feature of the edition.

David D. Leahy, one-time publisher of the *Kiowa Herald*, reminisced on early-day Kiowa in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* April 14, 1935.

Legal hangings in Wichita's history were discussed by J. D. Dickerson in the *Wichita Sunday Beacon* April 14, 1935.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the First Christian Church of Olathe was observed April 14, 1935. The early history of the church as recalled by Mrs. George H. Hodges was published in the April 18 issue of *The Johnson County Democrat*, of Olathe.

Organization of Company K, Tenth Kansas state militia, in 1863 was discussed by Harry Johnson in the *Garnett Review* April 18, 1935.

The career of Ben Holladay, operator of the Overland stage, was reviewed by John G. Ellenbecker in the *Marshall County News*, of Marysville, April 19, 1935.

"Romance in Old Legend of Tribal Battle at Indian Hill at Chapman," was the title of an article contributed by Alma Frazier to the *Abilene Daily Chronicle* April 20, 1935. The story recalled the legend of the love of Eloa, daughter of a Padouca chieftain, for a member of her own tribe and described the reputed unsuccessful warfare waged by a Cheyenne chieftain to capture her in a battle between the Padouca and Cheyenne Indians many years ago.

A story of the life of Mother Rose Philippine Duchesne, who was a missionary among the Indians living in Missouri and present Kansas, was written by A. B. MacDonald for the *Kansas City (Mo.)*

Star April 21, 1935. The beatification of Mother Duchesne is nearing completion, and it is expected that she will be declared the first American saint. During 1841 and 1842 she was a missionary to the Pottawatomie Indians living on Sugar creek, in what is now Linn county, Kansas. Droughts and dust storms of other years were described in another feature story published in this issue of the *Star*.

Ottawa University observed the seventieth anniversary of the granting of its charter during the week starting April 21, 1935. Feature stories sketching the early history of the college were printed in the Ottawa *Campus* and *Herald* during the middle part of April.

The history of St. James Episcopal Church of Wichita was reviewed in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle* April 21, 1935. The church is celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of its founding. Dr. Otis E. Gray organized the parish.

Early attempts at landscaping the statehouse grounds, and Topeka's first Arbor day held on April 23, 1875, were discussed by Milton Tabor in the Topeka *Daily Capital* April 21, 1935. Several of the trees now adorning the statehouse grounds were planted at this first official Arbor Day observance.

"Olden Days at Georgetown Recalled in Closing Day Exercises Yesterday," the Pratt *Daily Tribune* reported in a half-page history of the school published in its issue of April 25, 1935. Georgetown School District No. 7, of Pratt county, was organized September 28, 1880.

Early Meade history was briefly reviewed by Frank Fuhr in the Meade *Globe-News*, of Meade, April 25, 1935. The original townsite of twenty-five blocks was surveyed during April, 1885.

The shooting of Charley Green by disgruntled cowboys and the resulting "Battle of Douglas Avenue," were related by Capt. Sam Jones, pioneer Wichitan, in an interview with Victor Murdock published in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* April 25, 1935.

Notes on the early history of Barton county by P. J. Jennings, of Hoisington, appeared in the Great Bend *Tribune* April 27, 1935.

A facsimile of a recently discovered letter from President Lincoln to Gov. Thomas Carney, dated July 21, 1863, relative to Gen. James G. Blunt's military conduct in Kansas, was printed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* April 28, 1935. Governor Carney had previously written the President asking that Major General Blunt's military authority be "absolutely suspended in the state." The President in

his reply stated that "the thing should not be hastily done," and promised that there would be more coöperation between the military and the civil authorities in the future. The half-page article published in the *Star* touches upon Carney's dissatisfaction with Blunt and throws additional light on General Blunt's own story of the war which appeared in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, in May, 1932.

The story of the founding of St. John's Junior College in West Wichita was sketched by David D. Leahy in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* April 28, 1935.

Holton school history was briefly reviewed in *The Holtonian* April 29, 1935.

Some of the buildings at old Fort Larned now used as ranch buildings on the Frizell Fort Larned ranch were described by Victor Murdock in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* April 30, 1935, after a visit with E. E. Frizell, a pioneer ranchman of Pawnee county.

The Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Church in School District No. 47, Chase county, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding May 26, 1935. A brief history of the organization was published in the *Chase County Leader*, of Cottonwood Falls, May 1.

A history of the Bonner Springs *Chieftain* was printed in its issue of May 2, 1935. The *Chieftain* was founded as *The Wyandotte Chieftain* on April 30, 1896.

H. C. Benke, of Chicago, Ill., a resident of Barton county until the early 1890's, reminisced on pioneer life in a letter published in the *Great Bend Tribune* May 2, 1935.

Clafin high school celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary May 1, 1935. The history of the school was briefly reviewed in the *Clafin Clarion* and the *Great Bend Tribune* in their issues of May 2, 1935.

A brief history of the Milberger Lutheran Church, by the Rev. J. Gemaelich, was printed in the *Russell Record* May 2, 1935. The constitution of the church was adopted on April 26, 1885.

Early Dighton history was recalled by F. H. Lobdell, former Dighton editor, in a two-column article published in the *Dighton Herald* May 2, 1935.

A history of the *Wathena Times*, now entering its fifty-first year of publication, written by Dave Downs, was printed in the *Times* in its issue of May 2, 1935.

Names of former pastors were included in a brief history of the Lindsborg Evangelical Mission Church published in the *Lindsborg News-Record* May 2, 1935. The church celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its founding May 4 to 7.

Early Stanton county cattle brands were discussed in an article appearing in the *Johnson Pioneer* May 2, 1935. Gustave T. Gerbing registered the first brand with the county on November 8, 1888.

Interesting archaeological "discoveries" made by O. D. Sartin, of Cedarvale, in the old Osage country near Arkansas City, were described by Brian Coyne in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler* May 2 and 3, 1935. Mr. Sartin claims to have located the remains of extensive breast parapets, flint workings where primitive ammunition was fashioned, caches of arrowheads, one of which yielded three gunny sacks full, charred and weather beaten fire pits, and numerous graves which he believes are centuries old. Most of the relics from this site are in the possession of Mr. Sartin who has located, in all, eighty-nine different Indian camps near Cedarvale.

Early Oswego and Labette county history was reviewed by Mrs. Sallie Shaffer, of Parsons, before a meeting of the Oswego Rotary Club, April 30, 1935. A summary of the talk was published in the *Oswego Democrat and Independent* in their issues of May 3, 1935.

The settlement of Liebenthal by Russian emigrants was discussed in an article appearing in the *Hays Daily News* May 4, 1935.

A history of Lincoln school in Wichita was briefly sketched in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* May 5, 1935.

The history of Wheatland cemetery in Grasshopper township, Atchison county, was reviewed by Charles E. Belden, in the *Horton Headlight* May 6, 1935.

A two-column biography of Ben Holladay, proprietor of the Holladay Overland Stage Line, was published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* May 8, 1935.

Histories of the Wichita City Library were sketched in the *Wichita Eagle* May 8 and 12, 1935. Pictures accompanied the latter article, written by Mrs. Hortense Balderston Campbell, present reference librarian. The library was chartered February 3, 1876.

A history of the Westmoreland *Recorder* was published in its issue of May 9, 1935. The newspaper was founded by J. W. Shiner on May 7, 1885.

Brief notes on the history of Kling, a "ghost" town of western Barber county, were printed in *The Barber County Index*, of Medicine Lodge, in its issue of May 9, 1935.

A history of the Mound City W. C. T. U. as written by Mrs. Lillie Hellard for its fiftieth anniversary meeting held at Mound City May 5, 1935, was published in the *Mound City Republic* May 9.

John Brown's life was briefly reviewed in an article appearing in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* May 9, 1935, on the 135th anniversary of his birth.

An experience of M. M. Winters with the Indians in the early 1870's in northwest Kansas when his partner was killed was recounted in the *St. Francis Herald* May 9, 1935.

Life in early Butler county was described by Mrs. Alvah Shelden for the *Douglass Tribune* in its issues of May 10 and 17, 1935. Mrs. Shelden came to the county from Ohio in 1869.

The opening of the Peru, Chautauqua county, oil pool by William Geyser over thirty years ago was reviewed by Victor Murdock in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* May 11, 1935.

Experiences in early-day Manhattan and elsewhere were recalled by Mrs. Annie Pillsbury Young for the *Manhattan Mercury* May 11, 1935. Mrs. Young is a former Manhattan postmistress.

The pioneer reminiscences of Mrs. J. C. McConnell, of Turner, were recorded in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* May 12, 1935.

Early Humboldt school history was reviewed by John C. Hamm in a letter published in the *Humboldt Union* May 16, 1935.

City waterworks in northwestern Kansas in the early days were discussed in a story appearing in *The Sherman County Herald*, of Goodland, May 16, 1935. Bird City was the first town in the Sherman county vicinity to establish a system, the article reported.

A two-column history of Economy School District No. 68, of Butler county, was written by Mrs. Mabel Bolin for the *Leon News* May 17, 1935. A more detailed story of Economy which included Mrs. Bolin's sketch as published in the *News* was contributed by George F. Fullinwider to the *El Dorado Times* of the same date.

The early history of Wabaunsee was briefly reviewed in an article printed in the *Eskridge Independent* May 23, 1935. The story was a reprint of a recent editorial appearing in the *New York Sun*.

Greensburg's First Methodist Episcopal Church observed the fiftieth anniversary of its founding with special services held from May 22 to 26, 1935. A history of the church written by Blanche Lea was published in the *Greensburg News* and *The Progressive-Signal*, in their May 23 issues. Letters from former pastors, and their pictures also, were featured in the *News*.

The history of the Cornforth Woman's Relief Corps of Clyde was reviewed in the *Clyde Republican* May 23, 1935. The auxiliary was organized May 22, 1885.

Notes on the history of Leona and its First Congregational Church, as compiled by Clarence Royer, were published in the *Hiawatha Daily World* May 23, 1935. The *Highland Vidette* of the same date also printed a history of the church which was formally organized in May, 1885.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Ashland Methodist Episcopal Church was observed with a month of special services held during May, 1935. A history of the church, which was organized in March, 1885, was sketched in *The Clark County Clipper*, of Ashland May 23.

Notes on the history of Clay county, as compiled by E. G. Gunter from a perusal of the county commissioners' journal beginning with the organization of the county in 1866, are being published from time to time in the *Clay Center Dispatch*. The series commenced with the issue of May 23, 1935.

A history of Little Walnut chapter, No. 362, Order of the Eastern Star, of Leon, was sketched in the *Leon News* May 24, 1935. The chapter was organized on February 13, 1913.

The history of the First Baptist Church of Wichita was briefly reviewed in the *Wichita Beacon* May 25, 1935. The church was organized on May 26, 1872.

Harry Landis, a veteran of the "Legislative War of 1893," was interviewed by David D. Leahy for the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* May 26, 1935.

Fort Zarah history was briefly sketched in an illustrated article published in the *Great Bend Tribune* May 28, 1935.

Names of alumni of Winona Consolidated High School from 1915 were listed in the *Logan County News*, of Winona, May 30, 1935.

The history of the *Garnett Review* was reviewed in its seventieth

anniversary edition issued May 30, 1935. The *Review* is a continuation of several newspapers. The *Plaindealer*, founded in 1865, by I. E. Olney, was the first.

A letter from Walter L. Holcomb, of Kendallville, Ind., relating some of his early-day experiences in Butler county, was published in the Douglass *Tribune* May 31, 1935. Mr. Holcomb arrived in the county in 1873.

"Three Floods in Wichita Which Occupy a Place in the Town's History" was the title of an article by Victor Murdock printed in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* May 31, 1935. The floods cited by Mr. Murdock occurred in 1877, 1904 and 1923.

Biographical sketches of persons prominent in Kansas affairs have been published in a feature column entitled "Kansas Personalities," which has been supplied daily by the Associated Press to its member newspapers. The series was started during the latter part of May, 1935.

"Tom Smith—Marshal of Abilene, Kansas," was the title of an article contributed by E. A. Brininstool to the *Pony Express Courier*, of Placerville, Cal., in its June, 1935, issue. Mr. Smith served as marshal of Abilene from May to November, 1870, when he was killed.

Burlingame's First Presbyterian Church observed the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding June 9, 1935. Histories of the organization were published in the *Topeka State Journal* June 1, and *The Enterprise-Chronicle*, of Burlingame, June 6.

Old Sacramento, a cannon now resting in the Watson library at the University of Kansas at Lawrence, fired the first shots both for and against slavery in the United States, the *Kansas City Times* reported in an article printed in its issue of June 3, 1935. The historic cannon was captured from the Mexicans by Col. Alexander Doniphan in the Mexican War, and later it saw service in the Pro-slavery and Free-state bands operating in Kansas territory in the latter 1850's.

Augusta Christian Church history was reviewed in a special Christian Endeavor section issued by the *Augusta Daily Gazette* June 5, 1935.

Histories of the Hope Methodist Church, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary June 2, 1935, and St. Philip's Catholic Mission,

which observed the twenty-fifth anniversary of the building of the present church edifice June 4, were published in the *Hope Dispatch* June 6.

Sutphen residents were hosts to the regular spring meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society June 5, 1935. Historical sketches of early-day mills at Sutphen, Chapman, Industry and Enterprise were presented at the meeting and were reviewed briefly in the *Chapman Advertiser* June 6.

Excerpts from the diary of Mark Titsworth, detailing his experiences in Wichita in June, 1872, were printed by Victor Murdock in a front-page feature article appearing in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* June 6, 1935.

Brief biographical sketches of several favored sons and daughters of Kansas, nearly all of whom are identified with the newspaper history of the state, were featured in the Kansas State Editorial Association edition of the *Atchison Daily Globe* issued June 6, 1935, preceding the convention held June 7 and 8. Persons written up include: Amelia Earhart Putnam, J. E. Rank, A. W. Robinson, L. L. Robinson, L. L. Robinson, Jr., John A. Martin, Eugene Abbott, Gomer T. Davies, Mrs. J. C. Mack, Robert B. Reed, J. Byron Cain, Harold A. Hammond, Bertha Shore, E. W. Howe, Ferd. L. Vandegrift and H. C. Sticher. The history of Atchison's newspapers was also briefly reviewed in the edition.

The organization of the Arkansas City Town Company on June 7, 1870, and other significant dates in the city's history were discussed in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler* June 6, 1935.

Letters from former residents of Sedgwick were featured in the *Sedgwick Pantagraph* starting with the issue of June 6, 1935. Earl Leedy, the editor, hoped to have a "reunion" of old timers of Sedgwick and vicinity in his newspaper in this manner.

Oskaloosa and Jefferson county history is being reviewed in detail in a series of special historical articles appearing in the *Oskaloosa Independent*, commencing June 6, 1935. On July 11 the *Independent* completed its seventy-fifth year in Oskaloosa and celebrated the occasion with the issuance of a historical edition describing the city and newspaper as they were in 1860 and as they are now. J. W. Roberts, the managing editor, wrote that much of the historical material published in the *Independent* at this time may be republished in pamphlet form.

A twenty-page special historical edition was issued by the *Hazleton Herald* for the ninth annual old settlers' homecoming held at Hazleton June 7, 1935.

L. N. Blood, of Winfield, first teacher in Augusta's school system, described his early teaching experiences in a letter published in the *Augusta Daily Gazette* June 7, 1935. The first school in Augusta was taught in the fall and winter of 1869, Mr. Blood related.

An entry in the diary of Mineus Ives, Kansas pioneer, records August 9, 1875, as the date of the killing of the last buffalo in Sedgwick county, Victor Murdock reported in an article appearing in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* June 8, 1935.

Chanute's railroad history was reviewed by F. E. Armstrong, Don Rankin and Roy Chapple in a series of articles published in the *Chanute Tribune* as a "Railroad Week" feature, starting in the issue of June 10, 1935.

The history of the Wathena Baptist Church was briefly sketched in the *Wathena Times* June 13, 1935. The church was organized seventy-seven years ago.

Mrs. Etta Scott Hatch reminisced on life in early Jewell county in an article published in the *Burr Oak Herald* June 13, 1935. Other short historical articles have appeared from time to time in the *Herald* in recent months.

Osawatomie's railroad history was sketched by Mrs. Anna L. January in the *Osawatomie Graphic-News* June 13, 1935.

The fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Friends church at Haviland was observed June 16, 1935. Historical notes on the founding were published in the *Haviland Review* in its issues of June 13 and 20, 1935.

The address reviewing the history of the Oregon trail given by John G. Ellenbecker at the dedication of an Oregon trail marker at Bremen June 9, 1935, was printed in *The Advocate-Democrat*, of Marysville, June 13 and 20, and in the *Marshall County News* in its issues of June 14 to July 5, inclusive. R. V. Tye's address on early Washington county given at the same event was published in *The Advocate-Democrat* June 13.

Reminiscences of life in the early years of Kansas statehood were related by Mrs. Alice M. Dow, of Lawrence, to Mrs. Pearl Richardson for publication in the *Pratt Daily Tribune* June 14, 1935. Mrs. Dow came to Kansas in 1860.

The Oakley *Graphic* resumed publication of Clarence Mershon's "History of Oakley," in its issue of June 14, 1935. The previous series was started in the issue of June 29, 1934.

A brief history of the Sunday school of St. Mark's Lutheran Church of Emporia was printed in the Emporia *Gazette* June 14, 1935. The school was founded July 14, 1885, with the Rev. F. D. Altman as superintendent.

The activities of Chief Hopoeithleyohola, a Creek Indian, were reviewed by T. F. Morrison of Chanute in the Le Roy *Reporter* June 14, 1935. Chief Hopoeithleyohola was loyal to the Union during the War of the Rebellion. He is buried in Woodson county.

St. John's Lutheran Church at Lanham observed its fiftieth anniversary at special services held June 16, 1935. The history of the church was briefly sketched in the Hanover *Democrat* June 14.

Pioneer reminiscences of Mrs. E. A. Eaton, of Arkansas City, and Mrs. D. F. Feagins, of Oklahoma City, who settled in Cowley county with their parents in August, 1871, were recorded by Helen Woodman in an article printed in the Arkansas City *Daily Traveler* June 17, 1935.

The second annual dinner party given by the Pratt County Council of Clubs for residents of Pratt county who were seventy-five years of age or older was held June 17, 1935. Names of the guests were published in the Pratt *Daily Tribune* June 18, and the Pratt *Union* June 20. "Railroads Brought Several Men to Pratt Who Later Branched Out Into Businesses of Own," was the title of a "Railroad Week" feature article by Mrs. Pearl Richardson printed in the *Tribune* June 18.

Augusta's motion picture industry's history was briefly sketched in the Augusta *Daily Gazette* June 19, 1935, on the occasion of the opening of a new theater in the city.

The origin of some of Manhattan's street names was discussed by Mrs. Florence Fox Harrop in an article published in the Manhattan *Mercury* June 22, 1935.

A competitive war dance between Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians staged in Wichita at the corner of Main and Douglas in 1876 was described by Waitmon White, pioneer, to Victor Murdock, who featured the interview in his front-page article published in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* June 22, 1935.

The loss of the engagement at Byram's ford, on the Blue river,

was a serious blow to the Confederates during Gen. Sterling Price's raid on Missouri and Kansas in October, 1864, the *Kansas City Times* reported in its issue of June 22, 1935. The site of this ford has never been marked and is now a controversial matter.

A history of the Santa Fé trail as sketched by the late Viola Allen McCullough in 1904 as a tribute to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad Co., appeared in the *Topeka State Journal* June 22, 1935. O. C. Jones, a Wathena merchant, told of a ride on a flat car on the old St. Joseph & Denver City Railroad in Doniphan county in 1860 in the same issue.

Wichita school history was briefly reviewed by Muriel E. Schaefer in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* June 23, 1935.

The Horton Presbyterian Church celebrated the tenth anniversary of the dedication of the present church building in special services held on June 23, 1935. The history of the organization as related in a sermon given by the Rev. G. W. Nelson, pastor, was published in *The Tri-County News*, of Horton, June 24, 1935.

Marshal Thomas J. Smith's career as Abilene's peace officer in the early 1870's was discussed in an article appearing in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* June 25, 1935. Marshal Smith established a rule that firearms were not to be carried openly in the town—and enforced it, the *Star* related.

Reminiscences of early-day Barton county by Will E. Stoke, former Great Bend newspaper publisher, were printed in the *Great Bend Tribune* June 26, 1935.

J. H. Downing, editor of the old Hays City *Star*, "scooped" the world on the news of the Custer disaster, the *Hays Daily News* reported in its issue of June 26, 1935. The *Star*, due to the editor's friendship with a telegraph operator at Fort Wallace, carried the news the evening of July 6, 1876, while other papers did not publish it until the following morning.

A series of descriptive articles on cross-state highways in Kansas was prepared by George Mack of the Kansas State Highway Department for publication in the newspapers of the state during the summer of 1935. Points of historic interest along the routes were noted in the articles. The series was started June 26.

Names of business houses operating on Main street in Chanute in 1910 were briefly reviewed in the *Chanute Tribune* June 27, 1935.

Kansas Historical Notes

Early explorers traveling through present Barton county and their probable routes were discussed by H. K. Shideler, county engineer, in an address at the reorganization meeting of the Barton County Historical Society held in Great Bend May 7, 1935. Officers selected at this meeting include: Dr. E. E. Morrison, president; Ferd Isern, first vice-president; Mrs. C. P. Munns, second vice-president; Eleanor Vollmer, secretary; Mrs. Robert Peugh, treasurer; Mrs. Flora Stedman, custodian; Mrs. Grace Bowman, historian; Grace Gunn, Charles Mayo, Bob Hamilton, Fred Wolf, Sr., Mrs. Jennie Southwick, Judge Elrick Cole and Arthur Taylor, members of the executive board. A museum, housed in the county courthouse, is being sponsored by the society.

An address by Gov. Alf M. Landon was a feature of the dedication ceremonies for the recently completed Fort Zarah park held in Great Bend on May 28, 1935. A British artillery field gun, a recent acquisition to the park, was also dedicated. The gun was secured through the efforts of Sen. R. C. Russell.

Beecher Island Memorial Park in northeastern Colorado was seriously damaged by recent flood waters, according to press reports. A monument, erected jointly by Kansas and Colorado, honoring the men, mostly Kansans, who participated in the Battle of the Arickaree, was toppled over. The graves of soldiers buried at its foot were badly washed. The bridge near the entrance was washed out, while the Arickaree itself cut a new channel, now running south of the park, instead of to the north. In the early days the stream divided, running on each side and forming an island.

An Oregon trail marker, two and one half miles southwest of Bremen, was unveiled at special ceremonies memorializing the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the town and the seventy-fifth year since the abandonment of the trail, held at the site on June 9, 1935. Speakers for the day included Fred A. Prell, of Bremen; R. V. Tye, of Hanover; Judge Edgar C. Bennett, John G. Ellenbecker, C. K. Rodkey and Paul W. Kirkpatrick, of Marysville. The marker bears the inscription "Lest We Forget, Oregon Trail,

1827-1875." Speeches delivered on the occasion were recorded in Marysville newspapers contemporaneous with the event.

A granite marker, locating the intersection of the old Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott-Fort Gibson military road with Kansas highway No. 57 at Kniveton was dedicated June 19, 1935. The bronze tablet on the shaft bears the inscription: "This Tablet Marks the Intersection of the Old Military Road of 1837 With the New State Highway No. 57. Erected by Oceanic Hopkins Chapter of the D. A. R., Pittsburg, Kan., 1935." Mrs. Loren E. Rex, of Wichita, state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, delivered the dedicatory address. Mrs. O. P. Dellinger, of Pittsburg, made the presentation to the state and F. W. Brinkerhoff, of Pittsburg, chairman of the committee on marking and mapping historic sites in Kansas, created by the Kansas Chamber of Commerce, gave the acceptance talk. Mrs. D. L. Dunn, of Pittsburg, supervised the unveiling. The highway department was represented by Earle C. Todd, of Independence, commissioner for the fourth district. The marker is on the north side of the road, a short distance east of the railroad tracks at Kniveton.

Thomas F. Doran, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, addressed the members of the Riley County Historical Society at a meeting held in Manhattan on June 21, 1935. Kirke Mechem accompanied Mr. Doran to Manhattan and spoke briefly at the same meeting.

A banquet honoring Frank H. Roberts and the *Independent*, Oskaloosa's oldest business institution, was sponsored by Oskaloosa citizens on June 21, 1935. The *Independent*, which was founded by John Wesley Roberts, has been published in Oskaloosa by members of the Roberts family continuously for seventy-five years. Speakers at the dinner included Frank Roberts, Dr. M. S. McCreight, Will T. Beck, publisher of the *Holton Recorder*, and Homer Hoch, former publisher of the *Marion Record*. Judge Lloyd Morris was toastmaster.

Thirty new buses, carrying the names of thirty of Wichita's pioneers, were placed in service in Wichita the last week in June, 1935, supplanting the old electric trolley system. David D. Fishback, public relations director of the Wichita Transportation Co., in a letter to the Kansas State Historical Society related Wichita's part in the development of the electric trolley which was established

in the city forty-eight years ago. Names of pioneers honored were selected through the coöperation of the Sedgwick County Pioneer Society and include: Murdock, Davidson, Griffenstein, Mathewson, Mead, English, Jewett, Waterman, Fabrique, Allen, Woodman, Hyde, Ross, Harris, Lewis, Munger, Carey, Schweiter, Gribbl, Black, Smith, Lawrence, McCoy, Aley, Sluss, Stanley, Smythe, Sowers, Steele and Getto.

More than forty persons interested in collecting and preserving Indian arrowheads and other relics of the early inhabitants of the Southwest recently organized themselves into an "Arratolist" society at a meeting held in Elkhart July 4, 1935. William Baker, of Boise City, Okla., was elected president of the new society and Neal Van Hosen, of Elkhart, was chosen secretary-treasurer.

A Jewell County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held in Mankato July 8, 1935. The following persons were elected to serve as officers one year or until another election: Forrest Fair, Mankato, president; Mrs. Joe Beeler, Ionia, vice-president; Frank Kissinger, Mankato, secretary; Mrs. Bert Cluster, Jewell, treasurer; Mrs. Sarah Vance, Mankato, historian. Directors elected include: Everett Palmer, Jewell; Dr. C. S. Hershner, Esbon; Mrs. A. W. Mann, Burr Oak; Don Balch, Formoso; E. C. Whitley, Mankato; Geo. Warne, Webber; Mrs. J. W. Waite, Esbon.

The first annual Chase county old settlers' all-day picnic sponsored by the newly organized Chase County Historical Society was held in Swope park, Cottonwood Falls, July 24, 1935. Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the speaker. Mr. Mechem also addressed the Herington Rotary Club July 22.

Roadside signs marking points of historic interest in Riley county were recently erected through a joint Manhattan Chamber of Commerce-county-KERC project.

A valuable addition to the literature of Kansas is Bliss Isely's recent book, *Sunbonnet Days*. Mr. Isely, a Kansas newspaperman, has told the story of his mother, Elise Dübach Isely, who came to America from Switzerland in 1855. She was a Civil War bride, her husband, Christian Isely, serving with the Second Kansas cavalry. After the war they took up their residence in western Brown county and later in Wichita. Christian Isely died in 1919. Mrs. Isely,

who celebrated her ninety-third birthday June 21 of this year, still resides in Wichita.

Three generations of Sternbergs are fossil hunters, the Hays *Daily News* related in its issue of April 20, 1935. George F. Sternberg is curator of the museum at the Fort Hays Kansas State College; his father, Charles H., is employed at the Natural History Museum in San Diego, Cal., and the son, and grandson, Charles W., is a student at Kansas University, in Lawrence.



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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.

The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas*

JAMES C. MALIN

ALTHOUGH there is much discussion of the improvement of farm conditions and of the stabilization of agriculture, there is remarkably little specific information of historical character about the behavior of farm population and of the factors which influence that behavior. This study of the turnover of farm population in Kansas presents only one of many phases of an investigation undertaken in that field.

The state of Kansas was divided into five belts, or zones, from east to west and townships were selected in each in sufficient number to make a fairly representative sampling of each area. Except for the third or central belt, the selection resulted in the inclusion in each division of upwards of one thousand farms after the belt was fully settled, the number varying, of course, from time to time. The method for determining the division of the state presented many problems. Which should be used: arbitrary rectangles, time of first settlement, type-of-farming areas of contemporary times, soil, topography, temperature, altitude or rainfall? Arbitrary division into rectangles, while frequently used for statistical purposes, did not appear to have any meaning for this study. From the standpoint of the frontier alone, the division on the basis of time of settlement would seem to be most desirable, but such an arrangement would have a limited relation to subsequent development. As settlement moved from northeast to southwest, the process did not conform with the natural geographical conditions. Type-of-farming areas are more suitable for investigations where time and change do not enter. Soil areas are not sufficiently definite and uniform. Temperature belts in Kansas run northeast and southwest, with the longest growing season in the southeast corner and the shortest in the northwest corner. Altitude belts are similar although they run more nearly north and south, but in this respect also Kansas faces the southeast rather than the east or northeast. Rainfall belts in the eastern part of the state run northeast and southwest also, but

* This article was read in part at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Cincinnati, Ohio, April 26, 1935.

near the middle of the state, they change directions to north and south.¹

For the present purpose, rainfall has been chosen as the basis of division because of the close relation of rainfall to agriculture and because this division more nearly conforms to some of the other possible divisions; time of settlement, temperature and altitude without their exaggerated extremes. The first rainfall belt of 35 inches per year and upward runs from the northeast corner of the state southwestward. This region includes the section most heavily populated during the territorial period. The second rainfall belt of 30 to 35 inches includes Brown and Nemaha counties in the northeast and extends southwest into the east central section, including such cities as Emporia, Newton and Wichita. The third rainfall belt of 25 to 30 inches extends westward to a line nearly north and south through Ellsworth, Great Bend and Pratt. The fourth belt of 20 to 25 inches extends to a point slightly west of the one-hundredth meridian. The fifth belt of less than 20 inches rainfall includes the remainder of the state west to the Colorado line.²

The selection of the township samples presented its difficulties. The boundaries of the townships must remain unchanged through the years for which census data are available, or if divided, the subdivisions must include the original area. The sample townships must be strictly rural in character without being isolated. The presence of a small town is permissible, but a city of any size would introduce the suburban factor which is a problem in itself. The township should be large enough to be fairly representative, and foreign populations or other unusual influences must not be present in sufficient degree to dominate or distort the results. In practice it has been found all but impossible to find townships that have not

1. Maps showing types-of-farming areas, rainfall and growing seasons may be found conveniently in Hodges, J. A., et al., "Types of Farming in Kansas," *Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 251* (August, 1930). A soil map is to be found in the *Twenty-eighth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture*, opposite p. 100, in conjunction with an article on soils of Kansas by R. I. Throckmorton, pp. 91-102.

2. GROUP I, *First Rainfall Belt*.—Doniphan county, Center township; Leavenworth county, Alexandria township; Linn county, Valley township; Douglas county, Eudora township, Kanwaka township.

GROUP II, *Second Rainfall Belt*.—Brown county, Walnut township; Lyon county, Pike township, Agnes City township, Reading township; Harvey county, Macon township, Alta township.

GROUP III, *Third Rainfall Belt*.—Jewell county, Sinclair township; Dickinson county, Buckeye township; Saline county, Walnut township; Kingman county, Vinita township.

GROUP IV, *Fourth Rainfall Belt*.—Phillips county, Long Island township; Ellsworth county, Lincoln township; Russell county, Big Creek township; Ellis county, Wheatland township; Edwards county, Kinsley township, Trenton township, Wayne township; Barber county, Sun City township, Deerhead township, Turkey Creek township; Decatur county, Center township; Ness county, High Point township.

GROUP V, *Fifth Rainfall Belt*.—Gove county, Grainfield township; Cheyenne county, Jaqua township, Benkelman township, Calhoun township, Cleveland Run township; Wallace county, Harrison township, Morton township, North township, Sharon Springs township, Stockholm township, Vega township, Wallace township, Weskan township; Hamilton county, Bear Creek township, Coolidge township, Kendall township, Lamont township, Liberty township, Medway township, Richland township, Syracuse township.

been influenced by foreign population to some degree at some time in their history.

The materials used are the original federal and state census records giving names and other data for all farm operators, at five-year intervals from 1860 to 1885 and for ten-year intervals thereafter until 1915, after which five-year intervals are resumed.³ Lists of names of farm operators were compiled from each census for all townships analyzed and these lists compared with succeeding name lists to determine operators who were represented in the township in their own right or through male descendants.⁴ From resulting statistics the following types of data could be established; firstly, the total number of farm operators at successive census dates; secondly, the persistence of farm operators; and thirdly, the proportion of the farm operators of any period who are descendants from those of any prior period.

The whole number of farm operators, both for the townships taken separately as well as for them taken as groups, increased through the settlement period, frequently, if not usually, to a number in excess of what the land would support under the existing stage of economic development. The second phase was usually a recession in numbers accompanied by an increase in the size of the farm unit. Beyond that point few generalizations seem possible. When the numbers were plotted in graphic form the curves showed no uniformity of pattern. After the frontier or settlement period the townships took on characteristics of established communities, but not necessarily of stabilized communities. Only in the eastern part could the term stabilization be applied with any degree of accuracy, because only there has sufficient time elapsed for fairly adequate adjustments to environment to be completed. The peculiarities of agricultural problems on the plains require a longer period of adaptation than has elapsed since the original settlement. And furthermore, throughout the state, both east and west, the advent of power machinery disrupted much of the adaptation already supposedly achieved.

3. These state census records for the period 1860-1925, inclusive, are deposited permanently with the Kansas State Historical Society. Those for 1930 are temporarily in the possession of the department of agricultural economics of Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science and those for the current year 1935 are held temporarily by the federal agricultural statistician at Topeka. No federal census data were used for 1890 and since, because the more recent federal records are closed to the public.

4. The shift of farm operation from father to children is usually very small during the first ten years from any particular census date and only somewhat larger during the second ten years. By the end of twenty years relatively few of the families in question are represented in the township, as will be seen from the analysis of data later in the paper, so the element of error inevitable through inability to follow the female line is relatively small. If a family includes male children, the possibility of the male succeeding to the farm instead of the females tends to minimize this constant error.

The period of depression between 1870-1875 recorded moderate losses of farm operators in the first and second belts. The next five years brought increases in population along with partial economic recovery for most of the state. The five years 1880-1885, generally prosperous, present a different picture. The first and fourth belts lost farm operators. In the fourth it was the result of reaction from the boom in the northwest counties. The decade 1885-1895, mostly one of national and world-wide depression, shows increases in the first, second and third belts, the older region, but decreases again in the fourth or younger part of the state. The decade 1895-1905 recorded decreases in four belts, but substantial increases in the fourth. This was the period in which the fourth belt was achieving relative stabilization on a basis of hard winter wheat farming, and succeeded in running counter to the trends of the country both to the east and to the west of it. The decade 1905-1915 was the first one in which all belts registered the same trend, a substantial increase, especially in the fifth. Decreases occurred during the next five years, the World War period, except in the fifth, and increases during the first half of the twenties, except in the second and third. The period 1925-1930, another period of national prosperity, brought declines in numbers in all belts. It is a period of rapid mechanization of agriculture and correspondingly enlarged farm units. In the depression years 1930-1935 the decline in numbers was reversed except in the second belt. The 1930-1935 change in direction was substantial, otherwise it might not be significant as census rolls were probably more complete in 1935 than in former years on account of the federal agricultural allotment policy. For emphasis it may be well to stress the fact that the number of farm operators increased between 1930 and 1935 even in the semiarid fifth rainfall belt, the so-called "dust-bowl."

Although only limited generalizations may be permissible from these variegated data, a few things stand out. Economic depression was usually associated with declining numbers of farm operators during the frontier or settlement stage of development of the country, but increasing numbers usually occurred in older parts of the state. On the other hand, national prosperity was associated with increasing numbers in all parts of the state between 1905 and 1915, and with declining numbers in most of the state between 1925 and 1930.⁵

5. In this discussion the words "result" or "cause" have been excluded and the phrase "associated with," or an equivalent, is used in order to avoid any implications of "cause-effect" relationships.

These conclusions have an important bearing on the so-called safety valve theory of the frontier hypothesis. It has been rather generally assumed by the followers of F. J. Turner that unfavorable conditions in the east or older regions resulted in a flow of population westward to free or cheap land, thus affording relief to the east and providing opportunity to the migrants. The data collected in this study do not seem to bear out such a theory. On the frontier the number of farm operators declined more often than it increased during periods of general economic stress. On the other hand the increases occurred in most substantial numbers in the older counties and especially those containing a town of some size. The significance of the shift resulting from depressed economic conditions appears to lie therefore in urban to rural rather than old-country to frontier readjustment. This urban-to-rural movement was conspicuous while there still was an open frontier and it was conspicuous in the 1930-1935 period after the frontier was gone.

The study of the agricultural census rolls, name by name and farm by farm, reveals many changes which cannot be presented statistically. For the decade 1925-1935, some of these furnish significant background for interpretation of the data. During the twenties rapid mechanization and increased size of farms necessarily reduced the number of farm operators. Many of the less efficient were squeezed out and found it difficult to make a living at any other occupation. The towns received most of them and thereby added to marginal urban population. Much of the tradition of agricultural depression of the twenties was associated with these who were eliminated or who were on the borderline. More accurately these farmers were the victims of a revolutionary advance in agricultural technology. Also the period seems to have encouraged the early retirement of many older operators from active management of their land. The depression of the thirties seems to have reversed to some extent both of these tendencies. Near larger towns especially, there was subdivision of farms associated with the town-to-country movement. Another tendency seems to be an attempt on the part of the head of a family to provide for all members through subdivision of the farm. In other cases farmers who had retired appear to have returned to active operation of their land. In still others, instead of older farmers retiring outright, many seem to reserve a small plot of ground which they operate separately from the original farm. There was an increasing tendency also for the sons in a family to operate a farm jointly under

such a title as Jones Brothers, or a father and sons to handle the farm jointly. Obviously there are conflicting factors present in these cases of joint management. In some it seems to have been a substitute for subdivision of the land, while in others the situation suggests that the joining of forces was a means for carrying on large-scale operations. Subdivision, consolidation and preservation of the size of farm units went on at the same time. The effect of subdivision and consolidation is to cancel or offset each other in the statistics. The figures for the number of farms in any township or county, therefore, may be unchanged, but the farm situation may be changed radically.

The second phase of the problem of population turnover, the persistence of farm operators, affords more that is unusual. General conclusions are presented first. In all rainfall belts, the rate of turnover was high, but was declining during the first twenty-five years from the time of settlement. At about twenty to thirty years after settlement, the rate of turnover may be said to have become somewhat stabilized, although the word stabilized must again be used loosely. In some cases, instead of stabilization, there was an increase in the rate of turnover after that high point twenty-five years from settlement. After the World War persistence increased substantially.

For purposes of summarizing persistence of population by rainfall belts, the data on the several sample townships were added together for each belt, and the persistence was expressed in percentages of the total of persons included in each base census list who remained at successive later census periods. In the first, or eastern belt in 1860 there were 478 operators in the five sample townships. Five years later only 35 percent remained; at the end of ten years 26 percent; at the end of twenty-five years 20 percent; in 1920, or after 60 years, 10.6 percent, and in 1935, or after 75 years, 8.3 percent. Taking in succession the years 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880 and 1885 as base years, the percentage of persistence increased to a high point in 1885. There were 953 farm operators in 1885, and of these ten years later 51.4 percent remained, after another ten years 40.8 percent, in 1920 after thirty-five years, 24.6 percent, and in 1935, or after 50 years, 19 percent. The next base year, 1895, showed increasing instability; only 47.7 percent remained after ten years. It was not until after 1915 that the 1885 level again was reached. The last three base years, 1920, 1925 and 1930, showed

little variation from the high mark of about 66 percent after five years and 56 percent after ten years.⁶

The five different townships in the first rainfall belt varied quite widely. Doniphan is the northeast county of the state along the Missouri river. Center township includes the county seat, Troy. Its leading economic interests are corn, livestock and apples. The farm population was highly stabilized at 55 percent at the five-year point and 46 percent at the ten-year point for the 1865 base year and changed little until the 1915 base year, when it declined somewhat. After the World War the stabilization reached a high percentage of 70.8 for the period 1920-1925 and declined to 67.1 for the years 1930-1935, being the only township in this belt to decline in stability after 1920.

Alexandria township in Leavenworth county lies in the Stranger creek valley, just to the west of the city of Leavenworth. Much of the township is rough and in the early day was timbered. Water and wood made it especially attractive to early settlers. It is a general farming area. It did not reach a high degree of stability as early as Doniphan county, but the level rose steadily to a high percentage of 71.6 for the 1920 base year for the period 1920-1925. After irregularity for 1925-1930, it made a new high of 72.4 percent for 1930-1935.

Eudora township in Douglas county is mostly bottom land, settled by Germans in the north part and Quakers, the Hesper community, in the south. It is a general farming township. In level of stability it was between Doniphan and Leavenworth, with a percentage of approximately 66 for each five-year period after 1920.

The most irregular population movements of the five were found in Valley township of Linn county. This community occupied the north watershed of the Marais des Cygnes river on the Missouri border and contains the village of Trading Post, made notorious in territorial days by John Brown's "Parallels." The first high point of stability was reached at the 1875 base year with 51 percent at five years and 49 percent at ten years. The second high point was 1905 at about the same level as 1875. The third high was the 1925 base year with 58 percent for the five years 1925-1930, but with a low figure of 37 percent for 1930-1935. The 1930 base year showed a decline also for the 1930-1935 quinquennium.

The most stable township of the group was Kanwaka in Douglas,

6. See Chart I at the end of this article.

a general farming community, lying on the ridge dividing the Wakarusa and the Kansas river valleys and between the historic towns of Lawrence and Lecompton. A very high stability was found for the base years 1865, 1870 and 1875 of 58 percent to 65 percent at the five-year point and 46 percent to 53 percent at the ten-year point. The second and third high levels were the 1885 and 1905 base years with 71.2 percent and 63 percent at the ten-year mark. Beginning with the 1915 base year the five-year level of 70 percent was practically unchanged for the succeeding base years.

The second rainfall belt, represented by six townships, started with 1860 also, as its first base year, and the curve of persistence was similar to the first rainfall belt, differing only in details. A high degree of stabilization occurred by 1885, and the curves for the base years 1895 to 1915 were almost identical with 1885. At the end of fifteen years the four stood close to 45 percent. At that point the 1915 curve diverged but the others continued close together. The level of the 1920, 1925 and 1930 lines rose to a high point in 1930 of 71 percent at the end of five years.⁷

Brown county, in this belt, is in the heart of the Kansas corn belt and lies just west of Doniphan county. The 1875 base year showed the highest percentage of stability until the postwar period, with 73 at five years, 61 at ten years and 47 at fifteen years. Thereafter there was some irregularity at lower levels until the 1905 base year, which opened a period of increasing stability to almost the 1875 level. The 1925 base year was definitely lower, but the 1930 base year was again high at 72 percent for 1930-1935.

Lyon county, lying in the blue-stem pasture region, contributed three townships to this group. Agnes City township is mostly pasture, Pike township is largely bottom land with more general farming and alfalfa. Reading township partakes somewhat of the characteristics of both. These townships were outstanding in showing an unusually high level of stability in the earliest year. Pike township maintained a higher level of stability for 1860, 1865 and 1870 than for any base years since. This may be accounted for in part by the fact that it contained a closely-knit Quaker community. The 1860 base year retained 60 percent at five years and 51 percent at ten years. The 1865 base year retained 68.8 percent at five years and 66.2 percent at ten years. The 1870 base year retained 67.1 percent at five years and 59.6 percent at ten years. The middle years 1875-1905 were highly stable, but at a lower level. By 1915

7. See Chart II.

the stability had risen to 60 percent retained after five years and 50 percent after ten years and succeeding base years remained almost unchanged until 1930 which advanced to 64 percent at the five-year point. The record of Agnes City township was very similar except the level of stability was not so high in the early years. Reading township, which was given present boundaries by 1875, reached higher levels but was more irregular.

Harvey county is in the eastern part of the wheat belt. Macon township lies between two towns, Newton and Halstead. After a somewhat irregular beginning it achieved a very high stability by 1915. That base year retained 67 percent of its farm operators after five years and 58 percent after ten years. The postwar years continued the stabilization process until the 1930 base year achieved a high level of 75 percent retained in 1935. Alta township is about the center of a triangle formed by the cities of Newton, Hutchinson and McPherson. In its early years it was settled by Mennonites from Russia and Germany. The percentages of persistence are quite irregular, but are relatively high. In the early years, 1880 to 1905, inclusive, the Alta township level was higher than Macon township, but since that time Macon was more consistent and retained higher percentages, except for the five-year figures on the 1920 and 1930 base years. The number retained after ten years was higher for Macon than for Alta even for these two exceptions.

The third rainfall belt is represented by four townships, but for early years two whole counties were used, Dickinson and Saline. The first base year was 1860, using Dickinson county alone, which gave a percentage of 58.3 percent retained at the end of five years and 42 percent at the end of ten years. The 1865 base, using both counties, retained 43 percent at the end of five years. By 1875 the township lines were sufficiently established to change to the township units and one township in Phillips county was introduced for 1875 and one from Kingman in 1880. The high point of persistence was the 1875 base year for which 57 percent remained after five years, 47 percent after ten years, 37 percent after twenty years, 21 percent after thirty years, and 11 percent after forty-five years. All base years from 1875 to 1895, inclusive, showed a lower rate of persistence. Beginning with 1905 the level of stability rose steadily to the last base year, 1930, with 73.5 percent after five years.

The third zone is in the east central wheat belt. Dickinson and Saline counties lie in the lower Smoky river valley, which in the seventies received the name the Golden Belt as descriptive of its

leading crop. Jewell county, on the Nebraska line, raised less wheat and more corn and livestock. Kingman county is predominantly a wheat country. The record of these counties was so nearly uniform that they need not be treated separately. From the time of settlement to the World War each base year retained 55 percent to 58 percent of its farm operators after five years, and 41 percent to 46 percent after ten years. Kingman county, the one farthest southwest, was highest in stability, closing in 1935 with 80.8 percent of the farm operators of 1930.⁸

The fourth rainfall belt started from an 1875 base losing in five years all but 38 percent, in ten years all but 24 percent, in twenty years all but 14 percent, and after sixty years there remained 4 percent. The 1880 base year followed closely the same curve at the ten- and twenty-year points, but held up to more than 6 percent at the fifty-five-year mark. The base years 1895, 1905 and 1915 reached a high point of stability for the prewar period at more than 47 percent. In the postwar period the level of persistence rose in each successive census until the 1930 curve reached 76.1 percent in 1935 or at the end of five years.⁹

The fourth belt is in the heart of the Kansas wheat region and in area it is the largest of the five rainfall divisions. The selection of ten townships was made from eight different counties. On the northern border two counties, Phillips and Decatur, produce corn and livestock as well as wheat. Ellsworth, Russell, Ellis and Ness counties include a good representation of cattle country. Edwards county is devoted almost altogether to wheat. Barber county produces cattle and wheat. Five of the individual townships, in Barber, Decatur, Edwards (Trenton), Ellsworth and Russell counties, were moderately irregular in turnover until 1905 or 1915, and thereafter increased consistently in stability to a high level of 70 percent to 80 percent for the five years 1930-1935. In the others the irregularity from base to base continued through their whole history, but all arrived at a level of 70 percent or more for the final five years. In 1905 the level of stability declined in the townships from Barber, Decatur, Edwards (Kinsley and Wayne), Ness and Phillips counties, but increased in the other four. In 1915 the decline occurred only in the townships from Barber and Decatur counties, and in 1920 only in Ness, Phillips and Russell counties.

The fifth rainfall belt, represented by two whole counties, and five townships from two others, was settled in the late eighties. As the

8. See Chart III.

9. See Chart IV.

federal census for 1890 is closed to investigators, the first base year available is the state census of 1895. At the ten-year mark this belt retained 33 percent of its members, at twenty-five, 16 percent, and at forty years (1935) 8.8 percent. The succeeding base-year curves were consistently higher, and that of 1925 substantially higher—with 59.1 percent retained after five years and 50.5 percent after ten years. The record for 1930-1935 was only eight tenths of a point lower. For the region as a whole the record of stability for post-World War years is lower than for the belts farther east, but an analysis by separate counties presents a different view.¹⁰

Three of the counties represented lie on the west line of the state, Cheyenne in the Republican river valley, Wallace in the Smoky river valley and Hamilton in the Arkansas river valley. Gove county is the third county east from Wallace, in the Smoky river valley. The cattle industry was dominant in this region until the wheat boom under the influence of power farm equipment in the twenties. Throughout the whole history of these counties, however, there was a wide divergence between them in stability of population, but the record was quite consistent within each one. Cheyenne county was always most stable, Wallace next and Gove, farther east, was third. Hamilton county was substantially lower than the others, and as it turned out its numbers in the post-World War period had too much influence as against the four townships of Cheyenne county in the combined figures for the fifth rainfall belt. Cheyenne county, represented by four townships, not only had the highest level of stability in this belt, but it ranked near the top for any rainfall belt. Only four townships were higher in the fourth belt, those in Ellis, Ellsworth, Ness and Russell. Two were higher in the third belt, those in Dickinson and Kingman. Three were higher in the second belt, those in Brown and Harvey. Only Kanwaka township in Douglas county was higher in the first belt. The record for Wallace county would average well with townships in any part of the state.

A study of individual townships presents additional interesting data. Jaqua township, in the southwest corner of Cheyenne county, while somewhat irregular from year to year, achieved the highest level of persistence of any township in the state represented in this study, regardless of location.¹¹ It had no near rival in the fourth rainfall belt. Vinita township in Kingman county was nearest to

10. See Chart V.

11. See Chart V, inserts.

it in the third belt, Macon township in Harvey county in the second, and Kanwaka township in Douglas county in the first. In spite of its low average, Hamilton county had one township, Bear Creek, with an exceptionally high stability which would place it favorably in any rainfall belt.¹²

Several factors enter into the situation in the fifth belt that are either absent or less pronounced farther east. In age of settlement it had scarcely passed the frontier period when the World War came, if the same time is allowed for that process as in the eastern belts. On the contrary it might be argued that modern industrialism had shortened the period necessary for frontier adjustment. At least, there were some very different influences at work, but there is little or no clue to what their effect should have been on stability of farm population. In connection with the later period, the World War stimulated somewhat the emphasis on wheat, but the wheat boom proper, associated with power farm equipment, did not come until the last half of the twenties and the early thirties. It was more extensive in the southwest counties, such as Hamilton, than in the northwest. The depression did not begin to make itself felt in a serious way until the winter of 1931-1932.

In connection with the wheat boom two unusual factors were introduced, the absentee farm operator (often called the suit-case farmer) and the farm corporation. Adequate treatment of these is not possible because complete information of a nature required for this kind of a study was not collected by the census enumerators and some of the names of these classes may not have been placed on the rolls. In Wallace county only a few absentee operators, who can be clearly identified as such, were listed and none was listed in the Cheyenne townships used, nor in Grainfield township in Gove county. In Hamilton county quite a number appeared.

The rolls for 1935 are probably most complete because of their use by the federal allotment administration. In Wallace county eighteen absentees were listed, or 4.3 percent of the farm operators. In Hamilton county twenty-five absentees were listed, or 6 percent of the operators of the county. In Lamont township in the latter county ten of the ninety-five farm operators, or 10.5 percent, were of this class in 1931 and in 1935 fourteen of ninety-one farm operators, or 15.4 percent.

The wheat-farming corporations were present in Wallace and Hamilton counties, but held the larger acreage in the former. In

12. See Chart V, insert.

1930 one corporation was listed in Hamilton county with 3,360 acres, or the equivalent of five 640-acre farms. By 1935 its holdings had been disposed of, but a second corporation which acquired acreage after 1930 still held 2,800 acres in 1935. In Wallace county in 1930 one corporation held 25,610 acres distributed through three townships, or an equivalent of forty 640-acre farms. By 1935 it still held 3,200 acres. The census rolls do not show how many farm operators were displaced when these corporations accumulated their acreage, nor how many new operators returned when the corporations were carrying out forced liquidation of their holdings under the requirements of the legislative act of 1931. There can be no question, however, that the net effect of both absenteeism and the corporation farming episode was to increase instability of farm operators, even though the extent of that influence cannot be determined.

The history of the turnover of farm operators seems to fall into three periods, except in the fifth belt; the settlement period of exceptionally rapid change, a middle period of relative stabilization at rather low levels, and the recent period of higher stability. During the settlement period exceptionally heavy losses of population are registered for the first and second base years in the first, second¹³ and fourth rainfall belts, and relatively moderate losses in the third and fifth. The Civil War period occupied the four years following the 1860 census and might seem to account for the great losses in the first and second belts, but the same fact could not account for the opposite effect in the third belt.

In most of the curves the losses of population during the settlement period are especially heavy for the first ten years, and then the curve flattens out during the second decade. For the curves representing the period of relative stabilization, the losses are not so great during the first decade, and are relatively greater for the second decade than for the first base-year curves. In other words, these losses after stabilization are distributed more evenly over the first twenty years, rather than being concentrated in the first ten years as in the curves for the settlement years.

The second period has been characterized as one of relative stabilization. The rate of turnover was still high. Few townships retained more than 55 percent to 60 percent of their farm operators for five years or 45 percent to 50 percent of them for ten years. The period 1915 to 1920, the World War era, seems to mark a

13. The 1865 base year is an exception in the second rainfall belt.

division point for most townships between the second and third periods. With relative suddenness the percentage of persistence for five years increased by ten to fifteen points, many townships retaining between 65 percent and 82 percent. For the first time it could be said that the emphasis was on stability rather than change. In the older eastern part of the state this new development appeared in a few cases as early as 1905, but a number of instances are found in 1915 and by 1920 it was general.¹⁴ The general trend was for stability to increase with the age of the community.

The outstanding fact to be derived from this analysis of the persistence of farm operators, however, is that the general pattern presented by the curves of persistence is very nearly the same for the five rainfall belts. The two extreme western belts show results only slightly lower on the whole than the eastern belts, although some of them are actually higher. In other words, the persistence of farm operators was a relatively constant factor, except for the immediate settlement period. While the total number of farm operators fluctuated, the rate of turnover was constant. When the total was declining, it meant only that the losses from the normal turnover were not being replaced by new arrivals, and when the total number rose, it meant that they were more than being replaced. In either case the losses from any particular base period were going on at a fairly constant rate.

Further analysis of the curves does not indicate any uniform reflection of the influence of economic cycles or of rainfall cycles. If anything, after the communities became established, periods of drouth and depression such as 1895 and 1930 when taken as a base tended to show a higher stability than some other periods. The same is true of the post-war depression in many townships using 1920 as a base. The periods of reputed prosperity, such as those beginning with 1905 or 1925, displayed an unusually high rate of turnover in many communities. The relation of soil and land tenure to turnover require further study. The foreign population was usually more stable than the native born, but not so much so as is usually supposed.¹⁵ The second and later generations seemed to take on rather quickly much of the characteristics of the native born. When the combined data for each of the rainfall belts is broken down into the individual township samples, the separate curves of persistence show wide fluctuation, but the fluctuations

14. The federal census of 1910, if open to research, would be of particular interest at this point.

15. These subjects will be treated in separate studies.

within a rainfall belt, with a few exceptions, are as wide on the whole as between rainfall belts.

From the facts available, it would appear that the problem is primarily one of group behavior, apart from specifically assignable accidents of farm life in the separate communities or regions involved. In other words, under any given set of general conditions, the farm operators in all parts of the state reacted in much the same manner, the variations of local physical environment exercising only a secondary or minor influence. For any conclusions that may be drawn, that assumption may well be employed as the point of departure. An interesting suggestion in this connection may be derived from a study of persistence of students in college. The data on a freshman group entering the college of liberal arts of the University of Kansas in 1928 provides a curve of persistence over a period of four to six years identical in shape with the curves for Kansas farm operators over a period of twenty to thirty years. Whether the matter has any significance or not, the fact remains that the students as a group in their brief career in college behave in much the same manner as their parents in their career as farm operators. Unfortunately comparable data are not available for other social groups.

The third phase of the problem of turnover of farm operators is to determine the proportion of farm operators of particular periods who are descendants of those of an earlier period. This procedure makes the approach from the opposite direction from the second. Three base years were chosen, 1885, 1915 and 1935, for the eastern belts whose settlement dated from 1860. The absence of data from the federal census of 1910 made it necessary to choose a prior or later date. The year 1915 was taken because it represented more nearly the base used for comparative purposes in most of the post-World War discussions of agriculture. The later-settled parts of the state presented other problems, and for part of the third rainfall belt and for the fourth belt two periods were taken, dividing the life of the communities as near the half-way point as possible. The fifth belt was handled similarly, only the mid-point fell at 1915 instead of 1905 as in the fourth. The tables report the results in detail and therefore only brief interpretations will be presented here.¹⁶ In all parts of the state the original or early settlers and their descendants constitute an extremely small proportion of the later or contemporary community. Except for Kanwaka township,

16. See the table at the end of this article.

8 percent is the highest representation the settlers of 1860 held seventy-five years later.¹⁷ These facts run contrary to much of the tradition about the character of a community being determined by the people who settled it and established its original institutions. Obviously, the pioneers constituted too small a proportion of the later community to exercise a controlling influence. The proportion of a community that can be traced back to later base points rose rapidly as those dates approached the present. It is notable, nevertheless, that in few townships does the proportion of the community which traced its origin to 1915 or 1905 appear as high as might be expected from the percentages of persistence of farm operators indicated in the previous section. In many cases the older families were represented in the community by only one operator, while newer families might have two or more. The opposite is true, however, in a few cases where one or more prolific families came to constitute a large proportion of the community. In one particular case, Wheatland township, Ellis county, the male lines of two families constitute 35.4 percent of the operators of 1935.

A comparison of figures for the five rainfall belts shows quite similar percentages for the different belts, except for the fifth. If age of the community is recognized, however, the percentages there are much higher than for any of the eastern belts at a similar community age.

The fact of the high rate of turnover of rural population during the early period and the middle periods of Kansas history suggests numerous questions about the effects such instability has had on institutions; political, economic, and social. As Edwards county has been studied most intimately, some illustrations are chosen from there. During the frontier stage of development, scarcely a mention was made in the press concerning reform of local political institutions. The sole question at issue in elections was the county-seat ring against the field, for the maintenance of power, and incidentally, the money income from offices and county contracts. This was particularly important in the early years during hard times when public money, derived mostly from taxing the railroads, was about the only cash in circulation in the community. In 1880 an unusual

17. These figures are too low, but they are the nearest possible, because the female lines of descent cannot be traced from the census rolls. Investigation of this problem in one township, through the aid of old settlers, points to a conclusion, however, that the error is relatively small for the average community, because the extent of population movement was so nearly complete. Furthermore, if the farm continued in the hands of the family the probability was in favor of a son continuing rather than a daughter. For later base points this kind of error is probably greater than for the old-settler period. The amount of error of this kind is probably greater here, however, than it is in the previous section of this study.

situation was presented when the old county ring, which called itself Republican, was crumbling, and the drouth entered its second year. Emigration of politicians was so extensive that when the time came to call the Republican county convention in the midst of a national campaign, no member of the county committee was a resident of the county. The people got a new deal in politics when a group of citizens assumed the responsibility for calling a mass meeting to reorganize the party. The net result, however, was just to establish a new ring on a basis similar to the old. Whenever the newer settlers in the county tried to get control, the county ring raised the cry of "carpetbaggers" trying to exploit the "old settlers." One editor denounced in language more vigorous than elegant such attempts "to show that unless a man ran wild with the buffalo years ago, he is not eligible to office."¹⁸ A correspondent closed the incident with the remark that if the candidate in question was a "tenderfoot" then three fourths of the voters were also. A few years later, after the Populist reformers had been in office for some time, a disgusted member of the party protested the failure to reduce taxes and to reform the fee system. One of the officials made a formal reply in which he invoked that age-old political wisdom so dear to reformers as well as to old party men that discussion "may create dissension in our party," and that the writer of the protest "implies that it would greatly please him . . . for the present incumbents . . . to preach their own funeral sermons and proclaim themselves fools at one and the same time by taking less than the Republican statute makes it lawful for them to take."¹⁹

Certainly the instability of the frontier population, together with the bare bread-and-butter existence of the community as a whole, retarded the progressive adaptation of local political institutions to meet the obligations expected of them as a result of rapidly changing economic and social conditions. This influence was not limited to the frontier, because the older eastern communities were demoralized by competition with western agriculture. And furthermore, even after the frontier had achieved the status of established rural communities, the high rate of turnover of population kept at a minimum the interest which this moving farm population generated for its changing, yet unchanged, local institutions.

The economic development of the farm communities was not promoted by the high rate of turnover of farmers. Possibly agri-

18. Kinsley *Weekly Mercury*, November 3, 1887.

19. Kinsley *Graphic*, March 29, 1895.

cultural methods did not suffer so seriously in the humid areas of the East as they did in the more arid country west of the Missouri river. Each new crop of Eastern farmers found that they must unlearn most of what they thought they knew about agriculture and adapt themselves to new methods and to new crops. A large proportion starved out or moved out for other reasons without ever learning. It is well to remember that the tillage methods and the varieties of wheat that have given outstanding distinction to the Kansas hard winter wheat belt have become standard only since 1905. Forty years is a long time to discover what crops to raise and how to grow them.

Social institutions suffered more seriously if anything than others. Again and again lyceums, debating societies, literary clubs, and dancing clubs were organized only to break up within a few months. Each new organization usually carried a large proportion of new names indicative of the rapidly changing population. Churches suffered along with other institutions. In Wayne township, Edwards county, the first religious organization was Methodist church, South. Why this should have been is difficult to explain, because there were scarcely any southern people in the community. Possibly a preacher on a nearby circuit was willing to add this community to his other charges as an additional source of income. During the cattle boom of the middle eighties the ranch element and large farmers organized a Protestant Episcopal church, and hauling stone from a distance built a little Gothic church amid the sand hills. It had its six gables and a cross, a vestry room, an organ room, paneled ceilings, stained glass memorial windows, and rented pews. With the crash in the cattle business, the ranches came into the possession of the 160-acre farmers and the loan companies, and aristocracy in religion disappeared with the cattlemen. The 160-acre farmers organized a Methodist Episcopal church and put up a little frame building. After 1900 Missouri immigrants came and with them the Christian church and the Baptist church. With the shifting of population both of the latter failed in a few years, leaving only the Methodists. Probably the Methodists survived only because of a strong centralized organization and an emotional religion which provided the psychological compensation necessary in the arid life of the plains. Across the river in the German communities, the Catholic church, also a strong centralized organization with a genius for reaching the masses, maintained its position. Churches organized on a relatively independent congregational basis

had little chance of survival amid an unstable and changing population, except in the larger towns. This discussion of churches suggests further that changing community characteristics are closely related to changing sources of interstate migration, but that is a problem of sufficient importance to require a separate treatment.

The foregoing discussion applied to the period prior to the World War, when instability was the outstanding fact. The recent period of relatively high stability may produce different results. In any event, if the higher level of stability persists, it provides a substantially different population environment within which economic, social and political institutions must function and develop. What the results may be, only time can tell.

Under prevailing conditions in agriculture it would be remarkable indeed not to recognize the question whether the conclusions reached concerning the turnover of farm population have any significance for current agricultural policies. On April 11, 1935, a mid-West economic conference held at Kansas City devoted a session to the subject of land utilization policies. The plan of the national resources board was outlined, explaining how the government planned to purchase seventy-five million acres of submarginal land, to extend grass areas as protection against erosion, to relocate farmers on more economically planned farms, and for other purposes. In the course of the discussion S. L. Miller, of the University of Iowa, was quoted in the press as saying: "I was brought up in western Kansas and I know you have a lot more failures where you fail to get rain. The problem is whether or not we intend to conserve our resources." The opposite side of the question was taken by E. S. Sparks, of the University of South Dakota, who was quoted as saying: "It has always been my experience that good farmers succeed almost anywhere you put them and poor farmers will fail on the best land in Iowa. Why shift them around? You still have the problem of farm management."

He developed his theme further by declaring that until the government knew more about what it was doing the program looked like folderol.²⁰

It is clear that Sparks was looking at the problem from the standpoint of the farmer as an individual and as a member of a group whose behavior is determined by forces among which national land utilization and other economic policies and conditions are largely incidentals. The results of this investigation of the turnover of

20. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, April 12, 1935.

farm population do not constitute proof, of course, but so far as they may contribute to enlargement of knowledge about the conditions within which agricultural policies must function, they tend to give support to the Sparks contention. Possibly one further observation might be added, that the whole discussion might well lead to a reconsideration of the time-tried National Grange dictum that the farmer is more important than the farm.

In certain respects the relation of farm population movements to agricultural policy is reasonably clear. The mere fact of a high degree of persistence or of mobility of farm operators does not necessarily mean either prosperity or failure. A highly mobile population may be prosperous and a highly stabilized community may be stagnant and backward. On the other hand, the reverse may be true in both cases. At least there is nothing in this study to the contrary except during the early frontier stage. Much that has been proposed in the way of agricultural policy implies either directly or indirectly that a causal relationship does exist. If policies designed to increase rural prosperity are expected to stabilize rural population there is little hope of success. If resettlement or land utilization projects require operators to remain over a period of years, they will not hold out much hope thereby of insuring prosperity. Attempts to stabilize population in such resettlement plans run counter to the group habits of Kansas farmers, and there is no reason to believe that they differ widely from other farmers of the major agricultural areas. It is vital to such policies to know first why farmers move as they have done and why a rapid stabilization occurred during the post-World War period, and whether there is reason to assume that the high level of stability will continue. Without a fairly exact analysis of the factors determining such movements any agricultural policy which directly or indirectly involves movement or resettlement of farm population is obviously a step in the dark.

CHARTS AND TABLES

The charts are divided into three parts, except for the fifth rainfall belt. The lower division presents the data on the early years, approximately the frontier period. The middle division presents the data for the middle period of stabilization at relatively low levels. The top division presents the data for the post-World War period of higher stabilization. The year 1915 is included in both the middle and top divisions, because it seems to be a transition year and its presence in both divisions serves as a guide for more effective comparison of the two periods.

Chart I.—Five townships are represented in this chart, all starting from 1860.

Chart II.—The 1860, 1865 and 1870 curves represent only two townships in Lyon county, Agnes City and Pike.

The 1875 and later curves represent six townships in three counties, Brown, Harvey and Lyon.

Chart III.—The 1860 and 1865 curves represent the whole of two counties, Dickinson and Saline. After 1870 the population became so large that it did not seem practicable to carry them further in that form.

The 1875 curve represents one township each from Dickinson, Jewell and Saline counties.

The 1880 curve represents one township each from Dickinson, Kingman and Saline counties. The census roll for Sinclair township in Jewell county is missing for that year.

The 1880 and later curves are based on one township each in the four above-named counties, except 1895 for which the census roll for Walnut township in Saline county is missing.

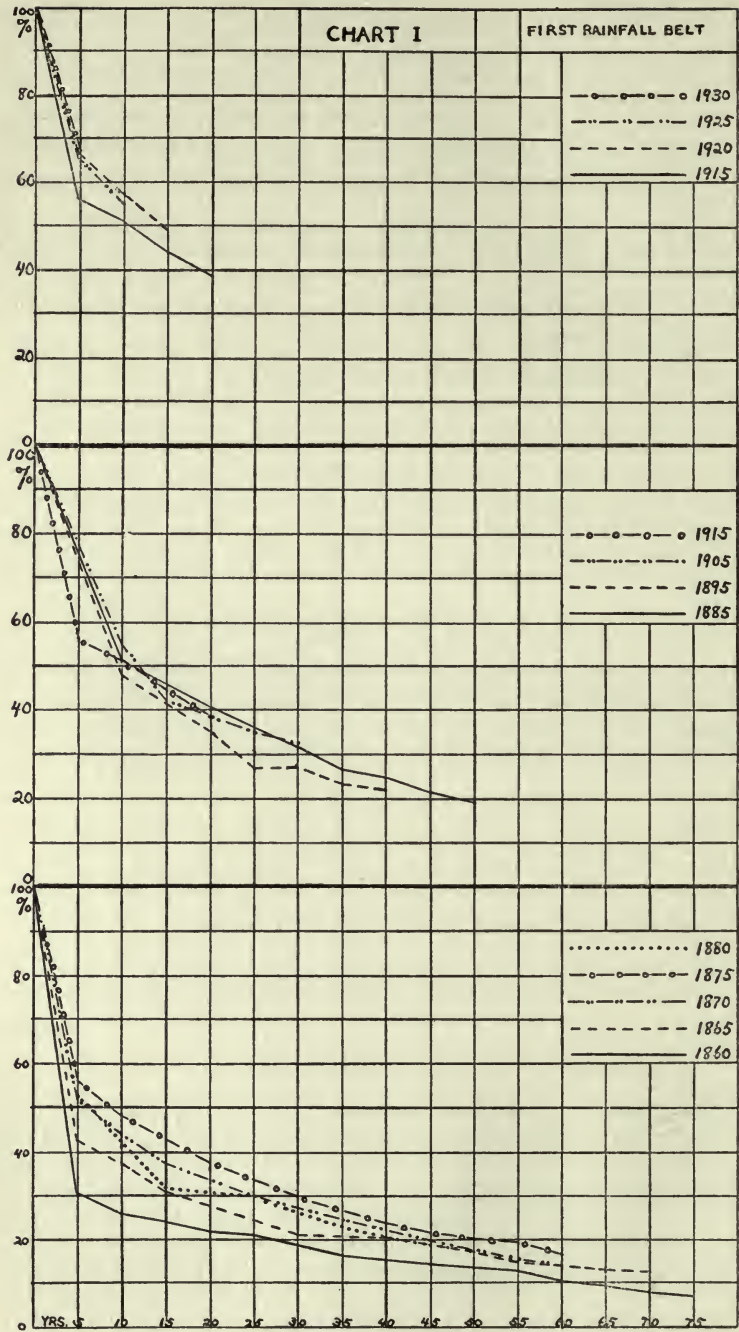
Chart IV.—The 1875 curve represents four townships, one each in Ellsworth and Barber counties, and two in Edwards county.

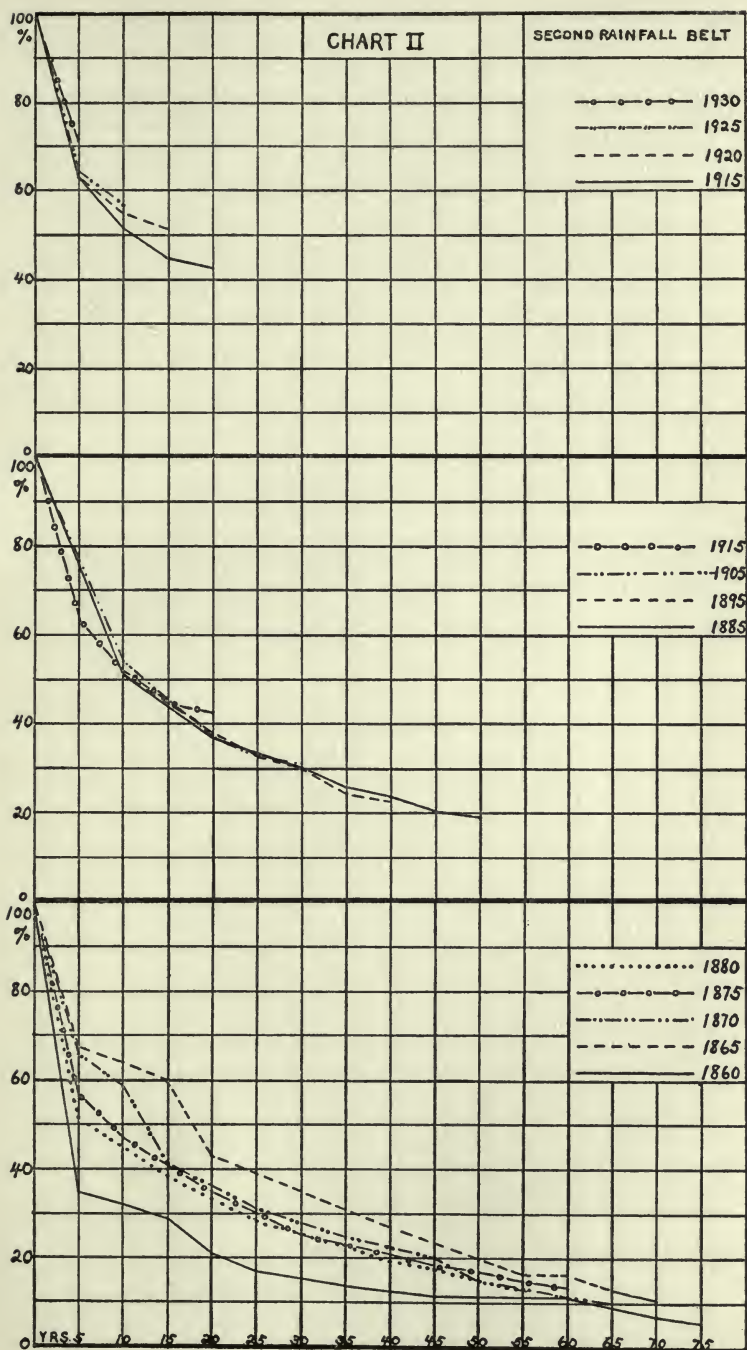
The 1880 curve represents eight townships, one each from the counties of Barber, Ellis, Ness, Phillips, and Russell, and three from Edwards. Ellsworth is not included because of changes in township lines.

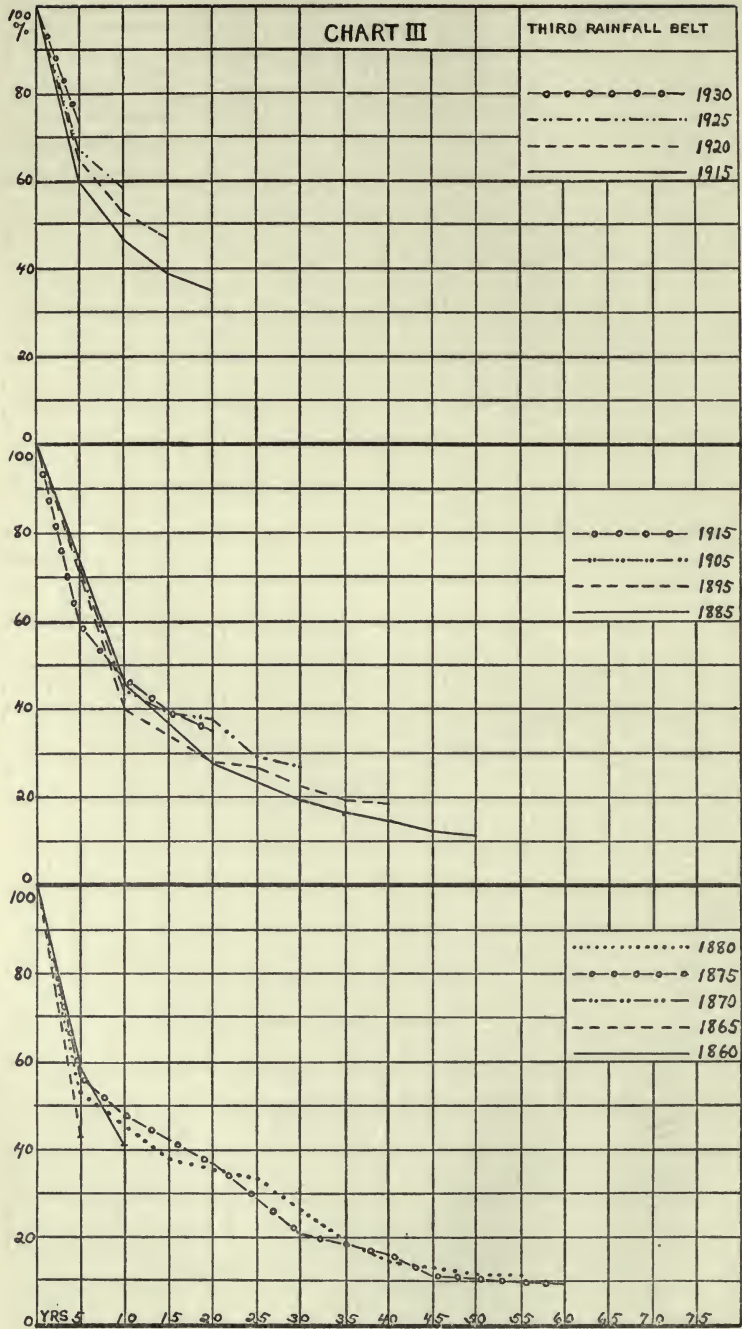
The 1885 curve represents ten townships, the same ones named for 1880 with the addition of one from Ellsworth and one from Decatur counties. The remaining curves on this chart are based on the same ten townships.

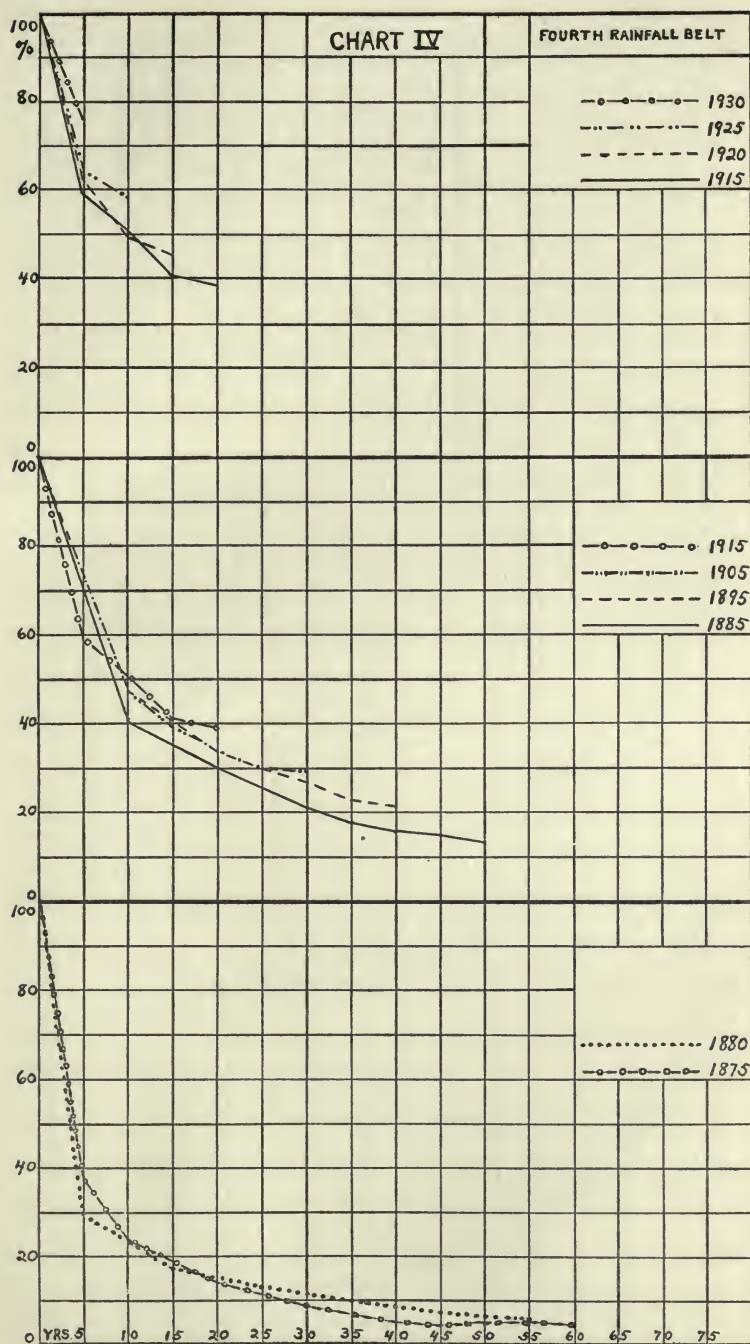
Chart V.—This chart contains only two divisions because of the short period since its first settlement. The inserts at the right of the figures for the belt as a whole present the curves for individual counties, and for certain individual townships.

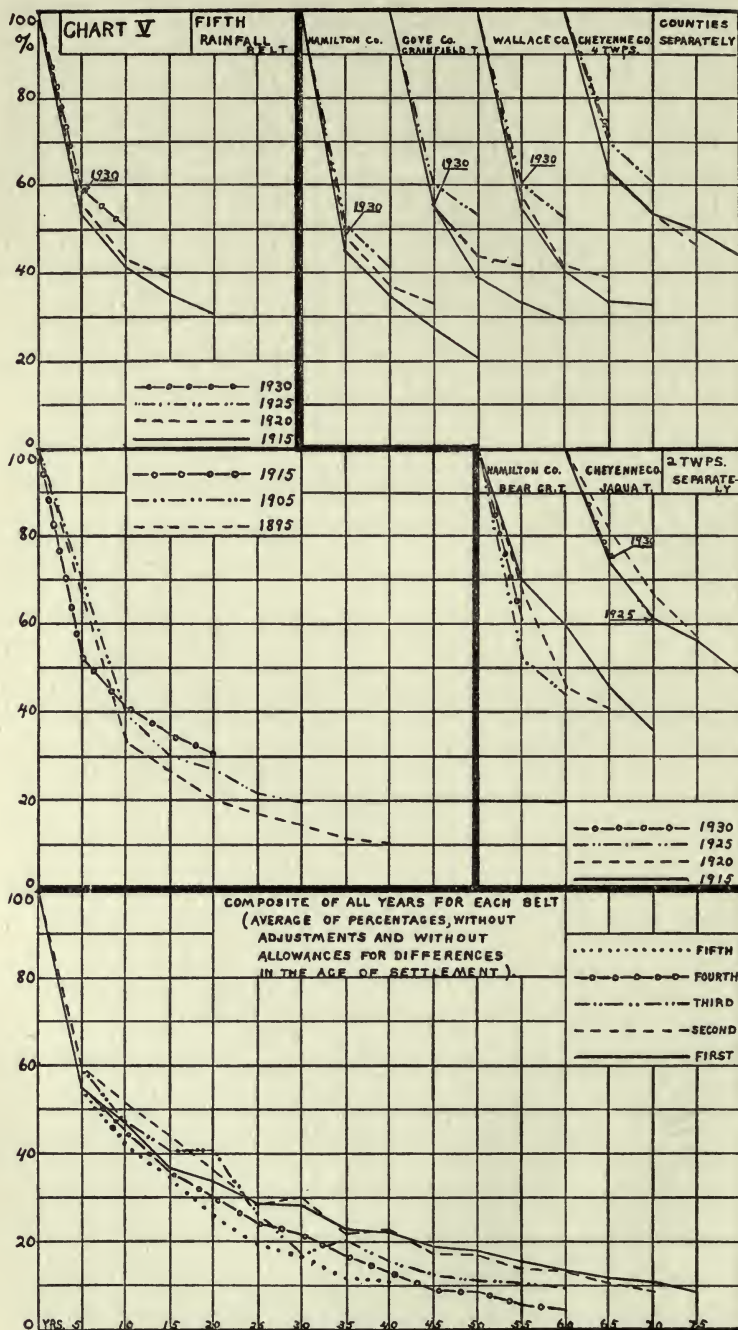
The bottom division of this chart presents a summary of the charts for the five individual belts in the form of a composite of all years for each belt arrived at by averaging the percentages of persistence for each base year. This procedure is open to criticism, but it is sufficiently accurate to assist in presenting general trends. As the data for the first three belts begins with 1860, the fourth with 1875 and the fifth with 1895, the instability associated with the frontier period has too much influence in the averages for the western belts.











TABLES OF PERCENTAGES OF PERSISTENCE OF FARM OPERATORS IN KANSAS

First rainfall belt, 35" + : Eastern Kansas

[illegible]

Third rainfall belt, 25" to 30" : Central Kansas

[illegible]

Fifth rainfall belt, 20'—: Western Kansas

	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935				
1895...	100	.....	33.3	.....	20.0	16.6	14.2	11.7	10.7	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900...
1905...	100	.....	39.4	29.8	27.0	21.7	19.8	.....	.....	.....	.....
1910...
1915...	100	53.1	40.9	34.6	30.5	.....	.....	.....	.....
1920...	100	55.5	43.0	38.7	.....	.....	.....	.....
1925...	100	59.1	50.5	.....	.....	.....	.....
1930...	100	58.3	.....	.....	.....	.....
1935...	100	.....	.....	.....	.....

PERCENTAGE OF FARM OPERATORS IN EACH RAINFALL BELT REPRESENTING OPERATORS
OF EARLIER PERIODS

	1860, numbers.	25 years later, percentage of 1885.	55 years later, percentage of 1915.	75 years later, percentage of 1935.	1885, numbers.	30 years later, percentage of 1915.	50 years later, percentage of 1935.	1915, numbers.	20 years later, percentage of 1935.
FIRST RAINFALL BELT, 35" +									
Doniphan county, Center township.....	137	20.4	12.7	6.5	250	43.3	28.4	325	45.5
Douglas county, Eudora township.....	88	10.6	4.9	4.2	264	51.1	38.3	223	60.3
Douglas county, Kanwaka township.....	88	27.2	22.4	17.0	125	43.7	37.3	169	57.7
Leavenworth county, Alexandria township.....	90	13.2	10.4	6.6	189	44.4	30.0	173	60.0
Linn county, Valley township.....	75	8.8	6.7	4.7	125	27.2	27.4	147	50.0
Totals.....	478	15.6	11.3	7.9	953	43.0	32.1	1,037	53.5
SECOND RAINFALL BELT, 30" TO 35"									
Brown county, Walnut township.....	*	10.1	5.4	5.7	237	45.0	33.2	227	64.1
Lyon county, Agnes City township.....	40	0.0	0.0	0.0	198	32.0	25.7	238	66.8
Lyon county, Pike township.....	47	19.4	12.6	8.1	134	37.7	24.5	159	46.0
Totals.....					569	38.1	28.1	624	59.7
					1875	1905	1935	1905	1935
Harvey county, Alta township.....					62	27.4	23.0	91	61.0
Harvey county, Macon township.....					87	21.5	14.0	116	44.8
Totals.....					149	24.1	18.6	207	53.1
THIRD RAINFALL BELT, 25" TO 30"									
					1875, numbers.	30 years later, percentage of 1905.	60 years later, percentage of 1935.	1905, numbers.	30 years later, percentage of 1935.
Dickinson county, Buckeye township.....					73	14.0	7.2	100	30.0
Jewell county, Sinclair township.....					79	23.3	20.9	103	36.0
Kingman county, Vinita township.....					(1880) 80	29.4	17.3	85	45.2
Saline county, Walnut township.....					70	24.1	13.7	91	34.7
Totals†.....					222	20.5	13.3	379	35.7

* County undivided. † Omitting Vinita township for figures derived from 1875 base.

Percentage of farm operators in each rainfall belt—Continued

FOURTH RAINFALL BELT, 25" TO 30"						1875, numbers.	30 years later, percentage of 1905.	60 years later, percentage of 1935.	1905, numbers.	30 years later, percentage of 1935.
Barber county, Sun City and subdivisions.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	19	5.5	3.0	72	40.0
Edwards county, Kinsley township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	39	4.4	2.2	68	21.8
Edwards county, Trenton township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40	0.0	0.0	40	36.0
Totals.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	98	3.8	1.8	180	35.4
						1880, numbers.	25 years later, percentage of 1905.	55 years later, percentage of 1935.	1905, numbers.	30 years later, percentage of 1935.
Edwards county, Wayne township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	95	16.6	14.0	72	52.8
Ellis county, Wheatland township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	189	52.8	68.0	65	82.8
Ness county, Highpoint township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	90	23.0	12.0	96	32.8
Phillips county, Long Island township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	110	35.2	19.0	142	40.4
Russell county, Big Creek township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	218	30.5	16.1	108	56.5
Totals.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	702	31.2	24.0	483	51.0
						1885, numbers.	20 years later, percentage of 1905.	50 years later, percentage of 1935.	1905, numbers.	30 years later, percentage of 1935.
Decatur county, Center township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	51	6.4	6.0	47	44.0
Ellsworth county, Lincoln township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	59	38.3	19.3	47	44.0
Totals.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	110	22.3	13.1	94	44.0

Percentage of farm operators in each rainfall belt—*Concluded*

FIFTH RAINFALL BELT, 20" AND LESS.							1895, numbers.	20 years later, percentage of 1915.	40 years later, percentage of 1935.	1915, numbers.	20 years later, percentage of 1935.
Cheyenne county, four townships.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	236	38.9	24.8	190	41.9
Gove county, Grainfield township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	28	11.8	6.1	67	31.7
Hamilton county.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	197	11.8	3.6	321	21.6
Wallace county.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	355	22.0	10.5	317	34.3
Totals.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	816	21.2	10.7	895	31.1
Cheyenne county, Jacus township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40	36.0	23.4	39	48.9
Hamilton county, Bear Creek township.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22	16.0	14.6	50	30.5

Ferries in Kansas

PART VIII—NEOSHO RIVER—CONCLUDED

GEORGE A. ROOT

THE next ferry upstream was in the vicinity of Erie. About the beginning of the Civil War the four Wikle brothers settled on the Neosho. They were Unionists, and previous to their settling in Neosho county had lived in Texas. On account of their loyalty they had to leave that state. The two younger brothers, John M. and Samuel M., entered the Union army, enlisting in Company K, Sixth Kansas cavalry, on May 14, 1862, and were mustered in the same day. They served till the end of the war and were mustered out at DeVall's Bluff, Ark., John M. having been promoted to the rank of corporal in K company. The other boys, Henry and Jephtha, stayed in Neosho county, Henry operating a farm about a mile south and half a mile west of Erie, just south of the river, the corner almost touching the river. This location was near the south end of the island somewhat to the west of Erie. The island was covered with a dense growth of heavy timber, and Henry and his brother Jephtha established a ferry about the year 1868 which connected with the island, it being used almost exclusively for bringing out wood. The ferry landing was near the south end of the island in T. 28, R. 20, this location being just above the site of the present bridge.⁴⁹

On January 23, 1869, three of the Wikle brothers—J. L., H. M., and S. M.—John King and Samuel Davis obtained a charter for the Wichita Ferry Co. The principal office of the company was at Erie. Capital stock of the new enterprise was placed at \$500, with shares \$50 each. The company proposed to maintain a ferry across the Neosho river at a point about 1,000 yards below where the county road from the town of Erie to Oswego, in Labette county, crossed the river, this location being described as in S. 8, T. 29, R. 20 E., and to include territory to the west line of S. 36, T. 28, R. 19. The banks of the Neosho where the ferry was to be located belonged to J. L. Wikle. This charter was filed with the secretary of state February 1, 1869.⁵⁰

About the year 1886 or 1887, John Hall, a Neosho county attorney, acquired the land on this island previously mentioned, and estab-

49. Interview with an old resident of the county.

50. Charters, v. 2, p. 19.

lished a ferry connecting with it. He had obtained a contract with one of the railroad companies which operated within the county, to furnish railroad ties, and used this ferry to get them across the river for delivery. The ferry apparently became a community convenience, and was operated by anyone who wished to make use of it.⁵¹

The first bridge built at Erie was constructed in the early 1870's. This structure was put out of commission in 1883, when ice broke up early in the year. The stone piers of this old structure had square corners, and when great slabs of ice came down with the current and struck these sharp corners, they soon tore out a layer of stone. Succeeding ice cakes tore out more and more until this end of the bridge fell upstream into the water. Until a new bridge could be built to replace this one a temporary ferry was operated close to the location of the old Wikle ferry. On March 2, 1884, a proposition to vote bonds for a bridge south of Erie carried. The *Neosho County Republican*, of Erie, in its issue of February 28, 1884, favored the proposition and stated, "All must realize the importance of a good bridge across the river at this point." J. W. Lynch, of Iola, was awarded the contract for the stonework for \$1,500, while the bridge contract went to the Missouri River Bridge Co., of Leavenworth, at \$4,200. The new structure was a combination of iron and wood, and was completed early in 1885.⁵²

A dam was built across the Neosho during the early 1870's, just below the bridge, to furnish water power for a grist mill. This mill was run by Branner & Snow in the late 1870's, and was subsequently purchased by Johnson & Kyle, who operated it for a number of years. It finally burned about 1902, and nothing much remains to mark the site. It was one of the common sights in the early days to see folks going to this mill with their grist. One fifth of the finished product was the usual "toll" for grinding, this being a more equitable charge than that attributed to one of the frontier millers, who upon being accused of being unfair, retorted: "Well, there's the toll in one sack and the grist in the other. Take your choice."

High water in 1882 or 1883 put the bridge at this point out of commission, and a ferry was operated for a time. A traveling circus was carried over the river on this ferry. When everything else had been safely gotten over, the elephant was led down to the ferry landing. He just got one foot on the boat and felt it give beneath

51. Ed. L. George, Erie, Kan., is authority for the above statements. He was one of those employed in cutting ties.

52. *Neosho County Republican*, Erie, February 12, 26, 1885.

his weight. He backed off at once and no amount of persuasion could induce the elephant to again set foot on the boat. However, he willingly took to the water and swam across.⁵³

John Gregg, of St. Paul, in a letter to the author, mentions this ferry which operated after high water carried the bridge away. Mr. Gregg states that about 1898 he built a small steamboat which he operated up and down the Neosho for several years above the dam, the river affording sufficient depth of water for boating purposes. When this dam went out it spoiled navigation. His boat was thirty-eight feet long, eight feet at bottom, and ten feet at top—sharp at both ends, and had a reversible engine, with speed of about eight miles an hour. The boat would carry from eighty to ninety passengers, using the two decks. It was used chiefly in taking church and school picnics upstream to some picnic ground.

The dam mentioned in the foregoing paragraph backed water upstream for several miles. Following the flood which carried the dam away, the channel of the river shifted to the west side of the island. Where the Hall ferry was located the banks were quite high—from fifteen to eighteen feet above average low water. This gorge has filled in considerably during the passing years, and trees are now growing in the old channel where the ferry was operated.⁵⁴

About the year 1865 Stephen E. Beach established a ferry three eighths of a mile south of a small trading post called "Osage City." This "city" consisted of one little log house. The ferry was located about two and one half miles east of Chanute, and was operated until 1871, ceasing on completion of the bridge east of Chanute. Mr. Beach hung a cable across the river, attaching it to a large tree on either side of the stream. One of the trees so used still stands on the west bank of the river. "This was the first ferry in the county, regularly established, with a cable, so far as I know," wrote Mr. J. J. Hurt, of Chanute. Osage City was later changed to Rogers' Mills, as there were six post offices of that name in Kansas.⁵⁵

Chanute was established in 1870, and if any ferries operated there before the building of the bridges, we have failed to locate mention of them. The city has been well supplied with bridges over the Neosho, one having been built on the road directly north, one east of the Santa Fe tracks, and one east of the city. About 1931 a new bridge was built north of the city, being located west of the old one. A bridge also spans the Neosho just west of the village of Shaw.

53. Statement of A. A. George.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Letter of J. J. Hurt to author.

Humboldt, about eight miles above Chanute, was the location of the next ferry. Having no opportunity to consult Allen county commissioners' journals, or newspapers of that vicinity for the ferry period, the following account has been prepared from articles which appeared in the *Humboldt Union* of September 24, 1931, and February 9, 1933:

Up to the close of 1867 the only way to cross the Neosho at Humboldt was by fording. There was a choice of two fords—the Thurston ford, which crossed the river some 500 feet above the dam, and Blue's ford, which crossed at the lower end of the Humboldt community park and entered the Neosho a short distance from the present septic basin.

When the river channel was full of water the only way to cross was in homemade skiffs or small boats. When the river had risen but little it was crossed with a team by roping the wagon together, making the wagon bed fast to the chassis and swimming the horses. If this precaution was not taken the wagon box would float away and perhaps the front and rear wheels would float off in different directions should the kingpin be lifted from its position. Loss of life was of frequent occurrence when this precaution was not observed.

Up to 1867, when plans were made to start a ferry, this was the only way the river could be crossed. The building of the first boat created much interest in the community. Twenty or more men were employed in its construction. Isaac C. Cuppy was the prime mover in the enterprise. The boat was long and flat with square ends, and had a capacity of two teams and wagons. It was built on the water's edge on the side of the river nearest town, so that it would not be necessary to transport it any distance when completed. When the boat was ready for launching a cable one and one half inches in diameter was stretched across the river and made fast. Two pulleys were a part of the boat's equipment, one at each end. To these was attached a rope, perhaps twenty feet long. By pulling the front end of the boat as closely as possible to the cable stretched across the river, and giving plenty of slack to the rear, the boat was propelled in oblique fashion, the current furnishing the power. When it reached the opposite shore a rope was thrown to some one on shore who pulled the boat close to the bank and fastened it. It was a slow process, sometimes twenty teams on either side waited to be crossed, which would take about a day, for the women and children had to be unloaded. The horses were unhitched and driven

onto the boat, for teams sometimes became frightened at their new surroundings and tried jumping overboard. Then the wagons were run onto the boat. At length the boat was loaded and ready to weigh anchor. Sometimes this took about an hour. On reaching the opposite shore the boat was unloaded and a new cargo taken on, for the ferry took them going and coming.

This ferry got under way in May, 1868, when Isaac Cuppy, who lived west of the river, petitioned the commissioners of Allen county for permission to construct and operate a ferry across the river west of Humboldt for one year, which permission was granted. He paid into the county treasury \$10 for his license and filed a bond for \$5,000 for the faithful performance of his duties as ferryman. His ferriage rates were: For each wagon, buggy or carriage, drawn by two horses, or mules, each way, 35 cents; each wagon, buggy or carriage, drawn by one horse, 25 cents; horseman, 10 cents; sheep and hogs, per head, five cents; horses or cattle, 10 cents; footman, five cents.

More or less trouble was occasioned when the river was high. At such times the water rose to the point where it almost touched the cable. In early days immense amounts of driftwood would come down during floods, and on one occasion this caused the cable to snap, tearing the ferryboat loose from its moorings, and boat and all went down stream never to be returned. Another boat was built and put into commission, and it also got away and landed some ten miles down the river. J. H. Osborn, of the Osborn Lumber Co., took a contract to bring the boat home for \$10, which he finally did, but it is said he was sorry long before the job was finished. When the river was low the ferryboat did no business at all, for the people used one or the other of the fords.

Late in 1868 there was a movement within the county in favor of bridges, the old ferry being too slow and uncertain. On January 27, 1869, a county election was held to vote on the proposition of issuing bonds to the amount of \$35,000 for the purpose of building half a dozen bridges, one of which was to span the Neosho at Humboldt. Evidently the taxpayers did not look with favor upon the proposition, for the bonds were badly defeated; out of a total of 406 votes cast, only 29 were in favor of the bond issue. Matters dragged along until the following year when the Humboldt Bridge Co. was organized on January 25, 1869. The capital stock of the company was \$20,000, in 200 shares. The company proposed to build a bridge over the Neosho at the juncture and intersection of Bridge

street with the river in Humboldt. Nine directors were to manage the company's affairs, those named for the first year being W. W. Curdy, C. H. Pratt, Watson Stewart, Peter Long, Chas. Fussman, G. P. Smith, Moses Neal, Wm. Wakefield and E. C. Amsden. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, January 28, 1870.⁵⁶ Upon the election of officers Maj. Joseph Bond was chosen president and W. W. Curdy,⁵⁷ secretary. Work started on the bridge during the summer of 1870, and it was completed by September, following. The Union Pacific, Southern branch, now the M.-K.-T., reached Humboldt with its passenger trains in April, 1870, and while the bridge was under construction, traffic used Thurston ford if the water was low and the ferry if the water was high.

The bridge, costing originally \$9,000, was a one-arch affair and was planned to carry a maximum load of not to exceed 2,500 pounds. It was operated as a toll bridge up to the time it was taken over by the county. Free bridges had been built above and below Humboldt, and the toll bridge was driving trade elsewhere; therefore there was nothing else to be done but to secure the bridge from the Humboldt Bridge Co., eliminate the toll and make it free. This was done in 1881. For nearly a third of a century more it was used, when on February 3, 1933, the old steel structure was removed from its supports and allowed to plunge into the waters of the Neosho to make room for a modern new concrete arch bridge.⁵⁸ There are other bridges over the Neosho within the county—a new steel bridge on the Chanute road, and another built for the Monarch Cement Co.

There was a crossing on the Neosho six miles below Humboldt on the present Chanute road. Wagons entered the river just east of the old bridge, and it was necessary to proceed up the riffle to about the location of the new steel bridge before a place could be found where the bank made it possible to leave the river. This was used in 1868, and was the ford used by the freighters going to Osage Mission, Oswego and Chetopa. The river was again crossed somewhere above Montana. The crossing or ford described above was said to be the most dangerous between Humboldt and Chetopa. It was one of the worst located and necessitated a long pull through the water.⁵⁹

Humboldt, on account of its being the oldest town in the county and being the seat of the government land office as well, was quite

56. Corporations, v. 2, p. 242.

57. W. W. Curdy became a resident of Topeka during 1887, and engaged in a general merchandising business, which he carried on for several years.

58. Humboldt Union, September 24, 1931, February 9, 1933; Iola Register, July 5, 1932.

59. Humboldt Union, October 1, 1931.

a road center. Beginning with 1865 and ending with 1871, nine roads were laid out which affected Humboldt. Two ran from Garnett to Humboldt; and one each from Humboldt to LeRoy, Humboldt to Elk river, Humboldt to junction of Duck creek and Elk river, Humboldt to the south line of the state, Humboldt to Wichita, Humboldt to Arkansas City and Humboldt to Chetopa. Plats, field notes and commissioners' reports of most of these are on file in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Iola, about seven miles above Humboldt by land, or nine or ten by the river, may have had a ferry, but we have found no mention of any.

Iola was well connected by roads to various parts of the county and southeastern Kansas. One of the first established was the second mail route into Allen county, which ran from Lawrence to Humboldt. This service was to commence on July 1, 1858, and a few days before it started, J. W. Scott, J. M. Evans and Harmon Scott went out with a wagon load of poles and laid out and marked a trail from Hyatt to Carlyle, which later became the main wagon road north. The first mail carrier was Zach Squires, who carried the mail while riding a small mule.⁶⁰

In 1865 the legislature established a road from Fort Scott to Iola, a distance of thirty-nine miles. J. W. Bainum was the surveyor.⁶¹

Neosho Falls, Woodson county, is the only town in that county on the river that might have had need of a ferry, but so far as our investigations have gone, we have been unable to find any mention of a ferry that was operated there.

Le Roy, in Coffey county, about seventeen or eighteen miles above Neosho Falls by the river, was the next ferry location. During the special session of the 1860 legislature a bill was passed authorizing John B. Scott, Thomas Crabtree and Richard Burr to keep a ferry over the Neosho at that point. They were to have exclusive privileges for one mile up and one mile down the river, for a term of five years.⁶² This act was signed by Gov. S. Medary, February 11, 1860. Whether the above-named gentlemen started their ferry at this time we have been unable to learn. However, a ferry was started within the next year or two. An exchange of letters with the editor of the *Le Roy Reporter* brought the following history:

60. *History Allen and Woodson Counties, Kansas*, p. 17.

61. *Laws, Kansas*, 1865, p. 145; 1867, p. 261. Field notes, commissioners' report and plat in Archives division.

62. *Private Laws, Kansas*, 1860, special session, p. 289.

LE ROY, KAN., Sept. 20, 1935.

DEAR SIR—As advised in my previous letter, G. W. Ringle and W. B. Mosley are the only old-timers around here who remember anything definitely about the only ferry on the Neosho river at this point. Mr. Mosley was not a resident of Le Roy at the time but lived in an adjoining township. Mr. Ringle, however, actually operated the ferry for a time. His story is:

The ferryboat was built by a man by the name of Bracket Love, early in the '60's—the exact date is not remembered. Ben Kerns, who owned the brewery near the site of the ferry, bought it from Love. Ringle made a contract to run it on shares. As he remembers it, his operation of the ferry was about 1865. The date is reasonably well fixed in his mind because of a peculiar accident which happened on a fourth of July, which both he and Mr. Mosley believe was in 1865. The town had decided to put on a whooping celebration—doubtless to celebrate the close of the Civil War. The grove where the celebration was to be held was across the river and was known at that time as "Scott's Grove," after John B. Scott⁶³ (who with Richard Burr and Thomas Crabtree⁶⁴ had laid out the town of Le Roy). To facilitate the passage of the celebrants, a foot bridge had been built across the river. During the night (3d) the river rose several feet on account of rains up river and the foot bridge was washed away. So resort had to be made to the ferry for transportation. Ringle was in charge of the ferry. On the first attempted trip so many people crowded on the ferry that it sank, and this resulted in a great deal of excitement, but as the boat was still near the bank, there was no loss of life. The bedraggled celebrators then waited until the boat could be bailed out, and it made many trips to get everyone across the river.

Both Mr. Mosley and Mr. Ringle are agreed that the ferry was not used a great deal during the ordinary stages of the river, as there was a usable ford in the same vicinity.

The ferry was located at approximately the foot of "C" street as it is now known.

This about tells the story. I have asked both Mr. Ringle and Mr. Mosley to take plenty of time to try and remember anything about the ferry that they can, but both are agreed that there is not much more to be said.

Yours very truly,

GLICK FOCKELE.

Le Roy was laid out in 1855, at which time roads were few and far between. The town was connected with the county seat, Burlington, and also with towns south and east of Le Roy, for trading purposes. By 1861, it became an intermediate point on a road which ran from Ohio City, Franklin county, via Le Roy to Bel-

63. John B. Scott was a pioneer of Coffey county and Le Roy. The land upon which the town stands was preempted or rather claimed by Mr. Scott and Frederick Troxel. He kept the first post office and a country store in a log house on the Wilkinson farm. He was also the first justice of the peace, being commissioned in 1855.

64. Thomas Crabtree was one of the earliest residents of Le Roy, purchasing an interest in the townsite. Richard Burr arrived from California in 1856 and purchased a third interest in the townsite, which was surveyed in 1857. Mr. Crabtree and Isaac Chatham built the first frame house on the site, in 1855. He was later a member of the Masonic Lodge of Le Roy.—Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 658.

mont.⁶⁵ In 1863 two new state roads reached the town. The first ran from Ohio City, via Mineral Point to Le Roy, a distance of thirty-seven miles. Jackson Means was the surveyor of this road, the plat and commissioners' report of which are in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society. The second was a road also starting from Ohio City, by way of the northeast corner of S. 23, T. 19, R. 18, and Mineral Point to Le Roy. This was authorized by the legislature, and D. C. Weatherwax of Franklin county, James R. Means of Anderson county, and Edward Drum of Coffey county, were appointed commissioners to establish it.⁶⁶ Another road was provided for by the legislature of 1865, which started at Mapleton, Bourbon county, and ran via Ozark and Elizabethtown, Anderson county, to Le Roy. W. J. Brewer, Bourbon county, Joseph Price, Anderson county, and J. B. Hosley, Allen county, were the commissioners.⁶⁷ Another road was established from Le Roy to Humboldt, via Neosho Falls.⁶⁸ This road was surveyed by G. DeWitt, and his plat and field notes, together with the report of the commissioners, is on file at the Kansas State Historical Society. Le Roy was also an intermediate point on a road laid out in 1870 which ran from Garnett to Fredonia.

Burlington, approximately twenty miles by the river above Le Roy, was the location of the next ferry. Lacking opportunity of consulting Coffey county commissioners' journals, we are unable to state when this ferry was inaugurated or by whom. The earliest mention of the enterprise is an item from a Lawrence paper which stated that since the Burlington bridge was carried away by recent floods in the Neosho, the enterprising citizens of that town had gotten together and inaugurated a free ferry service.⁶⁹ Another mention of the Burlington ferry appeared in an item in the local paper, the *Neosho Valley Enterprise*, of November 29, 1859, which stated that "Mr. Gibbs,⁷⁰ near the sawmill, is engaged in repairing the old ferryboat preparatory for the high-water season." A ferry, apparently, was in operation as late as 1863, Andreas' *History of Kansas*, page 652, stating that in the spring of that year William Gibson⁷¹ was drowned by the sinking of the ferryboat at that place.

65. *Laws, Kansas*, 1861, p. 247.

66. *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 85.

67. *Ibid.*, 1865, pp. 143, 144.

68. *Ibid.*, 1866, p. 224.

69. *Lawrence Republican*, July 7, 1859.

70. "Census of 1860," Coffey county, lists an L. Gibbs, Burlington, age 52, carpenter; wife, E. Gibbs, age 43, born in England; and four children, aged 18, 12, 9 and 2, respectively.

71. William Gibson, son of Samuel Gibson, is listed in the "Census of 1860," Coffey county, age 24, and a farmer.

An article first published in the *Neosho Valley Register*, of Iola, and copied in the *Kansas State Journal*, of Lawrence, March 19, 1863, doubtless refers to the Burlington ferry. It states that on March 16, 1863, one Pleasant Landers,⁷² a resident of Avon township, was returning from a trip to town, when his horses refused to be driven onto the ferryboat. Accordingly they were unhitched and led onto the boat, and the partially loaded wagon drawn on by hand. In addition to the team and wagon, the ferryboat contained Mr. Landers, Misses Sarah Vince⁷³ and Mary Jane Gibson,⁷⁴ and Henry Atherly and William Gibson who were operating the boat. The load, apparently, was not evenly distributed, too much weight being on the upper end of the boat. When near the opposite shore and in the swiftest part of the current, the boat dipped beneath the surface and the force of the current carried it under, when all on board were washed off, excepting Gibson and his sister who succeeded in clinging to the railing. The team swam ashore, carrying with them Landers and Atherly. Miss Vince started drifting with the current, but managed to get hold of the railing of the boat which was floating near, and was soon rescued. The ferryboat was still attached to the swing rope, and rode up and down with the current, sometimes one end being three or four feet above the water and the next moment as far below, carrying with it the Gibsons who still clung to the railing. After several such plunges, Gibson lost hold of his sister and was swept away, his sister still clinging to the boat. Later the rope was cut and the boat drifted down the river. When near the pieces of the old bridge, B. F. Ash plunged into the river, carrying with him one end of a rope, and succeeded in reaching the boat. This rope he made fast and the boat was drawn ashore, Miss Gibson being in a nearly insensible condition when rescued. Every effort was made to recover the body of young Gibson. He had been a member of a Kansas volunteer regiment, and had been wounded in the knee by a rebel musket ball during the Battle of Drywood. His lameness probably prevented him from saving himself.

A move towards a bridge in Burlington took shape early in 1858, when an act was passed by the legislature granting A. D. Searl, Robert Frazer and Judson A. Larrabee authority to erect a toll

72. Pleasant Landers, 26, a farmer, was a native of Arkansas.—“Census of 1865,” Coffey county.

73. Sarah Vince, aged 20, a daughter of A. H. Vince, was born in Ohio.—*Ibid.*

74. Mary Jane Gibson, aged 20, was born in Ireland. She was a daughter of Samuel Gibson.—*Ibid.*

bridge across the Neosho at that point. The act specified that the bridge should be a substantial one, and that it be kept in good repair so as to render the crossing thereon safe and convenient. The following rates of toll were authorized: For one horse and rider, 10 cents; each single horse and mule, five cents; each head of work cattle, two cents; each head of other stock, one cent; each horse and carriage, 25 cents; each horse and wagon, 50 cents; each six-horse or an ox wagon, 75 cents.

The privileges granted this company were to be exclusive for a period of twenty-one years. Gov. J. W. Denver approved the act on February 5, 1858.⁷⁵

The above-mentioned bridge, perhaps, was the one carried away in the flood of the following year. Just when the next structure to span the river was built we have not discovered. However, a modern bridge 916 feet long spans the Neosho at this point, completed early in July, 1935.

Burlington became quite a road center during the first decade of its existence. In addition to local roads within the county, a road was established from Leavenworth to this point in 1859,⁷⁶ it being a trifle over 96 miles in length, running via Lawrence, Minneola and the Sac and Fox agency in Franklin county. The plat of this road, together with the field notes signed by J. B. Stockton, commissioner, are on file at the Kansas State Historical Society. Another road, established in 1864, ran from Burlington to Fall River, via Janesville. This thoroughfare was about 41 miles long, and traversed the counties of Coffey, Woodson and Greenwood. The plat, together with field notes and commissioners' report, is on file at the Historical Society. Another road, a little over 13 miles long, was laid out in 1866, and ran from Burlington to Mineral Point; another, established in 1871, ran from Burlington to Quenemo; another, established the same year, ran from the southwest corner of Coffey county to Winfield, via Osborn settlement and Eureka, Greenwood county.⁷⁷ Plats, surveyors' notes, etc., of the last three named roads are also on file in the Historical Society.

Ottumwa, approximately eight miles by river above Burlington, was the next point where a ferry may have been operated. During the session of the 1860 legislature, House bill No. 289 was introduced authorizing Rosetta Smith, her heirs and assigns, to keep a

75. *Private Laws, Kansas, 1858*, pp. 43, 44.

76. *Laws, Kansas, 1859*, p. 585.

77. *Ibid.*, 1864, pp. 207, 208; 1866, p. 225; 1871, p. 229.

ferry across the Neosho river at or near the town of Ottumwa, and to have exclusive privileges within two miles of that town for a period of five years. The act specified that a good and substantial boat or boats should be provided sufficient to carry the traveling public, the same to be manned by good and safe hands. Rates of ferriage were to be fixed by the board of county commissioners. This act was approved by Gov. S. Medary February 27, 1860.⁷⁸ Whether the ferry ever operated we have not learned.

Emporia, some forty-five or more miles above Ottumwa, following the crooks and turns of the river, was the next ferry location. The first ferry over the Neosho in this vicinity is said to have been started about 1865 by William O. Ferguson. However, it has been impossible to verify this date. The earliest printed mention of the ferry we have found is in the printed proceedings of the board of county commissioners, of April 1, 1867, which recites:

W. O. Ferguson and J. J. Campbell filed petition praying for license to run ferryboats on the Cottonwood and Neosho rivers.

Ordered by the board that the county clerk be instructed to issue license to Ferguson & Campbell to run boats as follows: One across the Cottonwood river at Soden's mill, and one across the Neosho near Rinker's ford for one year, rates of ferriage for the same to be as follows: For 4 horses and wagon, 75 cents; 2 horses and wagon or carriage, 50 cents; 1 horse and wagon or carriage, 35 cents; man and horse, 25 cents; footman, 10 cents; loose cattle and horses, per head, 10 cents; loose sheep and hogs, per head, 5 cents.⁷⁹

That this may have been the start of this ferry is indicated in the following item from the *Emporia News*, of April 5, 1867, which says:

W. O. Ferguson and J. J. Campbell have their long wished for ferryboats in good running order—one on the Cottonwood, near Soden's mill, and the other at Rinker's ford on the Neosho. Hereafter, when either of these streams get on a high, the enterprising proprietors will be on hand to set you across, dry shod, for a reasonable compensation.

This location was just above the crossing known as the Rinker ford, named for Royal Rinker, who settled on the north bank of the river. This ford was considered the only safe and reliable crossing. On account of heavy rains it frequently happened that it was not safe to ford the stream and this was probably responsible for the establishment of the ferry at this point.

There appears to be considerable conflicting testimony concern-

78. *House Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 375, 730; *Council Journal*, 1860, special session, pp. 431, 495, 519, 548.

79. *Emporia News*, April 5, 1867.

ing this ferry, one authority stating that it was run for a year or two by Peter Bishop,⁸⁰ who sold to Mr. Ferguson who moved it up the river to a point below the mouth of Allen creek and just below the Fawcett & Britton sawmill. The stage to Emporia often crossed on the ferryboat, but the horses could not pull the loaded wagon up the steep bank of the river at this location, so the passengers were obliged to get out and help push it up the bank before they could proceed. Wagons loaded with corn for the Emporia market were also obliged to unload here, and the grain was carried up the steep bank by the sackfull on the shoulders of the driver.⁸¹ This new location was near what is known as the Holmes ford, just below the Country Club dam. "Jack" Holmes,⁸² from whom it took its name, was one of John Brown's men at Osawatimie.

The following from a letter from the daughters of Mr. Ferguson adds some more to the history of this ferry:

EMPORIA, KAN., Oct. 7, 1935.

MY DEAR MR. ROOT—Replying to your letter of August 2, concerning our father's connection with the early day ferry on the Neosho northeast of Emporia, we wish to say our information is limited and most of the old-timers are dead.

We do know from Mr. Wm. Hammond, now ninety-eight years old, our father owned the ferryboat for about two and one half years.

Mr. C. A. Bishop, our friend and neighbor, tells us his father, Simon Peter Bishop, ran the ferry for father but did not own it.

The place of crossing is on the Wm. Hammond's farm at the bend in the river, a short distance above the present "Rinker" bridge at the point where the old "Burlingame road" would touch the Neosho as it made its diagonal way toward the new Emporia.

Our father, Wm. O. Ferguson, was born in Ohio. The family followed the western migration into Iowa. Three sons came on into the turbulent Kansas. Father entered the state March 27, 1857, and camped on the site of the present city of Leavenworth. He came on to Lawrence and in 1859 to Emporia. He served four years in the Civil War. Returning to Emporia he engaged in general merchandising. Doubtless the ferry was of aid in this as well as a convenience to others. The lumber of our present home was brought by wagon train from Topeka and some of our furniture from Leavenworth.

The bridge directly north of town on the Neosho was built about '68 or '69, so the ferry must have been in operation between the years '65 and '68 or '69.

Mr. Bishop has a hazy memory that the ferry was sold to W. T. Soden. We have not been able to verify this. There was, however, a ferry south of town at Soden's, on the Cottonwood, as early as '67. . . .

80. Simon Peter Bishop lived in the Rinker neighborhood, three or four miles northeast of Emporia, settling there in 1865.

81. Laura M. French, *History of Emporia and Lyon County*, pp. 271, 272.

82. This was probably James H. Holmes, who was associated with John Brown during his operations in Kansas in 1856.

We will make more inquiries, and should we learn anything more definite in the near future will write you, but fear it is a false hope. Miss French knew no more than we. Her information came, we think, from the Plumbs, and the original members of this family are now all gone.

Sincerely,

MISS LOU E. FERGUSON,
MRS. DAISY FERGUSON GRIMES,
718 Constitution, Emporia, Kan.

P. S.—It occurred to me the drouth years of '69, etc., may have caused the ferry to die a natural death. There was a good ford a short distance below and the present "Rinker" bridge was not built until middle '80's.—D. F. G.

Jacob Stotler, editor and publisher of the *Emporia News*, while on a tour of the county had occasion to cross the Neosho, and in his issue of July 26, 1867, said:

Supplying ourselves with one of Crowe Brothers' fast teams we hauled up in front of Bill Ferguson's ferryboat on the Neosho north of town at an early hour. The river had been passable the evening before, and Mr. Bishop, the ferryman, not knowing the river had raised during the night, and supposing there would be no use for the boat, was not present. Two or three lusty yells brought the good-natured phiz of our friend Tom Milburn to view on the opposite side of the stream, where the boat was anchored. "Do you run this ferry?" we inquired of Thomas. "Not by a d—d sight," was his soft reply. After telling us the man lived a mile and a half away, he finally thought he could "run her over," and we told him to pitch in. After tugging awhile we landed "on the other side" of this obstruction, fully convinced that Tom Milburn can lay stone wall a "doggone sight" better than he can run a ferryboat. Nevertheless we return thanks to Thomas for his assistance.

Aside from the Santa Fé trail which crossed the county, in 1854 there was no other road. Some Indian trails, barely wide enough for the Indians to go in single file, were the only thoroughfares. The first wagon road or trail across the Neosho was blazed by John Rosenquist in 1855, who cut down trees on each side of the Neosho to open a road wide enough for wagons.⁸³ Mrs. John Rosenquist, in speaking of the lack of roads in 1855, said the early settlers of her neighborhood went back to Withington's Inn, near Allen, and then followed the Santa Fé trail, otherwise they would get lost, as there were no houses or distinguishing landmarks to be guided by when off the trail. A year or so later, as settlers came in they got their bearings, and so the Burlingame road came into use.

The first permanent road into Emporia was one laid out from Burlingame. This was established by government authority. Oliver Phillips drove the first wagon over this road in February, 1857, when he drove diagonally across the prairie to help lay out the

83. Mrs. Flora I. Godsey, in letter to author.

Emporia townsite. The road crossed the Neosho near the Rinker ford. A stage station was established at the Phillips place, and there was much travel on the road.⁸⁴

In 1859, a road was laid out from Lawrence to Emporia, via Bloomington, Clinton, Twin Mound, Georgetown, 110 creek, Superior, Sac Trail, and Waterloo, a length of 69 miles.⁸⁵ A. D. Searl was the surveyor, and his plats, field notes and the commissioners' report are preserved by the Historical Society. Another road, authorized by the legislature of 1861, ran from Minneola to connect with the Santa Fé road, via Neosho Rapids, Emporia, and Cottonwood Falls, and ended in Rice county, near Lyons, being a little over 180 miles in length.⁸⁶ Another road, established by the legislature of 1861, ran from Emporia to El Dorado via Bazaar and Chelsea, a distance of sixty-one miles.⁸⁷ This road was surveyed by C. F. Eichacker, whose plat and field notes are in the Archives division of the Historical Society. In 1866 a state road was laid out from Emporia to Eureka, by R. G. Soule, James Kanver and Edwin Tucker. This was ten miles shorter than the usually traveled route as well as an improvement on the old road.⁸⁸

The first movement for a bridge over the Neosho within Lyon county was in the year 1858, when a bill was introduced in the legislature for the incorporation of the Neosho River Bridge Co. This charter was for a fifteen-year period, during which the company was to have exclusive privileges at or within five miles of the town of Emporia. The act passed both houses but was vetoed by Governor Denver.⁸⁹ The first permanent bridges erected on the stream were provided for by an election of 1867. This included one for Emporia—the Merchant Street bridge—and one at Neosho Rapids.⁹⁰

So far as we have been able to discover, the ferry operated by Mr. Ferguson was the uppermost and last ferry located on the Neosho river.

Thanks are hereby tendered to Mrs. Flora I. Godsey, Miss Lou E. Ferguson, Mrs. Daisy Ferguson Grimes, William Allen White, Glick Fockele and others for assistance in collecting this data on upper Neosho river ferries.

84. French, *op. cit.*, pp. 269, 270.

85. *Laws, Kansas*, 1859, p. 585.

86. *Ibid.*, 1861, p. 247.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

88. *Emporia News*, Jan. 12, 1867.

89. *House Journal*, 1858, p. 372.

90. French, *op. cit.*, p. 268; *Emporia News*, Feb. 22, 1867.

Ellsworth as a Texas Cattle Market

F. B. STREETER

EARLY in May, 1869, a man named Fitzpatrick came to Ellsworth from Sheridan, Kan., having been warned that it would not be healthy for him to remain longer in the latter place. He secured employment in one of the saloons in Ellsworth. During the evening of May 11, Fitzpatrick began firing his gun on the street. While on this rampage, he stopped several people, put his pistol against them, and threatened to shoot, scaring them most to death. When the east-bound train came in he fired a shot through the cars and then went into the saloon where he was employed.

He found a man named William Bryson¹ asleep in the room. He shook the sleeping man and when he awakened, asked him how he got in there. Bryson, in the habit of sleeping there, answered that he came in through the window. Thereupon Fitzpatrick struck him on the head with his revolver, and when the man tried to escape he fired a shot, striking him in the groin. The victim died about eight o'clock the next morning.

The coroner's jury found Fitzpatrick guilty of murder in the first degree. The news spread through the village. At one o'clock that afternoon the citizens turned out *en masse*, took the murderer from the jail to the river bank and hanged him to the historic old cottonwood which became famous because of the number of persons who were strung up on its branches by vigilance committees. Before being hung, Fitzpatrick gave his age and residence and confessed that he had stabbed a "great many men." His people lived in St. Louis.

The night Fitzpatrick ran amuck, someone fired a shot into Judge Westover's residence, wounding one Mrs. Brown in the arm; the same shot grazed the arm of the little Westover boy who was asleep in his bed. The citizens searched the town and surrounding country for the villain. No record is extant showing that he was captured, but if he was, his body adorned a strong branch of the old cottonwood.

Ira W. Phelps, a local grocer and dealer in provisions who wrote up the details of these shooting affrays for the press, stated that Ellsworth had the assurance of the Texas cattle trade and that the

1. Also spelled Brison.

citizens were determined to have law and order "if they have to fight it out on this line all summer."²

How much time elapsed between the opening of this campaign against lawlessness and the establishment of the cattle market in Ellsworth is not known. Nor are figures on the drives to this point in 1869 and 1870 available. However, Ellsworth was not an important market during those two years.³

A total of 161,320⁴ head of cattle were transported over the Kansas Pacific Railroad in 1871, an increase of 30,000 over the shipments for the previous season. Ellsworth received a fair share of this traffic. According to the most reliable figures available, there were shipped from that market during the fall months 1,340 cars of cattle, averaging eighteen head to the car, making a total of 24,121; and for the entire season the shipments amounted to more than 1,900 carloads of longhorns.⁵ These animals were sold to firms in Kansas City, Leavenworth, Chicago, and St. Louis.

The northern drive reached its height in 1871. According to Joseph G. McCoy, fully 600,000 head of cattle arrived in western Kansas that year. The season was a rainy one, causing the grass to be coarse and spongy and to lack the nutrition needed to make tallow. The severe storms caused the cattle to stampede badly. As the season advanced the animals became poorer in flesh and, furthermore, there were comparatively few buyers. As a result of the condition of the cattle and the lack of a market, 300,000 head were put in winter quarters, most of them having been driven west into the buffalo-grass region. Upwards of 140,000 longhorns were wintered on lands belonging to the Kansas Pacific.

Scarcely had the herds arrived in the short-grass country when a severe rainstorm set in, followed by a cold wind which froze the water. The grass became covered with a sheet of ice two or three inches thick. A furious gale blew for three days and nights. Many men and horses were frozen to death and thousands of cattle perished. The winter was a severe one. It is estimated that several

2. Junction City Union, May 15, 1869.

3. Abilene was the chief market. Junction City, Solomon and Salina received a share of the trade. A newspaper was not established at Ellsworth until December, 1871. The municipal records begin in July of that year. In the early years of the Texas cattle trade the newspapers in the larger cities gave little space to the trade in a town until that place became an important market. The country town papers paid practically no attention to the cattle trade in other towns. The Union Pacific Railroad Co. has been unable to supply figures on the cattle trade at Ellsworth for 1869 and 1870. Therefore, the contemporaneous newspapers have been the only available source and a search of them has not yielded the desired data.

4. Kansas Pacific Railway Co., *Guide Map of the Great Texas Cattle Trail* (1875).

5. Ellsworth Reporter, December 28, 1871; July 25, 1872.

hundred cow ponies and a quarter of a million head of cattle died before spring. Wealthy cattlemen were made bankrupt by the losses which mounted into millions of dollars.⁶

There were 640,000 acres of rich grazing land in Ellsworth county. More than 80,000 head of Texas cattle were put in winter quarters in the county in 1871-1872. The losses were terrific, at least half of the animals dying as a result of the cold and stormy weather. In May, 1872, a writer made the following statement in the local paper:

I believe that I am safe in saying that fully fifty percent of the stock in Ellsworth county (no doubt the best stock county in western Kansas) died from exposure and want the past winter; of the domestic and wintered stock a less percent, of those brought from Texas last year a greater percent. Not less than thirteen thousand hides have been shipped from Ellsworth since last November. . . .⁷

After 1871 Abilene ceased to be an important market. In February, 1872, a circular notifying the drovers not to return to Abilene was prepared by the enemies of the traffic and sent to Texas.

A considerable portion of the cattle men drove their herds to Ellsworth that season, and some of the business men and others deserted Abilene and followed the trade. J. W. Gore and M. B. George tore down part of the Drovers' Cottage and moved it to the new market place. Jac. (Jake) Karatofsky, the young Russian Jew who owned the Great Western Store on the corner of Cedar and Texas streets, went to the new cow town with a stock of general merchandise about May 1. J. W. (Brocky Jack) Norton, who had served on Abilene's police force in 1871, was employed as a peace officer in Ellsworth and later became city marshal. The gamblers, roughs, courtesans, and hangerson, who had infested Abilene, flocked to the new longhorn metropolis to ply their nefarious occupations.

The population of Ellsworth was about one thousand. The chief business was the trafficking in cattle and trade with the cattlemen. The main street ran along both sides of the railroad, making an exceedingly wide street, or two streets, called North Main and South Main. The business section was approximately three blocks long. The store buildings, mostly one- and two-story frame structures with porches on the front, lined the outer side of the street and faced the railroad. Here and there more pretentious structures of brick had been erected. Board sidewalks were generally in use, though in the spring of 1873 Arthur Larkin constructed a stretch of sidewalk twelve feet wide, made of magnesia limestone, in front

6. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade*, pp. 226, 227.

7. *Ellsworth Reporter*, May 16, 1872.

of his hotel. It was said that no other town, not even Kansas City, had a sidewalk equal to it. In keeping with the custom of the times, most of the business places provided benches or seats for loafers under the wooden awnings. There were hitching posts in front of the stores to which farmers' teams or cow ponies were tied most of the time day and night.

The location of the leading business houses (commencing at the west end on South Main), was as follows:⁸ Drovers' cottage, a three-story hotel equipped with eighty-four nicely furnished rooms and a dining room which seated 100 guests. A short distance down the street was Reuben and Sheek's "gents" furnishings store which catered to Texas men; and two doors east was J. Ringolsky & Co.'s store, called Drovers' headquarters, which kept a general line of clothing and supplies. All three men came from Leavenworth. Beyond were: D. W. Powers' bank, also a Leavenworth firm, established in 1873 to care for the financial needs of the cattlemen; Minnick and Hounson's brick drug store; and John Bell's Great Western Hardware Emporium on the corner of Douglas. East of Douglas: John Kelly's American House; the big general store of Jerome Beebe who had branch stores at Wilson and Brookville and sold a variety of merchandise—in fact almost everything from high-grade groceries and "wines and liquors for medicinal purposes" to Kirby's reapers and Moline plows; and Whitney and Kendall's furniture store a half block east of Lincoln. This firm established a cabinet shop on North Main in 1872 and moved across the tracks a year later. The railroad station was almost directly in front of Beebe's store.

The courthouse and jail were located on the north side of the railroad tracks two blocks east of Douglas. When the jail was completed in June, 1873, the local paper called it the most comfortable place in town, but warned its readers that too many should not crowd into the building at once.⁹ Nearby was the Ellsworth lumberyard owned by Kuney, Southwick & Co. The Grand Central hotel, owned by Arthur Larkin, was on the corner of Lincoln. This building was constructed of a good quality red brick and was said to be the finest and costliest house west of the Missouri, excepting in Topeka. Its entire cost, including furniture, was \$27,000. The building still stands and is now called the White House hotel. If

8. D. H. Fraker, a pioneer business man of Ellsworth, rendered valuable assistance in locating and describing the old buildings. This information has been checked with and supplemented by files of the *Ellsworth Reporter* and other printed sources.

9. *Ellsworth Reporter*, June 26, 1873.

this building could speak it would tell of many noted characters of the Old West who occupied its rooms in the early days—Buffalo Bill Cody; Wild Bill Hickok; Wyatt Earp; Ben and Billy Thompson; “Rowdy Joe” Lowe of Wichita dance-hall fame; big cattlemen; several local policemen; and other celebrities of the plains. In the next block west, opposite the depot, were Arthur Larkin’s dry goods and clothing store, which opened in 1873, and J. C. Veatch’s hotel and restaurant. Beyond were Nagle’s livery stable, the post office, and Seitz’s drug store on the corner of Douglas, advertised as the “oldest established drug store in western Kansas.”

The stockyards were located up the railroad track in the west part of town; they were constructed of unpainted lumber and covered several acres of ground. The yards had seven chutes from which 200 cars of cattle per day could be loaded. The *Ellsworth Reporter* claimed that these yards were the largest in the state in 1872.¹⁰ Col. R. D. Hunter, favorably known among the cattlemen, was superintendent of the stockyards in 1872 and 1873.

The cattle traffic brought to Ellsworth hundreds of drovers, buyers and speculators; and the rough element, which moved from town to town with the shifts of the trade, congregated there. A visitor in 1872 had this to say of the new market:

This little border town of Ellsworth is not the most moral one in the world. During the cattle season, which, I am told, only lasts during the summer and fall, it presents a scene seldom witnessed in any other section. It reminds one of a town in California in its early days when gambling flourished and vice was at a premium. Here you see in the streets men from every state, and I might say from almost every nation—the tall, long-haired Texas herder, with his heavy jingling spurs and pairs of six-shooters; the dirty, greasy Mexicans, with unintelligible jargon; the gambler from all parts of the country, looking for unsuspecting prey; the honest emigrant in search of a homestead in the great free West; the keen stock buyers; the wealthy Texas drovers; dead beats; “cappers”; pick-pockets; horse thieves; a cavalry of Texas ponies; and scores of demimonde.

Gambling of every description is carried on without any attempt at privacy. I am told that there are some 75 professional gamblers in town, and every day we hear of some of their sharp tricks. Whisky-selling seems to be the most profitable business. But there are many honorable business men here, who are doing a heavy business.¹¹

The saloons and gambling houses were all patronized. During the first seven months of 1873, a total of thirteen persons were licensed to carry on the business of keeping saloons and dramshops for the

10. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1872.

11. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1872.

year.¹² Three of the hotels sold liquor. That spring the Ellsworth *Reporter* made the observation that whisky was an antidote for snake bites. In view of the number of saloons in town, this paper did not believe that anyone in Ellsworth was in great danger if stung by one of these reptiles.

Just a word about the social life of Ellsworth in the cow-town period. The hotels were the social centers in those days. Numerous parties and dances were held in their commodious halls. In the winter of 1872-1873 the Ellsworth Dancing Club sponsored a series of balls at the Grand Central hotel, the final entertainment taking place in March.¹³ Numerous dances were held in the Drovers' Cottage during the winter and spring of that year. The last dance of the season occurred on Thursday evening, May 29. Messrs. Parkhurst, Bradshaw, Skyrock, Savage, Whitney, and Hoseman were the committeemen. A large crowd attended and those present are said to have enjoyed the entertainment so much that they danced until morning. Several gentlemen from Texas participated and "seemed to like the Ellsworth girls."¹⁴

Another form of entertainment was provided for Ellsworth folk. Late in February, 1873, the Sixth cavalry boys from Fort Harker put on a play at the Drovers' Cottage. The hall was crowded and everyone was pleased with the show.¹⁵ On June 5, the local paper announced that "Ellsworth is to have a theater." A week later it said, "Ellsworth has a theater" and explained that Messrs. McClelland and Freeman had been occupied the previous week fitting up a building for this purpose. Freeman went to St. Joseph, Kansas City and St. Louis and engaged an excellent line of talent. Late in the summer the press reported that the theater was still patronized by large crowds and stated that the proprietors deserved good audiences for booking so many first-class actors.¹⁶

In 1871 or 1872 a cattle trail to Ellsworth was established which ran by way of "Bluff creek, Turkey or Salt creek to Zarah and Ellsworth."¹⁷ The total distance from the crossing of the Red river in Texas to Ellsworth was about 350 miles.

12. Ellsworth, city council, "Proceedings," 1873.

13. Ellsworth *Reporter*, March 6, 1873.

14. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1873; Topeka *Commonwealth*, June 4, 1873.

15. Ellsworth *Reporter*, March 6, 1873.

16. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1873.

17. Mentioned in Ellsworth *Reporter*, June 13, 1872. The exact route followed those two years is not known. The trail was probably not well defined at the start. According to information in the local paper, it evidently left the old trail near Pond creek, Indian territory, crossed Bluff creek near the present site of Anthony, ran near Kingman, and crossed the Arkansas at Raymond. By "Zarah" the writers may have referred to the town which was located one mile east of Fort Zarah. The fort was dismantled in 1869. However, the name of the fort appears on the Kansas Pacific's map issued in 1875. In 1872 Great Bend won the fight for the county seat. After that the town of Zarah gradually disappeared.

In 1873 a new trail from Pond creek, Indian territory, to Ellsworth was surveyed by the Kansas Pacific Railway Co., which shortened the distance thirty-five miles. The party to whom the work of making the survey was intrusted consisted of William M. Cox, general livestock agent for the railroad company, and the following well-known cattlemen: David Hunter, brother of Col. R. D. Hunter; T. J. Buckbee; Howard Capper; and J. Ben George. The trail blazers left Ellsworth on April 16 and completed their work about May 1. The trail ran through a section which was supplied with an abundance of water. Ellinwood was selected as the point for crossing the Arkansas river. When the survey was completed Cox returned to Ellsworth, while Hunter, Buckbee and Capper remained at Sewell's ranch on Pond creek until the first herd came along.¹⁸

The new route, known as "Cox's trail" or the "Ellsworth cattle trail,"¹⁹ diverged from the old trail at the Pond creek ranch, about half-way between Salt Fork of the Arkansas and Pond creek; turned to the left and bore a little west of north along Pond creek to the headwaters of that stream; then west of north to Cox's crossing of Bluff creek (about a quarter of a mile west of north fork); and ran by way of Kingman and Ellinwood to Ellsworth. Three supply stores were located at convenient points along the trail. These were Sewell's ranch and store east of the Pond creek crossing; C. H. Stone's store at Cox's crossing of Bluff creek; and E. C. Manning's store at a place "called Kingman," a mile and a half east of the crossing of the Ninnescah.

The people of Ellsworth and the Kansas Pacific Railroad Co. made every effort to direct the cattle trade to that town. Articles appeared in the *Reporter* setting forth the advantages of the new trail and of Ellsworth as a market place. The drovers were told that Ellsworth had the railway facilities, the largest cattle yards in the state, and the hotel accommodations for the drovers and their crews. The new trail was spoken of with pride and the cattlemen were informed that they would be less liable to interruptions and annoyances because the trail ran west of the settled regions.²⁰ Each week for some time in the spring of 1873, the *Reporter* pub-

18. Ellsworth *Reporter*, May 8, 1873.

19. Kansas Pacific Railroad Co., *Guide Map of the Great Texas Cattle Trail* (1875).

20. The 1875 edition of the Kansas Pacific Railway Co.'s *Guide Map* also stated that the Cox trail ran "west of the settlements in Kansas." There were several towns west of the trail. However, not much of the land around the towns had been occupied by settlers and it was this fact that the Ellsworth advertisers had in mind when they made their statements. McCoy added a bit of evidence on this point in 1874 when he stated that the country adjacent to Great Bend was such that it would "remain unsettled for years to come" unless it was taken for stock ranches. See *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade*, p. 415.

lished a table showing distances and containing a description of the route, streams, crossings, camping grounds, and trading posts along the way. As a means of advertising the new trail and the shipping points on the line, the Kansas Pacific issued a pamphlet and map entitled, *Guide Map of the Great Texas Cattle Trail From Red River Crossing to the Old Reliable Kansas Pacific Railway*. The writer has located only two editions of this pamphlet: one issued in 1872, the other in 1875. To quote from the 1875 edition:

Drovers are recommended to make Ellis, Russell, Wilson's, Ellsworth and Brookville the principal points for their cattle for the following reasons: Freedom from petty annoyances of settlers, arising from the cattle trespassing upon cultivated fields, because there is wider range, an abundance of grass and water, increased shipping facilities and extensive yard accommodations. Large and commodious hotels may be found in all these places, and at Ellsworth, especially, the old "Drovers' cottage," so popular with the trade for years, will be found renovated and enlarged. The banking house of D. W. Powers & Co., established at Ellsworth in 1873, in the interest of the cattle business, will remain at this point and continue their liberal dealings as in the past.

As stated above, Ellsworth became the principal shipping point for Texas cattle on the Kansas Pacific Railroad in 1872. The first three droves of longhorns that season arrived in Ellsworth early in June. These droves numbered 1,000 head each.²¹ Two weeks later a total of twenty-eight herds, numbering from 1,000 to 6,000 head each, had arrived and many more were on the way. The fresh arrivals contained a total of 58,850 head of longhorns. These, together with over 40,000 head which had wintered in the county, made a total of more than 100,000 head of Texas cattle in Ellsworth county.²²

That season 40,161 head were transported from Ellsworth, or one fourth of the total number marketed over the Kansas Pacific. Large shipments were also made from the following towns: 12,240 from Brookville; 10,940 from Salina; and 8,040 from Solomon.²³ Besides those shipped by rail from Ellsworth, about 50,000 head were driven to California and the territories from that place. In the months of June and July more than 100,000 head of beef and stock cattle changed hands at Ellsworth. Drovers found buyers on their arrival, enabling them to close out at a good price and return to their homes.²⁴

The prices paid for cattle that season were as follows: \$19 to \$22

21. Ellsworth Reporter, June 6, 1872.

22. Ibid., June 20, 1872.

23. Kansas Pacific Railroad Co., *Seventh Annual Report*.

24. Ellsworth Reporter, April 17, 1873.

for beeves; \$15 to \$18 for three-year-olds; \$9 to \$10 for two-year-olds; \$12 for cows; and \$6 for yearlings.²⁵

The town folk looked forward to an enormous increase in the cattle trade in 1873. The business men made a number of improvements and prepared for an expansion of trade. As stated above, D. W. Powers & Co. of Leavenworth opened their bank that spring and promised to give particular attention to the "accommodation of merchants, stock dealers and the Texas cattle trade." The American House was enlarged, remodeled and refurnished that the proprietors might better accommodate with "luxury and ease all those fatigued with the toils and labors of the day and especially the Texas drovers upon their arrival at the city after a long and weary journey."²⁶ J. C. Veatch enlarged and improved his hotel and restaurant before the cattle season opened. On March 6 the *Reporter* ventured this prediction:

"Ellsworth will be the liveliest town in Kansas this year."

To which the Leavenworth *Commercial* retorted, "Yes, in flea time."

There was enough documentary evidence to show that the prediction of the local paper was sound. Perhaps a more lively form of contemporaneous evidence was needed to convince folk of the veracity of the *Commercial's* comment.

In April, twenty-eight herds of cattle, ranging from two to ten thousand each, were reported on their way to Ellsworth. The largest herd was owned by W. S. Pryman & Co., while Allen and Bennette drove 8,000 head, and Millett and Mabry were on the road with 6,000 cattle.²⁷ On May 29 the local paper reported that 100,000 longhorns had arrived at Ellsworth; on June 5 the number was placed at 125,000; and a week later it was increased to 143,500. The 100,000 head were owned by fifty-five cattlemen. Among these were Col. O. W. Wheeler, L. B. Harris, J. L. Driskill, Maj. Seth Mabry, and others, who had made the drive each year for some years. Col. James V. Ellison, who drove from 4,000 to 12,000 cattle up the trail annually, had just arrived with 7,000 beeves. Col. J. J. Myers, whose yearly drive had never been less than 4,000 longhorns, was on the trail near Ellsworth with 27,000 head of cattle.

A group of excursionists, representing *The Cattle Trails*, published at Kansas City, visited Ellsworth about July 1 and reported that

25. *Ibid.*, June 27, 1872.

26. Advertisement in Ellsworth *Reporter*.

27. Letter of "Occasional," dated April 25, to Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal of Commerce*, in Ellsworth *Reporter*, May 1, 1873.

they found only 56,000 head of cattle at Wichita, none at Great Bend, and 135,000 head at Ellsworth.²⁸

If the reports in the press are accurate more than 140,000 longhorns were received at Ellsworth before the middle of June, and additional droves were expected.²⁹ A half million head were driven to Kansas during the year. It is safe to say that at least thirty percent of these went to Ellsworth.

A season could scarcely have opened with a brighter outlook and closed in deeper gloom for everyone connected with the cattle trade than did this one. In the first place the number of buyers, as compared with the previous year, was greatly reduced because of the short corn crop. Then the financial crash came upon the country, reaching the West in October and paralyzing every form of business. The cattlemen were unable to borrow money and consequently were forced to put large numbers of their livestock on a market that was already weak. Most of the drovers, traders and shippers lost heavily and scores of them were bankrupted. Because of these conditions, at least forty percent of the Texas cattle were put in winter quarters in western Kansas or were driven into Colorado; thousands were killed and made into tallow; large numbers were purchased by enterprising cattlemen for their ranches or were taken by feeders; others went to the Indians or were consumed in the northwestern territories.³⁰

As stated above, Ellsworth received approximately one third of the longhorns driven to Kansas in 1873. Of this number, 30,540 were transported over the Kansas Pacific Railroad³¹ and about 25,000 were wintered in the vicinity.³² There is no record showing definitely what disposition was made of the remainder. Some were probably driven to other cow towns and shipped.³³ The balance were undoubtedly consumed in one or more ways mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

Ellsworth folk made a supreme effort in 1874 to retain the cattle trade which was finding a more attractive market at Wichita. Either leading citizens of the town or the Kansas Pacific Railroad Co. enlisted the help of Abel H. Pierce,³⁴ who was known throughout

28. Ellsworth *Reporter*, July 3, 1873.

29. "Clarendon" in *Topeka Commonwealth*, June 4, 1873, estimated that Ellsworth would receive and dispatch a quarter of million head that season.

30. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade*, pp. 250, 251. His account deals with all the Kansas markets. Ellsworth does not receive special mention.

31. Kansas Pacific Railroad Co., *Seventh Annual Report*.

32. Based on figures in Ellsworth *Reporter*, May 28, 1874.

33. A total of 10,080 head were shipped from Russell, 5,860 from Brookville, while the total shipments on the Kansas Pacific amounted to 164,780.

34. *Wichita Eagle*, May 21, 1874.

the cattle country as "Shanghai Pierce," to distinguish him from a cowman of smaller stature of the same name. He had been part owner of the Rancho Grande in eastern Texas on which more than 100,000 longhorns grazed before he came to Kansas in the seventies to trade in cattle. His big steers, called "Shanghai's sea lions," were known far and wide. Shanghai enjoyed being in the saddle with the boys and was a great story-teller. Late at night in camp one could hear the men laughing at his yarns. He talked so loud that Charles Siringo, who rode in his outfit, said that his voice "could be heard nearly half a mile even when he tried to whisper."³⁵

Shanghai Pierce worked hard for Ellsworth that season and had the local press, the civic leaders, and the Kansas Pacific back of him. According to a report dated May 25, there were 42,572 longhorns at Ellsworth and 60,372 head had passed Sewell's ranch en-route for that place. A total of 18,500³⁶ head were shipped over the Kansas Pacific Railroad that season, or 12,000 less than in 1873.

By 1875 Ellsworth ceased to be an important market. The trade had shifted to Wichita and with it went most of the toughs and some of the merchants. The glamorous days were over, never to return. During the four years, 1871-1874, inclusive, more than a third of a million Texas longhorns were driven to Ellsworth. Of these about thirty percent were transported to market over the Kansas Pacific Railroad. At least 40,000 perished during the severe winter of 1871-1872. The remainder were sold to farmers near town; to cattlemen and feeders in Kansas and other parts of the country; or were disposed of in some other manner. Practically all the landmarks of the trails period have disappeared. The mammoth stockyards were removed a few years after the traffic was discontinued. The fires of 1874 and 1875 destroyed several of the business houses. The others went one by one. The Grand Central hotel building is still standing, but this building has been materially altered and the name changed; although here and there are evidences of the time when longhorn barons and noted gamblers were its guests.

35. Siringo, *Lone Star Cowboy*, p. 248.

36. Kansas Pacific Railroad Co., *Eighth Annual Report*.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Articles featuring the early history of Hays have predominated in the historical subjects published in recent issues of *The Aerend*, a quarterly magazine issued by Fort Hays Kansas State College, of Hays. "A Page From the Past," a story of the lost Beales colony which located in the Southwest in 1824, by Bee Jacquart, and "Reminiscing Through an Old Newspaper," or a description of Hays in 1867, by F. B. Streeter, appeared in the spring, 1935, number. "Whisky Straight," life in early-day Ellis county, by Paul King, and "A He-Man of Hays [Sheriff Alexander Ramsey]," by F. B. Streeter, were printed in the summer number.

"Why They Came to Lyons," a column featuring brief biographical sketches of Lyons citizens, has appeared from time to time in the Lyons *Daily News* in recent months.

An interview with George Yoxall, a pioneer of northwest Kansas, was featured in W. F. Hughes' "Facts and Comments" column in the *Rooks County Record*, of Stockton, in its issues of February 28, March 7 and 14, 1935.

Several fifty-year residents of Herndon and vicinity were named in an article published in the Herndon *Nonpareil* March 21, 1935.

A prairie fire near Palco in March, 1893, and Palco's schools of 1900 were discussed by W. F. Hughes in the *Rooks County Record*, of Stockton, March 28, 1935.

The story of the battle of Honey Springs near present Checotah, Okla., fought between the confederate and federal forces on July 17, 1863, was reviewed by Charles R. Freeman in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, publication of the Oklahoma Historical Society, of Oklahoma City, in its June, 1935, issue. Kansas troops, under command of Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt, participated in the battle.

Salmon Brown's account of the activities of the John Brown family in Kansas territory as written shortly before his death in 1919 was printed in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, of Bloomington, Ind., in its June, 1935, number.

The killing of Sheriff Ramsey of Ellis county while in Rooks county in June, 1875, as recalled by the late Elam Bartholomew, was published in the Hays *Daily News* June 6, 1935. The article was reprinted from a 1911 issue of the *Rooks County Record*, of Stockton.

Clyde as seen in some early photographs of the community was described in the Clyde *Republican* June 27, 1935.

Highland and the railroad "that never came" were recalled by J. B. Ferguson, of Hagerstown, Md., in the Highland *Vidette* in its issues of June 27 and July 4, 1935.

A brief history of the North Wichita Mexican parish was published in *The Catholic Advance*, Wichita, June 29, 1935. The church building was erected in 1927.

The first of several special articles on Wichita's early history by David D. Leahy appeared in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, June 30, 1935.

An article written by Fred A. Sowers over fifty years ago describing the celebration of the Fourth of July in Wichita in 1870 was published in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle*, July 4, 1935.

The early history of Kincaid and the celebration of its first Fourth of July in 1886 was reviewed by Harry Johnson in the Garnett *Review* July 4, 1935. The town plat of Kincaid was filed on May 11, 1885. In another article in this issue of the *Review* Mr. Johnson recalled other Fourth of July celebrations held in Anderson county in the early days.

Miami county springs that did not go dry during the drought of 1934 were listed in *The Western Spirit*, of Paola, July 5, 1935.

The history of the Lakin *Independent* was briefly reviewed in its issue of July 5, 1935. The *Independent* was established July 1, 1914, by M. B. Royer.

Reminiscences of the high finance of Hutchinson's boom period of the 1880's were contributed by George Combs to the Hutchinson *Herald* July 5, 1935.

The history of Washington county's courthouse was sketched in the Hanover *Herald* July 5, 1935.

Early-day Sibley as recalled by Mrs. E. M. Kenyon was described in the Concordia *Blade-Empire* July 9, 1935. Sibley, which is now

numbered among the "dead" towns of Kansas, was situated north of Concordia.

A description of the old stone corral near a ford on the Little Arkansas river, about fifteen miles north of present Hutchinson, which sheltered emigrants traveling along the Santa Fé trail, was published in the McPherson *Daily Republican* July 9, 1935.

Walnut Valley Presbyterian Church history was reviewed in the Winfield *Daily Courier* and *Independent-Record* in their issues of July 11, 1935. The church, which is located north of Winfield, was organized on March 1, 1874.

Early-day Meade Center and the founding of the *Meade County Globe* on July 11, 1885, were recalled by Frank Fuhr in the *Meade Globe-News* July 11, 1935.

Geuda healing waters at Geuda Springs were known long before the advent of the white settlers, Lyman Spray reported in an article briefly reviewing the history of the springs which was published in the South Haven *New Era* July 11, 1935.

Reminiscences of Highland by Tobias Larson, former editor of the Highland *Vidette*, were printed in the *Vidette* July 11, 1935.

Histories of the Pratt County Council of Clubs, the Pratt Rotary Club and the Lions Club were sketched in the Pratt *Daily Tribune* July 12, 1935.

The significance of the "Sand Bank Convention" held at Lawrence in July, 1855, to secure a better understanding and coöperation among the different antislavery elements in Kansas history was discussed by Dr. Edward Bumgardner in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World* July 17, 1935.

A history of the Eskridge United Presbyterian Church, by James M. Curry, was published in the Eskridge *Independent* July 18, 1935. The church was organized on June 29, 1897.

The early history of Courtland was reviewed by Frank J. Fudge in *The New Era*, of Formoso, July 18, 1935. The city was incorporated in 1892.

A history of the Shields Methodist Episcopal Church was printed in the Dighton *Herald* July 18, 1935. The organization meeting was held in May, 1886, in the "soddy" home of John Smith which was situated about one mile west of present Shields.

Sod houses and their part in the settlement of the Western prairies were discussed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* July 18, 1935.

Names of postmasters who have served at Cheney since the town was established were published in the Cheney *Sentinel* July 18, 1935.

Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church near Canton observed the fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of its church building July 21, 1935. A history of the organization was sketched in the Canton *Pilot* July 18.

Evangelical Zion Lutheran Church, near Lanham, commonly known as the State Line Lutheran Church, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary July 14, 1935. A brief history of the organization was printed in the Hanover *Democrat* July 19.

Twenty "ghost towns" of Sumner county were named in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* July 19, 1935. The list included: Sumner, Clear Dale, Orië, Chikaskia, Hurst Crossing, Alton, Hessville, Levy, Sunset, Sunny Slope, Beverly, Rolling Green, Argyle, Littleton, Swedona, Bushnell, Missouri Flat, Guelph, Bitter Creek and Kitley.

Rice county history and a biography of the late Dan M. Bell were linked in a three-column article appearing in the Lyons *Daily News* July 23, 1935. In 1871 Mr. Bell was one of three men named by Gov. J. M. Harvey to serve as county commissioners to effect a permanent county organization.

The Frankfort *Daily Index* in its issue of July 24, 1935, briefly reviewed the history of Frankfort on the sixtieth anniversary of its organization as a third-class city.

A series of fifteen "Know Manhattan" articles is being published in the Manhattan *Mercury* and *The Morning Chronicle* in Wednesday issues. The articles, which began July 24, are mainly of a historical nature and feature writeups of Manhattan's institutions.

Osawatomie's early history was sketched in a three-column article published in *The Western Spirit*, of Paola, July 26, 1935.

Some of Wichita's real-estate dealers during the boom year of 1887 were named by Victor Murdock in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* July 26, 1935. The record of licenses issued to the dealers showed 924 names enrolled.

The history of the Wichita *Eagle* was reviewed by Kent Eubank in its sixty-third anniversary edition issued July 28, 1935.

An Indian alarm in Clark county's early history was described by Mrs. L. C. Mitchell of Creston, Iowa, in *The Clark County Clipper*, of Ashland, August 1, 1935. Mrs. Mitchell settled in Clark county in 1885.

The history of the St. Paul *Journal* was briefly sketched in its issue of August 1, 1935. The newspaper first made its appearance in Osage Mission (now St. Paul) on August 5, 1868.

Early-day Douglass and some of its citizens were recalled by Mrs. Alvah Shelden, of El Dorado, in a letter published in the Douglass *Tribune* August 2 and 9, 1935.

Kearny county sites of historic importance were discussed in the Lakin *Independent* in recent issues. John O'Loughlin's store, which was opened in 1873 and was the first permanent habitation in the county, was described in the issue of August 2, 1935, and the history of Chouteau island was reviewed by Mrs. India Harris Simmons August 9. Another article by Mrs. Simmons on the Aubrey route of the Santa Fé trail was featured in the latter issue.

The history of the Eighty-ninth division was briefly reviewed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* August 7, 1935. The division came into existence at Camp Funston, Fort Riley, August 25, 1917, with Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood as its commander. The first enlisted men arrived September 6.

A story of the Hugoton-Woodsdale fight for the county seat of Stevens county and the massacre at Wild Horse Lake in 1888 was printed in the Spearville *News* August 8, 1935.

The history of Elm Mills, Barber county ghost town of the late 1870's, which has now become a pleasure resort, was contributed by Pearl Richardson to the Topeka *Daily Capital* August 18, 1935.

A letter written by Mineus Ives in May, 1872, describing his impressions of early-day south-central Kansas was printed in Victor Murdock's front-page column in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* August 21, 1935.

The history of Enne Lutheran Church, seven miles south of Herndon, was briefly sketched in the Herndon *Nonpareil* August 22, 1935. The church was organized on April 27, 1885.

A three-column story of the Pony Express and a map of the trail by W. R. Honnell, of Kansas City, were published in the *Kansas City Kansan* August 22, 1935. The sketch shows the location of every station on the more than 2,000-mile route.

Bird City held a three-day celebration August 22, 23 and 24, 1935, in observance of its fiftieth birthday anniversary. A sod house was constructed for display at the event. Notes on the city's history were printed in the *Bird City Times* in issues preceding the celebration and names of pioneers registered were printed in the August 29 number.

"Some Unwritten School History," was the title of a column article contributed by Carrie Breese Chandler to the *Chase County Leader*, of Cottonwood Falls, August 28, 1935. Mrs. Chandler cited a letter from Sarah Romigh Anderson, of Oakland, Cal., for the earliest data. Mrs. Anderson arrived in Cottonwood Falls in the late 1850's.

A four-column résumé of the drouth of 1934 by John G. Ellenbecker was printed in the *Marshall County News*, of Marysville, August 30, 1935.

The history of Fort Downer, in southwest Trego county, by Fern C. Callison, and "When the White Man Came," a review of the history of the Southwest, were features of the "Fair Edition" of the Dodge City *Daily Globe* August 31, 1935.

Excursions to Wichita in 1872 were described by Victor Murdock in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* August 31, 1935.

The route of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express was discussed in detail by Margaret Long in the September, 1935, issue of *The Colorado Magazine*, published at Denver by the State Historical Society of Colorado. The article quoted extensively from E. D. Boyd's field notes published in the *Freedom's Champion* of Atchison, June 25, 1859.

"Frontier Nicknames" is the title of a series of articles by George J. Remsburg listing nearly four hundred nicknames of persons prominent in western frontier history which ran in the *Pony Express Courier*, of Placerville, Cal., in its September, October and November, 1935, issues. Other articles of interest to Kansans include: "Historic Atchison," and "Butterfield's Overland Despatch," in the September number; "Last Financial Statement of the Pony Express," by Fred E. Sutton, in the October issue; "Maj. Gordon W.

Lillie," by Jack Delysle, and "A Married Pony Express Rider [William Boulton] With Four Children," by Herb Brame, in the November number.

Plans are being made for the erection of a marker at the point where the states of Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma meet. Dolph Shaner, of Joplin, Mo., and Ira Perkins, of Galena, among others, are interested in the movement which was discussed in an article appearing in the Joplin (Mo.) *Globe* September 1, 1935.

Historical articles by George J. Remsburg published in recent issues of the Leavenworth *Times* and the date of their publication are: "Indians Commemorated by Many Names in Kansas," September 2, 1935; "A Visit to Leavenworth by John J. Ingalls in 1858," September 12; "Many Kansas Towns Were Named for Other Towns," September 15, and "Geography of Kansas Has Many Animal Names," October 24.

Mrs. Samuel Dolman's reminiscences of early-day Kansas were recorded by Eleanor Kimball in an article appearing in the Topeka *State Journal* September 4, 1935. Mrs. Dolman came to Kansas from Paris, Ill., in 1854.

Letters and brief biographical sketches of pioneers who were residing in Rawlins county in 1885 were published in *The Citizen Patriot*, of Atwood, for several months preceding the fiftieth anniversary celebration of Atwood's incorporation as a city held on September 5, 1935.

Stafford celebrated its fiftieth year as an incorporated city with an all-day celebration held September 10, 1935. Historical articles featured in the Stafford *Courier's* anniversary edition issued September 5 included: "Christmas Dinner in 1878 Was an Event," by S. W. McComb, "Four Homesteads in the Townsite," "Town's First Buildings Were Hotel and Store," "Four Elections to Choose County Seat," "Stafford's History Included Thirty-five Different Administrations," "Judge [G. W.] Nimocks Issued Stafford Incorporation Order at Lyons and Set Date for Election," "Bad Fires Brought City Water System," and histories of the city's churches and schools.

"Who's Who in Early Days at Wabaunsee," was the title of an article by H. E. Smith published in the Alma *Signal*, September 5, 1935, and the Alma *Enterprise* September 6. The paper, which was written for the August 25 meeting of the Wabaunsee Historical Society, was also printed in the November issue of the *Wabaunsee*

County Truth, of Wabaunsee. Other stories and notes on life in early-day Kansas were published in these and other Wabaunsee county papers in issues contemporaneous with the society's meeting.

The history of Friedens Lutheran Church of Home City was briefly sketched in the *Marshall County News*, of Marysville, September 6, 1935. The church was founded fifty years ago.

Brief biographical sketches of Brown county pioneers who have lived in the county fifty years or more are being published in the *Hiawatha Daily World* starting with the issue of September 6, 1935. The *World* has organized a "Fifty-year Club."

The history of mining in southeastern Kansas was reviewed in the seventh annual coal edition of the *Pittsburg Headlight and Sun* printed as a part of their issues of September 9 and 10, 1935.

A story of the Patrick Doyle family of Florence was told by A. B. MacDonald in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* September 15, 1935. Mr. Doyle homesteaded near the site of present Florence in 1859. Miss Ellen Doyle, a daughter, last of the immediate family, died recently, leaving an estate valued at one half million dollars.

Recollections of Arkansas City citizens who witnessed the Cherokee strip run on September 16, 1893, were recorded by Walter Hutchison in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler* September 16, 1935.

The Leavenworth First Christian Church observed the eightieth anniversary of its founding with special services held September 22, 1935. A history of the organization was sketched in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* September 17.

Atlanta history was briefly reviewed in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* September 17, 1935. The city recently celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding.

The history of *The Western Times*, of Sharon Springs, was sketched in its issue of September 19, 1935.

"Part of Kansas, Now Colorado, Scene of Great Gold Rush in 1859," was the title of a two-column article published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* September 19, 1935.

The sixtieth anniversary of the establishment of the Norton Church of Christ was observed September 22, 1935. The history of the organization was reviewed in the *Norton Daily Telegram* September 20.

Topeka as it appeared in 1885 was described by C. C. Nicholson in a series of articles appearing in the *Topeka Daily Capital* September 22, October 6, 13 and 20, 1935.

Justice John S. Dawson, member of the executive committee of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the principal speaker at the Smith county old settlers' meeting held in Smith Center, September 25, 1935. The address, which related early-day incidents of Smith county, was briefly reviewed in the *Smith County Pioneer* September 26.

Pioneer life as witnessed by L. T. Reese is being described in the *Smith County Review*, of Smith Center, in a column entitled "Incidents of Early Days in Kansas," which appears from time to time. The series was started in the issue of September 26, 1935.

The *Mulberry News* briefly sketched its history in its issue of September 27, 1935.

A list of Harvey county pioneer homesteaders was contributed by John C. Nicholson to the *Newton Evening Kansan-Republican*, September 27, 1935.

Kansas senators representing the state in the United States senate were recalled by Victor Murdock in an article published in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* September 28, 1935.

A discussion of the various movements fostered in the Northern states for the support of free-soilers in Kansas territory was contained in an article entitled "The Rise and Fall of the Kansas Aid Movement," contributed by Dr. Ralph Volney Harlow, of Syracuse University, to *The American Historical Review* in its October, 1935, issue. Doctor Harlow, who is a life member of the Kansas State Historical Society, is author of *The Growth of the United States* (1925) and *A History of the United States* (1934).

The first number of the *South Dakota Historical Review*, a new quarterly publication of the South Dakota Historical Society, of Pierre, was issued in October, 1935. The number's entire forty-eight pages were devoted to a biography of James (Scotty) Philip, pioneer South Dakota cattleman and breeder of buffalos, by George Philip, a nephew. James Philip lived in Victoria, Kan., in 1874 and 1875.

A history of the Women's City Club of Emporia was sketched in the *Emporia Gazette* October 1, 1935. The club was organized in 1918.

Frank S. Foster, editor of the Ellsworth *Messenger*, observed the "golden jubilee" of his continuous newspaper employment in Ellsworth with a two-column history of the city's newspapers, published in the Ellsworth *Messenger* October 3, 1935.

Salina's First Presbyterian Church held special services the week starting October 6, 1935, in observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding. A history of the organization was printed in the Salina *Journal* October 5, 1935.

Bellevue superior school, District No. 66 of Atchison county, celebrated its golden anniversary October 19, 1935. The history of the school was reviewed in the Atchison *Daily Globe* October 5.

A biography of David L. Payne, "the original Oklahoma boomer," was contributed by David D. Leahy to the Wichita *Sunday Eagle* October 6, 1935.

Special services commemorating the founding of the Cottonwood monthly meeting of Friends near Emporia seventy-five years ago, were held at the church on October 6, 1935. A history of the organization was published in the Emporia *Gazette* October 7.

The history of the Wichita Y. M. C. A. was sketched by Victor Murdock in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* October 9, 1935. The "Y" was organized on October 23, 1885.

Development of Butler county's oil industry was reviewed in detail in a forty-eight page "Twentieth Anniversary Oil Edition" issued by the El Dorado *Times* October 9, 1935. First drilling operations in the state, histories of El Dorado's refineries and biographies of persons prominent in the development of the industry were featured. Other articles of historic interest included a sketch of Chelsea by Mrs. Lyman Haver, the early-day experiences of Mrs. Alvah Shelden, a Butler county pioneer, and El Dorado's telephone history.

Bethel College history was recalled in short articles published in the Newton *Evening Kansan-Republican* October 9, 1935, and the *Journal* October 10. The college was opened in 1893 with C. H. Wedel as president.

Special services were held at the Circleville Methodist Church October 6, 1935, in commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the organization. Histories of the church were printed in the Holton *Recorder* and the Jackson County *Signal* in their October 10 issues.

Dr. P. P. Trueheart reminisced on early-day Sterling in the Sterling *Kansas Bulletin* October 10, 1935. The town was only a few years old when Doctor Trueheart arrived in the fall of 1877.

A four-column review of the history of Southwestern College since its founding fifty years ago was contributed by Leroy Allen to the Winfield *Daily Courier* October 11, 1935.

County-boundary and county-seat controversies and life in the El Dorado vicinity sixty-five years ago were discussed by J. M. Satterthwaite in the Douglass *Tribune* October 11, 1935.

The first years of territorial government in Kansas were briefly reviewed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* October 11, 1935. This year marks the eighty-first anniversary of the formation of Kansas as a territory.

Eighty years of history of the Topeka First Congregational Church were sketched in the Topeka *Daily Capital* October 13, 1935. The formal organization of the church in 1855 followed a meeting held in December, 1854, in the log cabin of A. A. Ward with the Rev. Samuel Y. Lum officiating.

A description of William Griffenstein's trading post on Cowskin creek, the site of which is eleven miles northwest from the present corner of Main and Douglas in Wichita, was published in Victor Murdock's front-page column in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* October 16, 1935. The post was built in the early 1860's.

The history of St. Joseph's Catholic Church of Olpe was briefly reviewed in the Emporia *Gazette* October 16, 1935. The church was founded in the spring of 1885.

St. John commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of its incorporation with special ceremonies held on October 22 and 23, 1935. The St. John *News*, *Daily Capital* and *County Capital* printed historical notes in their issues contemporaneous with the celebration. The *News*, on October 17, issued its "Golden Jubilee Edition," containing stories of the history of the city, and histories of its newspapers, churches, schools and railroad.

Histories of the Pittsburg Kansas State Teachers College, the city's churches and several of its business houses, were featured in the fifth anniversary edition of the Pittsburg *Advertiser* issued October 17, 1935.

A three-column history of the Betty Washington chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Lawrence, by Mrs. E. A. White, was published in the Lawrence *Douglas County Republican* October 17, 1935. The chapter was organized in October, 1896.

Solomon Methodist Church history was briefly sketched in the Solomon *Tribune* October 17, 1935. Its present church building was dedicated November 16, 1885.

Historical sketches of the banks of Edwards county were published in the Kinsley *Graphic* October 17, 1935.

The founding of the "Town of Kansas" (Kansas City, Mo.), as described in the writings of John C. McCoy, was discussed by A. B. MacDonald in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* October 20, 1935. The papers, which are filed in the Manuscript division of the Kansas State Historical Society, reveal that the city dates back to a meeting of fourteen persons held on the site November 14, 1838, when a townsite company was organized.

A history of Golden Rule lodge No. 90, A. F. & A. M., of North Topeka, was sketched in the Topeka *Daily Capital* October 21, 1935. The lodge was organized on February 18, 1870.

The Dodge City *Daily Globe* celebrated the recent removal of its equipment to a larger building with the issuance of a 34-page "New Home" number on October 22, 1935. A review of the *Globe's* history, by Jay B. Baugh, and pictures of present staff members were published. Other historical features included articles describing early days in Hamilton county as recalled by Murray A. Davis and a discussion of Kearny county's historic sites.

A history of the Liberal Business and Professional Women's Club was reviewed in detail in a special twelve-page edition of the Liberal *News* issued October 26, 1935.

Wichita high school history was briefly sketched in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle* October 27, 1935.

Fifty years ago, on October 30, the late Frank Pitts MacLennan took possession of the Topeka *Daily Journal* property in Topeka. Celebrating the golden anniversary of this occasion the Topeka *State Journal* issued a 150-page anniversary edition, carefully compiled, excellently arranged and printed, which was replete with historical articles of interest to Kansans. Included in these 150 pages was a ten-page rotogravure section which contrasted Topeka

scenes of 1885 with those of 1935. Titles of some of the more prominent articles were: "Fifty Years of Official Life in Kansas," by Lucy B. Johnston, wife of former Chief Justice William A. Johnston of the Kansas Supreme court; "Topeka Laid Out on a Prairie Ridge Rather Than by Use Compass," by Oscar Swayze; "Education in Kansas," by Dr. W. A. Seward Sharp; "Blue Sky Law Named After Drouth," by J. N. Dolley; "Did You Know That Two Prominent Citizens Once Arranged Pistol Duel?" by Thomas F. Doran; "Oscar Swayze a Pace-Maker for A. Capper, a Garnett Youngster"; "Many Famous Kansans Were Active in Politics Here Fifty Years Ago," by A. L. Shultz; "Governors of Kansas," by T. A. McNeal; "Personalities of Topeka," by Charles M. Sheldon; "Dramatic Story of Topeka's Founding in Holliday Letters," by Kirke Mechem; "Justice Hutchison in Story of Old Days When Guns, Statutes Mixed"; "City of Topeka 81 Years of Age on December 5," by T. G. Wear; "Strong Body of Lawyers in 1885," by Edwin A. Austin; "From 15 to 185 Miles of Water Mains Since '58," by Arthur J. Carruth, III; "Sixty Years of Topeka Typographical Union No. 121," by W. T. Luce; "Col. J. W. F. Hughes Tells Inside Story of Famous Lewelling's War of '93," by Frank K. Tiffany; "Recollections of the Kansas State Historical Society," by George A. Root; "Kansas Legion Was Born in St. Louis Hotel," by Ernest A. Ryan; "H. O. Garvey's Father Published the First Newspaper in Topeka," by H. O. Garvey; "Washburn Professor Brought First 'Phone to Topeka in Fall '77," by T. G. Wear; "Tom McNeal's First Job as Reporter on *Journal*," by T. A. McNeal; "Hotel Clerk's Comment Changed Name of Onago to the 'Onaga' of Today," by Dr. R. C. Leinbach, of Onaga; "Eugene Town First Name of North Topeka," by Eleanor Kimball; "Topeka Weather Summary 1878 to 1935"; "Harry Gavitt Recalls Fred Stone's First Job With Circus in Topeka"; "Billard Family Lived in Dugout Here Before the Founding of Topeka," by John W. Jarrell; "Oscar Wilde Nearly Killed While Here on a Visit 50 Years Ago," by A. K. Wilson; "Evolution of Fourth Estate in Kansas in the Last Thirty Years," by Henry C. Sticher, and "Intimate Story of MacLennan Family," by Ed. C. MacLennan. Other features included biographical sketches and reminiscences of pioneers and letters from present Topeka citizens. Histories of Topeka's schools; colleges; railroads; churches; social agencies; theaters; sports; clubs; fraternal organizations; fire department; library; banks; life insurance companies and many other business institutions, together with lists

of Topeka's business and professional men of 1885, city officials and officials of several Shawnee county departments to date were published. Stories of the establishment of the Topeka *State Journal*, origin of the name Topeka, floods and earthquakes in the state, mining and the oil and gas industry in Kansas, Kansas' judicial system, the Masonic Lodge of Kansas, steamboats on the Kaw river, and Potwin history; special articles on the origin of Topeka's laws, by W. C. Ralston, and early days in Kansas and the West as told in letters of A. B. Walker, were printed.

Over four hundred ferries have been operated in Kansas, Cecil Howes reported in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* November 6, 1935. Figures showing the number of ferries licensed on each stream were supplied by George A. Root, of the Kansas State Historical Society, who has been writing a series of articles on this subject for *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

A brief history of the Madura Congregational Church of Wakefield was published in the Wakefield *News* November 6, 1935. The church became Congregational on November 10, 1875.

Some large trees grown in Kansas were discussed by Dr. Edward Bumgardner in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World* November 6, 1935.

John McBee, statehouse guide at Topeka, reminisced on the Indian wars of the latter 1860's in an article published in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* November 12, 1935. Mr. McBee was a member of the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry.

"Murder of Charles Dow Eighty Years Ago Almost Started War in Eastern Kansas," was the title of an article contributed by Cecil Howes to the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* November 16, 1935. Mr. Dow was killed south of Lawrence, on November 21, 1855.

Kansas Historical Notes

Historic Spots or Mile-Stones in the Progress of Wyandotte County, Kansas, is the title of a 360-page, adequately indexed, book published recently by the Mission Press of Merriam. Grant W. Harrington, the author, writes that "No effort has been made . . . to write a continuous history of Wyandotte county. The purpose has been to pick the spots where events of historic importance have taken place and to write the stories that cluster around these spots." The forty-two chapters presenting these sites have been published in a chronological arrangement. Mr. Harrington, who lives at Kansas City, is author of *Annals of Brown County, Kansas*, which he published in 1903.

Pioneer reminiscences were featured in an attractive yellow paper-bound book of 190 pages entitled *The Golden Jubilee Anniversary of Thomas County and Its Neighbors* published by the Rexford News in August, 1935. The book was compiled and arranged by George H. Kinkel and Charles A. Jones of Colby.

Marysville observed the seventy-fifth anniversary of the running of the Pony Express with a three-day celebration held August 17, 18 and 19, 1935. On August 19 the rerun of the express by the Boy Scouts through the city on its way from Sacramento, Cal., to St. Joseph, Mo., was witnessed. Both the Marysville *Marshall County News* and *The Advocate-Democrat* published historical articles in issues contemporaneous with the celebration. The Oregon Trail Memorial Association supplied the Marysville committee with 1,000 Pony Express diamond jubilee memorial medals. The medals, which were designed by Wm. H. Jackson, secretary of the association, are made of nickel and retail at twenty-five cents each. Profit from the sale of these discs will go into the marker fund. Persons wishing to purchase them are asked to write John G. Ellenbecker, of Marysville.

A sixteen-page pamphlet by Nora Scull reviewing the history of the Hiawatha First Baptist Church was issued for the seventy-fifth anniversary celebration held on August 18, 1935.

C. W. Hawkins of Clements was reelected president of the Chase County Historical Society at its annual meeting on September 7,

1935. Other officers are: C. A. Sayre, first vice-president; George Starkey, second vice-president; Henry Rogler, secretary, and S. H. Baker, treasurer.

The Kansas Daughters of the American Revolution held dedicatory services September 18, 1935, for their rooms at the Shawnee Methodist mission which they have fitted up in keeping with the furnishings of pioneer days.

Recently elected officers of the Riley County Historical Society are: C. M. Correll, president, reëlected; Grace Givin, vice-president; Mrs. G. H. Failyer, secretary, reëlected; Mrs. Medora Flick, treasurer; G. H. Failyer, custodian at the society's cabin in the Manhattan city park, and Mrs. Caroline Smith, assistant custodian. The board of directors is comprised of W. D. Haines, Mrs. C. B. Daughters, Mrs. F. L. Murdock, Ada Billings, C. W. Emmons, Mrs. Flick, Mrs. Smith, Miss Givin and Mr. Correll.

The Hodgeman County Historical Society held its regular election of officers September 20, 1935. Officers reëlected are: L. W. Hubbell, president; Mrs. James E. Mooney, vice-president; E. W. Harlan, secretary; Ora L. Teed, treasurer, and Mrs. L. H. Raser, historian. The board of directors includes: Mrs. O. W. Lynam, L. H. Raser and Mrs. James E. Mooney.

Judge W. P. Campbell and David D. Leahy of Wichita were featured speakers at a meeting of the Harvey County Historical Society held in Newton October 1, 1935. C. F. Wilmore was elected president of the organization at the business session. Other officers, who were reëlected, included: Mrs. H. W. Prouty, vice-president; Mrs. Ira Burgener, secretary, and John C. Nicholson, historian.

Seventy-six veterans of the Twentieth Kansas regiment met in Topeka for their annual reunion October 7, 1935. Officers elected at the meeting are: Fred A. Recob, president; George Helwig, vice-president, and Harry Brent, secretary.

At a meeting of the Shawnee-Mission Indian Historical Society October 28, 1935, the following officers were elected: Mrs. R. R. Sandmeyer, president; Mrs. John W. Sanders, vice-president; Mrs. Carl Harder, secretary; Mrs. Fred Carter, treasurer; Mrs. Frank A. Hardesty, historian, and Mrs. Walter E. Gresham, the retiring president, custodian. E. A. Austin, T. M. Lillard and Kirke Mechem represented the Kansas State Historical Society at a meeting held by the local society at the mission September 23.

A 300-page, beautifully illustrated book, *The Romance of the Patchwork Quilt in America*, by Mrs. Carrie A. Hall, of Leavenworth, and Mrs. Rose G. Kretsinger, of Emporia, two well-known Kansans, has recently been published by the Caxton Printers, Ltd., of Caldwell, Idaho. Mrs. Hall has been a leading dress designer of the Middle West for over forty years. One of her hobbies has been the collection of books and museum objects relating to Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. This material, to which she is making constant additions, is assembled in the Kansas State Historical Society's "Lincoln room," a division of its library.

Pioneer meetings or old-settler reunions are sponsored annually by many Kansas cities and towns. Most newspapers in these localities, in conjunction with the gatherings, have brought out historical facts of sufficient importance for the date to be catalogued in these notes. In several instances special historical editions have been issued and the contents were described in more detail in "Kansas History as Published in the Press." A list of communities holding meetings, and the dates, are as follows: Richfield, February 22, 1935; Wichita, June 1; Kinsley, June 6-8; Ness City, June 11, 12; Barclay, Protection, July 4; Rolla, July 17; Garden Plain (held at Wichita), July 21; Cottonwood Falls, July 24; Downs, July 24-27; Quenemo, July 25, 26; Green, July 25-27; Clifton, July 30, 31, and August 1; Nickerson, August 1, 2; Macksville, August 7; Halstead, August 7, 8; Ford, Lakin, Syracuse, August 15; Everest, Mantey, August 17; Columbus, August 19-24; Belvidere, August 20; Hanover "Days of '49," August 20-22; Finney county, August 21, 22; Morrill, Oskaloosa, August 23, 24; Elm Mills, August 25; Brookwood, Mulvane, White Rock, August 29; Holton, August 29, 30; Topeka, August 30 and September 9; Drury, Severy, September 2; Atwood, Concordia, September 5; Larned, September 5, 6; Olathe, September 7; Humboldt, September 9-14; Oakley, September 12; Sharon, Wilson, September 12-14; Marion, St. John, September 14; Weir, September 14, 15; Howard, September 20; Herington, September, 24; Cherryvale, Smith Center, September 25; Pratt, September 27; Sedan, October 3-5; Norway, October 6; Rush Center, October 7; Baldwin, Stockton, October 8; Bennington, October 12, and Kirwin, October 24.

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