[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

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The English Colony at Victoria, Another View

by James L. Forsythe

THE ENGLISH COLONY at Victoria, Kansas, in the eastern part of Ellis County, has long been of interest to Kansans and others who are interested in Kansas history, the frontier, rural immigrant settlement, the cattle industry, and agricultural history. The colony has maintained a popularity in the press though the colony ceased to exist as a recognized entity over a century ago.[1]

It is difficult to know the real reason for the popular interest in the colony. However, contemporary newspaper accounts of the nineteenth century, as well as those written in the twentieth century, would lead one to believe that the English colonists lived in the village of Victoria and left the village to engage in various sporting events, using the word sporting in its broadest sense for some of the young English colonists, participating in drinking bouts with the soldiers, citizens, and the denizens of wicked Hays City to the west along the Kansas Pacific Railway, and to engage in general hellraising when possible. In other words, it appears to be the drinking and whoring in the saloons of Hays City and the bagnios of Kansas City that have been of popular interest.[2] Historians who are interested in agricultural history in Kansas and on the American frontier have other reasons for studying the development of the English colony at Victoria.[3]

For this article, only three aspects of the British settlement at Victoria, Kansas, in the 1870s and early 1880s were studied. First, George Grant, the founder of the colony, will be considered briefly. Second, one of the Englishmen who farmed large acreage in the colony will be evaluated. Third, some of the individuals who came to work in the colony and who remained as residents for various periods of time are considered for their contributions to the settlement.

The Victoria colony is best known for George Grant. Many newspaper, magazine, and scholarly articles have been written about Grant, the settling of Victoria colony, and the play of the fun-loving redcoated British colonists. One reason for his popularity was the efforts of Kansas newspapers to promote Kansas in the 1870s. Grant's purchase of land from the railroad was the only one made in Kansas during the year of 1872, and the arrival of the optimistic colonists in 1873 contrasted with the severity of the Panic of 1873. The destitution of the Kansas frontier in 1874 was offset in newspapers with good news about the colony. So the spreading of good news during bad times aided in the development of a positive image for Kansas when better times returned, and the good news also was used by Grant in an attempt

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1. *Wakefield Advertiser*, January 21, 1898; *Kansas City Star*, June 5, 1919; *Kansas City Times*, May 10, 1952; *Hays Daily News*, June 6, 1954, September 8, 1957, and February 16, 1958; and *Great Bend Daily Tribune*, April 27, 1958. See also, "Appropriate Marker for Grave of Man Who Gave America Our Aberdeen-Angus Cattle," *The Kansas Stockman* 26 (August 1942): 7.

2. Charles M. Daugherty, "The Jolly West," *Tradition: The Monthly Magazine of America's Picturesque Past* 2 (March 1959): 30-43; *Kansas City Times*, January 10, January 20, 1880.

3. Alvin H. Sanders, "When the Black Bulls Came to America," *The Country Gentleman* 93 (May 1928): 17, 54-55; Alvin Howard Sanders, "Beginning of the Black Cattle in America," *Livestock Markets* 43 (January 12, 1933): 8-9; Alvin Howard Sanders, *A History of Aberdeen Angus Cattle* (Chicago: New Breeder's Gazette, 1928), 136-49; Charles L. Wood, *The Kansas Beef Industry* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1980), 30; Theodore Rosenof, *Cultural Sensitivity to Environmental Change: The Case of Ellis County, Kansas, 1870s-1900*, Report 3 (Madison: Institute for Environmental Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, April 1973), 6; James L. Forsythe, "George Grant of Victoria: Man and Myth," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 9 (Autumn 1986): 102-14.

Although reports of jolly Redcoats drunkenly pursuing sport over the prairie were exaggerated, incongruous sights, such as British colonists playing cricket on the plains, could still be seen.

to secure funds and colonists for his enterprise, though he was not very successful.[4]

One aspect of the George Grant enterprise at Victoria, which always has been intriguing, has been Grant's proposal to sell only large tracts of one or more sections rather than to sell smaller parcels such as quarter sections. Historians are familiar with the many stories of Grant's desire to have the colony populated by British gentlemen who appeared to the locals as happy British Redcoats in various states of inebriation dashing across the prairie in pursuit of antelope.[5] Unfortunately, the one big hunt, which did not occur as planned, was blown out of proportion by newspapers and writers who later incorporated the hunts into stories about the English colonists.[6]

Regardless of the stories, one of the reasons that the type of colony originally planned is still unclear is that George Grant had close contacts with the Wakefield colony, which had been founded in Clay County, Kansas, in 1869 by Englishmen. Grant even wintered his blooded livestock at Wakefield in order for the cattle and sheep to survive the severe winters on the western plains. Some of his colonists moved to Wakefield later. If Grant was close to the Wakefield colony, one might ask why he proposed a colony different from the one at Wakefield.[7]

Evidence from 1872 and 1873 implies that Grant planned not a colony of wealthy, landed gentry, but a colony of small landholders or "small farmers." One early proposal was for Grant to have a nine thousand-acre estate which would be surrounded by agriculturalists on small plots. This colonizing proposal was suggested before Grant left the United Kingdom to search for land. After the first colonists arrived in Kansas, J. D. Smith of Lanarkshire, Scotland, and Grant's agent who had arrived with the colonists, wrote to David Curror of Edinburgh, who was initially involved with

4. Marjorie Gamet Raish, *Victoria: The Story of a Western Kansas Town*, Language and Literature Series No. 3, Fort Hays Kansas State College Studies (Topeka: State Printer, 1947), 7-48; Forsythe, "George Grant of Victoria," 102-14.

5. The terms "gay Englishmen" and "merry men" were sometimes used in the newspapers of the time and later, but today the terms have different meanings. "Victoria—Gay Englishmen, Serious Russians," *Great Bend Daily Tribune*, April 27, 1958; "Hard-Riding Red Coats Put Gay Touches on Kansas Plains," *Kansas City Star*, March 11, 1928; "Merry Men of England Wrote History on the Prairies of Western Kansas," *Hutchinson News-Herald*, February 10, 1957; Daugherty, "The Jolly West," 34-35; and *Hays Daily News*, September 8, 1952.

6. See below under the material on Henry E. Smithes.

7. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, December 7, 1869; *Clay Center Dispatch*, October 11, 1965; William J. Chapman, "The Wakefield Colony," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1907-1908* 10 (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1908): 485-521; W. Weston, ed., "The Wakefield Colony," *Weston's Guide to the Kansas Pacific Railway* (Kansas City: Bulletin Print, 1872), 51-52; Nell Blythe Waldron, "Colonization in Kansas From 1861 to 1890," (doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1923), 53-62.

Grant's efforts, that Grant would sell the nine thousand acres of bottomland that he had reserved for himself. Grant would then relocate to the Smoky Hill River. This colonizing plan differs from the plan for a colony of nobility and of the wealthy that was popularized by the Kansas newspapers. The issue of Grant's plans in 1872 and early 1873 will take yet more research to resolve. However, if the planned colony had been for small landholders, mechanics, and tradespeople as well as the "better class," then the history of the Victoria colony, as well as the settlement of Ellis County, might have been different.[8]

After Grant's death the lands he had purchased from the railroad and which remained unsold were either sold by the executor of his estate, Margaret Grant Duncan, or sold at a sheriff's sale in early 1884. Most of the land sold was purchased by English and Scots colonists who made large purchases. Among the chief purchasers from the estate were Walter Maxwell of Evenigham Park, Yorkshire, England; Arthur B. White of London; John Bowman of Cumberlandshire, England; William Ratcliffe of Limes, England; A. Bethune, Blebo, Scotland, deputy-lieutenant of Fifeshire, director of the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture, and associated with the Scottish Steam Cultivator Company; and W. J. Gordon of Cairnfield, Baniffshire, Scotland.[9]

Later sales were made to other Scots and Englishmen or were made to individuals who had purchased lands earlier. For instance, one of the later sales was to David Logan, Sr., Berwick, Kingdom of Britain. Another of the later sales increased the holdings of the White Stock Ranch, owned by English colonist Arthur B. White.[10]

One of the deeds by the executors of Grant's estate was to a Scotsman, Robert Cox of Gorgie, near Murrefield, Edinburgh, Scotland. Cox made two purchases from Grant in 1876 for a total of four sections. The amount of the first purchase was paid directly to Grant with a check drawn on the National Bank of Scotland. The amount of the second purchase was paid to Mr. Charles Gask of London on January 11, 1877. At the time of the second purchase, an agreement was entered into for the second purchase, which was for three sections. Under the terms of the agreement, Grant would not give title to the three sections until January 1, 1880; Cox paid the purchase price of £1440 on January 11, 1877. The agreement also provided that Grant could use the land for three years, that he would pay the taxes, and that he would pay interest to Cox on the purchase price at the rate of six percent per annum. Cox would not sell or lease the land for three years, and Grant would have the option to purchase the three sections back at the original sale price on January 1, 1880. Research has not indicated any other aspects of Cox's financial relationship with Grant, but he did visit Ellis County in 1876 prior to purchasing the property. Nor is it clear as to the

8. A copy of a clipping in the D. Curror Scrapbook, dated August 24, 1873, announced the arrival of Grant and his party in St. Louis. The article noted that a working club had been formed in London and, in connection with it, there was being organized a mechanics' and farming club. It was proposed that each member receive a lot of from 10 to 160 acres but not less than 10 acres for the purpose of actual settlement in Grant's property. The article noted that about three hundred of these persons had made arrangements to come to Ellis County in the spring of 1874. "D. Curror, India Building, Edinburgh, Scotland [scrapbook of clippings concerning Victoria, 1872-1874]," Library, Kansas State Historical Society [hereafter cited as D. Curror Scrapbook]. A similar story appeared in the *Topeka Daily Blade* the same month. The newspaper noted that "Mr. Grant has withdrawn the right to buy less than one square mile excepting to a working man's colony now forming in London, and who have already, among them, purchased five thousand acres." *Topeka Daily Blade*, August 27, 1873, D. Curror Scrapbook. No purchase record was located in the Register of Deeds Office in the Ellis County Courthouse.

The Courant, of Edinburgh, Scotland, in December 31, 1872, carried a story from W. Carr, Hillhurst, Lower Canada. In this news item, Grant was quoted as stating that "many very worthy working men who now earn but a mere subsistence at home would gladly emigrate to America, could they feel reasonably sure beforehand of securing a foothold there." How would he do this? "By offering inducements to a better class of persons to come here, and by pratically [*sic*] helping them to get along." These working men could also labor for the large landowners and make additional income. *The Courant*, December 31, 1872, D. Curror Scrapbook.

An article from the *Salina Herald*, June 21, 1873, noted, "Mr. J. Bates, of Westminster St., London, England, agent for the Foreign and Colonial Estates Agency Co., (Limited), is negotiating with Mr. Grant for seven sections—4,480 acres—for a club farming settlement.... The members will comprise men with small but competent means," D. Curror Scrapbook.

See also Brian P. Birch, "Victoria Vanquished: The Scottish Press and the Failure of George Grant's Colony," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 9 (Autumn 1986): 115-24. Birch noted that by 1875, Grant shifted from trying to attract small farmers to attracting wealthy Americans and Englishmen as investors.

For the plan for the nine thousand-acre estate surrounded by small farms, see copy of a letter by David Curror, June 19, 1873, and a copy of a letter from J. D. Smith to David Curror, May 24, 1873, Curror's Victoria Pamphlet file, Archives, Ellis County Historical Society, Hays, Kansas [hereafter cited as Curror's Victoria Pamphlet]. The two letters have a note at the top that states that the copies were sent by Maggie Reece.

See also *New and Attractive Field for Emigrants. Important Information Concerning the Best and Cheapest Farming and Grazing Lands in Kansas, the Central State of the United States, viz., Victoria, The Property of George Grant, (Late of Grant & Gask, London.)* (no imprint, ca. 1873), D. Curror Scrapbook.

9. The deeds are recorded in Book B, Register of Deeds Office, Ellis County Courthouse, Hays, Kansas, and are dated from 1873 through 1877 [hereafter cited as RD]. Margaret Grant Duncan was Grant's niece and the wife of John Duncan.

10. See Warranty Deed, Grant to James Murdock, Dumfries, Scotland, April 5, 1876, Book D, p. 86, RD, and Warranty Deed from Grant to Arthur B. White, London, dated January 22, 1878, Book D, p. 28, RD.

role of Charles Gask, apparently the former partner of Grant, in this transaction with Cox.[11]

The lands sold at sheriff's sale after Grant's death were good sections. Those sections along the railroad and south of Victoria are relatively flat and are used for wheat farming today. The sections along and near Big Creek are good for cattle as the bluffs give way to grass, and the upland fields now are used for wheat production. Volga-Germans began homesteading in the area of these sections in 1876, thus ending open grazing and thwarting ranching in that area.[12]

Several individuals from England, Scotland, and the United States purchased tracts of land from Grant during the first years of the colony. One of the largest and earliest purchases was made by Henry Smithes, of London and Laurie Park, Sydenharm, County Kent, England. After Smithes' death, his son Henry Edward Smithes inherited the Ellis County property. The son developed the Mount Pleasant Stock Farm.[13] One account states that Smithes, the son, was part of the colony, and another says not. Henry Edward Smithes was from England, the son of a wealthy London wine merchant, and was himself wealthy. French personal servants, Marechal and his wife Victorine, a cook, an overseer, and stablemen attended to the needs of the family. Henry Smithes married Lucy Buckstone, reported to be the daughter of an English playwright. She had problems adjusting in Ellis County and was not able to survive the Kansas plains in a rational manner.[14]

11. See Book F, p. 58, 581, RD. The Memorandum of Agreement is in Book E, p. 158, RD; the Executor's Deed is in F-581, RD. See also copy of letter from Robert Cox to George Grant Estate, July 4, 1878, Curror's Victoria Pamphlet. The first purchase was on February 14, 1876, and the second purchase agreement was dated November 14, 1876. The Executor's Deed for the three sections was dated January 24, 1880.

Cox later sold the land to several Volga-Germans in the county. Some sales were on contract for ten years at an interest rate of six percent per annum. For instance, see deed in Book 5-3, Miscellaneous Records, RD.

12. This information was compiled from the announcement of the sheriff's sale and from the Tract Books, vol. 65, microfilm, Forsyth Library, Fort Hays State University [hereafter cited as Tract Books FHSU]. For legal notice of the sale and the legal description of the land, see the *Star-Sentinel*, Hays City, December 6, 1883. The remainder of Grant's lands were sold at a sheriff's sale on January 7, 1884, the same date that at another sheriff's sale in the county, Sidney Smithes made the highest bid for the Mount Pleasant Stock Farm of his brother Henry Smithes.

13. Trustees and Executor of Henry Smithes to Henry E. Smithes, Book D, p. 15, RD.

14. Raish, *Victoria*, 41-46; "Paul Binders Now Occupy 'Mt. Pleasant Stock Farm' of the Fabulous Smithies [*sic*]," *Hays Daily News*, February 21, 1954. Although Raish and this newspaper account gave the spelling as Smithies, other sources, including legal documents, give the name as Smithes.

The ranch was adjacent to the Fort Hays Military Reservation on the southeast side. Big Creek flowed through the property. Henry Smithes built a large house near Big Creek, a very large barn, and erected wooden and stone fences. The house was decorated with fine china, an ebony Chickering piano, and fine furniture. The family enjoyed entertaining and imported liquor from Denver to meet the demand for parties.[15]

By 1877, Smithes had established himself in Ellis County and entertained the locals. Part of the stories about the fun-loving British come from the social events which he sponsored. For example, the initial hunt held by the Victoria Hunt Club, or Sporting Club, was conducted from Smithes' ranch, with a ball at the Ellis County Courthouse after the hunt. There were no foxes for the Redcoats, so they planned to hunt antelope. The sight for the eyes to behold in the early spring of 1877 was English—black derbies, ladies on English sidesaddles, scarlet swallow tail hunting coats on the men, and a redcoated bugler with a new horn—all ready for the hunt. After several stirrup cups of wine, the group was ready. However, the overcast skies of the March morning had darkened as the day progressed, and the leaden skies gave portent of events to come. The hunt halted abruptly as the wind brought snow.[16] A hunt was later held, after two postponements, but the group departed from Victoria Manor, that is, the railroad station at Victoria.[17]

Although that first hunt was off, the ball was on, and was held that March evening in the Ellis County Courthouse. The ladies were in their finery, and locals watched the festivities and the ladies. The *Ellis County Star* reported, "so perfect and attractive were their toilets, so accomplished [were they] in the ettiquete [*sic*] of the ballroom" that they made a good impression.[18]

Smithes continued to develop his ranch. With the arrival of the Volga-Germans, labor was plentiful and cheap. Smithes used their labor to construct a dam on Big Creek, using limestone quarried nearby. Contemporary reports estimated that the lake formed by the dam varied from one-half mile to eight miles in length, though the former estimate probably was more realistic. Later, the dam washed out during a flood. In the meantime, a boat arrived in Hays City for Henry Smithes, and on May 23, 1878, *The Jolly West* was launched.[19] A steam

15. Raish, *Victoria*, 45. For a description of the building, see *Star-Sentinel*, December 6, 1883.

16. *Hays City Sentinel*, March 30, 1877; *Ellis County Star*, Hays, March 15, 22, 29, 1877.

17. *Hays City Sentinel*, April 13, 1877; Raish, *Victoria*, 53-55.

18. *Ellis County Star*, Hays, March 29, 1877.

19. Raish, *Victoria*, 76-77; Daugherty, "The Jolly West," 42-43; *Hays Daily News*, September 8, 1957; "Hard-Riding Red Coats Put Gay Touches on Kansas Plains," *Kansas City Star*, March 11, 1928.

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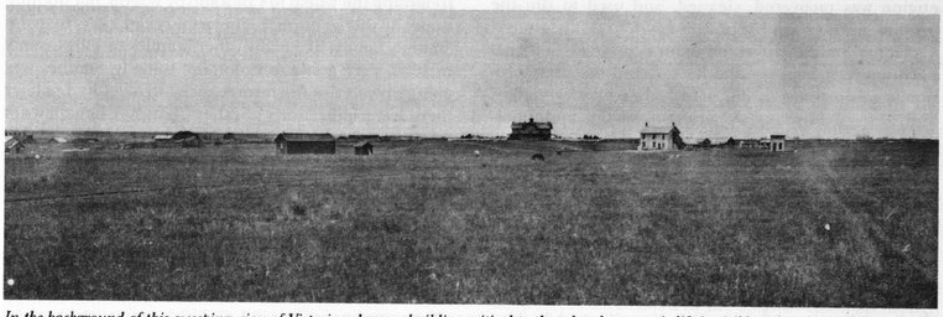
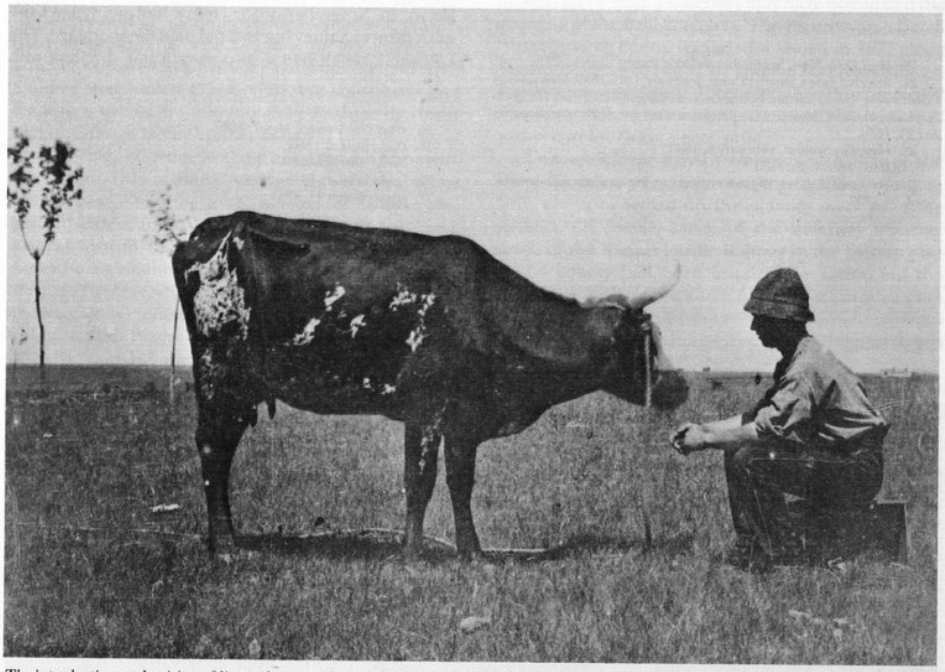


In the background of this sweeping view of Victoria colony, a building critical to the colony's economic life is visible—the railroad depot that also served as George Grant's headquarters.



The introduction and raising of livestock was an important aspect of the Victoria colony, and one of the largest livestock holdings became the Henry Edward Smithes Mount Pleasant Stock Farm.

engine powered the boat. Later it sank and the steam engine was recovered, cleaned, and used to run the printing press of the *Hays City Sentinel*.[20]

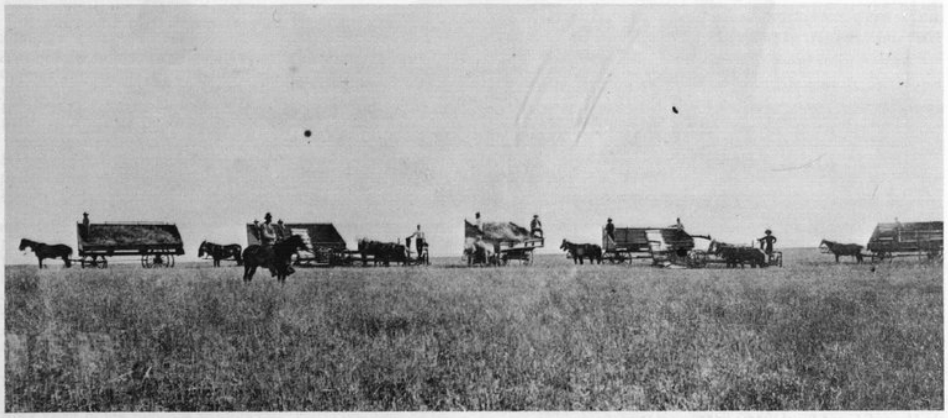
Henry Smithes soon fell upon economic and legal hard times. It appears that he suffered the same economic misfortunes as did many other Ellis Countians and western Kansans. A series of lawsuit announcements against Smithes appeared in the Hays City papers; Smithes would win some and not be successful in others.[21] He also entered local politics, and in 1880 was elected justice of the peace in Wheatland Township.[22] He expanded his farming operations and, with his brother Sidney Fenwick Smithes, opened a country store near Munjor, one of the Volga-German villages.[23]

Smithes worked to make his operation a success. He used modern equipment and diversified. Advertisements in the local papers noted the variety of livestock and grain raised on the Mount Pleasant Stock Farm.[24] Smithes bid on the beef contract for Fort Hays in May 1880, but lost.[25] He proposed grinding wheat into flour and freighting the wheat to Colorado by wagon, but nothing came of this venture.[26] The papers did note that the Smithes family, like many other families in Ellis County in 1880, were going to Colorado. Initially, Smithes was going only to visit the resorts, such as Lake City, but later there were indications of other plans.[27] A large lawsuit was entered against Smithes in January 1880, and on November 1880, the local paper reported that Smithes had moved to Colorado.[28]

Smithes established a business in Denver, but he continued to maintain contacts with Ellis County. The ranch was operated for him during the litigation, and he tried to contract with Ellis Countians for eggs and butter which would be shipped to him in Denver. His efforts were not successful, and he had further financial and legal setbacks.[29]

The Mount Pleasant Stock Farm of Henry E. Smithes was purchased at a sheriff's sale by his brother Sidney F. Smithes on January 7, 1884, after a court decision against Henry in November 1883. Henry had mortgaged the stock farm to Sidney but had not paid the mortgage. The 1,760-acre ranch had a "two story frame dwelling with

20. *Hays Daily News*, September 8, 1957; Raish, *Victoria*, 77.
21. See civil cases, District Court, Journals, 1877-1883, Ellis County Courthouse, Hays, Kansas. See also as examples of civil case filings in *Hays City Sentinel*, May 9, May 16, September 19, 1879, and September 24, 1880.
22. *Hays City Sentinel*, February 6, 1880.
23. Ibid., March 26, 1880.
24. For instance, see the advertisement in the *Hays City Sentinel*, April 30, 1880.
25. *Hays City Sentinel*, May 7, 1880.
26. Ibid., June 4, 1880.
27. Ibid., June 25, 1880.
28. Ibid., January 9, November 26, 1880.
29. Ibid., March 11, 1881.



These Victoria harvesters faced difficult times. In 1880 the winter wheat crop plunged by fifty percent, and the corn crop the following year was equally devastating.

basement kitchen and dining room, one [1] story frame house with stone cellar (mess house), one [1] frame granary building, one [1] two-story frame stable, two [2] one-story stone stables, sheds," fenced pastures, gardens, and yard.[30]

Sidney Smithes, though he owned the ranch, lost the personal property on the Mount Pleasant Stock Farm. The following property was sold at another sheriff's sale as a result of a civil case against Sidney: 3 horses, "1 wagon, 1 cultivator, 8 section harrows, 1 sod cutter, 2 French & Adams Self Binders, 2 Buckeye drills, 1 Champion combined Mower and Reaper, 1 desk." The list of farming equipment indicated that the Mount Pleasant Stock Farm was a well-equipped operation for Ellis County at the time.[31]

Local accounts record that when Henry Smithes finally left Ellis County he traveled by wagon, not by train, to Colorado, and to earn money he carried flour to sell in Pueblo, Colorado, during a flour strike. Local accounts also state that his wife later acted on the stage in Denver and London to provide income and that he tried to poison his wife because of his interest in another woman. Little has been published about Henry Smithes after he left Ellis County, but court cases give leads to activities in Colorado and elsewhere by Henry and in Chicago by his brother Sidney.[32]

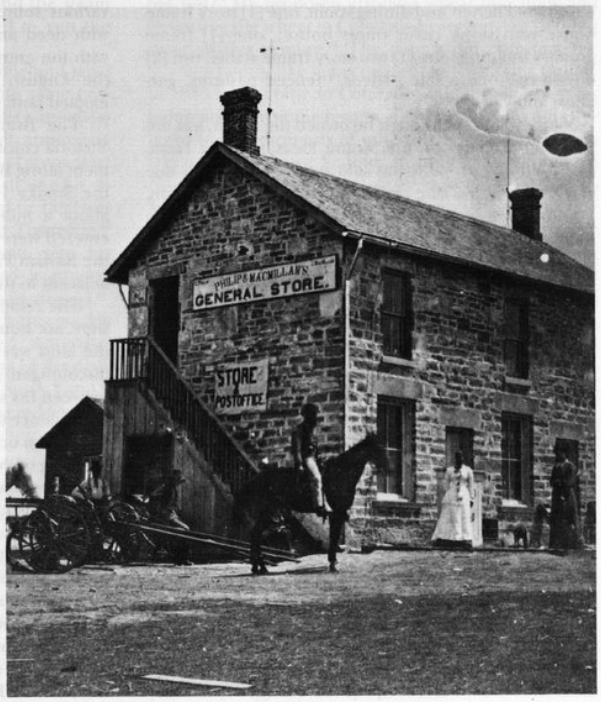
The colonists from Scotland and England who came in 1873 and 1874 to the Victoria colony were never great in number. While the exact number of Scottish and British settlers and colonists in Ellis County who were associated with the enterprise of George Grant may never be ascertained accurately, one can develop a list for use. There is a partial list of names of most of those in the colony. Jennie Ward Philip, daughter-in-law of colonist Alex Philip, prepared a list many years ago. The list contains the names of those that she could remember in the colony. Notes indicate that she had questions about activities of several on her list. That list plus the 1875 Kansas census and the 1880 federal census provides names, and some names can be gathered from reading the deeds from the purchase of land from the Kansas Pacific Railway or from George Grant, as the place of permanent residence was usually stated. Between late 1875 and about 1880, names were given in the two county newspapers when stories were printed about the Victoria colony, or as colonists left or arrived in the county. The names which can be derived from these various sources permit one to cross-check the names with deed and mortgage records in Ellis County and with the entries in the tract books to determine where the English homesteaded, took timber claims, preempted land, or purchased land in the late 1870s.[33]

The British colonists who came to work in the Victoria colony acquired land from the federal government along Big Creek, the North Fork of Big Creek, and the Smoky Hill River, or they acquired land within about a mile of one of the streams. All properties entered were within the area purchased by Grant from the Kansas Pacific Railway or, if outside the area, were adjacent to the sections purchased.[34]

The relatively flat uplands between Grant's sections were not homesteaded by the English colonists though the land was excellent for grain crops. Perhaps Grant discouraged settlement, thus keeping the range open between his sections and those he had sold, but there is no evidence to support this contention. The desire to be located on or near a waterway may have dominated the thinking of the British settlers. The Pennsylvania Dutch from Altoona, Pennsylvania, who settled in 1877 along Big Creek south of Hays City and the Fort Hays Military Reservation, also selected property along the waterway.[35] The waterways were stressed prominently in the annual prospectus for Grant's enterprise.[36]

This settlement pattern contrasts with that of the Volga-Germans who began settling in Ellis County in 1876 and who settled on the uplands away from the streams. Of course, much of the waterway frontage south of the Kansas Pacific Railway in the eastern part of the county had been acquired by Grant, but the upper two-thirds of the North Fork of Big Creek had not been taken and public lands along the railroad from Hays to Ellis were not entered when the Volga-Germans

30. Sheriff's Deed, Charles Howard to Sidney F. Smith, H-482, RD; for the mortgage, see D-87, RD; *Star-Sentinel*, December 6, 1883.
31. *Star-Sentinel*, January 10, 1884.
32. Raish, *Victoria*, 80; *Ellis County News*, Hays, April 12, 1951.
33. Many names can be found in Raish, *Victoria*, and in many of the newspaper articles cited in the other footnotes. See also "The Victoria Colony: A Roster of the Colonists," by Jennie Ward Philip, which was transcribed by the Rev. Blaine E. Burkey, historian, Ellis County Historical Society, November 6-8, 1973, with permission of Mr. and Mrs. Doug Philip of Hays, Kansas; copy in possession of the Rev. Burkey. See also, Ellis County, Kansas State Census, Population Schedules, 1875, microfilm, and U.S. Tenth Census, Population Schedules, Ellis County, 1880, microfilm, Forsyth Library, Fort Hays State University, and Archives Department, Kansas State Historical Society.
34. The settlement patterns were determined by plotting all transactions on a county map and relating those settlements to the streams. Records used from Deed Books, RD, and Tract Books, FHSU.
35. James L. Forsythe, "Environmental Considerations in the Settlement of Ellis County, Kansas," *Agricultural History* 51 (January 1977): 38-50.
36. See *English Enterprise in America. Notes Addressed to Investors and Settlers Concerning the Estate of Victoria (Ellis County, Kansas, U.S.) The Property of Mr George Grant (Late of the firm of Grant & Gask, now Gask & Gask, Oxford Street, London)* (Edinburgh: John Lindsay, March 1874).



With the economic setbacks of the early 1880s, colonists began leaving. Some went to other states, while others stayed nearby in Hays City. George Philip, with a partner, opened this general store in Hays City; his brother Alex remained in Victoria and became prosperous as he bought cheap land from departing colonists. It is believed that the woman (center) in the picture is Jane Hardie Philip.

arrived in 1876. They settled these available lands. Waterways did attract the Volga-Germans when adjacent lands were available. A number of Volga-Germans settled immediately south of Ellis County in Rush County, along Timber Creek. Others settled in extreme southern Ellis County along the Smoky Hill River.[37]

The English colonists who came as small farmers, merchants, or herdsmen used federal land laws to acquire property rather than purchasing from the railroad or from Grant. They also learned, like American frontier settlers, how to use the land laws to their best advantage. Section 22 in Township 14, South Range 16 West offers a good example of the transactions by the English colonists on federal lands. The southwest quarter of the section was initially entered as a timber claim by John Yoxall on August 4, 1874. The claim was relinquished on August 12, 1875. A month later, September 7, 1875, George Grant, founder of Victoria colony, entered a timber claim on the quarter section. His entry was cancelled on October 3, 1878, six months after his death. A week later, Alex Grant, George Grant's nephew, entered a timber claim. That claim was soon relinquished, and another English colonist, William B. Faulkner, entered a timber claim. Two years later, Faulkner relinquished his timber claim and on May 20, 1882, filed a homestead entry on the land. On July 9, 1883, the homestead entry was converted to cash entry, with Faulkner paying four hundred dollars for the quarter section. Through the various transactions, English colonists had held the land for eight years, used it, and finally took title to it. This process was no different from what other settlers did in Ellis County and elsewhere on the frontier.[38]

37. The acquisition of lands was plotted on an Ellis County map to determine the settlement pattern.

38. See entries for Section 22, Township 14 South, Range 16 West, Tract Books, FHSU.

The northeast quarter of Section 22 of 14-16 had a similar history, but there were only four transactions on the quarter section before a patent was granted in 1883.[39] All entries on the quarter were homestead entries. Usually timber claims were the entry of choice in Ellis County and elsewhere when someone was not sure of plans for permanent settlement—or were interested in speculation. The public land law was changed in 1873, the year the first English colonists arrived. The Timber Culture Act of 1873 assisted the English settlers in the colony as little actual work had to be done to maintain a timber claim unless challenged.[40]

Nearby on Section 20 in 14-16, Henry G. Grocock, one of the English colonists who used the public land laws, had control of over two hundred forty acres of public land in a double entry area at one time. He entered a timber claim on the southeast quarter on April 9, 1878. There had been a timber claim entry in October 5, 1877, but it had been relinquished, so Grocock was free to make an entry. Grocock then relinquished the timber claim, and on April 9, 1888, he purchased the quarter section under the Preemption Act of 1841. He also homesteaded the south one-half of the northwest quarter of 14-16. The homestead was entered June 7, 1881, and the patent was issued in 1887.[41]

The optimism of the larger landholders, as well as that of the homesteading British colonists, gave way by 1880. For the early arrivals, the hardships began immediately in the summer of 1873 when drought dried up Big Creek. Prairie fires and grasshoppers in 1874 discouraged the settlers arriving that year. Better years in 1875 and 1876 were good news, but the winters were harsh. New colonists with money arrived in 1877, but the environment began to take its toll. Though Grant died in 1878, the colony persisted a few more years.[42]

The key year for the colonists, who were trying to farm, and for Victoria colony was 1880, a mixed drought year with the spring of 1880 being very dry. Farmers had been tested by drought conditions in 1879, but the real crop devastation came in 1880 and 1881 because of irregular rainfall. Winter wheat in Ellis County was adequate in 1879 with 90,965 bushels produced on 12,995 acres, or 7.0 bushels per acre. In 1880, 65,928 bushels were produced on 21,976 acres, or 3.0 bushels per acre. The corn crop in the county was devastated the following year. Where 203,880 bushels at 15 bushels per acre were produced in 1880 after good summer rains, only 120,488 bushels, or 8.0 bushels per acre, were produced in 1881. The 1880 corn crop in the county was exceeded only five times during the next twenty years.[43]

The climate did have an impact, and colonists began leaving. The *Ellis County Star* editorialized in the early spring of 1877 that those who complained about the climate were "lazy... grumblers" and were better off back east. Wait, the editor urged, and the climate would change. But the British could not wait.[44] Arthur White sold out the White Stock Ranch and returned to England.[45] Smithes, after financial and legal difficulties, moved to Colorado, and Sidney moved to Chicago. Walter Maxwell, son of Lord Herries of Everingham Park, Yorkshire, sold out for about twenty-five cents on the dollar and moved to Scotland.[46]

Others left for Florida, Missouri, Colorado, and the eastern parts of Kansas. Some moved about eleven miles west to Hays City. George Philip moved from Victoria to Hays City and opened a mercantile facility at the site of the former land office; the building is now on the National Register of Historic Sites. Thomas Carrick moved his meat market from Victoria to Hays City. The Behens and Chittendens also moved to Hays City.[47]

The one family to stay and persist was the Philip family. Two of the brothers, George and Alex, married the two Hardie sisters, Jane and Annie. Jane came the first year as a colonist, and Annie came in 1880 to visit her sister; the Philip and Hardie families lived three miles apart in Morayshire, Scotland.[48] While George

39. Ibid.

40. Paul Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington: Public Land Law Review Commission, 1968), 282; John Opie, *The Law of the Land: Two Hundred Years of American Farmland Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 78-83, 101.

41. See entries for Section 20, Township 14 South, Range 16 West, Tract Books, FHSU.

42. Robert W. Richmond, *Kansas: A Land of Contrasts*, 2d ed. (St. Louis: Forum Press, 1974), 158-59.

43. Rosenof, *Cultural Sensitivity to Environmental Change*, 7-13; Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Second Biennial Report, 1879-80* (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1881), 110, 121, 122; Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Third Biennial Report, 1881-82*, (1883), 230. See the agricultural report for Ellis County in the biennial reports for subsequent years.

44. *Ellis County Star*, May 3, 1877.

45. Raish, *Victoria*, 79.

46. Ibid., 79-80; *Ellis County News*, April 12, 1951.

47. *Ellis County News*, April 12, 1951; "Hard-Riding Red Coats Put Gay Touches on Kansas Plains," *Kansas City Star*, March 11, 1928.

48. George Philip married Jane Hardie on September 30, 1873, in the parlor of the Cass House; they were the first couple married in the colony. Alexander Philip married Annie Hardie on April 26, 1881, in St. George's Chapel. George Philip came with the first colonists. Alex, a clerk in the Bank of England, came later for his health. Marriage License Record, Ellis County Courthouse, Hays, Kansas; "He Saw Kansas Develop," *Kansas City Star*, June 5, 1919; Jane Hardie Philip, "History of the Early Days of Victoria," *The Club Member* 7 (November 1908): 5-7; *Ellis County News*, April 12, 1951; Raish, *Victoria*, 78-79; and *Hays Daily News*, October 17, 1954.

Alexander Philip is referred to in sources as Alex and Alec; the *Ellis County News*, April 12, 1951, for example used both spellings within the same story.

moved to Hays City, Alex remained on his ranch on Big Creek between Hays and Victoria. He had started a ranch from the original 320 acres that the couple homesteaded—160 acres homesteaded by Alex plus an adjoining 160-acre section homesteaded by his wife.[49] As the other colonists left, Philip purchased their land at cheap prices and his holdings increased. The misfortunes of others became the fortune of one of the Philip boys from Scotland who had come to the barren lands of Kansas to die but who survived and prospered.[50]

In conclusion, more research must be done on George Grant before the complete story is revealed. The manipulation of the funds of investors, false claims of large numbers of livestock, and issues in court cases must be clarified. The impact of efforts by the home British market to contain cattle disease, of the changing nature of the importation of cattle on the hoof and dead meat as refrigeration improved the marketability of chilled meat, and of the changing patterns of beef consumption in England by various economic classes all must be considered.[51] The Smithes brothers and other large landholders and investors in the Victoria colony from England, Scotland, and America must be studied to determine if they really wanted to farm and ranch, or if they were also speculators.

The colonists who came as workers and herdsmen need further study. Life on the barren plains was not fun, even if the newspapers said it was. It was especially difficult for the women. Jane Hardie Philip, one of the first year colonists, wrote in 1908 that life had been hard in the colony. There was only the station at Victoria and no houses when the colonists arrived. The women in the colony were ill-prepared for the spartan frontier life. Some, such as those from the upper classes, had never done housework, and apparently none could cook, at least cook using the provisions at hand. Mrs. Norton, an Irish woman and wife of the railroad section boss, taught these women colonists to cook and bake using local provisions. There were hardly any provisions available, and those that were available were expensive. Frontier life in Ellis County was not easy on the hardy English and Scots women.[52]

Mrs. Philip on another occasion, in 1908, responded to a question in *The Club Member* by Judge Jacob C. Ruppenthal, historian of the Russian-Germans in Ellis, Rush, and Russell counties. The judge asked if pioneer women were contented in Ellis County. Her answer was "No! We couldn't have stood it had it not been we were so full of hope of what that near future held for us; but I think had we seen the many disappointments in store we would have gone back where we came from."[53]

After thirty years, none of the colonists lived in Victoria, and only three of the original colonists of 1873 remained in Ellis County: George Philip from the initial group which arrived in April 1873 (his brother Alex arrived later); W. T. L. Mack, who would move to Cherryvale, Kansas; and Jane Hardie Philip from the group that arrived in the summer of 1873.[54] By the beginning of the twentieth century, the dream of the Redcoat empire on the Kansas plains was gone. The town remained, and so did the memories. Newspapers still print stories about the fun-loving English colonists or reprint old stories. Historians still find the colony interesting as new facts and interpretations emerge.

As new information is discovered about the English colony at Victoria, historians will have a more complete picture of George Grant and his colony, of those who invested in Grant's venture, and of those who came to provide the labor to make Grant's vision a reality. And as the full story emerges, historians will have a better understanding of the contributions of those who were associated with the English colony at Victoria and the role of those contributions in the development of western Kansas in the 1870s. KH

49. See Section 4, Township 15 South, Range 17 West, Tract Books, FHSU. Alex entered his homestead on July 18, 1879, and Annie entered hers on April 21, 1881. See also Patent Record Book 1, pp. 138 and 157 for the filing of the Patent, RD. Alex had filed under the Preemption Act of 1841 on September 24, 1878, but the entry was cancelled on July 11, 1879, as illegal. See Tract Book, FHSU, for Section 4 as noted above.

50. *Ellis County News*, April 12, 1951; Raish, *Victoria*, 79; "He Saw Kansas Develop," *Kansas City Star*, June 5, 1919.

51. J. R. Fisher, "The Economic Effects of Cattle Disease in Britain and Its Containment, 1850-1900," *Agricultural History* 54 (April 1980): 278-93; John P. Huttman, "British Meat Imports in the Free Trade Era," *Agricultural History* 52 (April 1978): 247-62; W. Turrentine Jackson, *The Enterprising Scot: Investors in the American West After 1873* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968), 73-76. Jackson presents the prevailing thought in Scotland about investment in the United States at the time of Grant's colony and later. Also important for an understanding of the concern over importation of American cattle is James Macdonald, *Food From the Far West, Or American Agriculture with Special Reference to the Beef Production and Importation of Dead Meat from America to Great Britain* (London: William P. Nimmo, 1878). Much of the material was published initially in *The Scotsman*, an Edinburgh newspaper, as a series of letters. Macdonald was sent by the newspaper to the United States to report on the American cattle industry and its potential impact upon British farmers.

52. Philip, "History of the Early Days of Victoria," 5.

53. J. C. Ruppenthal to Lilla Day Monroe (editor, *The Club Member*), October 19, 1908, in *The Club Member* 7 (November 1908): 29; "Letters in Reply to Judge Ruppenthal's Query," *The Club Member* 7 (January 1909): 7.

54. Raish, *Victoria* 79-80; Philip, "History of the Early Days of Victoria," 7.

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Book Reviews

Fort Laramie in 1876: Chronicle of a Frontier Post at War

by Paul L. Hedren

xiii + 313 pages, maps, illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988, $24.95.

FRONTIER HISTORIANS HAVE long been appreciative of the importance of Fort Laramie, at the confluence of the North Platte and Laramie rivers in present-day Wyoming, as a frontier outpost. Established in 1834 to support the fur trade, the fort had become by the 1850s a key post in the U.S. Army's logistical system and an important center for the orderly movement of settlers on the frontier. The troops at the post were involved in most of the major campaigns fought against the Indians of the northern Great Plains, until the post's inactivation in 1890.

Paul L. Hedren, superintendent of the Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, here presents an impressive study of the role of Fort Laramie in the Sioux Indian War of 1876-1877, the episode that broke the back of the Plains Indians. Using Fort Laramie as the backdrop from which to discuss this important episode in American history, Hedren analyzes in a lively fashion the Big Horn, Yellowstone, and Powder River expeditions against the Sioux conducted by Gen. George Crook. There is also comment on Custer's defeat at the Little Bighorn, the gold rush into the Black Hills, and the general discord of the Indians at the various agencies.

But *Fort Laramie in 1876* is more than a recitation of the events of the Sioux Indian War. Many other historians have told that story over the years, and if Hedren had limited his book to the war this reviewer would have questioned the necessity of its publication. Instead, Hedren recognizes the army post for what it was, the most important military installation on the northern plains and the critical site from which the army's campaign against the Sioux was both orchestrated and supplied. While the author's narrative ranges from Omaha, the headquarters of the army's Department of the Platte, to the campaigns in Montana and the escape of some of the Sioux into Canada, Hedren's focus is always on Fort Laramie and its contributions to the war in terms of personnel, equipment, commanders, communications, and logistics.

Hedren is the first to draw on the large body of material relating to the operation of the post contained in the National Archives, particularly Record Group 393; the extensive collection of primary materials at the U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania; and documents at the U.S. Military Academy Library at West Point. The result is impressive. *Fort Laramie in 1876* captures the essence of the military outpost at war. It is an excellent companion volume to Remi Nadeau's *Fort Laramie and the Sioux Indians* (1967) and John S. Gray's *Centennial Campaign* (1976) and deserves a place on the shelf of all serious students of the American West and the Indian wars.

Reviewed by Roger D. Launius, *command historian, Military Airlift Command, Scott Air Force Base, Illinois.*

To The Land of Gold and Wickedness: The 1848-59 Diary of Lorena L. Hays

edited by Jeanne Hamilton Watson

xv + 486 pages, illustrations, maps, notes, appendix, bibliography, index.
St. Louis: Patrice Press, 1988, $27.95.

AS TRAVEL TIME in the twentieth century has steadily decreased, fascination with the nineteenth-century overland journeys on the Oregon-California Trail and attendant routes and cutoffs has increased. The speed and comfort of transcontinental travel in the jet age has, paradoxically, whetted the historical need to know more about the slow, often harrowing trip of the western emigrants in their covered wagons. Jeanne Hamilton Watson's twenty years of devotion to maintaining a portion of the California Trail and to amassing the myriad details about the 1853 journey of Lorena L. Hays over that trail adds a carefully edited account of the overland experience to the growing body of trail literature. Readers, from trail buffs to historians of the American West and scholars researching nineteenth-century women's lives, will welcome Jeanne Watson's scholarly work in this liberally illustrated volume.

In an extensive introduction the editor explains how she came across the Hays diary as a result of her interest in the Carson Emigrant Route, one of the three major routes from the Nevada desert across the Sierras into California. The diary covers an eleven-year time period and geographically encompasses territory from Illinois to California. Not only did the years of sporadic diary keeping cover Lorena's life as a single, young teacher in Illinois, 1848 to 1853, and her five months on the trail in 1853, but also her marriage in Amador County, California, and her new life in the gold rush country.

The book is divided into three parts to correspond to the three different locations of the diarist; the editor places each part within a historical context of other accounts. Kansans will be most interested in "Part 2 - The Trip to California," the first section of which follows the Oregon-California Trail in northeastern Kansas from Kansas City to Nebraska. After waiting in Kansas City in early April 1853 for other members of their party to join them for the overland journey, by early May the Hays party was passing "over very beautiful prairie" to

cross the "Waukalousa." The editor's extensive notes inform the reader of the various spellings of Wakarusa and the crossing near present-day Lawrence, Kansas. On May 6, 1853, the travelers were two miles from the Kansas River near the Pottawatomie Baptist Mission, presently on the grounds of the Kansas Museum of History in Topeka. Lorena Hays described the scene:

> Two miles from Kansas River. Camped in sight of the Baptist Mission house, built of stone. it is quite pleasant, romantic situation from here. A small stream passes by along which is scattered a few trees. We have a very pretty view of the scenery around us. A great many cattle are in sight scattered here and there over the green sloping hillsides, as if they were all in one large pasture. Tents and wagons are all around us. We are never lonely for we see people continually (p. 153).

Lorena found a certain freedom on the open trail. The journey was marred only by the death of her cousin, Louisa Lithgow, whose family had mistakenly believed travel would prove beneficial for her "consumptive" condition.

In California, Lorena, a distant cousin of President Rutherford B. Hayes, began to write newspaper articles, some about the "wickedness" of gold rush society. Within the year Lorena married John Clement Bowmer, a Kentuckian. Soon after he made a trip to Wisconsin and returned to California, babies bagan arriving. Lorena had less time to record her personal feelings in her diary or to pursue her newspaper writing. She died in San Francisco on October 30, 1860, almost sixteen months after her last diary entry on July 8, 1859. Jeanne Watson has observed that Lorena "had come to terms with her ambition, accepting with some degree of resignation the course of her life." No photographs of Lorena L. Hays Bowmer have survived, but the excellent work of Jeanne Hamilton Watson has made her story accessible to what are sure to be many appreciative readers.

Reviewed by Katie H. Armitage, *a project specialist for the Kansas State Historical Society whose research interests and publications have focused on women and trail diaries.*

Home Town News: William Allen White and the Emporia Gazette

by Sally Foreman Griffith

viii + 291 pages, illustrations, notes, index.
New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. $24.95

No one ranks higher than William Allen White in the Kansas pantheon, yet Professor Griffith's close and dense study is the first significant book-length investigation of White and the Emporia *Gazette* to appear since the decade of the editor's death. Its publication therefore is a major event. As a biography of White the book is truncated, really ending in the 1920s when White delegated most of the day-to-day operation of the *Gazette* to others. It is more significant as a microcosmic study of a small-town editor's interaction with his local readers and with the wider world at a time of rapid urbanization, when small-town life in America was increasingly less idealized.

Griffith shows that though White initially announced his editorial intention to appeal to all Emporians, his *Gazette* began as a Republican sheet whose partisanship helped win it some federal pension printing that insured its solvency. He could therefore afford to modernize his shop after the turn of the century, expand his circulation accordingly, and accommodate the increasing demands of local and national advertisers. Revenue from advertising and circulation in turn allowed White to lessen his dependence on a partisan audience and to claim more credibly a role as booster spokesman for the entire community. White's Progressive political orientation after 1900 also gave him warrant to boost Emporia's morality as well as it prosperity. Griffith shows that this form of boosterism could be repressive; it called for a community consensus that made little allowance for social deviation or minority points of view. It tended also to identify the community's security with the success of its businessmen, who undoubtedly got more than their share of editorial attention.

White reinforced community feeling in the *Gazette* by giving great attention to obituaries, wedding stories, and locals, all emphasizing the universals and continuities in community experience. After World War I, these emphases in small-town papers which White construed as emblematic of small-town virtues, were increasingly attacked by metropolitan or academic observers as evidence of narrowness and provincialism. Ironically, though White vocally resisted such charges by insisting that small towns provided the best conditions for a humane way of life, as publisher of the *Gazette* he surrendered to them. White also desired that Emporia be kept up-to-date intellectually and materially, and the increased use of wire-service copy and of mat services, and burgeoning national advertising all required that the *Gazette* become physically a larger paper, segmented to address varying constituencies rather than the whole community. And of course the unavoidable nationalization of news occurred at the expense of the local items that White considered so important to maintaining communal values. Griffith says it best in the concluding sentences of her book: "Ultimately, the power of communication to transcend geographic boundaries and shape national networks overwhelmed its potential to foster local community. William Allen White the publisher undermined the work of William Allen White the community-builder" (p. 241).

In part *Home Town News* consists of prolonged exegeses on three of White's *Gazette* editorials. In "Entirely Personal," his salutatory published on June 3, 1895, he announced his booster intentions. "What's the Matter With Kansas?," written the next year, was a partisan statement which nonetheless helped establish the prosperity that allowed White to pursue his booster goals. "Mary White," written much later, in 1921, and still affecting sixty-eight years after it was written, in spite of its heartbroken message, managed to idealize the wholesome physical vigor and social consciousness of a small-town girl, in

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contrast to the flapper, who had already become a national symbol of individual liberation.

In some instances the author veers a little too close to psychobiography to suit this reviewer's antediluvian taste, and as stated before, her book ends rather abruptly. But she has fulfilled her mission of documenting profound change in American small-town journalism extraordinarily well. Those interested in William Allen White, and more general students of American newspapers, will learn much from reading this book.

Reviewed by Rodney O. Davis, *a graduate of the University of Kansas' William Allen White School of Journalism and a professor of history at Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois.*

Daughters of the Desert: Women Anthropologists and the Native Southwest, 1880-1980; An Illustrated Catalogue

by Barbara A. Babcock and Nancy J. Parezo

xii + 241 pages, illustrations, references cited, bibliography, abbreviations listing.
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988, cloth $39.95, paper $19.95.

DAUGHTERS OF THE DESERT is the catalogue for an exhibition sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Services (SITES). The catalogue and the exhibition are part of a larger, multi-faceted research project focusing on the investigation and reinterpretation of the role of women anthropologists in the Southwest during the past century.

This excellent catalogue, of appeal to a wide variety of audiences, highlights forty-five anthropologists. The focus of the volume is on those women who began their careers before 1940, and who were involved in the investigation of the native cultures of Arizona and New Mexico. The volume features a rich variety of women including scholars, philanthropists, artists, and social activists.

The catalogue is the result of a joint effort of Barbara Babcock and Nancy Parezo, both significant American anthropologists, much of whose work focuses on the Southwest. Babcock and Parezo not only present these selected women anthropologists, but discuss and reassess the role that these women played in the development of the field of anthropological theory.

The main body of the text is divided into three sections: "Discovering the Southwest"; "Understanding Cultural Diversity"; and "Interpreting the Native American." The forty-five women anthropologists are presented within this framework.

Each woman is given a brief biography, including a section which lists her education, research, and professional activities. The text also includes quotes from letters, journals, and excerpts from oral history interviews recently conducted with contemporary anthropologists.

The first section of the catalogue, "Discovering the Southwest," includes the work of pioneers in the region during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These women began the collection and documentation of ethnographic data on the indigenous cultures, particularly the Pueblo, and compiled the "inventory of cultural traits" upon which much later research was derived. Included here are Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Elsie Clews Parsons, and Barbara Freire-Marreco Aitken (a member of the first class of anthropology students to graduate from Oxford in 1908).

"Understanding Cultural Diversity" features the women who initiated a more analytical and comparative approach to the study of Native American cultures and investigated issues of cultural diversity, social integration, and cultural patterns. Such famous figures as Ruth Benedict and Ruth Bunzel are discussed as well as a number of important anthropologists, lesser known outside of anthropological circles, such as Gladys Reichard, one of the first women to study the Navaho, and Ruth Underhill, who pioneered work with the Papago.

The largest section of the text, "Interpreting the Native American," reviews the work of thirty-five women who conducted problem-oriented anthropological field studies. A range of sub-fields within the discipline are discussed, such as archaeology, arts, crafts and museums, and applied anthropology. Ethnomusicologist Frances Densmore, archaeologist Florence Hawley Ellis, and Southwest Indian art specialist Clara Lee Tanner figure prominently within this group, as well as photographer Laura Gilpin, applied anthropologist Laura Thompson, and Native American artist Pablita Velarde.

The catalogue is amply illustrated with excellent photos of the anthropologists, including portraits and scenes of the women in fieldwork situations. Photos of artifacts, which presumably appear in the exhibit, also are included but do not convey the impact of the original images. Following the text is a good bibliography of each anthropologist's published work.

Impressive in looking at the women included in this volume is the diverse social, educational, and professional backgrounds from which they came to enter the field of anthropology. Some were the daughters of wealthy eastern families who began their work in the Southwest as philanthropists, social activists, or entrepreneurs. Interestingly, many of the women discussed first established careers in different fields such as music, teaching, newspaper reporting, and medicine.

The common thread that runs true through the professional lives of these diverse women is their strong, and in many cases lifelong, commitment to the study and support of the indigenous cultures of the Southwest.

If there is any criticism or recommendation to be made regarding this volume it is that more information be provided for each of these fascinating women. However, this is an exhibition catalogue, not a comprehensive text on women anthropologists of the Southwest. As such, the volume is a very fine overview of the women who were instrumental in shaping the early development of American anthropology.

Reviewed by Jo Anne Nast, *an anthropologist and curator of history at the Univesity Museum at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.*

Cowtown Lawyers: Dodge City and Its Attorneys, 1876-1886

by C. Robert Haywood

304 pages, illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988, $24.95.

THE STORY OF THE "Beautiful, Bibulous Babylon" that was frontier Dodge City has been told and retold, from various perspectives. This verson is unique, for it entwines the town's lawless image with the law – not the law as enforced by the legendary sheriffs and marshals, – but the law as practiced by lawyers and decreed by judges. Bob Haywood succeeds in his attempt to develop a portrait of the cowtown lawyer as one of the *dramatis personae* on the frontier, but there is another, perhaps yet more important product of this study. We are given a clear view of the place of law and the justice system, and the relationship between the formal system and community mores, in a developing society. In that sense, this is a work of value in both history and jurisprudence.

While the story is structured around individuals, notably Mike Sutton, Harry Gryden and those lawyers associated philosophically or by expedience with each, what emerges is the image of the generic frontier laywer. It is not the importance of his individual cases, nor indeed the success of his practice, which has chiseled a niche in history for the lawyer of the cowtown era. It is the role he and his craft played in the transition of the virtually untamed buffalo trade settlement to a sober and stable county seat community in barely a decade.

Haywood casts Mike Sutton as the man of vision. While it was the quarantine law which wrote *finis* to the cattle trade in Dodge, it was Sutton and his associates who prepared the community for the inevitable change. An early member of the Front Street "Gang," Sutton served longer as county attorney than any other; the only lawyer, in fact, elected to more than one term in office during the decade 1876-1886 which marked the cowtown era. From about 1880, however, he was the recognized leader of the forces of "progress, prohibition and purified morality." Sutton had seen that the end of the cattle trade would mean the end of Dodge City unless the community's image could be changed. He turned his considerable legal and political talents to that cause in a community which was not quite sure it was ready for change. His foresight, though accurate, cost him his old friendships and earned for him the title "St. Michael of the Oily Tongue."

Chief among those who fought to retain the old way of "drink, dancehalls and soiled doves" were the Front Street Gang, centered upon Bat Masterson, Bob Wright, Luke Short, and other businessmen and saloonkeepers whose objective was to continue the cattle trade. With Sutton's disaffection, they gained an unexpected, if not unlikely, ally in Harry Gryden. Defense counsel in most of Sutton's prosecutions, Gryden found it his natural role to be in opposition to all that Sutton espoused. Had Sutton not taken the route of temperance and moral uplift, Gryden perhaps could have led those forces, although that may be a bit hard to imagine. As it was, he slipped naturally into a new affiliation with the Gang. It was a role that fit the man. Skilled lawyer that he was, Harry Gryden was a drinking man of some renown; a carouser who regularly operated a poker game upstairs over the jail. In fact, he may have been a most engaging rogue.

It was a time of change in a community yearning for stability but still in love with its past. A clear case of premediated murder could be forgiven by a jury if the victim was not well-liked, or well known. A drunken lawyer could be laid out as a "corpse" for the passing public to see. And the newspapers of the day reported it all with a comic opera touch. Haywood is an accomplished storyteller, and he has woven his material into an altogether enjoyable true tale of the lawyer's role in frontier history.

Reviewed by Raymond L. Spring, *Vice-President for Academic Affairs and Distinguished Professor of Law, Washburn University.*

Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives

edited by Lillian Schlissel, Vicki L. Ruiz, Janice Monk

vi + 354 pages, illustrations, notes, index.
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988, cloth $27.50, paper $14.95.

WESTERN WOMEN is well worth the attention of those interested in expanding their understanding of frontier women's history. Built around essays originally presented at a 1984 southwestern American women's history conference, this volume consists of an editors' introduction and nine chapters, each containing a central scholarly essay followed by varying numbers of shorter commentary essays.

The result is a wide-ranging array of valuable studies, held together only by the broadest outlines of their shared subject matter, and requiring hard work to digest and synthesize. Several essays investigate the complex experience of Anglo (white) women's first adjustment to American frontier life. Robert Griswold examines the ways in which eastern-style domestic ideologies about women served as well as restricted frontierswomen. In his analysis such ideas helped transplanted eastern women tame raw masculine frontier ways, gave shape and dignity to early years of extremely hard labor, and helped female bonding.

Sandra Myres compares American and New Zealand frontierswomen in a preliminary report from research on worldwide nineteenth-century, English-speaking frontierwomen. Reported similarities include motives for going, trip experiences, and challenges faced. Differences include the size of frontiers and families and the amount of help provided by home civilizations. Antonia Castaneda compares Myres' vision of New Zealand frontierwomen with her own findings on eighteenth and nineteenth-century Mexicanas on the Spanish California frontier: original journeys were similar, but frontier experiences markedly different.

Lillian Schlissel looks at the dynamics of American western frontier families, concluding that the family was crucial to

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the survival of most frontierspeople, but also strikingly vulnerable to breakdown under the stress of early frontier life. In a related topic, Vera Norwood focuses on the western land itself, and comes up with some complex answers to the question of whether women looked at it differently than did men.

A number of essays concentrate on non-Anglo women. Vicki Ruiz examines the generally low status and pay of Mexican women workers in the western United States, 1930-1950, comparing their status, and the factors at work in their lives, with those of Mexican men and with whites, Indians, and blacks of both genders. Genevieve Chato and Christine Conte, in an essay relevant to many third-world colonial women's experiences, investigates the legal status of American Indian women who fall under the intersecting authority of multiple state, national, and tribal governments. Jacqueline Peterson describes the native religious mechanisms at work within the widespread conversion to Catholicism and subsequent intermarriages of many seventeenth and eighteenth-century Canadian Indian women. While focused more on the white trader than his Indian wife, John Mack Faragher also surveys the related topic of intermarriage in the American nineteenth-century western fur trade.

Finally, Heather Huyck points out the possibilities for using historic sites to interpret western women's history. In addition, this rich last essay includes a six-page bibliographical survey packed with material culture references.

Outside of its central essays, *Western Women* also provides a very useful introductory essay summing up the changing historiography of the American West, from its early white male emphasis through more recent recognition of racial minorities to current investigations into women's concerns and experiences. The large number of chapter commentaries vary in style, with some critiquing their target essays directly while others aim more at adding related information from their authors' own researches. They also vary in usefulness, with some of the first sort doing so more effectively than others, and of the second sort making connections more clearly than others. Overall, it is a very useful collection for those interested in learning about or keeping abreast of the fields of either women's or Western American history.

Reviewed by Sara W. Tucker, *associate professor in the Department of History, Washburn University.*

"A People's Contest": The Union and Civil War, 1861-1865

by Phillip Shaw Paludan

xxii + 486 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1988, $27.95.

"'THIS IS ESSENTIALLY A PEOPLE'S CONTEST,' Lincoln declared on July 4, 1861." So begins historian Phillip Paludan's insightful examination of the intricate relationship between the Civil War and the Industrial Revolution. *"A People's Contest"* presents the Civil War as seen by Northerners, a view long overdue. Paludan's style and clarity of expression are reminiscent of J. G. Randall's *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (written in 1937 and revised by David Herbert Donald in 1969). *"A People's Contest"* is not as all-encompassing as Randall's work; instead it is a careful, considered rendering of the Northern aspect of the Civil War. Well organized, the book addresses three important facets to be considered in discussing any war: (1) *learning war*, (2) *making war*, and (3) *finding war's meanings*.

Four aspects of learning war are presented in a logical sequence. We are reminded that the Union army was overwhelmingly composed of state units, drawn primarily from small communities where Northerners experienced democratic government at the grass roots level. Lincoln sought to join together the social and economic hopes of the North with the survival of that democratic government, and ultimately did so successfully. We are made aware of the North's need to find international support for its cause, as well as to cut off support from abroad for the South. A political discussion notes how Republican losses in the election reflected the North's poor military situation; but how Northerners, participating in the election, were determined to see their political and constitutional system prevail.

The middle chapters—making war—are heavy going but worth the effort. Paludan sharply contrasts the combatants' resources, utilizing cumulative figures to show the breadth and depth of Northern resources compared to the meager resources of the South. The role played by the railroads reflects these differences; Paludan clearly demonstrates how rail transportation of troops, supplies, and equipment heavily influenced the outcome on the battlefield—the Union loss at Bull Run, the victory at Gettysburg, Sherman's successes in Georgia. In a pair of chapters, Paludan analyzes the costs and the benefits of war to agriculture and to industrial workers. He cites the uneven impact of war on these two critical economic sectors and subtly highlights the benefits to farmers.

With regard to the core issue, slavery, Paludan deals extensively with the use of black troops, which Randall mentions only briefly. By fighting to save the Union along with whites, blacks lessened patterns of prejudice in the North. Paludan closes the second section by focusing on how the conflict shaped political debate over economic transformation and the destruction of slavery as well as debate over loyalty and dissent. He makes us see that war rid the nation of its most divisive political issue: slavery would no longer endanger politics by making some issues uncompromisable. And he reminds us that within five years after the end of the Civil War, slavery and race were no longer a lawful reason to deny the vote.

The most impressive section, finding war's meanings, is Paludan at his reflective best. Here is what too few histories of the Civil War, Randall's not excepted, take time to do—ponder the meaning of it all. By the end of the war, Paludan stresses that the strength of the nation had been shown for all the world to see. The Union victory underscored the nation's vitality and endorsed the worth of its economy and society. A

retrospective analysis of Sherman and Grant's strengths and weaknesses reflect Lincoln's assertion that it was "a people's contest." Sherman realized the need for law and order and saw the war as an opportunity to bring discipline to society; Grant was a common man who fought with brutal practicality and deadly perseverance, demanding unconditional surrender and symbolizing the ideals inherent in a people's contest.

In a vivid chapter on the scars of war, Paludan reaches into material that has heretofore not seen the light of day to bring us firsthand accounts of the horrors of battle, the staggering, grisly toll war takes. He shows how family relationships were tested and twisted by war but surprises us with the observation that as war brought discipline to a society lacking in self-control, insanity was reduced. Finally, Paludan gives us new food for thought in "The Coming of the Lord." While religion was the strongest force in shaping the vision Northerners had of the war, Lincoln summed it up best when he hoped the Union would be on God's side, rather than God on the Union's side; with the war a fulfillment of a religious mission to destroy the evil of slavery.

Paludan's concluding chapter is low-key, but intense. He observes that internal opposition in the South to the economic power of slavery produced a fault line questioning the morality of slavery; and he notes the South was unable to challenge the Northern conviction that it had the strength to win if only it retained the will to win. Individual vignettes bring home Paludan's final truism—great events of war may shake society, but mundane life endures.

As a postscript, this reviewer wishes to note that the bibliographical essay is a thirty-page gem and worth the price of the book alone!

Reviewed by Constance L. Menninger, *archivist, Kansas State Historical Society.*

Editorial Policies

Kansas History carries scholarly articles, edited documents, and other materials that contribute to an understanding of the history and prehistory of Kansas and the Central Plains. Manuscripts dealing with political, social, intellectual, cultural, economic, and institutional history are welcomed, along with biographical and historiographical interpretations and studies of archeology and the built environment. Articles emphasizing visual documentation such as photographs or paintings are also appropriate, as are material culture studies. Originality, quality of research, significance, and presentation are among the factors that determine the suitability for publishing in the journal. Generally, genealogical studies are not accepted, although exceptionally well done reminiscences or other autobiographical writings will be considered.

The Edgar Langsdorf Award for Excellence in Writing, which includes a plaque and an honorarium of one hundred dollars, is given for the best article published each year.

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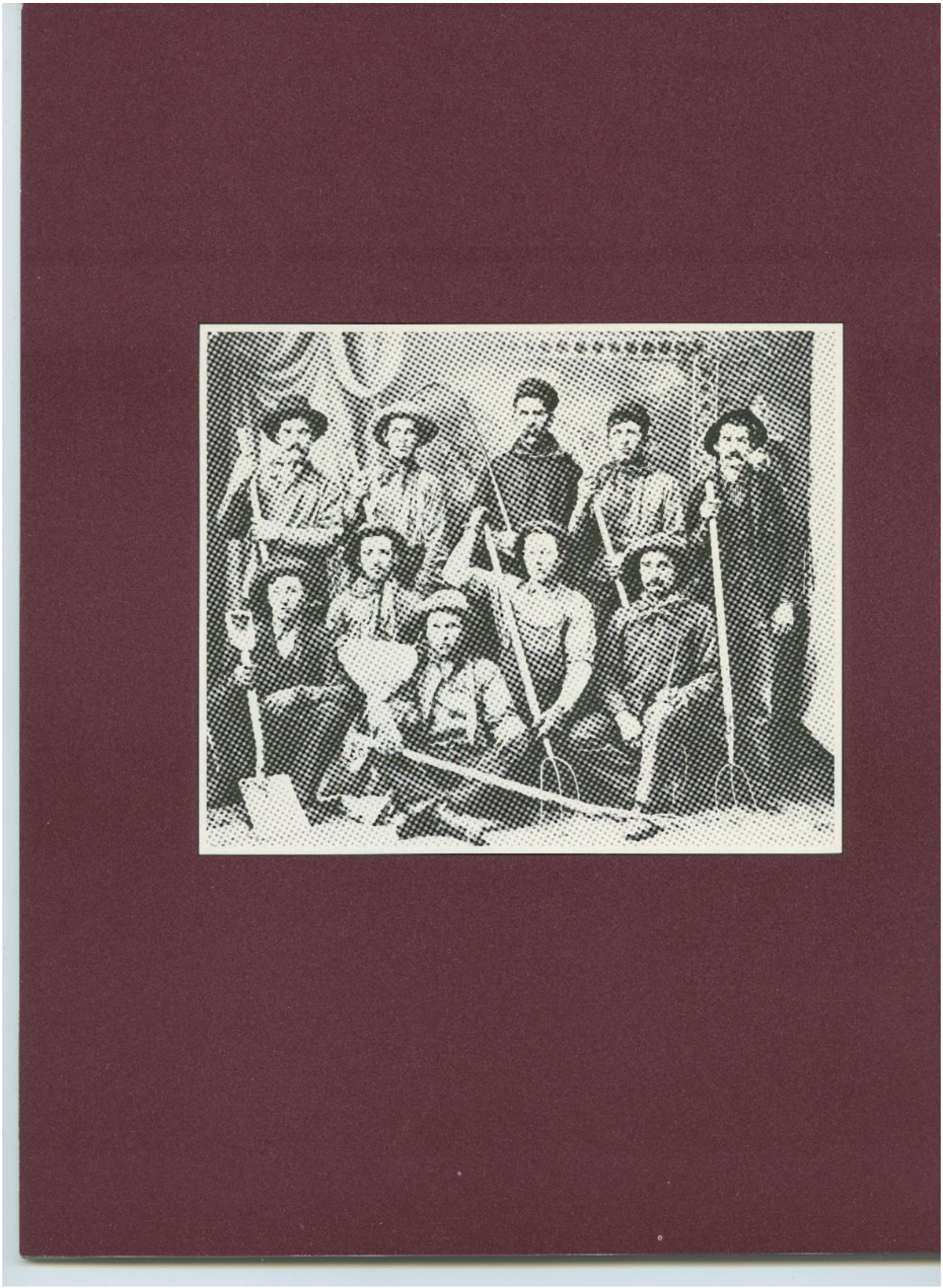

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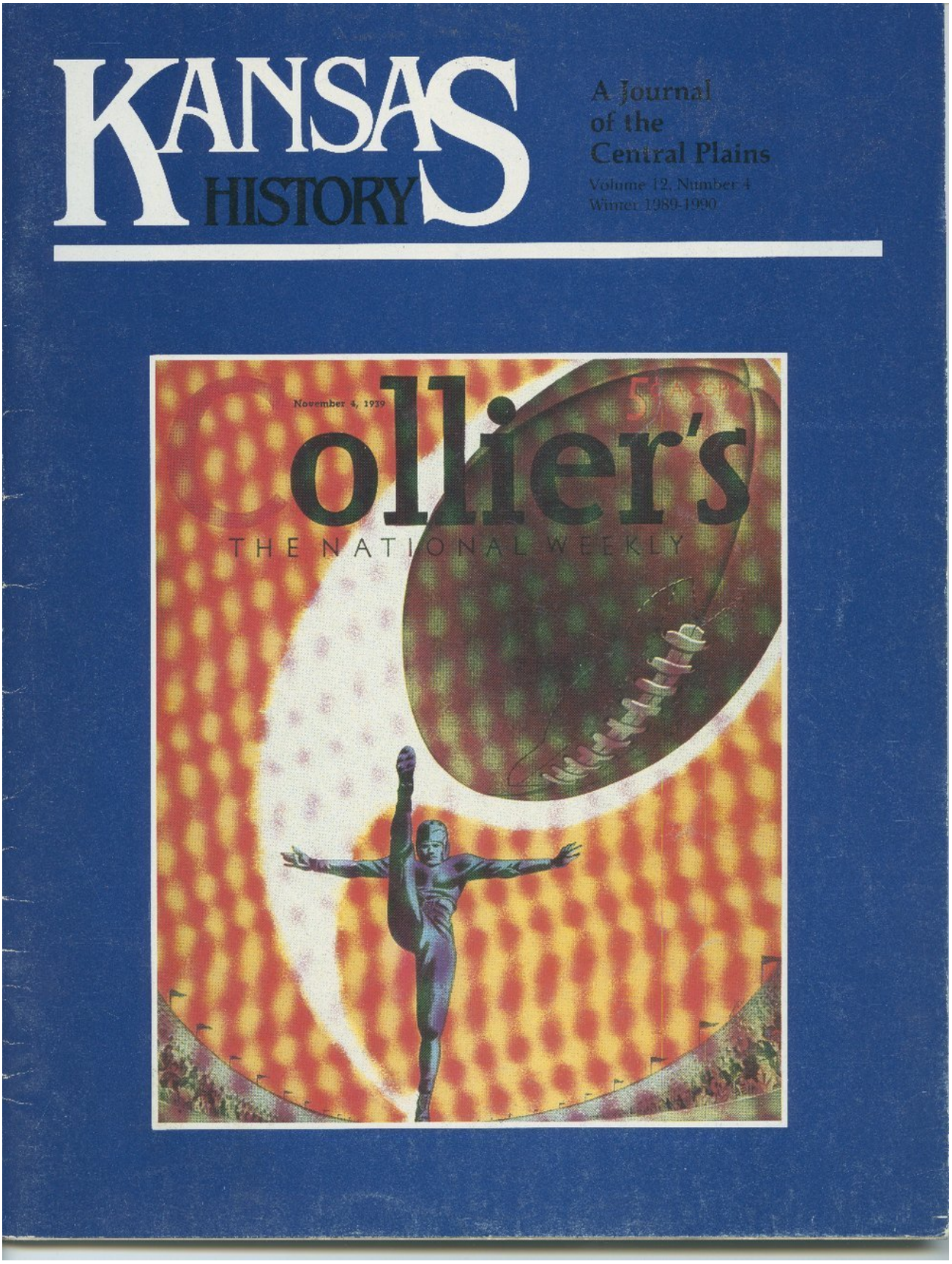

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Kansas State Historical Society

THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was organized in 1875 by the newspaper editors and publishers of the state, and four years later it became the official trustee for the state's historical collections. Since then, the Society has operated both as a non-profit membership organization and as a specially recognized society supported by appropriations from the state of Kansas.

The purposes of the Society are the advancement of knowledge about and the preservation of resources related to the history and prehistory of Kansas and the American West, accomplished through educational and cultural programs, the provision of research services, and the protection of historic properties. The Society is governed by a ninety-nine-member board of directors, elected by the membership, and is administered by an executive director and an assistant executive director.

The new Kansas Museum of History features exhibits and educational programs based on the Society's rich artifact collections. It is located near the historic Pottawatomie Baptist Mission west of Topeka, adjacent to Interstate 70. All other Society departments remain at the Center for Historical Research, Memorial Building, across the street from the State Capitol in Topeka.

All persons interested in Kansas history and prehistory are cordially invited to join the Society. Those who would like to provide additional support for the Society's work may want to consider contributions in the form of gifts or bequests. A representative of the Society will be glad to consult with anyone wishing to make such a gift or establish a bequest or an endowment. Address the Executive Director, 120 West Tenth Street, Topeka, Kansas 66612-1291.

Cover and back cover: Football, a sport with professional, college and high school teams, is a part of Kansas' social history. Teams, such as Hoisington's 1931 undefeated champions (back cover), have played the game to cheering fans, and as Christopher H. Lee points out in "Adaptation on the Plains: The Development of Six-Man and Eight-Man Football in Kansas," the traditional eleven-man game underwent changes in Kansas.

"Adaptation on the Plains" is an apt theme for the articles in this issue of *Kansas History*. Lt. Samuel Tillman, as presented by Professor Dwight L. Smith, came to Kansas for his first tour of duty out of West Point. Tillman saw the state after the Civil War, and his descriptions provide a glimpse at his response to frontier and military life. Not long after Tillman left Kansas, black settlers moved into Hodgeman County. Adaptation for them was an absolute necessity; their story is told by C. Robert Haywood. And there is the adaptation of complex fence and herd laws to Kansas land, farming and ranching, as detailed in the article by Alvin Peters.

Life on the plains requires a flexibility and adaptability of people and their responses. The four articles in this issue illustrate some ways in which residents of Kansas have adapted to their social and physical environment.

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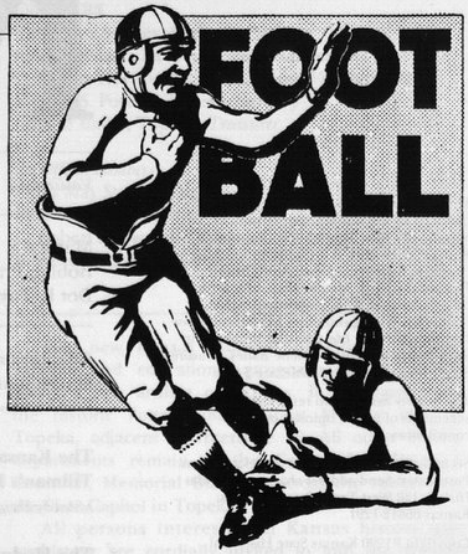
Adaptation on the Plains: The Development of Six-Man and Eight-Man Football in Kansas



by Christopher H. Lee

PRIOR TO THE MID-1930s, small Kansas high schools, like those across the Plains, faced the problem of what sports their athletic programs were to offer in the fall. Sporting events, especially in small-town high schools, had become important community events, as Robert and Helen Lynd discovered in their studies of Middletown High School from the 1890s to the 1920s. They found that "the formal nucleus of school studies becomes focused and articulate, and even rendered important in the eyes of adults through the medium of the school athletic teams." Leaders such as Elihu Root, Theodore Roosevelt, and Henry Cabot Lodge lent "the dignity of their offices to sports such as football and boxing that had once been the realm of children and ruffians," according to sports historian Donald J. Mrozek, because sports yielded values that were favorable to society. It was only natural that parents and their children in rural areas desired a full athletic program like that available to their urban kindred.[1]

The fall season presented a special problem because most rural schools did not have enough able-bodied boys to play conventional football, and other sports such as basketball and baseball were seasonably inappropriate. An alternative was developed in 1934, however, by Stephen E. Epler while he was at Chester, Nebraska. By altering a few basic rules, he discovered that football could still be played with only six players. Epler took a popular sport and adapted it to the conditions of the Plains, providing small high schools with a desired sport they could utilize. Some coaches recognized the superior qualities of this game fairly soon, while others did not try six-man until after World War II. Mahaska became the first school in Kansas to play six-man football when it joined the Little Blue League, of which Chester and three other Nebraska schools were members, in 1935. The *Kansas Athlete*, a publication of the Kansas State High School Athletic Association, confirmed that Mahaska had initiated the six-man game in Kansas. In the same article, published in December of 1935, the journal also pointed out that eight-man "is played considerably by small high schools in Illinois"; this game was later adopted in Kansas as conditions changed.[2]

By 1936, a scant two years after its introduction, six-man had already received national attention in the *Athletic Journal*. Epler, in an article entitled "A New Deal for Football," demonstrated the need for a type of

Christopher H. Lee *received his BSE in 1985 and MA in 1987 from Emporia State University. This article is taken from two chapters of his master's thesis, "Adaptation on the Plains: The Development of High School Football in Small-Town Kansas." This paper was previously submitted to the Kansas Westerner's scholarship contest and was read at the KAHPERD convention in 1988. His article "Kansas Vigilantes" was published in* Kansas Banker, *March 1986. Lee is currently a teacher in the Emporia area.*

1. Elden E. Snyder and Elmer Spreitzer, *Social Aspects of Sport* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978), 44-45; Donald J. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 2.

2. *Belleville Telescope*, September 26, 1935; "Six-Man Football," *Kansas Athlete* 7 (December 1935):3.

football other than eleven-man. In polling the secretaries of forty-five state high school athletic associations (Arkansas, California, and Massachusetts were not included), he found that more than ten thousand high schools out of almost eighteen thousand did not play football; of the latter number, however, almost seventeen thousand high schools played basketball. To Epler this meant that there were many high schools, mostly small ones, across the nation that probably wanted to play football but could not. Cost and the threat of injury were the main impediments, he speculated, as eleven-man teams required more equipment, as well as younger and smaller boys to fill out rosters. Epler thought many of these small schools were prime candidates for his six-man, which was much like the established game, only safer. Around 156 schools, or one out of every forty-eight which played football, already utilized six-man. Six of the ten states in which this game was played were the Plains states of Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wyoming.[3]

Nation's Schools also lauded six-man in 1936 since it satisfied the three parties to the game—administrators, players, and spectators. "Those handling the game are convinced that it is an excellent autumn game for the small school," said the journal. The author, F.L. Showacy, claimed, "The players are enthusiastic since it gives them an outlet for their football interest. The spectators are manifesting their approval by coming out to the games in ever increasing numbers. It satisfies even the most rabid football fan." He complimented the work of Epler and listed the Little Blue League, where high school enrollments were from thirty-five to one hundred, as one of the nation's first six-man leagues.[4]

National media attention continued into 1937-1938 as the *Athletic Journal* ran several articles on six-man. A. W. Larson, of Sykeston, North Dakota, wondered if six-man was "perhaps a child of the depression. Expenses had to be kept down; cutting down the number of players cut down expenses. Perhaps it came with the sudden demand for things on a small scale like miniature golf, table tennis and parlor baseball." He added, "It is a great game for the spectators. They see more of the plays than they ever saw before in the regular game." The plays could involve any player catching and carrying the ball; thus, "the six-man offense is tricky and colorful, the defense must be resourceful and alert." Larson thought that these qualities could be enhanced further since the game was still in its formative stages. He insisted, however, that the game be kept as close to the eleven-man game as possible.[5]

With the game receiving national attention, as well as the approval of Kansas State High School Activities Association (KSHSAA), thirty-three high schools in Kansas played six-man in 1938. It was met with a spirited response in most places; a good example was the reaction by towns in northern Kansas. In Bogue and Burr Oak most of the towns' businessmen closed their shops so that they could attend the games. Burr Oak made its first game an event, electing cheerleaders and scheduling a preliminary softball game between the local girls and those from Ionia. Soon the game took on all the trappings of other established sports. After its local team had won eight straight games, the *Havensville Review* declared the team the "Northeast Kansas champions," and ranked it high in the state for six-man football. A year later, the *Bogue Messenger* boasted, "Although this is only their second year to play football, our 6-man football team is showing the world just how the game is played."[6]

These were not the only towns visited by six-man as it spread throughout the state. The *Emporia Daily Gazette* in 1938 predicted that "it probably will be only a year or two until most of the small schools hereabouts will be having a fall football season. The 6-man game is attractive to the small school because it requires less capital, less equipment and less manpower." That same year the *Ulysses News* said that six-man had "taken root and grown like the proverbial beanstalk." By 1939, Bluff City was able to stage a regular homecoming ceremony, complete with king and queen, while the high school band provided the music. With this development, the *Bluff City News* gave the new game an enthusiastic endorsement: "Six-man football is ideal for small schools. It retains the basic features of 11-man football and at the same time enables a small school to have football when otherwise it would be almost impossible."[7]

Rule makers for six-man purposely made these "basic features" as close to those of eleven-man as possible. The 1940 interscholastic football guide put six-man rules in the text only where they differed from eleven-man rules: there was not a separate rulebook for

3. Stephen E. Epler, "A New Deal for Football," *Athletic Journal* 7 (October 1936): 507, 519-20.

4. F. L. Showacy, "Six-Man Football," *Nation's Schools* 18 (July 1936):26.

5. A. W. Larson, "Six-Man Football," *Athletic Journal* 18 (June 1983):40.

6. *Bogue Messenger*, October 6, 1938, October 5, 1939; *Burr Oak Herald*, September 22, 1938; *Havensville Review*, December 1, 1938.

7. *Emporia Daily Gazette*, September 9, 1938; *Ulysses News*, September 22, 1938; *Bluff City News*, September 22, October 26, 1938, October 26, 1939.

six-man. The first difference a fan might notice was the size of the field. Since there were fewer players, the field was reduced to 80 yards by 120 feet. This eliminated twenty yards from the length and forty feet from the width of an eleven-man field. Scoring was slightly different, with a field goal through widened goal post zones counting four points and points after a touchdown worth two points if kicked and only one if run. The other differences were meant to limit the offense, which had the advantage in six-man. Before the ball could be advanced across the line of scrimmage, a clear pass had to be thrown by the player receiving the center's snap. This rule also prevented dangerous pileups from line plunges. To attain a first down, an offense had to gain fifteen yards instead of ten in the standard four-play series. Other changes, such as only three men having to be on the line of scrimmage instead of seven as in eleven-man, were also in the rulebook. These were mainly just common sense changes. Otherwise, the rules of the two games were essentially the same.[8]

8. "The Official Six-Man Football Rules," *Kansas High School Activities Journal* 2 (May 1940):4; Dale A. Pennybaker, "The Status of Six-Man Football as an Organized Sport in Kansas High Schools" (master's thesis, Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, 1955), 13-14.

As more people became familiar with these minor differences, six-man in Kansas skyrocketed, sparking a resurgence for high school football overall. A KSHSAA sports participation survey stated that during the 1939-1940 season, 73 schools played six-man while 318 schools had eleven-man squads. Furthermore, "The combined total of 11,758 was the largest number of individual football participants since records have been kept and was a hike of more than 700 over last year." With sixteen additional teams in each category in the 1940-1941 season, the total number of teams (423) as well as the number of participants (11,929) set new records. Six-man was boosting football in the face of the waning depression.[9]

In the post-war period, six-man continued to enjoy popularity with the strenghtening of leagues. This further development of leagues compelled more schools to go to six-man since they had to play the same type of game that others in their area were playing. As Ray Max Lundstrom, a student of the game, noted, several coaches went to six-man simply because of "difficulty in scheduling games, other league teams playing six-man ball,

9. "Nine Sports Participation Records Broken," *Kansas High School Activities Journal* 3 (January 1941):17, and 4 (January 1942):14.

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[and] to form a six-man league." This was not to say that large schools went to six-man. Lundstrom reported that seventy-four percent of the responding coaches said that the enrollment of their schools ranged from twenty-six to seventy-five students. It was certain, however, that the actions of area schools and limitations in travel did influence some schools to go six-man.[10]

Six-man probably reached its peak in the early to mid-1950s, as the school consolidation movement eliminated only the smallest schools. The KSHSAA listed in its journal more six-man teams for the 1955 season than ever before, although many schools moved back and forth between six and eleven-man.[11] This reflected the changing nature of the development of six-man, as enrollment patterns tended to indicate what schools would do concerning football. If several schools in a league gained boys, they might switch to eleven-man. If they lost enrollment, they might decide on six-man.

School consolidation became a bigger factor towards the end of the 1950s, affecting the size and number of schools playing football. When six-man first appeared in Kansas, there were 732 accredited high schools in the state. By the 1950s, Kansas schools were feeling the effects of people moving from rural to urban areas. This meant that small rural schools, the type attracted to six-man, were in danger of elimination. By the 1959-1960 school year, there were only 616 accredited high schools in the state. Of this number, only 175 had an enrollment of less than fifty-one and only 292 had an enrollment of less than seventy-six. This number continued to drop in the 1960s as more small schools were closed as a result of consolidation.[12]

Since line play was de-emphasized and scoring revolved around the kicking game, not all coaches and players liked six-man. Further, with every player on the field eligible to catch a pass and the fifteen-yard first down, six-man had become, as one student of the game put it in 1955, "a passing and endrunning affair."[13] These differences could cause serious difficulties for its participants. The speedy athlete who was capable of

10. Ray Max Lundstrom, "The Status of Six-Man Football for Smaller Kansas High Schools" (research problems 390B, Kansas State Teachers College of Pittsburg, 1955), 16, 21.

11. "Football League Standings," *Kansas High School Activities Journal* 18 (January 1956): 18-19, and 19 (January 1957):22-23.

12. W. T. Markham, *Thirty-First Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Topeka: State Department of Public Instruction, 1938), 26; Adel F. Throckmorton, *Education in Kansas: A Progress Report* (Topeka: State Department of Public Instruction, 1961), 11, 12.

13. Pennybaker, "Status of Six-Man Football," 13-15.

Prior to the introduction of six and eight-man football, the sport was reserved for schools with student enrollment large enough to play the eleven-man game. Shown are Rossville High School's 1924 eleven-man team and an eleven-man game from 1909 between Marion and Cottonwood Falls.

In 1935, the Mahaska Rural High School team was the first to play six-man football in Kansas. A member of the Little Blue League, its opponents were Nebraska schools.

playing collegiate football would have to readjust when he graduated from high school and six-man ball. At the other extreme, the slower or heavier athlete was disadvantaged in six-man because the game was more of a wide-open, one-on-one affair.

Eight-man football, introduced into Kansas during the 1950s, offered a good compromise to the two types of football already being played. Its rules were much closer to those of eleven-man, and the number of participants it required were available at many schools. Eight-man football allowed Kansans and other young men in the Plains states to play a game similar to eleven-man but better adapted to prevailing conditions.

The overall origins of eight-man football are obscure, but contests of the variety date back at least to 1935 in Illinois. Although the eight-man game's origins were in the Midwest, it soon migrated to and flourished west of the Mississippi. By 1956, Minnesota led all states with 125 high schools playing eight-man, but the game proliferated on the Great Plains as well. Nebraska, with ninety-seven schools participating, was second. Other Plains states with schools playing this game by 1956 were Colorado, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming.[14]

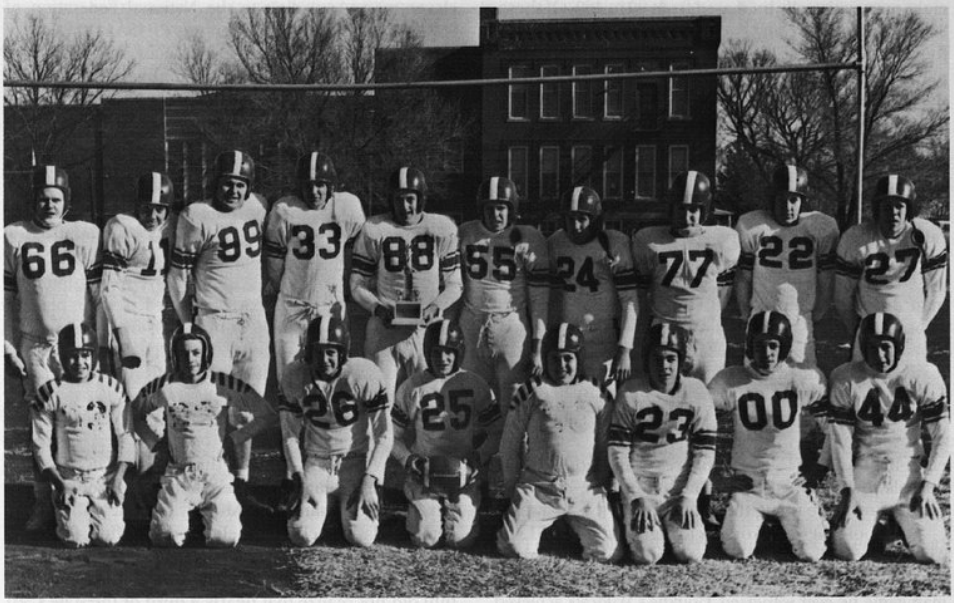
14. John Bernard Hodapp, "Suggested Rules for Eight-Man Football for High Schools," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 1957), 20, 23.

The year 1956 was also the first year Kansas experimented with eight-man when Windom High School gave it a try.[15] A year later, Dwight coach Norton Hartsook, whose team had played six-man, became a "rabid booster" of eight-man after his team played two games of it in 1956. "I think eight-man is the thing for small schools," Hartsook told a *Topeka Daily Capital* reporter. "Any team that can play six can play eight-man. Those two more men give you a place to use a couple of big men who might otherwise sit on the bench. And it makes it more like the 11-man game." Coach Glen Gayer of Walton had similar views, as recorded in a *Hutchinson News* article. He predicted that eight-man would soon replace six-man throughout the state. "We like it much better," he said, "mostly because it permits better line play and makes for a closer and more entertaining game."[16]

Six-man football was on the decline both in Kansas and the nation while eight-man was growing. Between 1950 and 1956, the number of schools that played

15. *Hutchinson News*, September 27, 1957. This refers to a game played in 1956. While the school introduced eight-man football to Kansas in fall 1956, official play of eight-man did not begin until 1957.

16. *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 9, 1957; *Hutchinson News*, September 21, 1957.



Six-man football in Kansas reached its peak in the 1950s. Midway through the decade, the Tescott team won the six-man state championship.

Coach Gene Reinecker (second from left) introduced eight-man football to Windom High School in 1956 after requesting plays from coaches in Nebraska. Shown is the school's eight-man team of 1957, the first year in which the school officially played the game.

eight-man nationally increased from 90 to 460. Of these, 350, or eighty percent, had previously played six-man football. By 1958, at least forty-eight schools in Kansas played eight-man. One of the schools that tried it out for the first time in that year was Williamsburg High School, coached by Louis Coppac. As Hartsook had done, he adapted his offense from eleven-man formations by dropping two linemen and a back. Neither Hartsook nor Coppac had ever seen an eight-man game played before they coached their first game of it, and publications on the game were scarce, according to both men.[17]

Although some schools played both eight and six-man during the transitional era, the latter was slowly disappearing in Kansas. Not only did school consolidations eliminate some of the smaller schools, but eight-man also continued to win more converts. Schedules published in the *Topeka Daily Capital* football special editions showed that at least 97 teams played eight-man in 1960; 102 did the same in 1961; and 114 played eight-man in 1962. These figures reflected only the schools that reported their schedules; there may have been many more trying this new game.[18]

A school that went from six to eight-man in 1961 was Alton, where the squad was piloted by veteran coach Everett Gouldie. Although he coached the first eight-man game he ever witnessed, Gouldie's Wildcats achieved the longest winning streak in Kansas high school football history—fifty-one games from September 1962 to the mid-1968 season. Gouldie, who coached all three types of football between 1929 and 1983, asserted that "eight-man, in my opinion, is the best football game there is." His opinion was based upon the wide-open play, which players enjoyed. "There aren't many plays for 3 yards and a cloud of dust like in eleven-man," he explained. The fans seemed to like it better, too, because it was easier to see what was happening. Although eight-man had some of the same qualities of six-man, Gouldie found the former to be a "natural replacement" for the latter.[19]

Part of the reason for eight-man as a "natural replacement" was its greater similarity to the rules of eleven-man. According to the National Federation of State High School Association's (NFSHSA) *1955 Official Football Rules Handbook*, "Eleven-man rules are used except only five players must be on the line at the snap and only four in the free-kick defensive zone. Also, only three players are ineligible for a forward pass and for forward handling." The regulation field was also smaller than the eleven-man field; like six-man football, the eight-man field was 80 by 40 yards.[20]

Eight-man became entrenched in Kansas, as well as in many other Plains states. A NFSHSA national sports participation survey revealed that in 1970-1971, 657 schools with 14,593 participants played eight-man. In 1969, when the KSHSAA developed a state play-off system for football, an eight-man division was included. Nashville-Zenda defeated Lucas 54 to 18 in the first championship game before fifteen hundred spectators in Russell.[21]

Since being institutionalized by the KSHSAA, eight-man has added several schools to its roster. An example is Midway-Denton. In 1981 this school switched from eleven to eight-man because other area schools its size were doing the same and Midway did not wish to compete with larger schools in eleven-man. Midway's coach at the time, Mark Juhl, was not pleased with the decision to switch; he thought that it was "second-rate football." Juhl did not realize that nearly a third of the state's 361 schools that participated in football played eight-man. He soon changed his mind about the game, however. After he viewed tapes from a coach in Turpin, Oklahoma, who used a distinctive offense, Juhl developed his own offense which featured a running game with well-practiced multiple fakes. Opposing defenses rarely knew who had the ball until substantial gains had been made; the offense had three points of attack, which tended to spread the defense. Midway-Denton, now coached by Mark Martin, has continued its mastery over opponents, winning state eight-man championships in 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, and 1988.[22]

In 1983, other 1A (a class designation for the smallest high schools) schools were forced to make the same decision made by Midway in 1981: switch to eight-man or play larger schools. The KSHSAA in 1983 eliminated

17. Hodapp, "Suggested Rules for Eight-Man Football," 119; "1958 Football Preview," *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 15, 1958; interview with Louis Coppac, Williamsburg, Kansas, October 31, 1986; Norton Hartsook to author, Ozark, Arkansas, November 18, 1986.

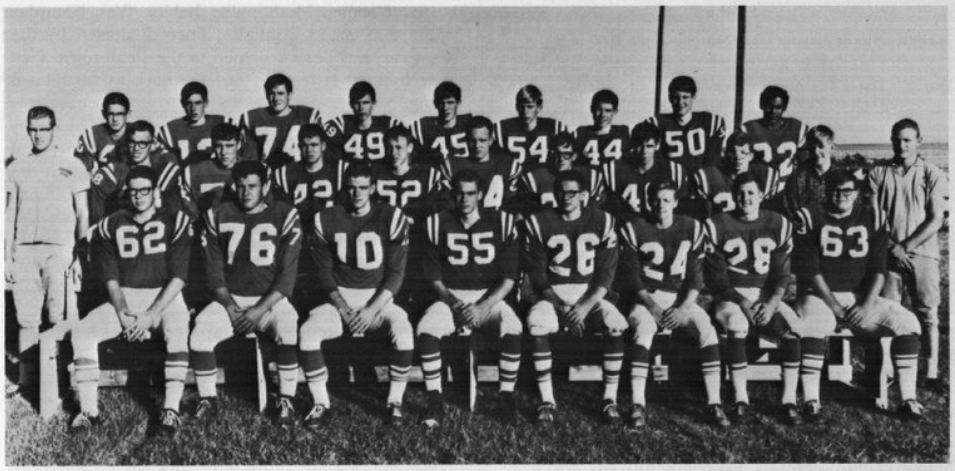
18. "1960 Football Preview," *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 14, 1960; "1961 Football Preview," *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 13, 1961; "1962 Football Preview," *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 12, 1962.

19. Everett Gouldie to author, Agra, Kansas, August 18, 1987; Kevin Haskin, "Gouldie's Legacy Covers Basketball, Too," *Topeka Capital Journal*, August 9, 1987.

20. NFSHSA *Handbook* (in possession of Hodapp), 4; Jo-Ann Barnes, "8-Man Football: It's Still Intense, Just with fewer Players," *Kansas City Star*, September 11, 1986.

21. "Sports Participation Survey," NFSHSA Assistant Director Dick Schindler to author, November 13, 1986; *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 30, 1969.

22. *Kansas City Star*, September 11, 1986; Jim Leatherman to author, Denton, Kansas, September 16, 1987; *Topeka Capital Journal*, November 27, 1987, June 9, 1989.



By the early 1960s, six-man football was being replaced by eight-man football in Kansas. In 1966 the eight-man champion was Bucklin High School.

1A football play-offs but divided eight-man into two divisions. This has aided the growth of this game during an era of decline in the number of schools in Kansas, according to Kaye B. Pearce of the KSHSAA, who also stated that the number of schools playing eight-man has increased since 1983.[23] This is an accurate statement, for while in 1969 only 55 of 390 high schools in Kansas played eight-man, in 1987, 111 of 362 played eight-man football. (See Table 1.)

Another trend, obvious through the same period of time, is geographic. At first, the eight-man game was largely confined to central Kansas, where it remains popular, but the game also has spread east and west. The evident logic behind the expansion is that consolidation of tiny schools in western Kansas has moved them from six to eight-man, while loss of rural population in the school districts of eastern Kansas has moved school teams from eleven to eight-man. A third trend has been for the eight-man game to grow west of old Highway 81, the traditional demarcation between eastern and western Kansas. This has been true of the simple numbers of schools playing eight-man football, but the percentage of schools doing so is also higher.[24]

The schools of western Kansas have taken the lead in further institutionalizing the game through the formation of the Kansas Eight-Man Football Association (KEMFA), composed predominately of schools from that part of the state. Formed in 1986, after interested eight-man coaches met in Salina and Hays and consulted with similar organizations in Nebraska and Oklahoma, the goals of the KEMFA are to promote an eight-man all-star game that recognizes deserving players and coaches, to create a unified effort in affairs dealing with eight-man, and to provide a newsletter specifically about eight-man.[25]

With these innovations in place, the imagination and extra effort of the administrators, coaches, and players has paid off. In addition to tracing the origins and development of six and eight-man football in Kansas, an examination of economic and social aspects of this phenomenon might help to explain why such lengths were gone to in overcoming the obstacles to this Kansas institution.

Willard Waller, who studied the cultures of high schools in the 1930s and 1940s, concluded that "of all activities athletics is the chief and most satisfactory.... At the head of the list [of athletics] stands football." A. B. Hollingshead, who examined youth in a midwestern community, agreed, saying that "greater public sup-

23. KSHSAA Administrative Assistant Kaye B. Pearce, telephone conversation with author, November 17, 1986.

24. "1969 Football Preview," *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 13, 1969; *Kansas Educational Directory, 1969-1970* (Topeka: Kansas State Department of Education, 1970); news release, 1987 football season classifications, KSHSAA; *Kansas Educational Directory, 1986-1987* (Topeka: Kansas State Department of Education), 1987.

25. Gary L. Johnson to author, Mankato, Kansas, September 9, 1987.

TABLE 1
High Schools Playing Eight-Man Football, 1969 and 1987

Year	East of U.S. Highway 81		West of U.S. Highway 81		Statewide	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1969	12/213*	6	43/177	24	55/390	14
1987	36/207	17	75/155	48	111/362	31

*12/213 indicates 12 out of a total of 213 schools.

port and school interest were centered on the football and basketball teams than on all the other extra-curricular activities combined. The school athletic program served as a collective representation of the school and community."[26]

Nowhere was this more true than in the small-town high schools of Kansas. But unlike eastern, metropolitan schools, they required adaptations to bring football before cheering crowds. Especially with the advent of the Great Depression and the erosion of the rural population, the football team, the school it represented, and the town itself were in danger of withering away. Action was necessary.

This was perhaps more true of the small towns located in what sociologist Carl F. Kraenzel in *The Great Plains in Transition* termed "the yonland." Towns in the yonland were losing jobs and eventually people to towns in "the sutland," which contained "the main arteries for wholesaling, business, industrial, educational, health, governmental, and social function" in a given area. Yonlands were "'in-between' areas," which relied upon the sutlands for the movement of goods and the availability of services. Thus, facilities were limited in towns of the yonlands. This differentiation usually began when some towns continued to have rail service while others lost theirs, or when a major highway went through one town, bypassing others.[27] As this situation developed, it was only natural for yonland towns to try to maintain some type of autonomy and dignity, as well as for businessmen to fight harder to stay solvent.

A writer for *Nation's Business* in 1938 also realized this trend, writing that "business must realize that six-man football is having an effect on the buying habits of villagers and farmers. It is creating new markets, reviving and enlarging old ones." Key in this upswing was the return of some old shopping habits: "Yes, 'Saturday Night,' that grand institution once dissipated by the motor car, has been returned to the small town. Pied Piper football is leading farmers back to small-town buying."[28]

These old shopping habits were examined by Penny Clark, who used Alta Vista as a case study of what happened to many small towns on the Plains in the early to mid-twentieth century. The ritual of going to town on Saturday was significant. Rural families went to town for entertainment, social contact, and an opportunity to trade. Businessmen in Alta Vista looked forward to this opportunity to sell their wares to people from outlying areas and generally stayed open as long as potential customers were around. This changed as Alta Vista became a "yonland" community. The new highway through town was the avenue for this change. With the development of the automobile and truck and better roads, more goods were shipped by road rather than by rail. Better transportation also meant that people could shop elsewhere. Alta Vista evolved to offering only limited services; a blow to community identity came with the closing of the high school in 1969.[29]

In the early to mid-twentieth century, the local football game not only brought people to town and enhanced community spirit, but it also provided a recreational/social event. It was another place to meet people. In this era, people had a need for recreation, perhaps more than ever, for the Crash of 1929 brought many hardships. Football, for many, satisfied this need. As historian Thomas D. Isern has pointed out, "People on the plains have developed the ability to make mental order and create a time and a place for recreation even within their evidently inhospitable landscape." Isern also observed, "People cannot find recreation by traipsing off into pointlessness; rather they seek ordered activity that will reassure them as they go through familiar, but not demanding, routines." Perhaps one of the most classic examples of a comfortable routine with social and recreational overtones is the school game with fans coming out in force and parking their cars "around a carefully chalk-lined field, there to honk their horns at any aspect of the action that pleases them."[30]

In conclusion, six-man, and later eight-man, football allowed smaller schools to continue to offer interscho-

26. Snyder and Spreitzer, *Social Aspects of Sport*, 44-45.
27. Carl F. Kraenzel *The Great Plains in Transition* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 195-97.
28. Mark L. Haas, "Six Man Football Revives the Village, *Nation's Business* 26 (November 1938):27.
29. Penny Clark, "Saturday Night in Alta Vista," *Heritage of the Great Plains* 18 (Summer 1985):17-24.
30. Thomas D. Isern, "Introduction to 'Recreation on the Plains,'" *Heritage of the Great Plains* 18 (Summer 1985):1-3.