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

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GhostWest: Reflections Past and Present

by Ann Ronald

viii + 246 pages, map, bibliography.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002, cloth $29.95.

Ann Ronald, professor of English at the University of Nevada, Reno, looks at the American West and sees more than its popular facade; instead, she sees a West "haunted" by its past. Ronald's work serves as a case study for someone to whom the West holds an allure. She has spent her life exploring and studying various tourist attractions and personalities of the West. For Ronald, the American West, defined as those lands acquired after 1800, is more than a place where one can experience the present and look superficially on the past. Those who look close enough will discover that the American West is filled with "ghosts" of its former self to such an extent that these places become what she defines as a GhostWest. Ronald's work holds a particular significance for Kansas historians not only because it specifically discusses the bison herd in Hays, Kansas, and the bison grounds of western Kansas, but also because its methodology could prove useful for further understanding historical attractions in Kansas.

GhostWest is an attempt to demonstrate the connections between past, present, and future in the American West where Ronald finds "something special . . . about places haunted by history" (p. 5). Ronald's striking prose and personable writing style whisks the reader along on a whirlwind tour of the West. Specifically, she notes that each site visited holds glimmers of its past importance. Ronald mixes personal experiences and observations in more than fifteen states with oral histories, memoirs, and secondary sources to describe the sites and to prove that the past of the American West remains visible to those willing to look beyond the popular interpretation.

Central to Ronald's concept of the book is her term GhostWest, or the belief that the western landscape is "haunted" by its own past. For example, Glenn Canyon and Lake Powell hold their own ghosts, if one looks closely enough at the landscape. Lake Powell, which when full meets the growing recreational demands of the area, also fills deep canyons that once dominated the landscape. Instead of being a place where people can enjoy nature, parts of Lake Powell have "become a destination resort for humans in relation to machines rather than for humans in relation to the environment" (p. 185).

The people of the past also leave behind their own impressions, creating a shadow of the West as it once existed. Mining communities such as Savage Basin in Colorado left behind ghosts in the form of abandoned mine shafts and buildings once occupied by those who dreamed of striking it rich, but these buildings tell very little about the personal experiences of the settlers. Travels through treacherous terrain, the dangers of winter storms, and the perils of mining are the real stories often forgotten by the tourist. Through her visits to various sites, Ronald weaves a narrative of not only the constantly changing landscape of the American West but also the relationship between settler and environment, Native Americans and the federal government, and the individual's place in history.

Ronald's great strength is how each chapter transports the reader through the American West with stories and descriptions that capture the textures and tragedies of each site. Some chapters of the book clearly are more developed than others. For example, "Nevada: Buried Bones" is too short to offer an in-depth analysis. The greatest weakness of *GhostWest*, however, is its lack of a conclusion binding each of the sites in some overarching way.

These shortcomings accepted, however, *GhostWest* is a valuable addition to the historiography of the American West. Ronald demonstrates that beneath the popular notion of western history lies a story of exploitation, struggle, and personal sacrifice. Ronald proved that the American West is more than ghost towns and recreational lakes by demonstrating that beneath the surface lies a complex history often obscured by the present. She also reminds historians of the importance of reconciling the popular images of the present with the reality of the past for the general reader. This she accomplished with wit and eloquence.

Reviewed by Chris D. Vancil, *Ph.D. student, Kansas State University, Manhattan.*

The Jesus Newspaper: The Christian Experiment of 1900 and Its Lesson For Today

by Michael Ray Smith

xvi + 170 pages, notes, references, index.
Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2002, paper $29.00.

Charles M. Sheldon, the most renowned and beloved cleric in Kansas history, has, for more than a century, inspired Christians the world over to try to emulate Jesus in their daily lives. He is best remembered for his inspirational novel *In His Steps* and for his slogan "What Would Jesus Do?" but his long life also had many other novel highlights. Especially memorable was his assumption, for a week in 1900, of the editorship of the *Topeka Daily Capital* to show the world how Jesus might run a daily newspaper. That experiment was a spectacular commercial success, but a raft of critics, many of them committed Christians, found it naive, even tawdry.

Michael Ray Smith has written the first full-length book on what he calls the "Jesus Newspaper," highlighting the good pastor's idealistic project and providing historical and social context for it. Smith surveys Sheldon's background and prolific writing and then provides some background on Christianity and journalism in American history. He devotes a chapter to the writing of history and the theory of rhetoric. Another chapter outlines the state of society in Sheldon's day: a time of wars, empires, corruption, and other evils. Then follows a chapter on newspapers in Sheldon's time, outlining the rise of sensational journalism and Sheldon's disdain for it. A separate chapter examines newspaper reporting of religion and the denominational press circa 1900. Finally we reach a description of the Sheldon Edition, as Sheldon's experiment was known at the time, and of popular reaction to it. Smith closes with a chapter reflecting on lessons from the experiment, the state of "Christocentric" journalism today, and the lasting influence of Sheldon, plus an appendix that reproduces six editorials from the Sheldon Edition.

Smith's enthusiasm for his subject is evident, but the book reads like a rushed first draft. References to various kinds of academic theory tend not to be well integrated into the text, but appear to have been added to give the book a patina of scholarship. Awkward and imprecise constructions are found repeatedly; we read, for example, that the Pilgrims believed that "truth consisted of a voluntary fellowship" (p. 18), when in fact that was their model for a true church, not truth itself, and that "A valuable tool for examining the way society acts on the media is the use of rhetorical analysis" (p. 24), when it is rhetorical analysis itself, not its use, that is the tool. Although plenty of points are referenced, the references cited are not always good scholarly sources: witness the theory of relativity, mentioned on page 49, for which the reader is referred to a mass-market "greatest events from history" volume. Some citations are not in standard form, or are intrusive, as on page 118, where the same unnecessarily lengthy citation interrupts the flow of the text six times in a row. As an ironic aside, the foreword (by another writer) takes a swipe at the theory of evolution, as if all Christians were creationists, ignoring the fact that Sheldon, living through an era of great evolution–creation conflicts, was a solid evolutionist. The University Press of America often publishes works that are submitted in camera-ready format; do they pass through an editorial process before the manuscript goes to the printer? If so, the press needs some new editors.

Similarly, dozens, probably hundreds, of small errors and typos appear throughout the book. Topeka's David Mulvane became David Mulvanae (p. 12). *Histria* is offered as the root of our word "History" and is said to be a Latin word, when actually the Greek original is usually rendered *historia* (p. 20). The Reagan–Carter presidential election is placed in 1984 instead of 1980 (p. 26). The Transvaal, in South Africa, is here called "Transversal" (p. 41). William Allen White's newspaper becomes the "*Emporium Gazette*" (p. 52). Sheldon's age at death is advanced by a year (p. 124). And so forth, and so forth. Proofreading has gone the way of editing.

At his best Smith writes engagingly, and his enthusiasm for his subject matter is buoyant. If only the details had received much more attention, the book might stand as a worthy contribution of our understanding of Sheldon, his time, and the ongoing attempt of millions of Christians to conduct their lives in imitation of Jesus.

Reviewed by Timothy Miller, *professor of religious studies, University of Kansas.*

Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806–1848

by Stephen G. Hyslop

xiii + 514 pages, illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002, cloth $34.95.

This is a hard book to categorize. It is more a time-travelogue than a work of historical analysis. Telling the story of the Santa Fe Trail as an international and intercultural path of commerce in the words of those who traveled it, it is not just a scissors-and-paste job, although direct quotations often occupy half a page or more. The author calls it "an interpretive collection of passages" (p. xiii). The illustrations, all in black and white, are selected with the care that one would expect of a Time-Life Books editor of volumes about the Third Reich and American Indians, as well as several illustrated works about ancient history.

Stephen Hyslop divides his book into three parts. The first sketches the history of travel between the United States and Santa Fe, beginning with the Zebulon Pike's exploring expedition in 1806, which fell afoul of the Spanish authorities. Mexican independence in 1821 brought more liberal policies toward foreigners, and annual caravans soon followed the trail that led past Council Grove, Pawnee Rock, and other landmarks to the markets of Santa Fe and, for those who continued south, Chihuahua. The trade flourished for a quarter of a century. Hyslop ends the first section with a chapter about some of the authors whom he quotes most frequently: dragoon Philip St. George Cooke, trader Josiah Gregg, journalist Matthew C. Field, merchant's wife Susan Magoffin, young sightseer Lewis H. Garrard, and several others.

The book's second section follows the trail geographically from its eastern end in Missouri (chapters about St. Louis, Franklin, and Independence) and traces it through tallgrass and shortgrass prairies to the Arkansas River and the two branches of the trail that either followed the Arkansas to Bent's Fort and the mountains or cut directly southwest to the Cimarron. Extended quotations from contemporary observers describe each segment of the trail. The last part of the book sketches the Mexican War in New Mexico and Chihuahua, as seen by soldiers and civilians in the American armies led by Kearny and Doniphan.

Hyslop sees the war as a "distortion of that compromising give-and-take" that had characterized relations among Anglos, Mexicans, and Indians of the plains and pueblos during the Santa Fe Trail's first quarter century as a trade route (p. 436). The necessities of commerce certainly dictated a degree of tolerance and accommodation, but some Anglo traders' remarks, written before war broke out in 1846 and quoted here, reveal a distaste for New Mexico's residents that could find full expression only after the conquest, and suppression of the anti-Anglo revolt that followed it. Hyslop's discussion might have benefited from reading some of the recent scholarship about the fur trade, Anglo-Mexican relations in Texas, and other cultural frontiers.

Bound for Santa Fe provides a good introduction to the history of the trail, and to the writings of travelers who followed it. Professional historians might wish the book contained fewer extended quotations and more analysis. Hyslop provides a good bibliography of published primary and secondary works, and the endnotes show the author's acquaintance with Missouri newspapers of the early nineteenth century.

Reviewed by William A. Dobak, *historian, U.S. Army Center of Military History, Washington, D.C.*

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

Perilous Pursuit: The U.S. Cavalry and the Northern Cheyennes

by Stan Hoig

xii + 292 pages, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index.
Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002, cloth $34.95.

The story of the 1878–1879 flight of Northern Cheyenne Indians under Chiefs Morning Star (Dull Knife) and Little Wolf to reach their Montana homeland from incarceration in Indian Territory is an epic of American history. It has been the subject of a novelized history by Mari Sandoz (*Cheyenne Autumn*, 1953) and of a motion picture (1964) based on her book. Despite a long-standing need for inclusive scholarly treatment, the Cheyenne ordeal has only recently garnered such attention, in this volume by historian Stan Hoig and in a recent study authored by John H. Monnett entitled *Tell Them We Are Going Home: The Odyssey of the Northern Cheyennes*, published in 2001 by the University of Oklahoma Press.

It was a heartrending episode. In 1876 the Northern Cheyennes became allies of the Lakotas in their conflict with the government that climaxed at the Little Big Horn River. The warfare steadily decreased in numerous encounters over the next fifteen months as the tribesmen, bereft of resources, were forced into the agencies of the Great Sioux Reservation in Dakota Territory and Nebraska. The Northern Cheyennes, largely defeated in the fall of 1876 following an attack on their village in Wyoming's Big Horn Mountains, surrendered in the spring of 1877. As punishment for their actions, they were sent en masse to Indian Territory (present Oklahoma) to join their kinsmen, the Southern Cheyennes. It proved a difficult tenure, and many died from starvation and disease in less than a year. On September 7, 1878, homesick for their Montana lands and seemingly oblivious to the dangers awaiting them, three hundred of the people under Morning Star and Little Wolf started north from Darlington Agency (near Fort Reno), determined to leave the death and despair behind.

As Hoig deftly relates, their movement brought swift military response, with troops converging from several administrative domains to try and stop the Indians and send them back. Over several weeks troops engaged a relatively small body of warriors who fought to defend their families. Several small skirmishes occurred, while major actions took place at Turkey Springs, Indian Territory, and Punished Woman's Fork, Kansas, in which the tribesmen conducted sophisticated offensive maneuvers at pre-selected locations that repeatedly foiled the soldiers and permitted their people to keep moving north. In northwestern Kansas they attacked and killed settlers to gain food and livestock, actions that turned previously favorable public opinion against them. Once in Nebraska, internal dissension appeared and the body split. Those with Morning Star, shortly surrounded by troops from Fort Robinson, surrendered. Later restricted to an unheated barrack building at the post after refusing to return south, Morning Star's people staged an outbreak on January 9, 1879, and many escaped into the surrounding hills. The troops hunted them down piecemeal for two weeks, during which time more than sixty Cheyennes were killed. Surviving tribesmen joined the Lakotas at Pine Ridge Agency, Dakota. Meantime, those people with Little Wolf wintered in the sand hills then continued on to Montana, where they, too, yielded to the government in March 1879.

Hoig's handling of this tragic story is at once compelling, objective, and comprehensive, treating not only the Indians' exodus from Indian Territory, but its prelude and aftermath, properly and thoroughly. Of particular note are the finely rendered maps of the Indians' routes and battle actions that are critical to the accompanying narrative. Also, the study benefited from Cheyenne accounts, as well as from previously unused courts-martial records that furnished an added dimension regarding army deployment and engagements. All in all, *Perilous Pursuit* affords a welcome contribution to knowledge of the Northern Cheyenne exodus.

Reviewed by Jerome A. Greene, *historian, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado.*

BOOK NOTES

Angie Debo: Pioneering Historian. By Shirley A. Leckie. (Norman: Red River Books, University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. xiv + 242 pages. Paper, $14.95.)

Although historian Angie Debo's career was spent mostly in Oklahoma and Texas during the 1930s and beyond, she was born in Beattie, Marshall County, Kansas, in 1890, and her scholarship, much of which focused on the "Five Civilized Tribes," is of considerable regional and national interest. Daryl Morrison, special collections librarian, University of the Pacific, who reviewed the original, 2000 edition of the biography for *Kansas History* (Spring 2001), wrote that "through interviews with Debo and analysis of documentary evidence found in her manuscript collection at Oklahoma State University, Leckie provides a detailed and balanced account of Debo's life" and career. Although, as Morrison pointed out, the volume could have been "strengthened with footnoted sources and a bibliography of Debo's writings," it ends with a bibliographic essay that "provides further reading for the place of women and Indian history in the field of history."

I Love Kansas! History Made—History Remembered. By Rev. Richard Taylor. (Leawood, Kans.: Leathers Publishing, 2002. x + 193 pages. Paper, $14.95.)

Seldom does one come across a more aptly titled book: *I Love Kansas:! History Made—History Remembered* is part history and part autobiography, and, perhaps most importantly, its author/compiler, the Reverend Richard Taylor, is a native Kansan who has certainly made history and loves his state. As the leader of the Kansas United Dry Forces and Kansans for Life at Its Best, Taylor was well known to those of us who became politically conscious in the early 1970s, and although his self-published book does not ignore the well-publicized campaigns against the liberalization of the state's drinking and gambling laws, *I Love Kansas!* is largely devoted to other of Taylor's diverse Kansas interests: the early Topeka aviator A. K. Longren, about whom Taylor compiled a previous book; and historic preservation projects, most notably, perhaps, the "Big Barn" in Rooks County, the Taylor home, the Ritchie House, and the Jayhawk theater. Interested readers can contact Taylor directly to acquire a copy of this book or to just talk Kansas history with one of its true champions.

Fort Robinson and the American Century, 1900–1948. By Thomas R. Buecker. (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 2002. xxviii + 214 pages. Paper $16.50.)

Many students of Kansas and the West will be familiar with the nineteenth-century history of Fort Robinson and perhaps with a previous volume from the Nebraska State Historical Society treating this period, *Fort Robinson and the American West, 1874–1899* (reviewed in *Kansas History*, winter 1999/2000). Like its neighbors to the south and north, the Nebraska outpost played a key role in the Plains Indian wars, but also like a couple of its Kansas counterparts, Fort Robinson has an interesting and significant twentieth-century story to tell. Now a popular state park, Fort Robinson began the last century as a major cavalry post, but "change," writes Thomas R. Buecker, curator of the Nebraska State Historical Society's Fort Robinson Museum, "was on the horizon, in the army, in the West, and in the nation as a whole," and Fort Robinson changed with the times, becoming "the nation's largest and best known remount depot, where thousands of horses, mules, and dogs were conditioned, trained, and issued for service worldwide." This useful volume contains a good number of historic photographs and tables, as well as notes and a bibliography.

Cheyennes and Horse Soldiers: The 1857 Expedition and the Battle of Solomon's Fork. By William Y. Chalfant. (Norman: Red River Books, University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. xxii + 415 pages. Paper, $24.95.)

Readers of Kansas and western history are well aware of William Y. Chalfant's many contributions to our better understanding of the military history of this region. In addition to *Cheyennes and Horse Soldiers*, first published in 1989, his other titles include *Without Quarter: The Wichita Expedition and the Fight on Crooked Creek* (1991), *Dangerous Passage: The Santa Fe Trail and the Mexican War* (1994), and *Cheyennes at Dark Water Creek: The Last Fight of the Red River War* (1997). In the autumn of 1990 a *Kansas History* reviewer called *Cheyennes and Horse Soldiers* "a fine, detailed, and highly unusual study of a neglected early chapter of plains warfare. [Chalfant] has done so by helping us to understand, as no other author has done, the terrain of northwestern Kansas, the tribal psyche of the Cheyennes and their willingness to do battle with [Colonel E. V.] Sumner, as well as the daily rigors of an antebellum U.S. cavalry regiment in the field."

The Men of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. By Charles G. Clarke. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. xxvi + 339 pages. Paper $16.95.)

Lewis & Clark Among the Indians. By James P. Ronda. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. xxi + 310 pages. Paper $17.95.)

First published in 1970 and 1984, respectively, these timely (the much touted bicentennial is less than two years away) Bison Books editions offer the student of Kansas and western history the opportunity to acquire two very important titles on different aspects of a vital early nineteenth-century American undertaking. As indicated in the subtitle, "a biographical roster of the fifty-one members and composite diary of their activities from all known sources," Clarke offers much information about the individuals who made up the Corps of Discovery and, as Dayton Duncan writes in a new introduction, Clarke "was one of the first to remind the world" that each of these men had a story to tell and to seek "to rescue them from oblivion." Appropriately, Ronda, the H. G. Barnard chair in western history at the University of Tulsa, offers us a closer look at the native peoples encountered by the expedition; *Lewis & Clark Among the Indians* "is about what happens when people from different cultural persuasions meet and deal with each other. . . .—a full-scale contact study of the official and personal relations between the explorers and the Indians." Ronda reminds us that "both sides of the cultural divide" supplied interesting and important actors for this all-American drama; it is a "complex" and "nuanced" story that must be reconsidered and contemplated in all its wonderful complexity as we prepare for the 2004 observances and beyond.

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

THE SOCIETY was organized by Kansas newspaper editors and publishers in 1875 and soon became the official trustee for the state's historical collections. Since that time the Society has operated both as a nonprofit membership organization and as a specially recognized society supported by appropriations from the state of Kansas. A ninety-nine-member board of directors, through its executive committee, governs the Society, which is administered by an executive director and an assistant executive director.

The mission of the Kansas State Historical Society is the advancement of knowledge regarding the preservation of resources related to the history and prehistory of the state and the American West. This is accomplished through educational and cultural programs, the provision of research services, and the protection of historic properties. The Society operates the Center for Historical Research, the Kansas Museum of History, the Koch Industries Education Center, and the Stach School in west Topeka, and seventeen historic sites throughout the state.

MEMBERSHIP

Kansas History is distributed to members of the Kansas State Historical Society, Inc. All persons are cordially invited to join the Society. Annual membership dues are: basic $30, family $35, donor $50–$499, sponsor $500, benefactor $1,000, and patron $2,500 or more. Call 785-272-8681, ext. 232. Corporate membership information is available upon request. Issues of *Kansas History* are $6 each ($9 for double issues) available from the Kansas State Historical Society, Inc., 6425 SW Sixth Avenue, Topeka, KS 66615-1099; 785-272-8681, ext. 454.

Individuals wishing to provide additional support for the Society's work may want to consider contributions in the form of gifts or bequests. If you would like more information about how you can provide a gift or join our LEGACY CIRCLE, which recognizes the generosity and foresight of individuals who have provided bequests to the Society, please contact the Chief Executive Officer, Kansas State Historical Society, Inc. The Society is a 501(c)3 not-for-profit organization, and donations are deductible in accordance with IRS code section 170.

EDITORIAL POLICIES

Kansas History is published quarterly by the Kansas State Historical Society, Inc., and contains scholarly articles, edited documents, and other materials that contribute to an understanding of the history and cultural heritage of Kansas and the Central Plains. Political, social, intellectual, cultural, economic, and institutional histories are welcome, as are biographical and historiographical interpretations and studies of archeology, the built environment, and material culture. Articles emphasizing visual documentation, exceptional reminiscences, and autobiographical writings also are considered for publication. Genealogical studies generally are not accepted.

Manuscripts are evaluated anonymously by appropriate scholars who determine the suitability for publication based on the manuscript's originality, quality of research, significance, and presentation, among other factors. Previously published articles or manuscripts that are being considered for publication elsewhere will not be considered. The editors reserve the right to make changes in accepted articles and will consult with authors regarding such. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors.

Kansas History follows the *Chicago Manual of Style*, published by the University of Chicago Press (14th ed., rev., 1993). A style sheet, which includes a detailed explanation of the editorial policy, is available on request. Articles appearing in *Kansas History* are abstracted and/or indexed in *Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life*. The journal is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The Edgar Langsdorf Award for Excellence in Writing, which includes a plaque and an honorarium of two hundred dollars, is awarded each year for the best article published by *Kansas History*.

The editor welcomes letters responding to any of the articles published in this journal. With the correspondent's permission, those that contribute substantively to the scholarly dialogue by offering new insights or historical information may be published. All comments or editorial queries should be addressed to Virgil W. Dean, editor, *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, 6425 SW Sixth Avenue, Topeka, KS 66615-1099; 785-272-8681, ext. 274; e-mail: vdean@kshs.org.

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

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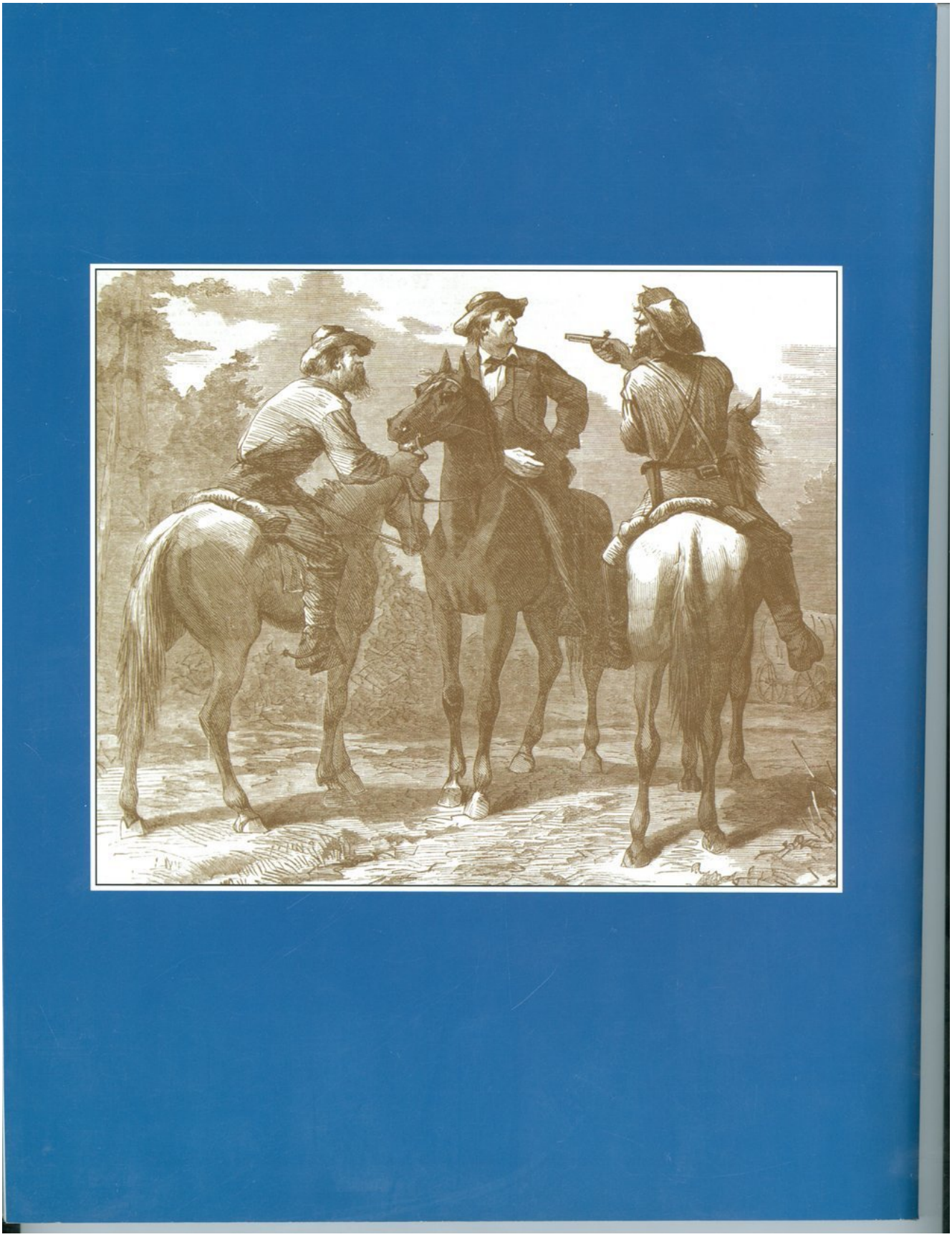

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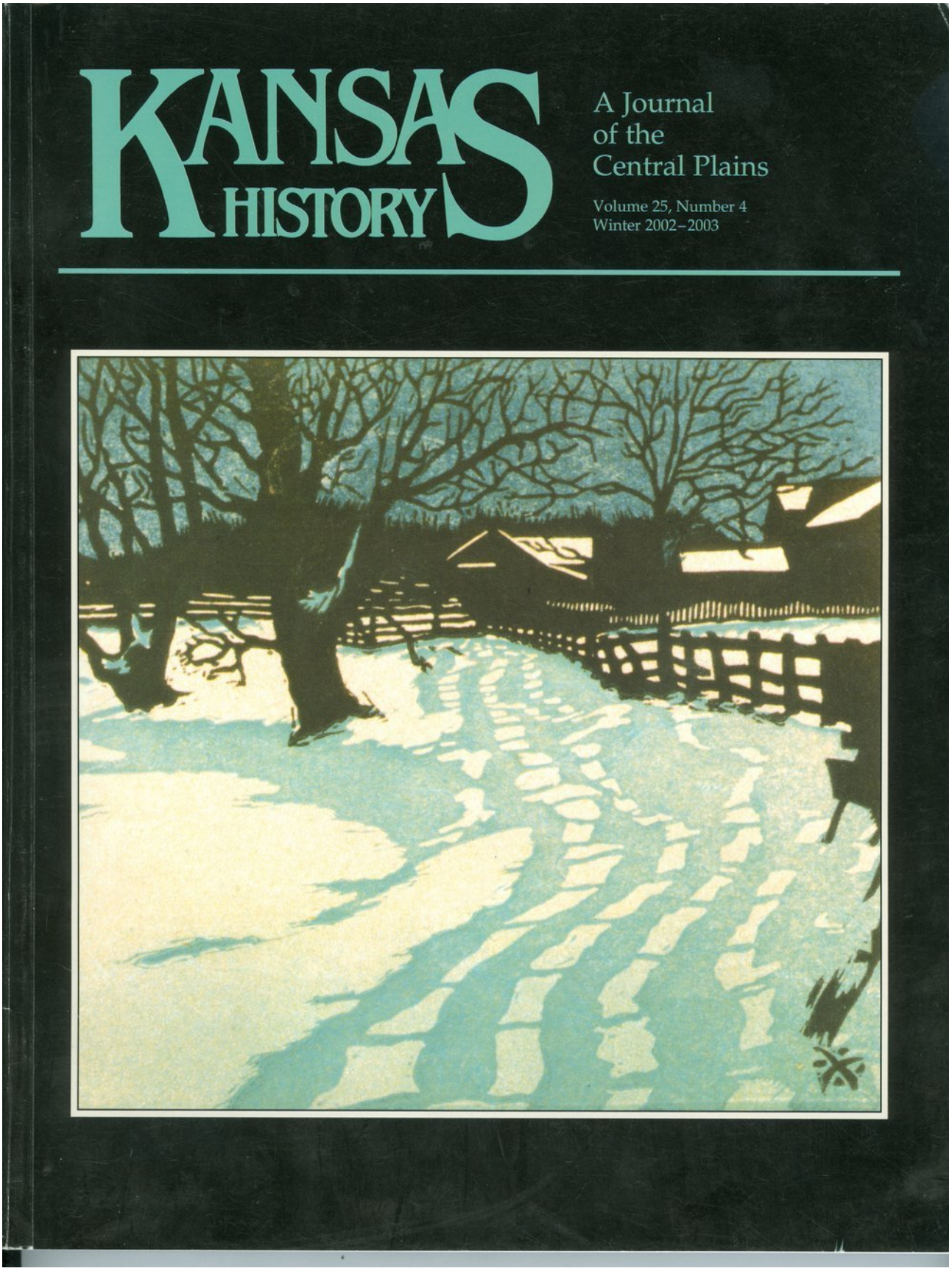

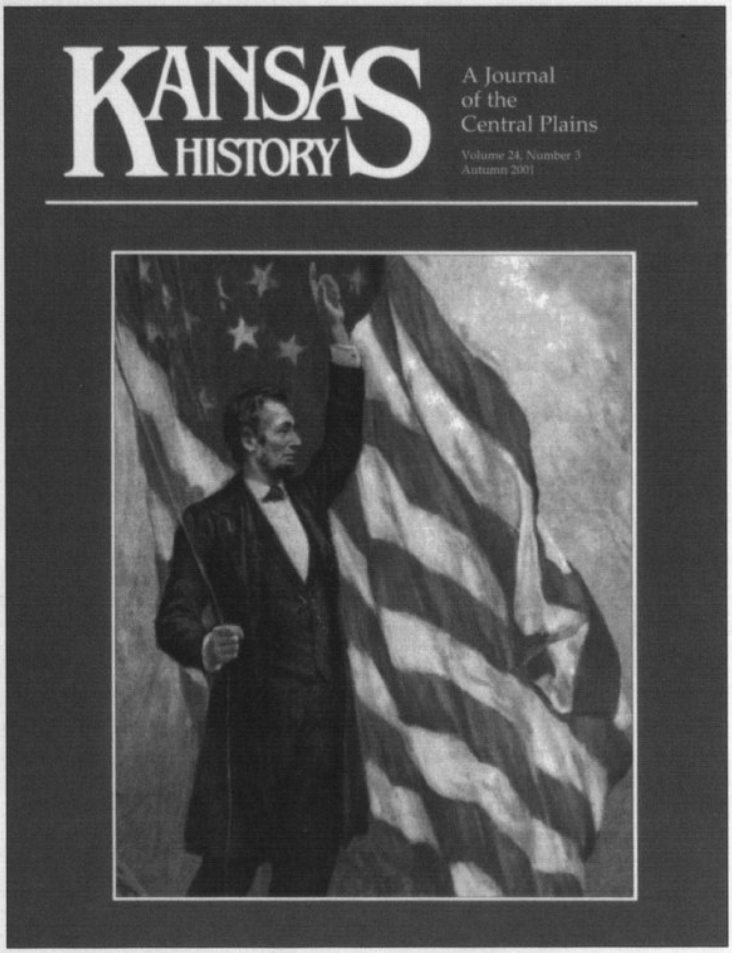

Cover, Kansas History *24 (Autumn 2001). Celebrating Twenty-five Years of* Kansas History.

As our readers well know, in anticipation of Kansas's sesquicentennial commemoration in 2004, Kansas History *launched a review essay series with the autumn 2001 issue. Co-edited by Professor Rita G. Napier of the University of Kansas, whose essay "Rethinking the Past, Reimagining the Future" served as its introduction, the series has already explored such important themes as Bleeding Kansas, water, literature, race, and art. In coming volumes we intend to examine Kansas historiography as it relates to children, women, American Indians, the military, transportation, politics, agriculture, and reform, among others, perhaps. We remain convinced, as noted in the autumn 2001 issue, "that these contributions will serve a useful purpose, calling attention to the importance of recent writings and encouraging our readers to see Kansas history differently. Hopefully, the series also will inspire some to take research and writing in new directions." Most importantly, to paraphrase a line from* Kansas History*'s inaugural issue penned by its first editor, as the journal begins its second quarter century, we hope you, our readers, continue to enjoy and benefit from whatever appears between our covers, and we always welcome your comments and suggestions.*

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

KANSAS HISTORY

Volume 25 *Winter 2002–2003* *Number 4*

COVER: Winter, *a relief print by Leo Courtney, a Kansas artist and a founding member of the Prairie Print Makers. Kansas art is the subject of this issue's review essay beginning on page 272.* BACK COVER: *Jacket illustration for a 1931 publication by George S. Counts, whose relationship to Kansas is examined in "The Education of an Intellectual," beginning on page 258.*

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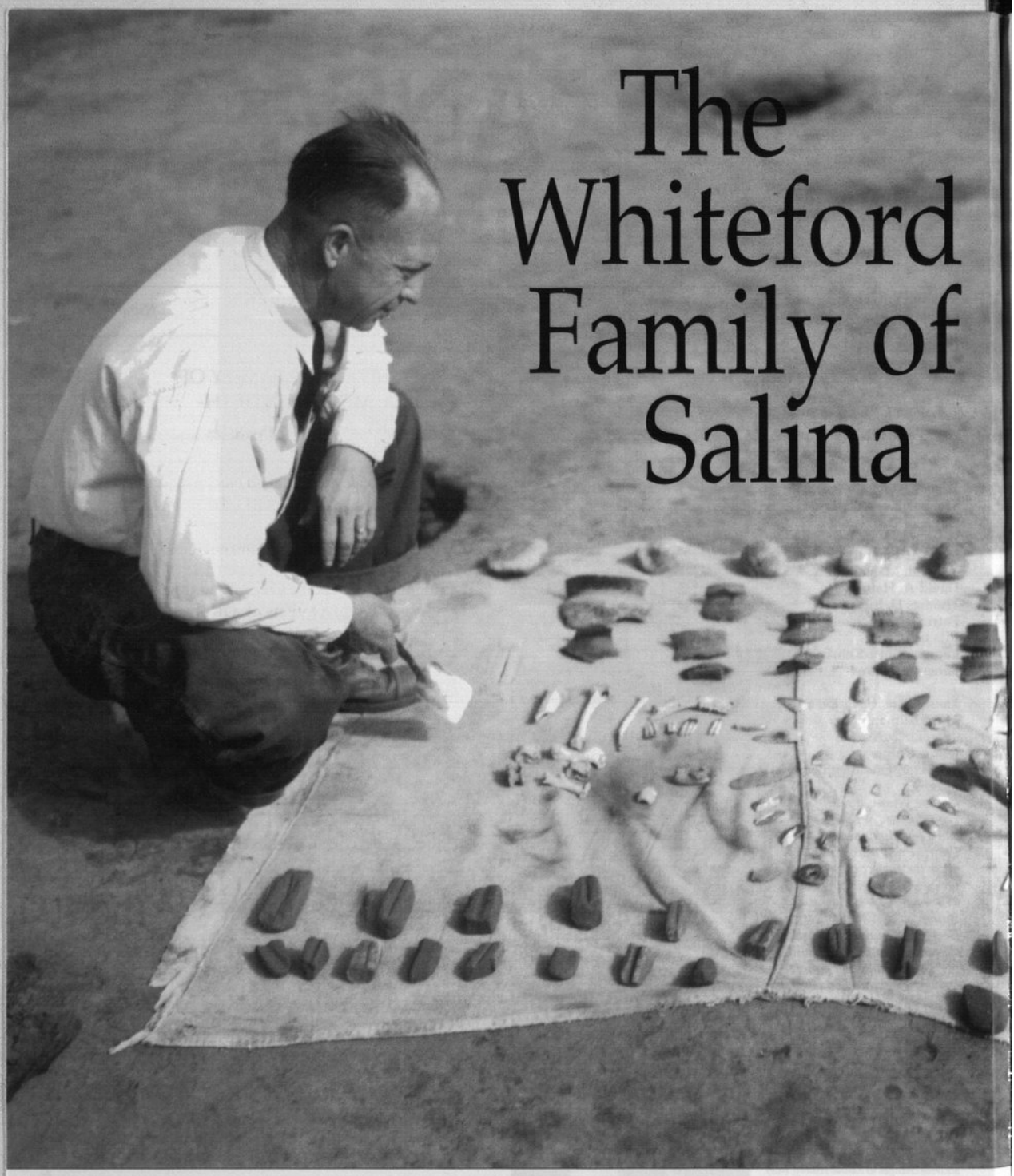
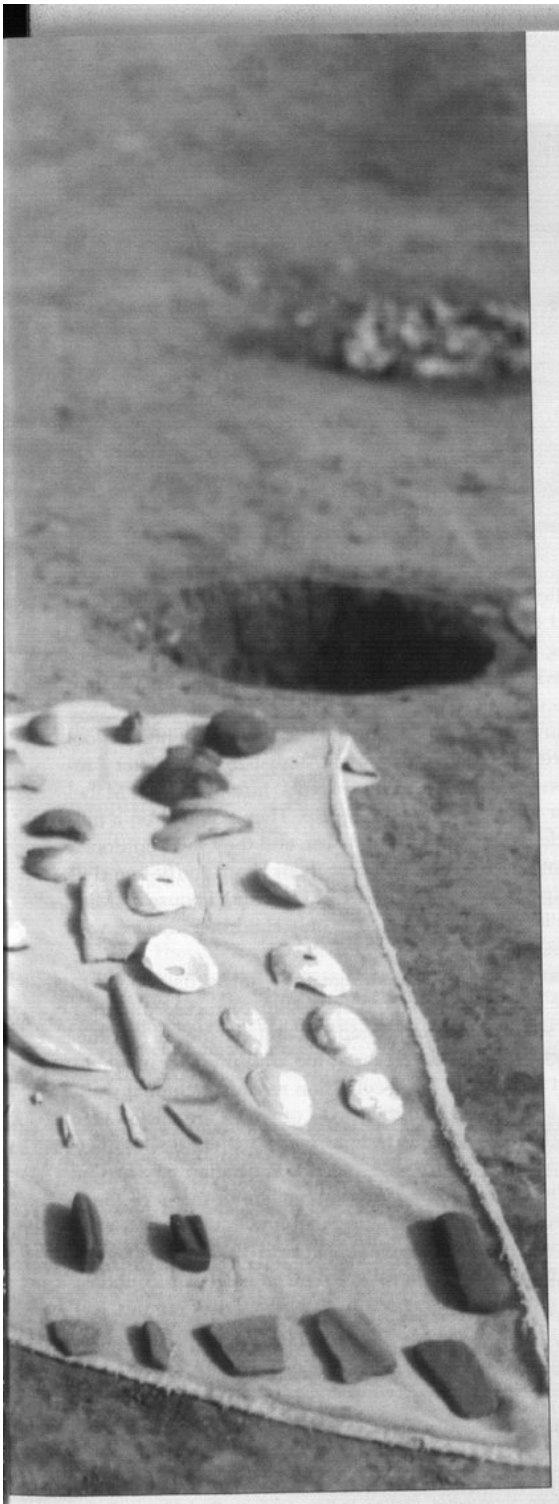
The Whiteford Family of Salina



Guy Whiteford examines artifacts discovered in the 1940s at the Markley site in Ottawa County.



Mid-Twentieth-Century Avocational Archeologists

by Donna C. Roper

The late-nineteenth–early-twentieth-century work of such individuals as J. V. Brower and J. A. Udden in Kansas and R. F. Gilder and E. E. Blackman in Nebraska anticipated the modern practice of archeology in the Central Plains, but not until the 1930s did a sustained effort develop. This rise stemmed from the quickening pace of North American archeology during that decade and came about in large part because of the efforts of several individuals, among whom were three outstanding professionals: A. T. Hill, who began his investigations as a hobby and came to direct the archeological work of the Nebraska State Historical Society; William Duncan Strong, whose career took him through the University of Nebraska, the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution, and Columbia University in New York; and Waldo R. Wedel, who began as a graduate student under Strong at Nebraska, worked extensively with Hill, and then had a long career at the Smithsonian.[1] Equally important, however, was a cadre of am-

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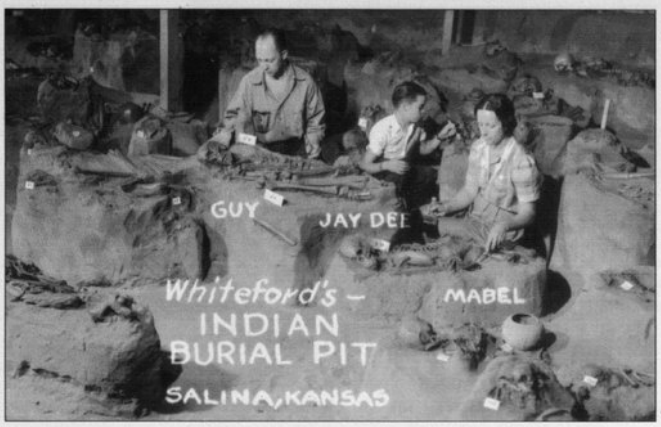
Donna C. Roper is an archeologist and adjunct faculty member at Kansas State University. She is the editor of Medicine Creek: Seventy Years of Archaeological Investigations *(University of Alabama Press, 2002).*

This article is a side-product of a study of the Indian Burial Pit the author currently is conducting under contract with the Kansas State Historical Society. She would like to thank the Society for funding that study and for separately funding a trip to the National Anthropological Archives in Washington to obtain copies of pertinent records in the Wedel papers. She also thanks the librarians, archivists, and curators at various institutions who helped her obtain other material, and Jay Dee Whiteford, whom she had the opportunity to interview in person in September 2000. Thanks are also due to those who read and commented on various versions of this manuscript.

1. Gordon R. Willey and Jeremy A. Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology*, 3d ed. (New York: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1993); William Duncan Strong, *An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology*, Miscellaneous Collections 93 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1935), remains an important work. Several of Wedel's major contributions to Central Plains archeology include Waldo R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 112 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1936), which is the published version of his University of Nebraska master's thesis; Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 174 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1959); Wedel, *Central Plains Prehistory: Holocene Environments and Culture Change in the Republican River Valley* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986). Hill's published output is minimal, but his role as a director and enabler of research was critical to the development of Central Plains archeology.



The Whiteford family—Guy, Mabel, and son Jay Dee—were prominent amateur archeologists in central Kansas and became most widely known for their excavation and early operation of the Indian Burial Pit near Salina.

ateur archeologists who worked in their local areas. It was they who had the collections, knew the sites, and had the contacts to gain access to them, and they who supplied Hill, Strong, and Wedel with information. The assistance was reciprocal, for the professionals, better trained in field and laboratory techniques, could and did provide the amateurs with advice on fieldwork and handling collections.

Prominent among amateur archeologists in central Kansas were the Whitefords of Salina—Guy, Mabel, and Jay Dee. This family is most widely known for its involvement in the excavation and early operation of the Indian Burial Pit or Salina Burial Pit, also known as the Whiteford site (14SA1), the late prehistoric Native American cemetery that was a major central Kansas tourist attraction for more than half a century. The Whitefords might not have been involved in that site's story at all, however, were it not for the reputation they already had earned in the community through their prior investigations. In fact, by the time the burial pit story began, they had been excavating archeological sites for more than two years and collecting from them for even longer. In the decade from the time they began the burial pit excavation to their departure from Kansas, they would excavate more sites, photo-document important rock art sites, and provide Waldo Wedel, in particular, with information critical to parts of his mid-twentieth-century major synthesis of Kansas archeology. As will be shown, the Whitefords' work was in the best tradition of the archeology of their time; and their collection is largely intact at the Kansas State Historical Society, where its importance and value endure to this day.

The father in this family was Guy L. Whiteford. Reportedly he was born in northeastern Kansas, possibly Atchison County, on March 16, 1894, was in the army during World War I, then went to Salina in the early 1920s and joined the police force. He was a motorcycle patrolman in the 1920s and was known locally as Speedy or the "pop-pop cop." One of his Salina neighbors was Mabel Beulah Morgan. She was born on December 2, 1902, in Hydro, Oklahoma, moved with her family to Grand Junction, Colorado, in 1910, and to a farm near Salina in 1913. She was not allowed to go to school during her early years, but did attend the Salina schools, boarding with a family in town during the week. She graduated from Salina High in 1923, after which she moved into town and became an assistant to Salina photographer W. C. Fuller.[2]

Guy and Mabel met during her last year of high school and were married in Salina on August 26, 1925. After a reception and chivaree at her parents' farm, Guy and Mabel left for a two-week wedding trip. They traveled on a motorcycle equipped with a side-car, and they slept outdoors. The entire 1,250-mile trip cost them about thirty-two dollars. Upon their return, they lived in a small house on Minneapolis Street in Salina. Their only child, son Jay Dee, was born in 1927.[3]

Shortly after their marriage, the Whitefords decided to build a rock garden using only "fossilized rocks," and they began scouring the countryside for suitable pieces. Not surprisingly, they found artifacts, too, and thus became avid artifact collectors.[4] Their collection records include a wallpaper sample book on the leaves of which are pasted U.S. Geological Survey quadrangle maps with the sites they knew plotted on them. We have no indication of when or how the Whitefords first became aware of many of these sites, but events recounted in the following text show that they knew at least some of them by mid-1934. Most sites are in the major river valleys in Saline and Ottawa Counties; others are in Rice, McPherson, and Ellsworth Counties. Ex-

2. Jay Dee Whiteford, interview by author, September 22, 2000; "Guy L. Whiteford" entry (W316), microfilm roll KS-138, 1900 Soundex, U.S. Census; *Salina City Directory, 1925* (Sioux City, Iowa: R. L. Polk and Co., 1925); Mabel B. Whiteford obituary, *Everett (Washington) Daily Herald*, June 3, 2001, online edition.

3. C. E. Chambers, "Mabel Whiteford Remembers," *South Everett (Washington) Journal*, January 11, 2000, 22.

4. John Schmiedler, "Salina Indian Artifacts Find Haven Back 'Home,'" *Salina Journal*, September 26, 1971.

A chance encounter in 1934 between the Whitefords and a field party from the Nebraska State Historical Society initiated a fruitful working relationship between the family and two prominent authorities on Great Plains prehistory: Waldo R. Wedel (left) and Asa T. Hill (right). Standing at center is William Duncan Strong of the University of Nebraska Archeological Survey.

cept for those in Rice County, all sites were within thirty miles of their home.

The turning point in the Whiteford's archeological activities came in the summer of 1934. Mabel Whiteford recounted it to the *Kansas City Times* in February 1938:

> one night it rained—a hard, pelting cloud-burst. This is the best time to find artifacts. We hurried to our favorite spot down near Lindsborg. And were we disgusted to find another group there?
>
> They were some archaelogy [*sic*] students from the University of Nebraska under the direction of Mr. [A. T.] Hill. It was really grand for us though, for we soon made friends and presently we were showing our collection to Mr. Hill. To our amazement, we discovered it had real scientific value.[5]

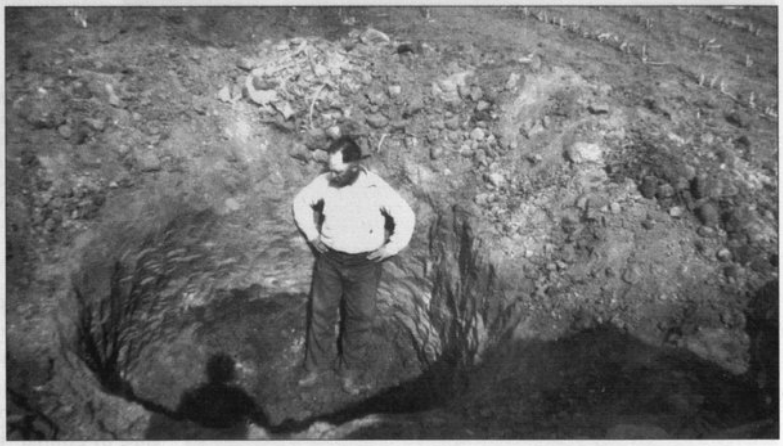
This encounter took place on one of the four July days during which a field party from the Nebraska State Historical Society (NSHS), under the direction of A. T. Hill, excavated test pits and cache pits at the Paint Creek site (14MP1). This site is in the Smoky Hill River valley in northwest McPherson County, about four miles south of Lindsborg. It is one of the large sites of the Great Bend aspect, the archeological culture representing the mid-fifteenth through late-seventeenth-century Wichita Indians of central Kansas. It was some of these sites that Coronado entered when he visited the province of Quivira in 1541. The sites have been known since the late 1800s and were identified as the probable location of Quivira in the late 1920s, although the formal definition of the Great Bend aspect came later. It was common in that era for institutions with archeology programs to seek to obtain "representative artifacts" of recognized cultural complexes, and the Quivira sites certainly were one set of sites to sample. This was one goal of the NSHS field party's July 1934 foray into northern Kansas. As it turned out, however, the NSHS excavation at Paint Creek was less momentous for its role in defining the Great Bend aspect than for its meeting with the Whitefords; for from this chance encounter emerged not only a new phase in the Whitefords' archeological career, but also a fruitful working relationship between the Whitefords and A. T. Hill and especially between the Whitefords and Waldo Wedel.[6]

The first result of this relationship was that the Whitefords directed the Nebraska party to a site near Minneapolis, Kansas, then and now known as the Minneapolis site (14OT5). Here, in late July 1934 the NSHS party excavated three houses attributable to what Wedel a quarter-century later would designate the Smoky Hill phase, a late prehistoric (ca. A.D. 1000–1400) culture. Wedel wrote the excavation report and gave "Mr. G. L. Whiteford of Salina" credit "[f]or discovery of the principal site, Minneapolis 1" in his report of the 1934 excavations. The *Salina Journal* covered the excavation as it was conducted, and in a piece published shortly after the release of Wedel's report, proudly pointed out that Guy Whiteford was credited with the site discovery. Mabel Whiteford is not mentioned in either that newspaper article or in Wedel's report, but it is difficult to believe that she was not involved too.[7]

5. "Prehistoric Burial Pit is Discovered in Kansas," *Kansas City Times*, February 10, 1938.

6. Waldo R. Wedel, "Salina 1, A Protohistoric Indian Village in McPherson County," *Nebraska History Magazine* 15 (July–September 1934): 238–50; Salina 1 is a former designation for the Paint Creek site; Horace Jones, "Quivira—Rice County, Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections, 1926–1928* 17 (1928): 535–46; Paul Jones, *Quivira* (Wichita, Kans.: McCormick–Armstrong Co., 1929); Paul Jones, *Coronado and Quivira* (Lyons, Kan.: Lyons Publishing Co., 1937); Waldo R. Wedel, "Culture Chronology in the Central Great Plains," *American Antiquity* 12 (January 1947): 148.

7. Waldo R. Wedel, "Minneapolis 1, A Prehistoric Village in Ottawa County, Kansas," *Nebraska History Magazine* 15 (July–September 1934): 218; "Find A Village," *Salina Journal*, July 31, 1934; "Digs Out the Past," ibid., May 15, 1935.



During 1934–1936 the Whitefords' work on Great Bend aspect sites focused on, but was not confined to, the Paint Creek site, McPherson County.

The July 1934 events and contacts clearly stimulated the Whitefords to learn to identify and catalog artifacts, and to begin keeping a ledger to record and catalog their finds. They also began to conduct their own excavations into both Great Bend aspect and Smoky Hill phase sites. Some of these excavations would be crucial to the development of Kansas archeology.

All of their work on Great Bend aspect sites was conducted early in their excavation period. It focused on, although was not confined to, the Paint Creek site. Paint Creek was first studied by Bethany College geology professor Johan August Udden in 1881 and has long been known to collectors.[8] The Whitefords obviously had been collecting from the site, perhaps for some time, prior to meeting the NSHS field party there, but they did not begin excavating until after that meeting. Their first excavations at this site, which they called the Nelson site after the landowner, were in November 1934, at which time they dug two cache pits. The catalog entry for the first pit, Cache I, is slim: it contains no description of the pit and lists only seven artifacts. The Cache II catalog entry does not describe the pit either, but forty catalog entries account for its contents.

The Whitefords excavated five more cache pits at Paint Creek during the next sixteen months: Caches III and IV in November 1935, Cache V in January 1936, and Caches VI and VII in March 1936. The ledger entries for these pits reveal a rapid development of the Whitefords' recording and possibly also excavation standards. Catalog entries always list pit contents, but the descriptions for Caches III–VII also provide some information on the size and internal stratigraphy of the pits. The Whitefords even drew small profile sketches of Caches V and VII. A larger version of the Cache VII profile is in the A. T. Hill papers at the Nebraska State Historical Society. It accompanied a March 24, 1936, letter Guy Whiteford wrote to Hill in which he "wondered if this wasn't a kiva instead of a cache."[9] Clearly the Whitefords had been reading some southwestern archeology. Of course, while this was quite a large pit, even for a Great Bend aspect cache pit, it really was a cache pit, not a kiva. Nevertheless, we should give the Whitefords credit for not just collecting the artifacts but also thinking about how to interpret their context.

Beyond the Paint Creek site, the Whitefords' quadrangle maps plot the location of the Sharps Creek site, another major Smoky Hill River valley Great Bend aspect site in McPherson County a few miles west of the Paint Creek site. The ledger also contains entries for artifacts from several sites in the Great Bend aspect site group in eastern Rice County, and the quadrangle map plots ten sites along the Little Arkansas River in the Galt area and two sites along Cow Creek near Lyons. All Rice County locations correspond to known Great Bend aspect sites. Catalog entries indicate that the Whitefords excavated one cache pit at what they called the Thompson site (14RC9, still called the Thompson site) in the Little Arkansas River group, probably sometime between November 1934 and May 1935. Nothing in their catalog or any of their other records, however, indicates any excavation on Great Bend aspect sites after the Paint Creek Cache VII excavation. The sum total of their Great Bend site investigations thus was eight cache pits excavated at two sites and, apparently, surface collec-

8. Johan August Udden, *An Old Indian Village* (Rock Island, Ill.: Lutheran Augustana Book Concern, 1900). For a review of Udden's career in Kansas, *see also* James R. Underwood Jr., "The Life of Johan August Udden, Geologist, Teacher, Inventor: Through the Kansas Years," Kansas Academy of Sciences, *Transactions* 95 (October 1992), 177–91.

9. Guy L. Whiteford to A. T. Hill, March 24, 1936, A. T. Hill Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln.

The Whitefords' first excavation on the Smoky Hill phase site was in Ottawa County at the Aerhart site. Their excavation procedures clearly reflect the influence of A. T. Hill.

tions from at least twelve other sites—a rather minor part of their archeological activity. The excavations also were a rather minor part of the history of investigations of Great Bend sites in central Kansas and were not critical to the definition of that culture. The converse, however, is true of the Whitefords' work on Smoky Hill phase sites. This work was extensive and varied. It also was vital to the formulation of the Smoky Hill phase.

The dominant paradigm in American archeology of the late 1920s and the 1930s was culture history, or determining the sequence of past cultures and their distribution in space by the study of material remains. At that time an important approach to culture history was what came to be called the direct historical approach, in which the analyst developed a sequence by first studying the material culture assemblages of recent peoples whose identity was known, then worked back in time and linked cultures together by analyzing progressively less similar assemblages. By 1930 in the Central Plains, this approach had tied the nineteenth-century villages of the Pawnees to their seventeenth- and eighteenth-century predecessors in Nebraska. About this same time, both amateur and professional archeologists in the region were becoming aware of sites whose assemblages bore some resemblances to those of the Pawnee sites, but yet also manifested some notable dissimilarities. Following a 1930 excavation at one such site in the Republican River valley in Franklin County, Nebraska, William Duncan Strong named this the Upper Republican culture. In 1933 A. T. Hill and Waldo Wedel excavated several Upper Republican sites in the Medicine Creek valley, in Frontier County, Nebraska, and excavated several more in the Medicine Creek valley and other parts of the Republican River drainage in May and June 1934. From these excavations emerged a definition of Upper Republican culture that remains fundamental to our understanding of this complex. Upper Republican culture, however, had been studied only in Nebraska and, as Wedel noted in 1934, "Kansas continues a blank on the archeological map of the central Plains." Yet some archeologists believed that remains similar to those of the Upper Republican sites would be found in Kansas. Indeed, they already had been, for Floyd Schultz of Clay Center had been working on these sites in Kansas even before Hill, Strong, and Wedel began their work. Schultz excavated several sites that we now assign to the Smoky Hill phase in the late 1920s and early 1930s, but he never really got along with people like Hill and Wedel; thus his investigations never had the impact they could, in principle, have had. It, therefore, would fall to the Whitefords to bring to the attention of the professionals the central Kansas remains placed at first within the Upper Republican culture but later designated the Smoky Hill phase.[10]

The Whitefords' first excavation on the Smoky Hill phase site actually preceded any of their excavations on Great Bend aspect sites and thus was the first excavation they conducted on their own. They knew this site, which is in the Solomon River valley about five miles northeast of Minneapolis, as the Aerhart site (14OT305), and they exca-

10. R. Lee Lyman, Michael J. O'Brien, and Robert C. Dunnell, *The Rise and Fall of Culture History* (New York: Plenum Press, 1997); Wedel, *An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology*; W. D. Strong, "The Plains Culture Area in the Light of Archaeology," *American Anthropologist* 35 (April–June 1933): 278; Strong described the Franklin County site excavation in *An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology*, 69–101; Donna C. Roper, "'... its turtles all the way down': Pre-Federal Upper Republican Archaeology at Medicine Creek," in *Medicine Creek: Seventy Years of Archaeological Investigations*, ed. Donna C. Roper (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002); Wedel, "Minneapolis 1, A Prehistoric Village in Ottawa County, Kansas," 211; Carlyle S. Smith, "Floyd Schultz, 1881–1951," *American Antiquity* 17 (July 1951): 49; Marlin F. Hawley, *A Keen Interest in Indians: Floyd Schultz, The Life and Work of an Amateur Anthropologist*, Bulletin 2 (Topeka: Kansas Anthropological Association, 1993).

In the summer of 1936 the Whitefords excavated a third Smoky Hill phase house, this one just outside of Salina near the confluence of the Smoky Hill and Saline Rivers. Located on property owned by the Kohr family, the site was named Kohr House Number 1.

vated a single house there in September 1934. A. T. Hill's influence was already noticeable. At that time the recommended excavation procedure was to begin with a trench at the side of the site and to slice vertically into it, keeping the stratigraphic relations in view. This was the technique Omaha amateur archeologist Robert F. Gilder earlier had used in the first years of the twentieth century when he excavated prehistoric house sites along the Missouri River and it had famously led to erroneous conceptions of house form. Accordingly, Wedel assures us, since the late 1920s Hill had been excavating houses by exposing entire floors. Certainly both Hill and Strong were advocating this technique by 1932, and it is the approach Hill used at the Minneapolis site in 1934. The Whitefords apparently did not assist with the Minneapolis site excavation, but surely they must have at least visited the site while the excavation was in progress and, in any event, they would emulate Hill's field technique in their house excavations.[11]

The Aerhart house excavation records include scaled floor plans, measurements for the central hearth and cache pits, and some size information for the post molds that defined the walls, entryway, and interior supports for the house. The Whitefords also photographed the finished excavation. All this was exactly the same type of information the NSHS excavators had recorded and presented for the Minneapolis site house excavations. The eighty-five artifact catalog entries indicate that the Whitefords found and saved the standard suite of pottery, chipped stone, ground stone, bone, and shell artifacts. With the exception of a few river clam shells, however, there is no record of their saving any subsistence remains, nor did they collect flaking debris from stone tool manufacture.[12]

The Whitefords' second Smoky Hill phase house excavation occurred the following summer in 1935. They referred to this as the Lamar house, since it was near the town of Lamar in the Pipe Creek valley. Again, they set high excavation and record-keeping standards, drawing their most elaborate site map ever, and including on it a legend with comprehensive cache pit and post mold measurements and an inset map of the specific site location. This excavation was vandalized before it was finished, although it must have been nearly complete, judging by a description in the March 24, 1936, letter from Guy Whiteford to A. T. Hill. This same letter, which also had described some of the late 1935–early 1936 Great Bend aspect cache pits excavations, closed with a line that in hindsight was prophetic: "We are all O.K. and looking forward to finding a lot of interesting things this summer."[13]

The first excavation in the summer of 1936 was a third Smoky Hill phase house, this one just outside Salina near the confluence of the Smoky Hill and Saline Rivers, and on property owned by the Kohr family. They referred to this as Kohr House Number 1. The recovery, record-keeping,

11. "Guide Leaflet for Amateur Archaeologists," Reprint and Circular Series of the National Research Council Number 93 (Washington, D.C.: National Research Council, 1930); Waldo R. Wedel, "Toward a History of Plains Archeology," *Great Plains Quarterly* 1 (Winter 1981): 27; "Remarks by Mr. A. T. Hill of Hastings," *Nebraska History Magazine* 13 (July–September 1932): 163; "Conference on Southern Pre-History, Held Under the Auspices of the Division of Anthropology and Psychology Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, National Research Council," Birmingham, Alabama, 1932; reprinted in *Setting the Agenda for American Archaeology: The National Research Council Archaeological Conferences of 1929, 1932, and 1935*, ed. Michael J. O'Brien and R. Lee Lyman (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001), 320.

12. Wedel, "Minneapolis 1, A Prehistoric Village in Ottawa County, Kansas," 219–21; Donna C. Roper, "Five Smoky Hill Phase House Sites in Saline and Ottawa Counties: The Whiteford Excavations, 1934–1945," *The Kansas Anthropologist* 22 (2001): 137–50, describes the Aerhart house and all the Whitefords' subsequent Smoky Hill phase house excavations.

13. Guy L. Whiteford to A. T. Hill, March 24, 1936, Hill Papers.

Work at the Kohr site intersected with what would become the most well known of the Whitefords' findings: the Indian Burial Pit. As shown here, a fence and tent kept the site somewhat secured from curious visitors.

and cataloging standards matched those of the Aerhart and Lamar house excavations, although the map was not quite as elaborate. The Whitefords even kept a few subsistence remains, including river clam shell and some corn kernels from one cache pit. The *Salina Journal* ran an article about this house excavation in its Saturday evening edition on August 1, and Guy Whiteford estimated that seven or eight hundred visitors descended on the site on Sunday, August 2. The excavation remained open for two weeks, during which an estimated three thousand visitors, twenty-three hundred of them in the first eight days, viewed the house—not a bad turnout considering that the entire population of Salina at the time was only a little more than twenty thousand and that the August 13 official Salina temperature reached 118°, a record high that still stands.[14]

The house also generated considerable interest beyond the immediate Salina area. Of course, Hill and Wedel both were interested in learning about it. So was Kirke Mechem, the executive director of the Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS), who wrote to Guy Whiteford shortly after the house excavation was backfilled. Mechem at the 1934 KSHS annual meeting had complained about Nebraska people working in Kansas, a reference to the work of the NSHS field party at the Paint Creek and Minneapolis sites, and had gone on to suggest that the Kansas society should at least have the opportunity to obtain representative artifacts. How ironic that it was this Nebraska party's foray into Kansas that stimulated some Kansans to begin excavations. In his September 1, 1936, letter to Guy Whiteford, Mechem clearly showed his pleasure with the Whitefords' activities and requested "a detailed report of your work." The Whitefords later sent Mechem copies of a 1937 booklet they published describing the house site, but how much additional information they supplied is not clear, for their subsequent letters show that they would have preferred to show him their work rather than describe it in letters.[15]

The completion of the Kohr house excavation brought the Whitefords to the grandest of their excavations: that at the Indian Burial Pit. Although some stories conflict and suggest otherwise, this probably was not a planned excavation but rather something that happened as the course of the Whitefords' archeological activities suddenly intersected with the separate history of the burial pit. It seems certain that the first Euro-American to recognize the existence of the site was the first homesteader of the property, Benjamin Franklin Marlin, who encountered bones as he was constructing a dugout home on his land in 1873. Marlin sold much of his 161.4–acre homestead, including that part containing the cemetery, to Daniel and Mary Kohr in 1878 and also told them of the bones. The story subsequently was handed down through the generations of the Kohr family. By 1936 Daniel Kohr was long deceased, but Mary Kohr lived in town and her son George occupied the farmhouse on the property. George's son Howard was stimulated by the Whitefords' excavation of the Kohr house, which was on the same property, and undertook to find the burial location.[16]

As this was happening, Waldo Wedel, with Berkeley Ph.D. newly in hand, was taking up a position as assistant

14. "An Ancient House Found Near Salina," *Salina Journal*, August 1, 1936; Guy L. Whiteford to Waldo R. Wedel, September 29, 1936. G. L. Whiteford folder, box 19, Wedel Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Federal Writers' Project, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas* (Works Project Administration, 1939; reprinted Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1984), 270; S. D. Flora, *Climatological Data, Volume L: Kansas Section* (N.p.: U.S.D.A. Weather Bureau, 1936); Mary C. Knapp of the Weather Data Library at Kansas State University confirmed in August 2002 that the temperature record still stands.

15. Kirke Mechem, "The Annual Meeting," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 4 (February 1935): 80; Kirke Mechem to Guy Whiteford, September 1, 1936, Correspondence Files, May 1914–1976, Archeology–Miscellaneous Correspondence, box 2, Library and Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

16. Judy Lilly, "Kansas Land in 1871 Expensive for Pennsylvanian Moving West," *Salina Journal*, August 16, 1984, 6; Guy L. Whiteford, *Indian Archaeology in Saline County, Kansas* (Salina, Kans.: Consolidated Printers, 1937), 3.

More than one hundred human skeletons and a number of pots were unearthed at the burial pit site.

curator of archeology at the U.S. National Museum at the Smithsonian Institution. Wedel was a Kansas native. He had been a member of the 1930 to 1934 NSHS field parties and was A. T. Hill's assistant in 1934 when the Whitefords met the NSHS crew at the Paint Creek site. Shortly after he joined the Smithsonian staff in 1936, Wedel began planning a program of investigations in Kansas and was in active contact with amateur archeologists in the state, including the Whitefords. The file of his correspondence with the Whitefords begins with a September 24, 1936, letter to Guy, inquiring about the Kohr house excavation. This must have been an additional site that the Whitefords showed the NSHS party in 1934, along with the Minneapolis site, for he said he was "wondering whether this is the site which you and I visited in 1934," and Whiteford's reply assured him that it was.[17]

Wedel also asked Whiteford if he had "at any time in the past devoted any effort to the examination of cut banks along the smaller creeks" and explained a bit about the value of doing so. Whiteford's reply of September 29 said that he was "glad to hear of camp sites being found at such depths and as you stated, will give me something more to look for." We have no record, however, that the Whitefords ever did get around to looking at cutbanks; and they certainly did not need anything more to look for. According to contemporary accounts, two days later, on October 1, Howard Kohr found the place where Frank Marlin had encountered human bones over a half-century earlier. He contacted the Whitefords and the three of them (Guy and Mabel Whiteford and Howard Kohr) immediately undertook to excavate the remains. Guy Whiteford's next letter to Waldo Wedel is dated October 9 and begins simply: "Dear Mr. Wedel: We have discovered a burial pit and have been working on it for the past week, have unearthed more than fifty skeletons, eight small pots. . . . Have not found the out side walls of the pit, so cant [*sic*] say as to the size of it." Wedel got the letter on October 12 and promptly telegraphed both the Whitefords and A. T. Hill. He followed up the telegrams with a long letter to the Whitefords, offering Hill's assistance, urging them to keep good notes, and hinting not at all subtly that the U.S. National Museum would be happy to have this material for study.[18]

The burial pit discovery was publicly announced in the *Salina Journal* the day after Guy Whiteford wrote to Wedel. Remembering the popularity of the Kohr House excavation, the Whitefords saw an opportunity. As Guy told Waldo Wedel on October 9: "We have a fence around the pit and an eighteen by twenty foot tent over it and if some of the people around here want to see it, its [*sic*] going to cost them." Undeterred by an admission charge of twenty-five cents (the same as the cost of greens fees at the Municipal Golf Course!) and that it was during the Great Depression, the crowds came and paid their quarters to see "The Largest Prehistoric Indian Burial in the Middle West." They would continue to come for more than a half century.[19]

The first notices of the burial pit were made well before the excavation was complete, and excavations proceeded as visitors arrived. The Whitefords continued the excavation as long as the weather held out in 1936, then resumed it in 1937, finishing it during that year. Between the two field seasons, they published a booklet describing both Kohr House Number 1 and the burial pit as it was understood at that time. A second edition of the booklet, released in 1941, included more photographs, a revised map of the completed burial site, notices of other sites, and tes-

17. Waldo R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology*, 1; Waldo Wedel to Guy L. Whiteford, September 24, 1936, Wedel Papers; Guy L. Whiteford to Waldo Wedel, September 29, 1936, ibid.

18. Waldo Wedel to Guy L. Whiteford, September 24, 1936, Wedel Papers; Whiteford to Wedel, September 29, 1936, ibid.; Whiteford to Wedel, October 9, 1936, ibid.; Wedel to Whiteford, October 12, 1936, ibid.

19. "Burial Site of Old Indian Tribe Found," *Salina Journal*, October 10, 1936; Guy L. Whiteford to Waldo Wedel, October 9, 1936, Wedel Papers; Federal Writers' Project, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Kansas*, 270.

The Indian Burial Pit became a popular tourist attraction, and, in addition to being amateur archeologists, the Whitefords became promoters, writers, tour guides, and lecturers. The building housing the pit also contained a gift shop where tourists could purchase Indian-related curios.

timonials from archeologists and others as to the importance of the site.[20]

Meanwhile, Mary Kohr died in April 1937; and in July 1937, Daniel and Mary Kohr's heirs sold the property to the Price brothers—Howard, Lloyd, Levi, and John. The Whitefords soon thereafter moved out of their house in Salina (the house was small and Guy Whiteford had lamented in the March 1936 letter to A. T. Hill that their collection was getting too big for it) and into the farmhouse on the Price property, the yard of which held the burial pit. There were no regular visitor hours; instead, people just drove in and honked the horn to get someone out to collect their admission and give them a tour. Mabel, or sometimes Jay, usually was the tour guide since Guy was still on the Salina police force and working in town.[21]

The burial pit in that period was a curiosity and not the lightning rod for controversy it would later become. We now identify it to the Smoky Hill phase—it may well contain the remains of some of the people who lived in the Kohr site houses the Whitefords excavated—but in the 1930s its cultural affiliation was not certain. It was in part for this reason that it attracted the attention of not only the fascinated public but also professionals in archeology, history, and physical anthropology. Waldo Wedel was kept informed of excavation progress and in June 1940 made a detailed set of notes on the remains within the cemetery. Historian Herbert Eugene Bolton visited in 1941 as he conducted research for his Coronado biography. Wedel held out some hope of getting some of the skeletons to the U.S. National Museum for study by physical anthropologists at that institution, and in the early 1940s University of Kansas physical anthropologist Loren Eiseley also made some initial inquiries about a study of the remains. These latter came to naught, however, and it would be 1990 before a comprehensive study of the skeletons was undertaken.[22]

In spite of the scholarly attention to the site, most visitors to the burial pit were members of the interested public, and the Whitefords were kept busy operating this popular tourist attraction. Clearly the burial pit had changed their lives. No longer simply avid amateur archeologists, they were now also promoters, entrepreneurs, writers, tour guides, and lecturers, and Mabel, the former photographer's assistant, had ample opportunity to draw on her experience. Publicity regarding the burial pit was everywhere in newspapers around the state, in magazines, the *Kansas Year Book* for 1937–1938, and a 1939 number of the national bulletin *Winners of the West*. Guy Whiteford gave a talk about the site at the 1938 Kansas State Historical Society annual meeting. In 1939 the national women's magazine *Independent Woman* included Mabel Whiteford as one of the "interesting" women in Kansas and the one with "[P]erhaps the most unique career." And in 1940 *Progress in Kansas* ran an article featuring Guy Whiteford's dual career as a police sergeant and an archeologist. The building housing the burial pit held a gift shop, and around 1942 the Whitefords opened an "Indian Curio

20. Guy L. Whiteford, *Prehistoric Indian Excavations in Saline County, Kansas* (Salina, Kans.: Consolidated Printers, ca. 1937). At that time, just under two-thirds of all skeletons and funerary objects in the burial pit had been excavated. Whiteford, *Indian Archaeology in Saline County, Kansas*.

21. Guy L. Whiteford to A. T. Hill, March 24, 1936, Wedel Papers; Whiteford interview.

22. Waldo R. Wedel, untitled notebook, box 110, Wedel Papers; Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1949), 294; Marlin F. Hawley, "Loren C. Eiseley, KU Years: 1937–1944," *The Kansas Anthropologist* 13 (1992): 16–17; Michael Finnegan, *A Descriptive Report on the Fieldwork at Site 14SA1, Saline County, Kansas* (Manhattan, Kans.: Forensic Anthropological Consultants, 1990).

While continuing to operate the burial pit, the Whitefords resumed excavation activities, and in 1945 began their fifth and final Smoky Hill phase excavation at the Markley site in Ottawa County near Minneapolis.

Shop" in downtown Salina, where they sold jewelry, rugs, and blankets obtained from a New Mexico trader. It was about this same time that Guy Whiteford left the Salina police force and became a full-time businessman.[23]

The burial pit did not command the Whitefords' full attention, however. They excavated a second house on the Kohr site, Kohr House Number 2, sometime between 1937 and mid-1940. Unfortunately, they never drew a site map, took no photographs, and did not catalog the artifacts, eventually co-mingling them with other materials from the site area in such a way that it is now impossible to reliably separate them from the larger collection. This lapse was uncharacteristic of them, however, and they returned to their usual excavation and recording standards with their fifth and final Smoky Hill phase house excavation, conducted in 1945 on the Markley site (14OT308) in Ottawa County near Minneapolis. The collection from this site is large, in part because the house contained a large number of artifacts and in part because the Whitefords retained objects such as ceramic body sherds and animal bone that they did not systematically save in the other houses they excavated.

The Whitefords also conducted limited investigations in May 1935 at a site they called Twin Mounds. This site is southwest of Roxbury in McPherson County and is attributable to an occupation some centuries earlier than the Smoky Hill phase. Around 1940 the Whitefords excavated a single, probably Smoky Hill phase, burial at what they called the Lindeman site. Lindeman, assuming it is correctly equated with the site numbered 14SA412 in the state site files, also contains Smoky Hill phase houses, and one wonders if the Whitefords might have had some thought of eventually returning to further investigate this site. They never did, however. The Twin Mounds and Lindeman site investigations were small scale and not particularly important in the overall body of the Whitefords' work.

More important, but often overlooked, was the Whitefords' photography of several petroglyph sites in central Kansas. Petroglyphs, or images carved into bedrock outcrops, are restricted in their distribution in Kansas with most known sites in the Dakota Hills in Russell, Ellsworth, Ottawa, and nearby counties. The Whitefords' petroglyph photograph collection includes images of the fairly well-known Spriggs Rock (14RC1) and Peverly petroglyph (14RC10) sites in Rice County and the unnamed site 14OT4 in Ottawa County. Both of these were relatively small recording projects compared with the work at the Indian Hill petroglyphs (14EW1). Indian Hill, sometimes called Inscription Rock, is a large and complex petroglyph site in the Kanopolis Lake area of Ellsworth County. Wedel called it "probably the most outstanding petroglyph site in Kansas." Alexander Gardner, working for the Union Pacific Railroad, made the first comprehensive set of photographs of it in 1867. The Whiteford photographs, made about 1941, form a series of around sixty images and are the second comprehensive photographic record of the site. This site is now largely destroyed by a combination of vandalism and erosion, leaving the Gardner and the Whiteford photographs as the only complete documentation of the site.[24]

Since July 1937, when the Price brothers bought the land from the Kohr estate, the Whitefords had operated the burial pit under an agreement with the Price family, living in the adjacent farmhouse for most of the time. A change in the relationship in 1946, however, led to the Whitefords'

23. "Prehistoric Indian Burial Pit Uncovered Near Small Kansas Town," *Winners of the West* 16 (August 1939): 1, 3; Kirke Mechem, "The Annual Meeting," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 8 (February 1939): 82; Josephine Nelson, "Meet These Interesting People," *Independent Woman* 18 (June 1939): 178; "Policeman Got His Man, Although He Had to Dig!" *Progress in Kansas* 6 (February 1940): 79–81.

24. Brian O'Neill, *Kansas Rock Art* (Topeka: Historic Preservation Department, Kansas State Historical Society, 1981); Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology*, 483; Martin Stein, "Petroglyphs Lost at the Indian Hill Site," *Kansas Preservation* 10 (November–December 1987): 7–8.

In addition to excavations, the Whitefords photographed several petroglyph sites in the area, including the Indian Hill Site in the Kanopolis Lake area of Ellsworth County. Waldo Wedel called it "probably the most outstanding petroglyph site in Kansas."

withdrawal from the burial pit operation and departure from Salina. Mabel Whiteford gave her perspective on the situation in a March 20, 1946, letter to the Wedels:

> The Price Brothers, who own this farm have given us an oral notice to move in 60 or 90 days. They say, they want the house to live in and don't care anything about the Burial. But we think or know that is not the truth. We are expecting a big tourist season and they want it all for themselves. . . . We have put in a lot of work here and have preserved them during the war, when business was poor and now that the war is over and people will be traveling again, they want us out. . . . We are out on a limb and hardly know what to do.[25]

Waldo Wedel replied a few days later but was at a bit of a loss to know how to help them. Some efforts were made to try to get the state or the federal government to purchase the site, but they came to nothing. In late 1946, therefore, the Whitefords left the Price farm and the burial pit that had defined their careers as avocational archeologists in central Kansas. They bought a mobile home and toured the country for a time. By mid-1947 they were in Salem, Oregon. Prior to their departure from Kansas, they donated the contents of their Paint Creek site Cache IV to the University of Kansas, where it now is curated at the Museum of Anthropology. They retained the bulk of the collection for another quarter century, and in 1971 donated it, along with their maps, catalog, and other records, to the Kansas State Historical Society. That collection, whose nucleus the Whitefords learned in 1934 had real scientific value, continues to have real scientific value at the beginning of the twenty-first century.[26]

During their Oregon years, Guy worked for the city of Salem and Mabel for the State of Oregon. They retired in 1965 and moved to Everett, Washington. There, Guy Whiteford died on May 22, 1989, at the age of ninety-five, and Mabel Whiteford died on June 1, 2001, at the age of ninety-eight. A part of Mabel's obituary in the Everett newspaper reads, "She and her husband, Guy, were noted for some outstanding archeological work in central Kansas before moving to Oregon then Washington."[27] Indeed.

The Whitefords' archeological career in Kansas thus spanned essentially twelve years, from 1934 to late 1946. The excavation and operation of the burial pit certainly was the centerpiece of their career, but it would be wrong to regard that as their only major accomplishment. The 1934 NSHS work in Kansas was, as we have seen, undertaken in part to determine if sites similar to the Upper Republican sites of southern Nebraska also were found in Kansas. Within a few days of arriving in Kansas, the NSHS field party was able to answer that question in the affirmative when they quite by accident met the Whitefords and were shown both the Minneapolis and Kohr sites. The NSHS promptly excavated three houses at Minneapolis and, of course, the Whitefords soon thereafter took up the excavation of Smoky Hill phase houses at Kohr and other sites.

The Whitefords' only publication of their excavation results was the description of the Kohr House Number 1 and the burial pit in the 1937 and 1941 booklets. They were, however, apprising both Hill and Wedel of the results of their house excavations and, after late 1936, of the burial pit excavation too. A newspaper story from November 10, 1936, reported that both Hill and Wedel had visited the burial pit the previous weekend. Other accounts suggest that

25. Mabel Whiteford to Waldo and Mildred Wedel, March 20, 1946, Wedel Papers.

26. "Whiteford Archeological Collection to Society," *Kansas State Historical Society Mirror* 17 (November 1971): 2; Schmiedler "Salina Indian Artifacts Find Haven Back 'Home.'"

27. Mabel B. Whiteford obituary.

Unlike today, during the Whitefords' years in Kansas there was no opposition or controversy about the excavation or display of human remains. Still a popular tourist attraction into the 1970s, the site was closed in 1989 and respectfully covered over in 1990.

Hill and Wedel regularly viewed excavation progress, but just how many more visits Hill or Wedel made is not recorded. We do know that Wedel spent June 6, 1940, in Salina, for the Wedel Papers at the National Anthropological Archives preserve a notebook with his detailed notes for the burial pit and Kohr site houses Numbers 1 and 2. Why Wedel did not also describe the Aerhart and Lamar houses, both of which had been excavated by this time, is uncertain, although time limitations could have been a factor.[28]

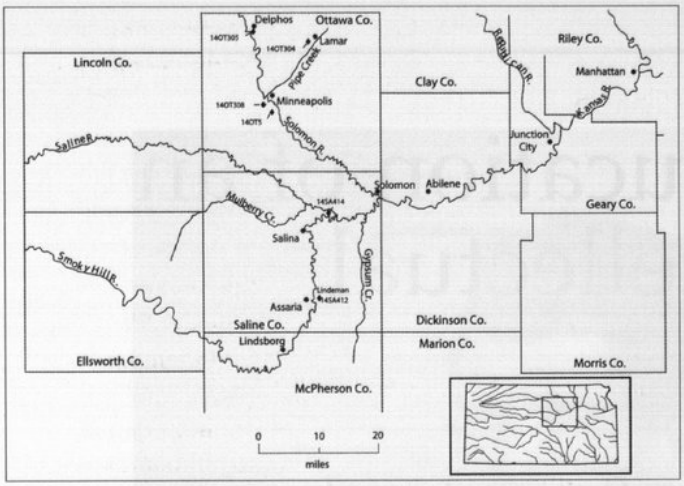
Later that same year, 1940, Wedel published the first of a long series of syntheses of Central Plains archeology. In it he recognized sites that he regarded as "hybrid" between those of the Upper Republican culture and the contemporaneous Nebraska culture of eastern Nebraska. Without naming them, it is clear from reference citations, text descriptions, and the positions of sites plotted on an accompanying map that he was referring to the Minneapolis and Kohr sites as well as the Griffing site in Manhattan that he excavated in 1937. Wedel and others continued to refer to these sites in future syntheses, and in 1959 Wedel formally named this "hybrid" the Smoky Hill aspect. The Smoky Hill aspect in that formulation had two foci: the Manhattan focus, exemplified by the Griffing site, and the Saline focus, exemplified by the Minneapolis and Kohr sites including the burial pit. The 1959 monograph also briefly describes the two Kohr houses and the burial pit on the basis of the notes from Wedel's 1940 visit to the Whitefords. Wedel's definition of the Smoky Hill phase, therefore, relies heavily on information supplied by the Whitefords: the site lead to the Minneapolis site and the Kohr site/burial pit information based on their excavation. These remain among the more completely reported Smoky Hill phase sites and continue to shape our perceptions of the archeology of this period in central Kansas.[29]

28. "View Indian Pit," *Salina Journal*, November 10, 1936; Wedel, untitled notebook.

29. Waldo R. Wedel, "Culture Sequence in the Central Great Plains," *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America*, Miscellaneous Collections 100 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1940); Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology*, 563–65. Archeologists now refer to Smoky Hill as a phase rather than an aspect, and the two foci of the Smoky Hill aspect are not recognized in the current taxonomy. It also should be noted that Wedel called the burial pit and the Kohr site the Whiteford site.

It is a bit more difficult to assess the Whitefords' legacy relative to the burial pit. Unquestionably, it was the Whitefords' entrepreneurship—in part responding to local interest—that led to the commercial display of the remains. It was indeed the Whitefords who operated this business for its first ten years. There was, however, no opposition or controversy about the excavation and display of the burials at that time, and it would be the 1970s, well after the Whitefords' departure from Kansas, before any documented controversy arose and the mid-1980s before a sustained dialogue on the burial pit's fate would begin. We know full well we would not now excavate and display human remains in the way they were presented at the Indian Burial Pit, but things were different in 1936. It is too easy to look back from the present and condemn the action taken two-thirds of a century ago. We must simply acknowledge the burial pit as a significant episode in the history of Kansas archeology.

We also must take note of the substantial involvement of Mabel in all aspects of the Whitefords' work. In an era where most of the archeologists we read about, certainly all the Central Plains archeologists, were men, Mabel Whiteford was not only active in the investigations but garnered a good measure of recognition for it. Most of the catalog and some of the maps are in her hand. This may seem to reaffirm her filling a traditional woman's role, but



Map of the major excavations of the Whiteford family, whose remarkable career in archeology greatly contributed to the study of Kansas prehistory that emerged during the 1930s and 1940s.

her handwriting also is considerably more legible than that of her husband. In any event, some of the accounts and the substantial photographic record of most of the Whitefords' investigations show that Mabel, and for that matter, a young Jay Dee, wielded shovels and were full participants in the excavation. It may be irritating to some to read the newspaper accounts that talk about Guy Whiteford and "his wife," as if she had no name of her own, but the newspapers seemed to be as fascinated with Mabel as with Guy, and there is little of the condescension that often accompanied accounts of a woman's participation in endeavors such as this.

The Whitefords, then, were key players in the development of a portion of the outline of Kansas prehistory that emerged during the 1930s and 1940s. Their Great Bend aspect site investigations were not notably different from those conducted by many other amateurs of the period and later, and some of their other investigations were routine. Their knowledge of and investigations into Smoky Hill phase sites, however, were crucial to Wedel's later formulation of that archeological culture, and Wedel also acknowledged that it was the Whitefords who brought the Indian Hill petroglyph site to his attention. Their photography of this site deserves wider recognition than it has received. In light of all these accomplishments, it is not surprising that Wedel presented the Whitefords with a copy of *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology* when that important volume was published in 1959. The last letter in Wedel's file of correspondence with the Whitefords is from Guy Whiteford, writing from Salem, Oregon, and thanking Wedel for the book. In it he wrote the epitaph to the story of the Whitefords' remarkable career in Kansas archeology: "The Whitefords are very happy that their small contributions in the field of archeology in the state of Kansas were able to help."[30]

But there is an epilogue to the Whitefords' archeological career and that is the subsequent fate of the burial pit. The Price family did, of course, take over its operation in 1946 and continue that operation much as the Whitefords had established it. With undoubtedly a few individual dissents, the public overall condoned this display of human remains for several decades. The first organized protest arose only in 1972 when the Lutheran synod announced that it would not hold its annual meeting in Salina because of the burial pit's display. It was the mid-1980s, however, before controversy was sustained. The final result of the controversy and a long dialogue between the Kansas State Historical Society and several Indian tribes, particularly the Pawnee, was the state's purchase of the site at the end of 1989. In April 1990 the Pawnee tribe, generally regarded as the nearest descendants of the people buried in this cemetery, covered the remains with blankets and shawls, said final prayers, and held a funeral feast. The cemetery then was filled with 125 tons of clean sand, covered with a concrete cap, revegetated with grass, and surrounded with a wooden fence. It rests today much as it did before October 1936. KH

30. Guy L. Whiteford to Waldo Wedel, March 22, 1960, Wedel Papers.

The Education of an Intellectual

George S. Counts and Turn-of-the-Century Kansas

by Claudia J. Keenan

In 1974, during the last summer of his life, scholar and educator George Sylvester Counts made a final trip back to his native state of Kansas. It was the only time, recalled his daughter Martha, who drove her parents from southern Illinois to Baldwin City in eastern Kansas, that Counts expressed wistful longing for the place where he was born in 1889 and lived until he went to Chicago in 1913. "He used to say that Kansas is a very good place to come from," Martha Counts remembered, noting that her father meant implicitly that Kansas was not a very good place to stay.[1] Indeed, across the years Counts would return infrequently to Kansas for short restless visits. The state's unofficial ethos that "God was a Republican and a Methodist" appeared to weigh heavily on him.[2]

Throughout his life, Counts remained ambivalent about the things he associated most palpably with Kansas—overbearing religiosity, the relentless demands of farm work, and the natives' wary suspicion of the world beyond its borders. Yet, Counts's ambivalence about Kansas spurred him to think inventively about American life. By the mid-1920s, less than a decade after he left Kansas, Counts had emerged as a leading teacher and intellectual known for his inter-

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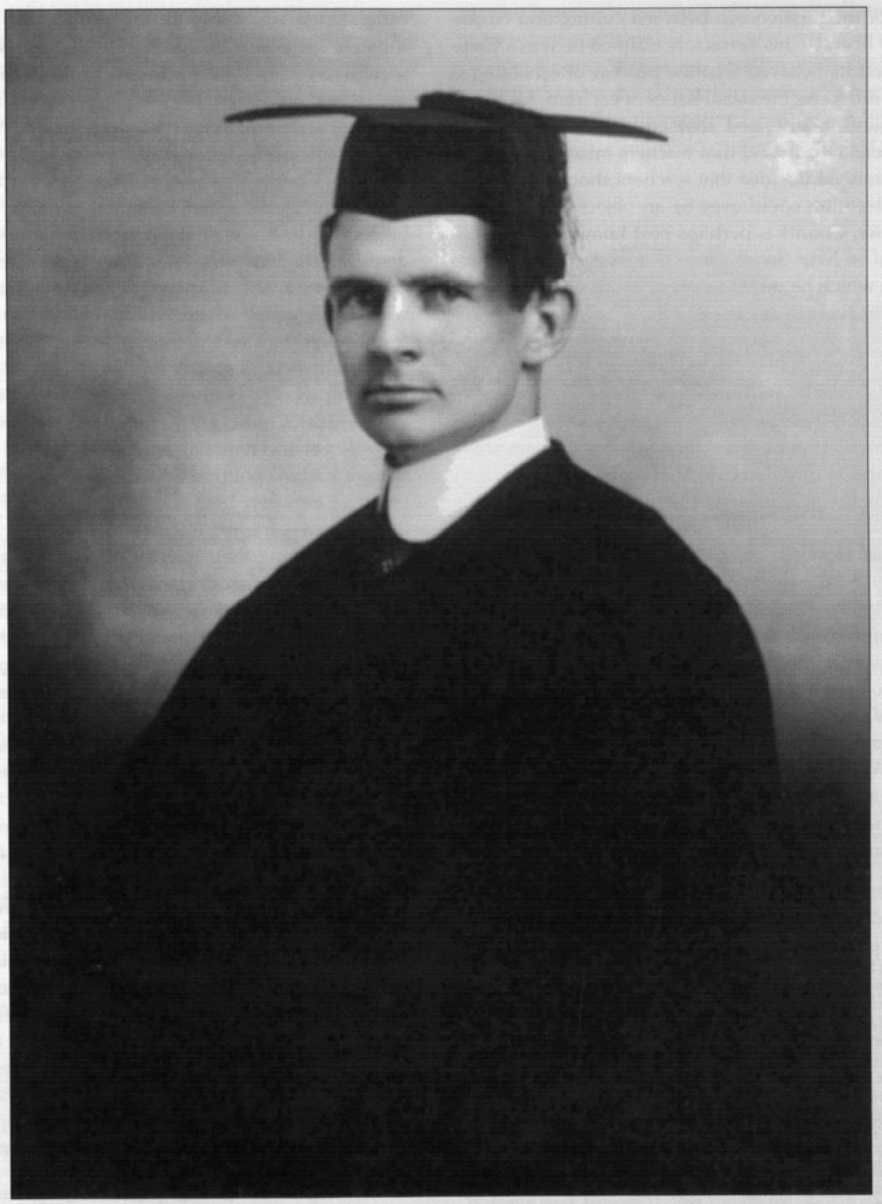
The author wishes to thank Baker University archivist Brenda Day and Baldwin City, Kansas, historian Katharine Kelley for their invaluable research assistance. She is also grateful for the comments of the three anonymous *Kansas History* reviewers.

1. Martha L. Counts, interview by author, March 19, 2002.
2. Quotation by Nelson Antrim Crawford in Robert Smith Bader, *Hayseeds, Moralizers, and Methodists: The Twentieth-Century Image of Kansas* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 95.



George S. Counts, as a graduate of Baker University, 1911.

pretations of the relationship between culture and education. Boldly liberal—his detractors claimed he was a Communist—Counts believed that the process of schooling is contextual, reflecting the social issues of each era. Like John Dewey, Counts maintained that education should be a lever for social reform and that teachers must lead not follow. He dismissed the idea that teachers should be neutral and that education could ever be an objective process. A prolific writer, Counts is perhaps best known for *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?*, a collection of three speeches in which he urged teachers to "face squarely and courageously every social issue."[3]

Across the years several historians have linked the early part of Counts's life with ideas that he would later develop.[4] This article will evaluate the significance of Counts's years in Kansas in terms of interpersonal connections and shared experience, the private ironies embedded in religion and family, and how that social sensibility may reflect an emotional affinity with a specific time and place. George S. Counts spent the first twenty-four years of his life in Kansas. How did those years affect him?

George Sylvester Counts was born during the year of the greatest corn harvest in Kansas history. However, the price dropped quickly and the same farmers who grew the corn would burn it for fuel. In 1895 at the age of six, Counts received a dollar from his grandfather for learning the names of the books in the Bible. That same year William Allen White bought the *Emporia Gazette* and began a forty-nine-year career as its editor. George Counts turned seven after he started school in 1896, and William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic presidential candidate who also received the People's Party nomination, campaigned vigorously throughout Kansas and captured the state's ten electoral votes. In 1901 at age twelve, Counts with two of his brothers began to hunt and trap in the woods and creeks that lay around Baldwin City. That same year Kansas temperance crusader Carry A. Nation moved from Medicine Lodge to Topeka and made plans to visit Baldwin. Counts was twenty-two, newly graduated from Baker University, when President William Howard Taft visited Baldwin and spoke in honor of Baker's new president in 1911. One year later Counts crowded toward the Bull Moose candidate Theodore Roosevelt during his Baldwin whistle-stop, where William Allen White joined the former president on the train platform. For the rest of his life, Counts would greatly admire Roosevelt.[5]

Even though Baldwin City was a small town in the Great Plains, Counts grew up at a point of convergence between local and national action. He came of age during a time of vibrant political and social change that energized the state between 1890 and 1910. After Bleeding Kansas, these decades framed the most famous turmoil of Kansas history, drawing their intensity from such movements as temperance, woman suffrage, the agrarian revolt, Methodism, Populism, and Progressivism. Extraordinarily immediate and accessible to most residents of Kansas, these movements involved daring language, defiant women, the marginalization and expression of dissent, and the chance to be live and up close. Thus they acquired a spectacular quality, offering brilliant spectacles for local spectators. As a spectator, Counts began to gain perspective on his own life and times while he was quite young.

Later in life Counts referred to the insularity and repetitiveness of farm life, small-town life, and late Victorian gentility. Yet he enjoyed the opportunity to observe conflicts, or the legacy of conflict, over ideas and issues that beset Baldwin and other farming communities during the Progressive Era. The best evidence that Counts watched everything closely would be his abiding scholarly interest in the transition from agrarianism to industrialization. He perceived that his own formative years in rural Kansas straddled pre-industrial culture and the onset of the modern, technological age.

3. George S. Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (1932; reprint Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982). Counts's other books include: *The Selective Character of American Secondary Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922); *The Social Composition of Boards of Education: A Study in the Social Control of Public Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927); *School and Society in Chicago* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1928); *Secondary Education and Industrialism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929); *The American Road to Culture: A Social Interpretation of Education in the United States* (New York: John Day, 1930); *A Ford Crosses Soviet Russia* (Boston: Stratford Company, 1930); *The Soviet Challenge to America* (New York: John Day, 1931); *The Social Foundations of American Education* (New York: Scribner's, 1934); *The Prospects of American Democracy* (New York: John Day, 1938).

4. C. A. Bowers, *The Progressive Educator and the Depression* (New York: Random House, 1969), 83; Lawrence J. Dennis, *George S. Counts and Charles A. Beard: Collaborators for Change* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 16.

5. [George S. Counts] "Biography of George Sylvester Counts," 1940 (Baker University, Baldwin City, Kans., typescript), 2; "President Visits Baldwin City," *Baldwin Ledger*, September 24, 1911; *Kansas City Times*, April 20, 1967, clipping in Presidents file, Baldwin City Public Library, Baldwin City, Kans.; Counts interview, March 19, 2002.

Counts's lifelong desire to reconcile the virtues of change with its sad implications for family life reflected his sentimental outlook as well as his intellectual view. In other words, this desire grew out of Counts's own deeply felt local sensibility, his feelings for Kansas, where he joyously explored the Wakarusa River valley and sang Methodist hymns at the top of his lungs, even as he saw his family and community transformed by agricultural depression, political failure, and the bitter struggle between debtors and creditors during the heyday of Populism. From a distance, he watched these wounds reopen during the Dust Bowl and the Great Depression. In 1930, for example, Counts's emotions lay just below the surface of his thoughts about industrialism:

> Industrialism, having swept away the material foundations of the ancestral order, is now fast destroying the entire system of morals and beliefs which that order nourished and supported. The American people are consequently between two civilizations and are the inevitable victims of doubt and uncertainty.[6]

Through much of his work, Counts wove together the strands of the past, present, and future. In so doing, he perpetually balanced recollection and detachment. Despite his ambivalence about Kansas, George Counts stayed close to the past, which suggests the strength of his affinity with the place from which he came.

The boyhood of George S. Counts occurred on a 160-acre farm just outside Baldwin City, Kansas, where his parents moved in 1890 to be near the public school. Previously, James Wilson Counts and Mertie Gamble Counts lived just to the north in Vinland, where four of their six children were born: Florella in 1886, George in 1889, Wilson in 1891, and Mary in 1895. Hugh was born in 1888 when the family spent one year in James's native Minnesota, hoping to find a less hardscrabble life. Milton, born in Baldwin City, followed unexpectedly in 1899. The move from Vinland to Baldwin City entailed a major commitment for James and Mertie Counts: the purchase of 160 acres of land and building a house and barn.[7]

The Counts family was familiar with the territory because Vinland and Baldwin City were only four miles from each other within the geographical region known as the Osage Questas, a hill-plain configuration that distinguishes much of eastern Kansas, including Douglas County, of which Lawrence was the seat of government. In the stone, two-room Coal Creek schoolhouse, the Counts children learned that a proslavery guerrilla named William Quantrill had raided Lawrence in 1863, massacring more than 150 men and burning the city to the ground before heading south toward Baldwin, then east to Missouri. The students also learned that the Santa Fe Trail passed near Vinland and Baldwin City, favorite stopping points for pioneers because of a deep well and the availability of trees to repair wagons. Eventually Vinland languished and Baldwin City became a thriving town.[8]

Throughout his life, George Counts admired Theodore Roosevelt and likely witnessed the presidential candidate's whistle-stop in Baldwin in 1912.

6. George S. Counts, *The American Road to Culture*, 192.

7. J. Wilson Counts and George S. Counts file, Baldwin City Public Library; Michele Counts Karmeier, interview by author, March 5, 2002; Warranty deed, January 11, 1899, Counts file.

8. Baldwin City, Vinland, and Santa Fe Trail information from various files, Baldwin City Public Library; "Looking Back," *Baldwin Ledger*, February 16, 1906.

By the mid-1890s the Baldwin population approached fifteen hundred, plus one thousand students enrolled at Baker University, established in 1858 by the Methodist Church. Baldwin businesses included bookstores, a drugstore, hotels, a real estate office, a bank, and a restaurant, as well as a harness maker, milliner, jeweler, blacksmith, grocer, baker, hardware dealer, dentist, and tailor. The commercial district centered on the intersection of Eighth and High Streets. Baldwin residents supported two Methodist churches, a Baptist and a Presbyterian church, and "those for the colored populace." One of the bookstores maintained a lending library that advertised itself: "Do you read?"[9] Obviously many did because the town sustained two newspapers, the *Baldwin Ledger* and the *Baldwin Bee*, for several decades.

George's parents, James Wilson and Mertie Gamble Counts, and siblings Mary and Milton. This photograph and the one on the facing page were taken around 1901.

Local news featured the comings and goings of Mary Elizabeth Lease of Wichita, a pro-labor Populist and suffragist who lectured to enthusiastic audiences throughout Kansas and the United States between 1885 and 1895. Lease came often to Baldwin because she liked to speak at Baker University. A charismatic orator, Lease railed against Wall Street, the Santa Fe Railroad, millionaires, and monopolies. Kansas boasted several other reformers with fine speaking reputations who occasionally visited Baldwin. "Little" Annie Diggs, considered more charming and politically shrewd than Lease, built her influence around a lifelong association with the Unitarian Church. She wrote a newspaper column on behalf of the Farmers' Alliance, championed socialist principles, and campaigned for Populist candidates.[10]

In their time Lease, Diggs, and others ignited Kansas politics and stirred the emotions of the populace. Dynamic and ambitious, they helped transform Kansas into a place of political ideas and action. Further, while these orators became nationally known, they remained close to home. Quite simply, they stayed around for their Kansas audience. Among farm families, the experience of listening to the fiery stump speeches of the Populists fostered the development of a "movement culture," as historian Scott G. McNall observed, one based on social and political solidarity that used patriotic fanfare to build enthusiasm.[11] Interestingly, the Populist movement culture was similar to the "Klannish culture" that Kathleen Blee noted among the women of the Ku Klux Klan.[12] Both evolved as the means through which politics became socialized, insinuating itself into the daily lives of local residents. Picnics, weekend encampments, and other activities often bore some connection to the Farmer's Alliance and Populist movements.

Because the railroad ran through Baldwin City and Baker University lent prestige to this small town, politicians, evangelists, and social activists gravitated toward it. Therefore local families found themselves in the thick of

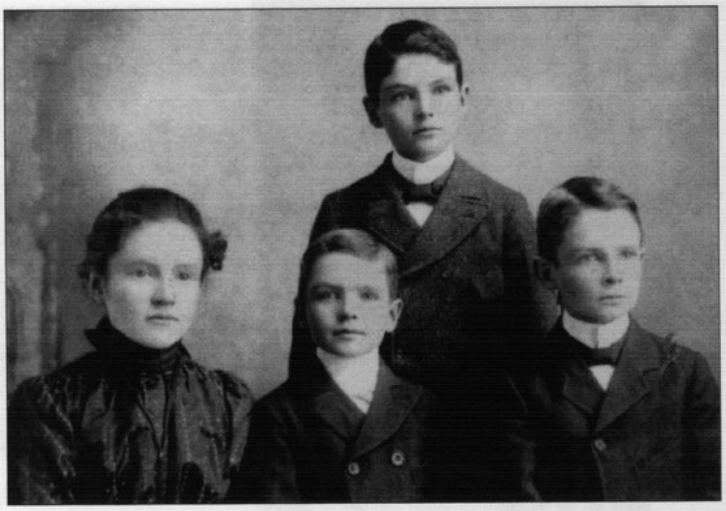
9. *Baldwin Ledger*, February 16, 1906.

10. O. Gene Clanton, *Kansas Populism: Ideas and Men* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1969), 73–80; Michael Lewis Goldberg, *An Army of Women: Gender and Politics in Gilded Age Kansas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 180–2.

11. Scott G. McNall, *The Road to Rebellion: Class Formation and Kansas Populism, 1865–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 170, ch. 6.

12. Kathleen Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

events. George Counts recalled being taken to rallies and parades as a child, and it is likely that some were related to the Populist movement and the McKinley–Bryan election. He may also have remembered the excitement when Baldwin City hosted the state convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1894. And, since his parents were strict Methodists, George and his siblings probably helped celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the "birth of Methodism in Kansas," also in 1894, at a small cabin near the mouth of the nearby Wakarusa River.[13]



George Counts (right) and siblings (left to right) Florella, Wilson, and Hugh.

While Baldwin City drew and generated spirit and activity, like other farming communities it remained culturally distant from the great centers of commerce and industry. Some, like George Counts, longed for that other world. Ultimately, most farmers' children felt the tug between the unfamiliar cities that beckoned and the small places they knew well. For the Counts children, home was a plain two-story square white wooden farmhouse with a high, hipped roof and an open attic where the boys slept, a screened porch, and brick chimney. The barn had a gable roof and sheds where James Counts kept his dairy cows, hogs, and Percheron horses. The land rolled gently. Counts, who loved fruits and nuts, planted a grove of black walnut trees to complement his apple orchard. The Counts farm was a subsistence farm, recalled several Counts cousins, dependent on family labor and a few hired hands. Only during World War I when James Counts expanded his wheat and corn plantings, he once confided to a grandson, did the farm turn a profit.[14]

On the farm, George Counts recalled, he and his "three brothers and two sisters played, quarreled, and worked during childhood and adolescence."[15] The children arose early for chores before they walked to school or were pulled in a wagon by the old family horse, "Pet," and returned to chores after school until dinner. They worked every day except Sunday. The boys cleared and plowed the land, and planted, cultivated, and harvested the crops. The cows, George Counts once explained to his daughters, were demanding and annoyed him greatly. Later he developed his "Cow Theory of History," which held that there would be fewer wars if every person in the world owned a cow, for the relentless badgering of humans by cows that cannot wait to be milked, fed, or groomed would leave little time for anything else. Counts still had his mind on cows in 1966, when he wrote that "we have not ever found a substitute for the milk cow, one of the most important educational institutions of pre-industrial America." Strict accountability for assigned farm chores taught children skills and promoted discipline and responsibility, with each family member contributing to the group's welfare, Counts believed. He characterized farm chores as a ladder that each child climbed upward to maturity.[16] The lessons of the farm

13. Martha L. Counts, interview by author, May 11, 2002; "Celebrate Birth of Methodism in Kansas," *Baldwin Ledger*, May 20, 1954.

14. Description of Counts farm based on Harry McKittrick, interview by author, March 16, 2002; Counts interview, May 11, 2002.

15. [Counts] "Biography of George Sylvester Counts," 1.

16. Counts interview, March 19, 2002; Ralph McGill, "The Milk Cow As Educator," *Hartford Courant*, August 17, 1966, clipping in Counts file, Baker University Archives, Baldwin City, Kans.