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

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Blue Water Creek and the First Sioux War, 1854–1856

by R. Eli Paul

xii + 260 pages, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004, cloth $34.95.

For more than forty years, from the time of the Louisiana Purchase until the United Statess acquisition of the Oregon Country, the Great Plains lay beyond the nations western margin of settlement. Relations with the native peoples of the Plains were peaceful for the most part, aside from some robbery and killing on the Santa Fe Trail and fur trappers skirmishes on the Upper Missouri. The United States government did not even employ a mounted force between 1815 and 1832. Instead, infantry manned a line of forts that ran from Fort Snelling (St. Paul, Minnesota) through Fort Leavenworth and on to western Louisiana, along the edge of a supposed permanent Indian country. Beginning in the 1830s the new Regiment of Dragoons began making summer trips into the Plains and as far as the Rocky Mountains, to exercise their horses and impress the natives.

All that changed when the United States stretched, in the space of a few years, from the mouth of the Rio Grande to Puget Sound. The Great Plains, from lying on the nation's western edge, lay suddenly in the middle. Traffic to California in 1849 far surpassed the combined emigrations of all previous years, and people began to talk of a railroad across the continent.

As traffic through the Central Plains increased, relations between natives and migrants soured. In 1854 an ignorant, impetuous army lieutenant set out from Fort Laramie to investigate the matter of a stray cow and provoked a fight that caused the deaths of his entire command. The Grattan Massacre, as the event has become known, led to the first punitive expedition on the Plains.

To lead the expedition, the secretary of war summoned Colonel William S. Harney, a veteran of thirty-seven years army service. In the summer of 1855 Harney gathered nine companies of artillery, dragoons and infantry at Fort Leavenworth (some 600 officers and men, fewer than half of them mounted), and dispatched 450 additional men by boat to occupy Fort Pierre, up the Missouri River. Harney and the force from Fort Leavenworth marched to Fort Kearny and followed the Platte west. On Blue Water Creek, near Ash Hollow, they found a Sioux village and attacked it, killing or capturing nearly half of the three to four hundred inhabitants. Harney sent part of his command to Fort Laramie and marched the rest overland to Fort Pierre, where they spent a miserable winter. Before spring, nearly one hundred prominent Sioux gathered there to hear what Harney had to say. In return for surrendering the murderers of three mail carriers, the Sioux received Harney's captives and restoration of their trading privileges and treaty benefits. An uneasy peace returned to the Platte valley. It would endure, more or less, for the next eight years.

R. Eli Paul, who worked for many years as a historian at the Nebraska State Historical Society, has edited or co-authored four previous volumes about various aspects of conflict between the Sioux and the United States government. For *Blue Water Creek*, his first venture in book-length solo authorship, he has consulted a formidable array of contemporary documents, including Major Oscar Winships unpublished 1854 survey of the military situation in the Central Plains. The result will interest readers of military and regional history alike.

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

Runaway and Freed Missouri Slaves and Those Who Helped Them, 1763–1865

by Harriet C. Frazier

214 pages, photographs, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 2004, cloth $45.00.

Harriet Frazier in her book *Runaway and Freed Missouri Slaves and Those Who Helped Them, 1763–1865* offers the reader a fresh perspective about the lives of Missouri slaves and the abolitionists who aided them. As a licensed attorney and retired law professor, Frazier's expertise is the law, so it is no surprise that she would choose to examine runaway notices, prison records, pardon records, court records, and other slavery-related archival material not usually considered by researchers. The material she found in these documents greatly adds to our knowledge of the complex, interconnected world of slaves and masters.

Frazier focuses primarily on three categories of people: enslaved persons who ran away from their masters, free persons of color who struggled to retain their freedom, and the abolitionists who sought to assist both.

Citing various acts, laws, and legal cases that directly or indirectly affected Missouri slaves such as the Louisiana Black Code, the Virginia Slave code, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the Kansas–Nebraska Act, and the Dred Scot case, Frazier makes the legalese understandable by providing the reader with anecdotes about real people.

Early in the book she relates the story of William Wells Brown, a young slave boy who moved with his master from Kentucky to St. Charles County, Missouri, in the early 1800s, eventually ran away, was captured, sold, and ran away again. As a free man he would write a narrative of his early experiences.

Then there is Elizabeth Keckley, who was born a slave in Virginia in 1818, purchased her own freedom some thirty-five years later, and became a free person of color in St. Louis. She would eventually become an expert seamstress for Mary Todd Lincoln as well as her friend and confidante.

In a later chapter the author turns her attention to slave-related incidents on Missouri's western border. Included here is the rescue of eleven slaves from Bates and Vernon Counties, Missouri, by abolitionist John Brown and his men in December 1858 and their subsequent trek en route to Canada on the underground railroad.

Frazier's final chapter, "The Underground Railroad on Missouri Borders," focuses on Kansas abolitionists and their underground railroad activities in Douglas County, Kansas, and along the Lane Trail. Although some of the major players are not mentioned at all, she does provide an in-depth account of the trial of abolitionist Dr. John Doy, who was captured while leading a group of freemen and former slaves north from Lawrence, Kansas, on an underground railroad journey in January 1859.

She is not the first to relate the saga of Doy's capture and six-month imprisonment as well as his subsequent rescue by ten abolitionists from Lawrence, "The Immortal Ten." Others, including Doy himself, wrote extensively about it. But Frazier is the first to tell the story from the perspective of the legal system. Her research and comments about the principal characters involved in the trials—abolitionist defendants, slave owners, lawyers and judges—provide valuable new insights into the personalities and workings of the mid-nineteenth-century Missouri legal system.

To illustrate the book, Frazier has included some compelling images that add to its appeal. These include: runaway slave advertisements, statues of John Brown, and an 1890s photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Harper, a formerly enslaved couple who traveled the underground railroad from Missouri through Kansas with John Brown on the 1859 journey.

The book's appendixes should be of special interest to genealogists and underground railroad researchers. Appendix 3, in particular, lists the names, ages, birthplace, and discharge information for forty-two "Missouri Prison Slave-Stealer (Abolitionist) Inmates" between 1838 and 1865 contains important information.

Several factual inaccuracies, omissions, and a narrative that does not always flow smoothly are the main weaknesses of the book. However, these flaws are overshadowed by the unique and valuable information that the author has uncovered and presents about slaves, slave owners, and abolitionists in Missouri and its border states.

Reviewed by Judy Sweets, *audiovisual archivist, Robert J. Dole Institute of Politics, University of Kansas.*

Wilderness Journey: The Life of William Clark

by William E. Foley

xiv + 326 pages, notes, bibliography, index.
Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004, cloth $29.95.

Besides being a famed explorer, William Clark was a Virginia native, Kentucky resident, successful Missouri territorial governor, and longtime federal government administrator. For many Americans today all these roles other than his lead in the Lewis and Clark Expedition are little known and largely overlooked. Even that spotlight has been shared somewhat to now include and expand the stories of admittedly secondary characters, sometimes at Clark's expense.

Lost somewhat to the casual scholar may be the instructive story of Clark alone, but that situation has been admirably addressed in part with *Wilderness Journey*, William E. Foley's excellent new biography. Its purpose is to tell a full life story, a life of public service, and to present his "totality of experiences" (p. ix).

The story will satisfy those interested in the history of early nineteenth-century mid-America. The westward emigration from Virginia to Kentucky, then Missouri is a familiar story shared by thousands, with slavery and its role as an "essential strand" in the fabric of antebellum society a recurring theme. Clark clearly was a product, as Foley states, of "gentrified Virginia and backcountry Kentucky" (p. 19).

Although by necessity the 1804–1806 expedition must form the narrative's core, three of the nine chapters deal with Clark's career after the Lewis partnership. Readers of *Kansas History* should find these extremely interesting and valuable, especially since a firm foundation—Clark's youth, the context of his upbringing, and the expedition—has been expertly laid for understanding and appreciating his later life. Although the early experiences serve as an insightful prelude to his career as territorial governor of Missouri and influential superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, the later years were far from a thirty-year anticlimax to the Corps of Discovery.

Foley does not shy away, however, from the contradictions of Clark's life, particularly his blurring the line between public service and private business ventures, his friendship with those same Indian groups that suffered from the government removal policies that he carried out, his terrible treatment of his own slaves, and his casual indifference to that evil institution. These are difficult subjects to reconcile with our fondness of and respect for this American hero, but his biographer does a good job at placing all in context without making excuses.

Quibbles are few. Many agents, subagents, interpreters, and other government officials in the Indian service reported to Clark, but few such relationships are detailed in the narrative. The Long Expedition that went up the Missouri River a generation after Lewis and Clark receives no mention, nor does Cantonment Missouri, later Fort Atkinson, an important military post and Indian meeting place in present Nebraska that was established on a site (the Council Bluff) recommended by the pair. But these in no way dissuade me from heartily recommending this book. It is an essential part of the literature.

Reviewed by Eli Paul, *director, Liberty Memorial Museum of World War One, Kansas City, Missouri.*

A Common Humanity: Kansas Populism and the Battle for Justice and Equality, 1854–1903

by O. Gene Clanton

xvi + 328 pages, notes, appendixes, bibliographical note, index.
Manhattan, Kans.: Sunflower University Press, 2004, paper $24.95.

In the title of his recent book *What's the Matter with Kansas?*, commentator Thomas Frank harkens back to a famous 1896 editorial by Kansas editor William Allen White, in which White excoriated the Populist movement that had arisen in his state. White, who went on to become a Progressive Republican, admitted later that he had changed his mind about the Populists. But the continued fame of his editorial, as well as the central role Kansas played in national politics at the end of the nineteenth century, may make today's readers wonder what all the fuss was about.

In *A Common Humanity*, Professor Gene Clanton revises and updates his classic 1969 history *Kansas Populism: Ideas and Men*, which was originally based on his Ph.D. dissertation. The author has added two introductory chapters and reframed some of his findings based on recent research in the field. The strength of the updated text, like that of the original, lies in its detailed account of the rise and fall of the People's Party in Kansas. *A Common Humanity* follows the crucial years between the upstart party's "Pentecost of Politics" in 1890—a campaign that jolted the nation—and its precipitous decline over the decade that followed.

Professor Clanton tells this story well. Through extensive quotes from speeches, letters, and editorials, he makes the era's politics come alive. Readers will enjoy the texts of campaign songs and poems and the mini-biographies of six dozen state Populist leaders, from Judge Frank Doster and colorful orator "Sockless" Jerry Simpson. Clanton re-creates an era when oratory was a popular entertainment, and he shows that Populists gave as good as they got.

Leaders of the Kansas People's Party, Clanton argues, were not backward-looking "clodhoppers" leading a "turnip crusade" against the forces of modernization. Rather, they offered thoughtful critiques of industrialization and a spirited defense of democracy and human rights. Few Gilded Age commentators, for example, critiqued "social Darwinism" more eloquently than Stephen McLallin, Populist editor of the *Topeka Advocate*, who wrote that this pseudo-scientific doctrine was "brutal, utterly selfish, and despicable. . . . It justifies oppression, the aggregation of wealth in the hands of those able to grasp it, the occupation of everything the 'fittest' are able to gain and keep" (p. 102).

Clanton could have done more to update his notes and incorporate the findings of recent scholars. Contrary to his suggestion that historians today find Populism "irrelevant" (p. xii), authors such as Michael Lewis Goldberg and Michael Kazin have found much to admire in the Kansas Populists and have emphasized their centrality to the major themes of American politics. Elizabeth Sanders, in her recent book *Roots of Reform*, showed that Populist-leaning farmers in the South and West provided the bulk of support for key national legislation in both the Progressive Era and the New Deal. The work of such scholars rests firmly on the base Clanton helped build four decades ago. They would, I think, agree with this reviewer in endorsing his main argument. Ultimately, for Clanton, the Populist Party represents "an ideal of human rights, not just for the favored few but for all Americans" (p. xiii). It is thus no surprise that the movement's sudden rise and heartbreaking demise in Kansas, traced so meticulously in these pages, continues to resonate today.

Reviewed by Rebecca Edwards, *associate professor of history, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.*

Isaac C. Parker: Federal Justice on the Frontier

by Michael J. Brodhead

xvii + 219 pages, illustrations, photographs, maps, appendixes, bibliographical essay, index.
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003, paper $34.95.

History is not always kind. In the case of Judge Isaac C. Parker, history and historians have been distinctly unkind. He has been portrayed, for the most part, as a cold-hearted "hanging judge" who terrorized Indian Territory in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The truth, as historian Michael J. Brodhead points out in this excellent book, is far more complex.

Judge Parker was, without doubt, a stern, old-fashioned jurist who sent a large number of men to the gallows he had built near his courthouse. But he was also a judge who presided over one of the most racially diverse and violent jurisdictions of his day. If Parker was too quick to condemn defendants to death, in part, this would seem to have been less out of any joy in judicial killing and more out of a genuine desire to ensure that the residents of Indian Territory could live in relative peace and security. Dr. Brodhead is able to give a far more balanced picture of Parker's criminal cases because he has read and studied every single published decision of the judge. Such close textual reading and analysis enables the author to give a nuanced account of Judge Parker's judicial philosophy. Brodhead is not an apologist for Parker. There is much in Parker's decisions that today we would find objectionable and much that his contemporaries found objectionable as well. It is a fact, well brought out by Brodhead, that once the Supreme Court gained appellate jurisdiction over Parker's court, Parker became the most reversed federal district judge of his day.

Although much of the book is devoted to a close analysis of Parker's criminal [especially capital] cases, I found the author's discussion of Parker's civil docket by far the most interesting. When Parker sat as a federal judge, American law was undergoing a major transformation. Corporate America was expanding. New and vital industries such as the railroads were spreading their wings across the United States. But as these new enterprises grew in power and influence, they also became frequent presences in America's courts, for their activities were often dangerous. In one area, in particular, the law of torts, judges across the United States were struggling with balancing the need of these new industries to be freed from excessive liability from damages with the obligation of courts to recompense those who were harmed. Dr. Brodhead sheds new light on this aspect of American legal history by demonstrating the extent to which Judge Parker was willing to protect innocent victims of industrial accidents. In these tort cases, Parker showed himself to be remarkably flexible as a jurist and pre-shadowed many of his twentieth-century successors. In one case Parker stated that it was necessary that courts "put aside all the mere technicalities of the law" (p. 134). In another case he lamented that prohibiting the recovery of damages for pain and suffering was "barbaric and almost brutal" (p. 135). It is remarkable how much these decisions speak to our twenty-first-century debates about tort reform.

If there is a flaw to Brodhead's book it is, perhaps, that his close analysis of cases can make for somewhat tedious reading. It would have been nice to know more of the man from sources other than his published decisions. Unfortunately, Parker's personal papers were lost long ago in a fire. Brodhead does include an appendix providing citations to the cases discussed, which is most welcome. A second appendix on Judge Parker in popular culture, though brief, is fascinating, and one might hope that he will expand upon this somewhere else.

All in all this is a good book and worth reading.

Reviewed by Michael H. Hoeflich, *distinguished professor, University of Kansas Law School.*

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

The Western Odyssey of John Simpson Smith: Frontiersman and Indian Interpreter

by Stan Hoig

256 pages, notes, bibliography, index, photographs. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004, paper $21.95.

When Stan Hoig's *The Western Odyssey of John Simpson Smith: Frontiersman and Indian Interpreter* was first published in 1974, the title also included the words "trapper" and "trader." Reprinted by the University of Oklahoma Press in 2003, this paperback edition appears essentially unchanged except for the renovated title and an additional preface. In it, Hoig, professor emeritus of journalism at the University of Central Oklahoma and author of several western histories, restated his belief that Smith was an important figure on the frontier and that readers would find his experiences more interesting than his accomplishments.

There is no doubt, as Hoig demonstrated, that Smith (1810–1871) lived a life of adventure on the Anglo-American frontier as it surged across the Great Plains to the Rocky Mountains. The tailor's apprentice from Frankfort, Kentucky arrived in St. Louis in 1830 as the city truly became the gateway to the West. He quickly entered the fur trade along the Missouri River system and earned the nickname "Blackfoot" Smith. His life first as a mountain man and then an Indian trader during the great days of the Bent brothers and Kit Carson made him familiar with the Great Plains, Rocky Mountains, and native peoples who lived there. It was not surprising that military, civilian, and government expeditions employed him as a guide and their intermediary with several Indian tribes. By using early travelers' observations and newspaper accounts, Hoig presented a good description of those colorful times, but told his story from a decidedly Anglo-American perspective.

According to Hoig, Smith was "one of the very few Americans who ever fully understood the American Indian" (p. 14). Hoig based that statement on the facts that Smith lived many years among the Cheyennes, married Cheyenne wives, and had Cheyenne children. He spoke several Indian languages and interpreted at the important Fort Laramie (1851), Fort Wise (1860), Little Arkansas (1865), and Medicine Lodge (1867) councils. He also accompanied Indian delegations back east and interpreted for Presidents Fillmore, Lincoln, and Grant. Smith was in Cheyenne Chief Black Kettle's camp during the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre and later testified about that attack of the Colorado militia and the subsequent murder of his Cheyenne son Jack Smith. Hoig stated that the Sand Creek Massacre ignited the Plains Wars at the same time it ended Smith's career as an intermediary trusted by both Indian and Anglo-American: Indian warrior societies now became suspicious of him as a white man, while the newly arrived military men, miners, and settlers thought he was too close to Indians they regarded as bloodthirsty savages. Still, he accompanied Major General Phillip Sheridan's punitive expedition into Cheyenne country in 1868, during which the Seventh Cavalry repeated the carnage of Sand Creek in Chief Black Kettle's camp on the Washita River. Smith, a friend of Cheyenne agents Thomas Fitzpatrick, Edward W. Wynkoop, and Brinton Darlington, remained an employee on the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in Indian Territory until his death.

Working from sparse primary sources for the period up to the 1860s, this biographical narrative provides little analysis of Smith as a person or of his actions. Hoig drew his best description from 1840s traveler Lewis H. Garrard, who said Smith combined "goodness and evil, cleverness and meanness, caution and recklessness" (p. 50). Nor did Hoig comment significantly on Smith's somewhat exploitative relationship with his Indian associates, either in trade or while ushering delegations around eastern cities as virtual attractions for showman P. T. Barnum. In fact, Indians remained two-dimensional or background figures in this book, written in the 1970s before ethnohistory attained dominance in the field. While scholars will find little new in this reprint, general readers should enjoy Hoig's usual skilled narrative, great story, and overview of this transitional period in western history.

Reviewed by Mary Jane Warde, *Indian historian, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.*

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

The New Town Square: Museums and Communities in Transition

by Robert R. Archibald

viii + 224 pages, photographs, notes, index.
Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2004, paper $24.95.

In *The New Town Square: Museums and Communities in Transition*, Robert Archibald, president and CEO of the Missouri Historical Society, addresses what he sees as the "deepening crisis of place"—a "lack of attachment to place [that] disembodies memory, sunders relationships, promotes prodigal resource consumption. . . [and] threatens democracy itself, which so much depends upon those 'mystic chords of memory' and habits that bind us to one another in a shared voluntary pursuit of the common good."

The town square, the author contends, is the physical place where the sense of community formerly took root and grew in towns and cities across America. Suburbanization, commercialization and the forces of mass culture in general have undermined the distinctiveness of place and destroyed our sense of interrelatedness and involvement with our environment, both natural and human. We have lost track of the common threads of humanity that bind people together across space and time. History, which Archibald argues is basically a "narrative construction" rather than an explication of objective truth, reminds us of the deep and abiding concerns we have in common with our fellow humans, not only those all around us but those who have come before and will come after us.

History museums, the author asserts, can and should become the new town square. Public historians such as those who work in museums should act as facilitators of "useful storymaking," leading people to a sense of community identity. In fashioning stories of a place and its people, museums can and should draw on diverse viewpoints and promote dialogue among citizens about what their community was, is, and can be. In other words, museums as the locus of community discourse can actually reinvigorate democracy.

Worthy as this goal may be, it is certainly a tall order for any institution. How is it to be accomplished? The author contends that museum professionals have built a barrier between themselves and their constituencies by claiming the superiority of their own scholarly interpretations and downplaying the emotional pull of the historical artifacts in their collections. Museums should instead begin to engage their audiences more fully by acknowledging the deep, evocative appeal of physical objects, and by acknowledging the validity and importance of the diverse personal stories that make up the history of any community.

Unfortunately, the exact means of harnessing and maintaining these activities in the service of community-building are left rather hazy. Archibald exhorts museums to value community even over their own institutional survival. Yet an institution that has lost its will to live (or, worse yet, its funding) can, practically speaking, do little to promote the collective good.

The tone and structure of the book, while thought provoking, contribute to a certain vagueness in the call for more effective and dedicated museums. Archibald draws heavily on his own experiences in, and feelings about, his native place (Michigan's Upper Peninsula) and his career in history museums in the Southwest, Montana, and Saint Louis. The general tenor of the writing is extremely personal and heavily anecdotal. This tone is accentuated by the fact that the work is drawn from the text of a number of talks and other presentations written by the author over a period of several years and presented to a variety of audiences, from history professionals to environmentalists to community activists. From the point of view of the longtime museum professional, the work is long on inspiration and short on practical, concrete suggestions.

Bearing in mind these parameters, however, *The New Town Square* provides a thoughtful read for those who work in or with museums, or who have an interest in the role of cultural and educational institutions within the larger community.

Reviewed by Anne Marvin, *curator of collections and exhibits, Johnson County Museum of History, Shawnee.*

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

Unaffected by the Gospel: Osage Resistance to the Christian Invasion 1673–1906: A Cultural Victory

by Willard Hughes Rollings

xi + 243 pages, notes, bibliography, index.
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004, cloth $45.00, paperback $22.95.

An ever-growing body of literature illustrates the variety of methods Native Americans used to resist Euro-American invasions and subsequent efforts to "civilize" the Indians. In *Unaffected by the Gospel*, Willard Hughes Rollings argues that historians have focused too much attention on the violence that marred much of the interaction between these two groups, an emphasis that obscured their relationship's complexity. Rollings's engaging study examines the Osages' use of nonviolent means—cultural tenacity, pragmatism, and cleverness—to retain control over their culture and resist the intrusion upon their lands and lives. The Osages, he asserts, were never "mere victims" but manipulated their circumstances as best they could and changed on their own terms.

By the early nineteenth century the Osages dominated the southern prairie–plains through a "fortuitous combination of location in place and in time." They exploited colonial ambitions of Spain, France, and England to obtain weapons providing advantages over rival tribes to the west. Their circumstances changed in 1814, however. The United States became the Osages' sole trading partner. They were so dependent on trade to maintain their regional hegemony over other tribes that they grudgingly surrendered some autonomy to keep peace with the United States. This decision to avoid military confrontations with the United States, Rollings argues, allowed the Osages to better "control the compromises forced upon them" in the nineteenth century.

One of those compromises was submitting to the U.S.'s "civilizing" efforts. In 1820 Protestant missionaries commenced efforts to transform the Osages into Christian farmers. The Osages tolerated these cultural agents only to keep U.S. trade goods flowing. They already had successful lives and felt no desire to adopt the Protestant message of capitalism, individualism, and Christianity. Consequently, the missionaries abandoned this "grand and expensive debacle" in 1837. Roman Catholic priests accepted the challenge in 1847. Despite Catholic claims of "resounding" success among the Osages, Rollings charges that they fared no better than their Protestant counterparts. The Osages seemed accepting of Catholicism because there were superficial similarities between the two religions, but they accepted only a veneer of Catholicism while still following their own faith.

While the Osages' faith tradition persisted, changing circumstances altered their secular culture. In the 1830s Osage domination of the region collapsed with the forced relocation of eastern tribes. White settlers consumed most of the Osages' land, eventually pushing the tribe onto a small reservation in Indian Territory. Political fragmentation within the tribe mounted; liquor undermined tribal social structure; buffalo hunts ceased in 1873; and disease and starvation ravaged the tribe. Throughout this chaos Osage holy men made "moves to a new country" or changes necessary to survive. They altered ceremonies to provide a native context for the changes the Osages faced. A switch to cash annuities in 1879 and the discovery of oil dramatically improved the tribe's material situation, but the traditional spirituality of the nineteenth century had little relevance and felt "thin and hollow" in the turmoil of the 1890s. By the end of the nineteenth century the Osages finally abandoned their traditional religion. They did not, however, convert to Christianity. Due to the tribe's cultural tenacity, the Osages opted for a native-born religion, Peyotism, as an avenue for spiritual renewal.

Unaffected by the Gospel is a solid, well-researched work. Rollings effectively depicts how the Osages modified their culture to meet new challenges. At the same time, despite Rollings's own Native American heritage, he does not demonize the missionaries and their culture. His comparisons of Protestant Christianity and Catholicism and why one seemed more amenable to the Osages are outstanding. That said, there are some minor problems. Typographical and grammatical errors are scattered throughout and detract from the book's effectiveness. Rollings hammers certain points—for example, the fact that tribes to the east and west pressured the Osages—almost to the point of distraction. Lastly, he should have delved more deeply into the rifts that the Christian "invasion" caused among the Osages. Some tribal members accepted Christianity for various reasons. If, as the title indicates, those who resisted Christianity were part of a "cultural victory," were those who accepted Christianity cultural losers? Nevertheless, Rollings has produced a worthy study of the complex interplay between whites and Native Americans.

Reviewed by Kevin J. Abing, *assistant curator of research collections, Milwaukee County Historical Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.*

BOOK NOTES

Remington Schuyler's West: Artistic Visions of Cowboys and Indians. Compiled by Henry W. Hamilton and Jean Tyree Hamilton. (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2004. ix + 113 pages, cloth $35.00.)

This attractive, beautifully illustrated volume features the writings and illustrations of a once popular early twentieth-century western artist, Remington Schuyler (1884–1955), who first visited the Rosebud Indian Reservation in 1903. "He was a Western illustrator, one of several who in the twentieth century defined the way the world continues to view the West," wrote historian Brian W. Dippie in the book's "afterword." "It is a mythic West, of course. . . . [but] It is long past time that we reinstate Schuyler to the ranks of those he called his peers and recognize his contribution to a mythic West that even at the beginning of the new millennium still exerts a substantial appeal."

Langston Hughes in Lawrence: Photographs and Biographical Resources. By Denise Low and T. F. Pecore Weso. (Lawrence, Kans.: Mammoth Publications, 2004. 116 pages, paper $15.00.)

The Lawrence of Langston Hughes's boyhood (1902–1915) was not a "citadel of freedom" and equality for all, but it was a place that impacted the poet/author's life, and *Langston Hughes in Lawrence*—a volume of photographs with extended captions documenting Hughes's life in the community—deserves the attention of anyone interested in Hughes and/or Lawrence, Kansas. Denise Low is a poet and chair of the English Department at Haskell Indian Nations University; T. F. Pecore Weso teaches history at Longview Community College.

Local Happenings in Lawrence, Kansas, 1921–1946. By Carol Buhler Francis. (Lawrence, Kans.: TransomWorks Press, 2004. vii + 135 pages, paper $15.00.)

Carol Francis's most recent book of local history, which begins with some additional information on her "House Building" and is illustrated with advertisements from the local paper and city directories, is a potpourri of historical information gleaned mostly from the *Lawrence Journal-World*, supplemented by a few other local sources. The year 1929, for example, begins, "The city received 174 fire alarms; Mrs. J. B. Watkins gave the Watkins bank building to the city for its new city hall; . . . Ice broke the dam in May; the city used emergency pumps for its water supply."

Images of America: Fort Riley. By William McKale and Robert Smith. (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2004. 128 pages, paper $19.99.)

This handsome little photographic history of Fort Riley, Kansas, documents more than 150 years of military activity preparing troops for duty from the "battle" fields of Bleeding Kansas (1850s) to the deserts of the Persian Gulf (1990s–present). More than two hundred historic photographs and illustrations are nicely reproduced here, with captions, to tell the fort's colorful story from its frontier and cavalry post days through the two world wars and the interwar years to the "containment and peacekeeping" mission of the last half century.

Diamonds in the Rough: The Untold History of Baseball. By Joel Zoss and John Bowman. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. xiv + 437 pages, paper $17.95.)

In the new epilogue for this Bison Books edition—*Diamonds in the Rough* was first published by Macmillan in 1989—Zoss and Bowman explain that the "overriding thesis" of their book "is that baseball reflects American history and society," a national "cultural barometer." Beginning with rather lengthy chapters on "Pop Culture" and "Creation Tales," the authors proceed to detail various aspects of the game's history, devoting considerable space to women, African Americans, umpires, music, and demon rum, among others, and to the myth and reality (e.g., "Abe Lincoln and Baseball") of the game. They continue to describe baseball "as a uniquely American game, . . . our national pastime," even though they devoted an entire chapter to "The International Game" in the original and acknowledge baseballs increasing popularity overseas in the current edition. Unfortunately, at least for the serious student of sport, *Diamonds in the Rough* contains no source notes or bibliography.

Native North American Armour, Shields, and Fortification. By David E. Jones. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004. xviii + 188 pages, cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.)

Although there is much we do not know or understand about the nature of North American Indian culture, according to David Jones, professor of anthropology at the University of Central Florida, one thing "stands strikingly clear: At the time of contact, warfare was endemic among the North American Indians." *Native North American Armour, Shields, and Fortification*, which devotes considerable attention to the "horse warriors" of the High Plains culture, seeks to fill a historiographical void by providing "a systematic survey from the Southeast to the Northwest Coast, from the Northeast woodlands to the desert Southwest, and from the sub-Arctic to the Great Plains" of ubiquitous "defensive technology—armor, shields, fortifications."

Life of the Marlows: A True Story of Frontier Life in Early Day. Revised by William Rathmell, and edited by Robert K. DeArment. (Denton, Tex.: University of North Texas Press, 2004. x + 206 pages. $27.95.)

Originally published in 1892 and revised by the author, William Rathmell, in 1931, *Life of the Marlows* was truly "the stuff of Old West legend"—it actually inspired the 1965 western *The Sons of Katie Elder*, starring John Wayne, Dean Martin, George Kennedy, and Dennis Hopper. This version is effectively introduced and annotated by historian Robert K. DeArment, who has published extensively on western outlaws and lawmen. The saga of the five Marlow brothers, which involves "diabolic" plots, shoot outs, ambushes, lynch law, and much more takes place mainly in Young County, Texas, in the late 1880s, but their story is really one of the Old West more generally that should be of interest to many readers of *Kansas History*.

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 one-hundred-two-member board of directors (three of whom are appointed by the governor), through its executive committee, governs the state Society, which is administered by an executive director.

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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.

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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.

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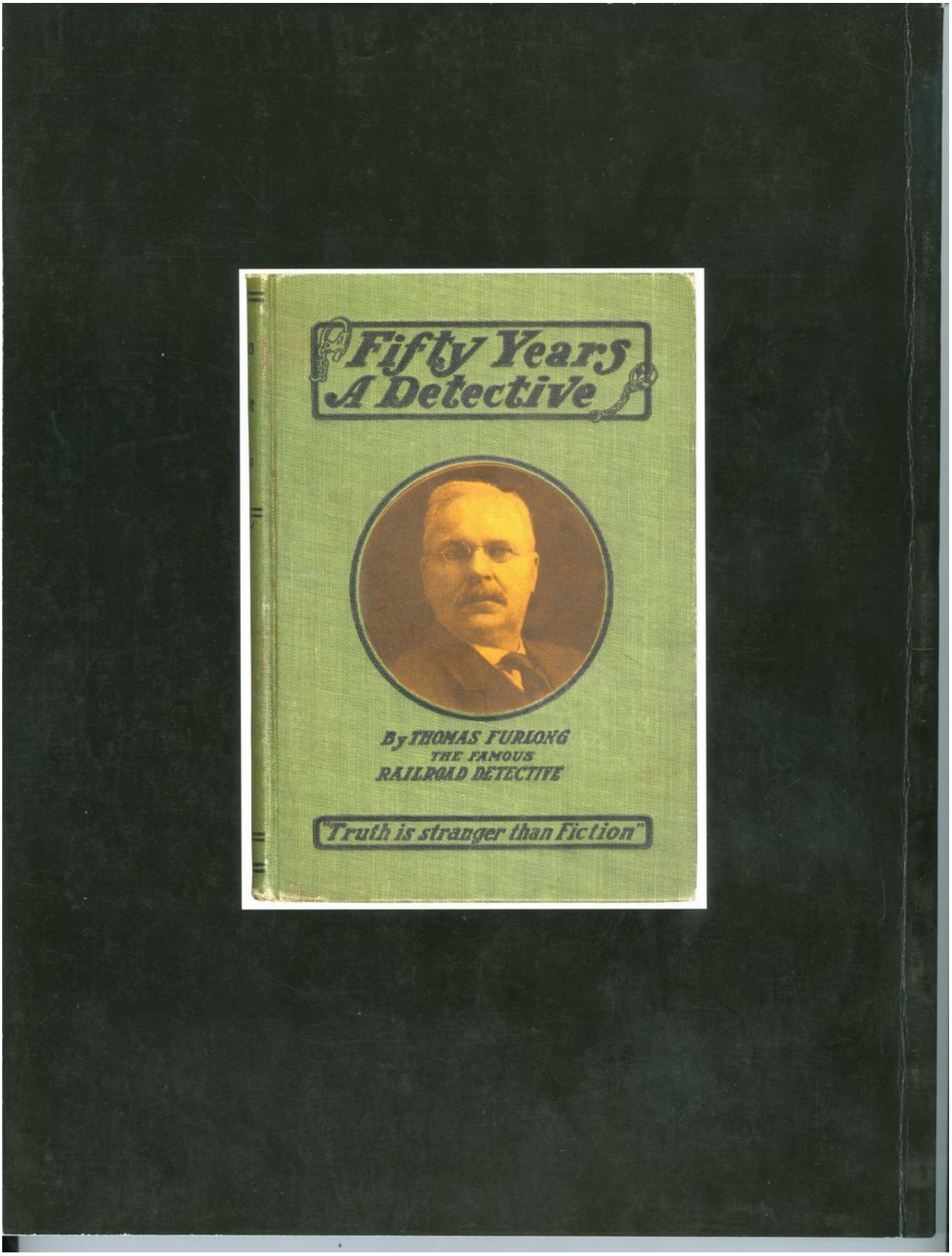

Fifty Years A Detective
By THOMAS FURLONG
THE FAMOUS
RAILROAD DETECTIVE
"Truth is stranger than Fiction"

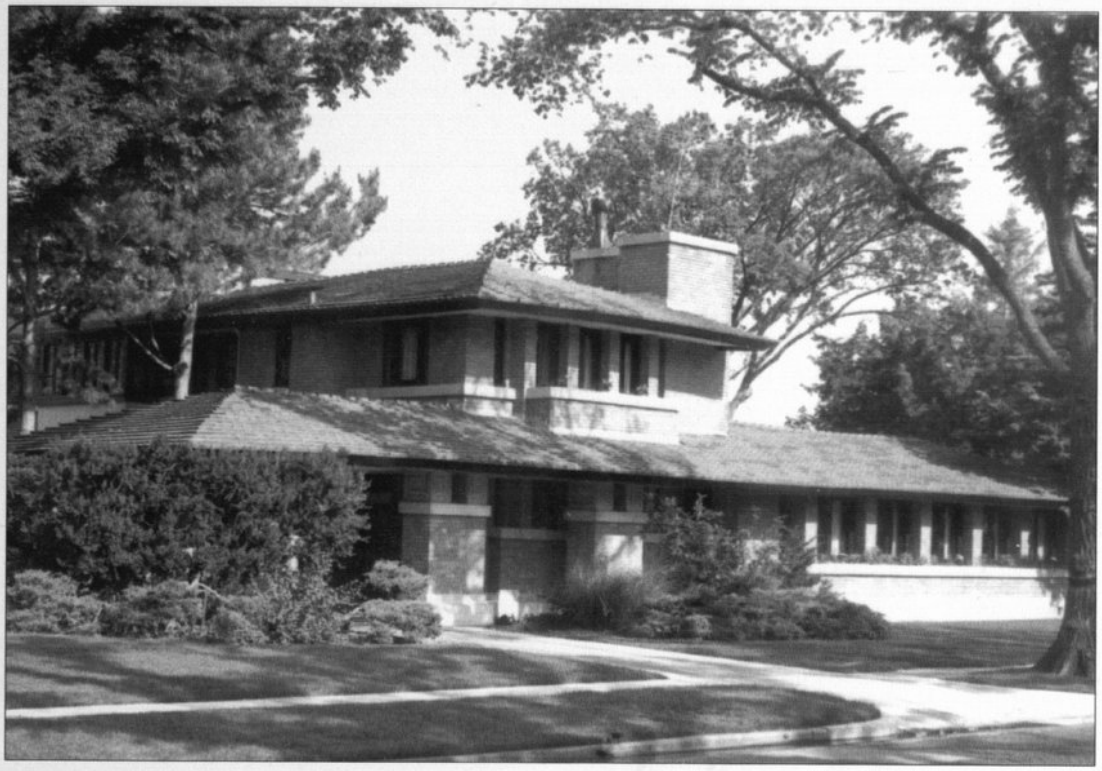
[In Progress] Kansas history: a journal of the central plains

KANSAS HISTORY

A Journal of the Central Plains

Volume 28, Number 2
Summer 2005

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



Henry J. Allen House, 255 North Roosevelt, Wichita, Kansas.

Famed architect Frank Lloyd Wright designed and supervised the construction of this L-shaped, two-story Prairie style house for Elsie and Henry J. Allen, Wichita editor and politician. Completed in 1919, the year Governor and Mrs. Allen took up temporary residence in Topeka, their Wichita home is the only Wright designed residence in Kansas. The house, which Wright considered one of his best, was also his last "Prairie House." It was added to the National Register of Historic Place in 1973.

Born on September 11, 1868, in Warren County, Pennsylvania, Henry Justin Allen moved with his family to a homestead in Clay County, Kansas, when he was two years old. Allen attended Baker University and then commenced a long career in journalism when he accepted a position with the Salina Republican*—he subsequently edited newspapers in Ottawa (*Herald*) and Wichita (*Beacon*). Politically, Allen began life as a conservative Republican but, like his friend and fellow Kansas newspaperman, William Allen White of Emporia, fell under the spell of the charismatic Theodore Roosevelt and converted to progressivism early in the twentieth century. Allen walked out of the Republican National Convention in 1912 when it rejected Roosevelt and followed the former president into the Progressive (or Bull Moose) Party. As a two-term Republican governor of Kansas (1919–1923), Allen is remembered for his attack on the Ku Klux Klan and his Court of Industrial Relations; and in the years to follow, he remained active in Kansas and national affairs, while engaging his journalism career and enjoying his lovely home in Wichita until a couple years before his death on January 17, 1950.*

For more information on the Frank Lloyd Wright's Allen-Lambe House, see http://home.onemain.com/~allenlam/index.html.

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

KANSAS HISTORY

Volume 28 *Summer 2005* *Number 2*

COVER: *Christianity came to Kansas in 1541 with the arrival of Coronado and Father Juan de Padilla, as depicted in this John Steuart Curry statehouse mural. A review essay on religion in Kansas begins on page 120.* BACK COVER: *The film* Picnic *is among many films reviewed in this issue's segment on Kansas cinema, beginning on page 104.*

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p. 84

p. 105

p. 139

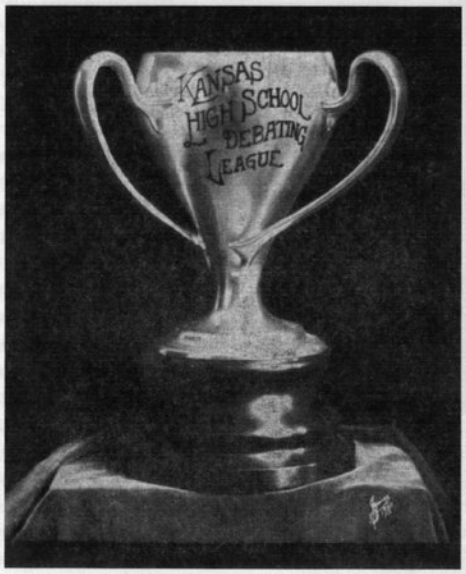
"Not as an End in Itself"

The Development of Debate in Kansas High Schools

Kansas High School Debating League state champions for Class B schools, 1931. From Hepler Rural High School are: (back row) Alva Hess, Joe Skubitz (coach); (front row) Eleanor Land, Tom Palmer, and Mary Lucille McNamee.

by Claudia J. Keenan

In 1910, during the first year of the Kansas High School Debating League, the team from Ashland, Kansas, emerged as a powerhouse. Located along the southern border of the state, fourteen miles from Oklahoma, Ashland boasted cattle ranches and wheat fields and, for two years, the state debate championship banner and trophy awarded through the University of Kansas. A pattern of small towns achieving debate success would develop through the coming years—a phenomenon that reflected in part the bullishness toward academics in Ashland and other Kansas communities that eventually would nurture debate champions. Although their high schools served small, rural populations, enrollment was increasing partly because students boarded in town during the week. Country high schools emphasized the college preparatory work, which began to flourish in American public high schools after the turn of the twentieth century. In contrast with the manual/vocational and commercial/business courses of study also offered in many high schools, the college preparatory program complemented the intensity and competitiveness that became characteristic of debate.[1]



The silver regents' cup presented to the first Kansas High School Debating League champion, Ashland High School, May 5, 1911.

Not until 1921 did a city with a population greater than one thousand—Dodge City—win the Kansas high school debate championship. After World War II urban and suburban communities would increasingly dominate high school debate in Kansas. Yet, such small towns as Sterling and Tonganoxie retained the potential to advance to the top ranks.[2] Conceivably their endurance is testimony to the work of a former Hutchinson, Kansas, school superintendent who designed the state's debate program nearly a century ago.

High school debate is a distinctive phenomenon in the history of American education, yet the particulars of when, where, and why are not well known. If one were to pull together a nationwide assortment of high school yearbooks dating from the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s and flip through the pages of extracurricular activities, photographs of debate teams would be interspersed with those of the Red Cross Club and National Honor Society. Until the mid-1950s debate was a standard feature of high school life nationwide. At its very best, debate fosters an incisive intellectualism among students. It has always demanded acute research and organizational skills, and one of its rewards is the strong sensation of "flow" that is associated with athletic performance.[3] Debaters are famously passionate about developing and winning arguments through their command of language and ideas. The familiarity of working within the formal debate structure—affirmative, negative, and so forth—is balanced by the need to respond creatively to unexpected challenges.

Claudia Keenan *earned her Ph.D. from the New York University School of Education. She currently teaches western tradition and sociology at Emory and Henry College, Emory, Virginia.*

1. Winning teams are listed in University of Kansas Extension Division, *Announcements of the Kansas High School Debating League*, 1910–1929, *Bulletins* 10–30 (1910–1929). Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School, 1880–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 180, ch. 10; Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958*, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 1995), ch. 4, 5; David Tyack and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering Toward Utopia, A Center of Public School Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), ch. 2.

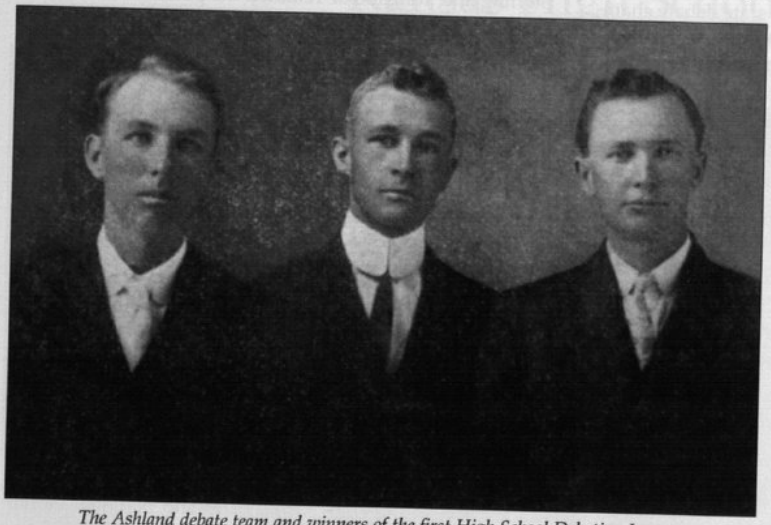
2. University of Kansas Extension Division, *Announcements of the Kansas High School Debating League*, 1911–1937, *Bulletins* 11–37 (1910–1936). *See also* debate records at the Kansas State High School Activities Association, Topeka.

3. Gary Alan Fine, *Gifted Tongues: High School Debate and Adolescent Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 102.

Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains 28 (Summer 2005): 84–93.

Often a coach or teacher acts as a guide, but the student finds his or her own way through the mass of information and toward a critical understanding of it.

Debate is largely a self-directed activity that has much to do with the education of individuals yet very little to do with formal schooling even though it is organized through the schools. Nonetheless, its establishment as an activity affiliated with twentieth-century public high schools illuminates a few compelling themes related to the American educational system. In Kansas, which became one of the first states to develop a dynamic high school debate league, the very presence of this cerebral activity in such places as Ashland challenges conventional views of the rural pre-World War I high school. The fact that Kansas was among the states with the most literate populations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries must surely be a factor in the success of this activity.[4] The popularization of high school debate in Kansas reiterates that public universities influenced high schools in unexpected venues. Further, it is notable that debate has continued to be offered as part of the curriculum in Kansas high schools although it is, as well, part of the extra curriculum. Many of the courses offered by the high schools today originated in a flurry of curriculum design conducted by prestigious national committees during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These new programs encouraged standardization, vocationalism, and uniformity. As an activity that involves argumentation, challenge, and variability, debate naturally would tend to be excluded from the curriculum by local educators. Arguably, the persistence of debate classes in Kansas represents an educational legacy that is quintessentially progressive although Kansas schools of the early twentieth century were not formally associated with the progressive education movement.[5]



The Ashland debate team and winners of the first High School Debating League championship, 1911. Left to right are Fred Hinkle, Cale Carson, and Clarence Bare.

Progressive education has had many incarnations. During its heyday between 1916 and 1940, progressive education was associated with a series of changes in classroom practice. Many were once considered revolutionary and have since become standard. On the elementary school level, progressive educators fostered "child centered" study, developmental learning, individualized instruction, and expansion of the curriculum to include science and the arts. They also emphasized social development. At the junior high and high school levels, progressive educators were deeply concerned that students learn complementary versions of Western and American history. Many formally introduced critical thinking on the secondary level and encouraged students to back up their beliefs instead of learning by rote.[6] Debate is inherently progressive because it requires students to open their

4. The author's research on the history of high school debate in the United States, including Wisconsin, Iowa, Montana, and New York, demonstrates that Kansas was in the vanguard of high school debate. *See also* A. Monroe Stowe, "The Motivation of Debate in Our Secondary Schools," *Kansas School Magazine* 1 (September 1912): 299–303, reprinted from *School Review*, Chicago; Mary Hurlbut Cordier, *Schoolwomen of the Prairies and Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1992), 136.

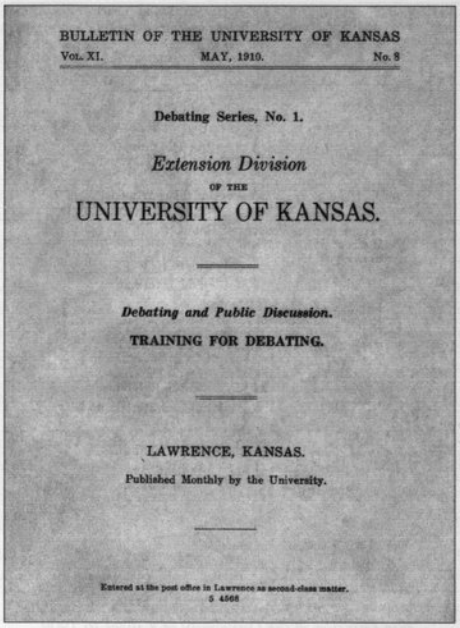
5. Most public high schools in Kansas offer debate classes for credit, which is not the case in most public high schools in the Northeast, West, and Southeast. For background on curriculum design, *see* Herbert M. Kleibard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958*, 3d ed. (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004).

6. The discussion of progressive education is based on Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Knopf, 1961); Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience* (New York: Norton, 1987); Susan Semel Krug and Alan Sadovnik, eds., *Schools of Tomorrow, Schools of Today: What Happened to Progressive Education?* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000); C.A. Bowers, *The Progressive Educator and the Depression: The Radical Years* (New York: Random House, 1969).

minds to consider and develop new ways of thinking about issues and problems. Therefore, while debate did not appear on the agenda of the Progressive Education Association, it embodied several important goals of progressivism: intellectual advancement, an interdisciplinary approach to learning, challenging the *status quo*, and broadening students' understanding of problems in modern society. Progressive education did not reach every school in every community and thrived most prominently in private and public schools in affluent towns and villages. While elements of progressive education such as creative expression and studying social issues became established in some rural districts, education reformers of the time believed overall that rural schools lagged greatly behind improvements in public education.[7] In that context, high school debate stands out as a progressive student activity that had not been mandated as a reform.

It is possible to pinpoint the very start of high school debate in the state of Kansas: March 12, 1910. That was the day that the Annual Conference of Superintendents and Principals of Accredited High Schools of Kansas voted to establish the Kansas High School Debating League. The person who pushed insistently for the league's creation was Richard Rees Price, newly installed director of the Extension Division of the University of Kansas who noted that the Debating League should be used "not as an end in itself. It should lead to a first-hand study of the great political and economic questions which are pressing for solution by the people of this state."[8]

Price's hope that high school debate would promote the study of issues demanding reform suggests that he regarded this activity as a "good government" initiative as well as an intellectual pursuit. During the last decades of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century American communities brimmed with programs to stimulate civic involvement, moral character, and mental enrichment. High school debate brought these strands together uniquely if only because the participants were of the young ages of fifteen to seventeen. Like the continuing education movement, which started in Chautauqua, New York, in 1874, high school debate fed Americans' appetite for knowledge and entertainment—perhaps some showmanship too. "The backbone of the Chautauqua was the lecture," once explained Ezra C. Buehler, professor of communication and debate coach at the University of Kansas for more than forty years. "There was the lecture to challenge thought, the lecture to inform, and the lecture to inspire."[9] Debate incorporated some of these elements and played to Americans' growing interest in social and political issues. It fit Richard Price's view of the world.


BULLETIN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
Vol. XI. MAY, 1910. No. 8

Debating Series, No. 1.

Extension Division
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS.

Debating and Public Discussion.
TRAINING FOR DEBATING.

LAWRENCE, KANSAS.
Published Monthly by the University.

Entered at the post office in Lawrence as second-class matter.
S 4566

This first Kansas debate handbook, published in 1910, featured an essay focusing on the values of debate, which included self-control, correct habits of speech, organization of thought, and recognition of sound reasoning.

A graduate of the University of Kansas, class of 1897, Richard Price received a master's degree from Harvard and then returned to Kansas where he became a Latin teacher and subsequently principal and superintendent of the Hutchinson schools. In 1900 Hutchinson was a rapidly

7. David R. Reynolds, *There Goes the Neighborhood: Rural School Consolidation at the Grass Roots in Early Twentieth Century Iowa* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999), 52.

8. Richard R. Price, "A Review of the Work of the League for 1910–'11," University of Kansas Extension Division, *Debating Series, No. 3. Announcements of the Kansas High School Debating League, for 1911–'12, Bulletin* 12, no. 15 (September 1, 1911), 13. *See also* Clifford S. Griffin, *The University of Kansas: A History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1974), 250, 247–61.

9. Ezra C. Buehler, "William Jennings Bryan—An Eyewitness Report," in *Ezra Christian Buehler, His Life and Professional Ideas*, ed. Clare Novak and Marilyn Conboy (Lawrence: Kansas Speech Communication Society, University of Kansas, 1982), 253.

growing city along the Santa Fe railroad. Price's outlook, his interest in developing an informed citizenry that grappled with ideas, was evident in his work as editor of the *Interstate Schoolman*, a monthly journal for Kansas teachers.[10] The journal's epigram, *Docendo Discimus*, means "we learn by teaching." "The Department of Public Discussion and Debate will encourage the discussion of such subjects as bank guaranty . . . immigration, etc., all live questions

Richard R. Price was superintendent of Hutchinson schools before becoming director of the fledgling Extension Division of the University of Kansas in 1909.

which will bring the young men and women of the day into touch with things which the citizens of the entire country have in mind," Price argued in *Interstate Schoolman*. In 1909 he left the journal and Hutchinson to direct the fledgling Extension Division of the University of Kansas at Lawrence.[11]

The idea of universities extending educational opportunity to people, usually working people who could not formally enroll and attend, originated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the 1870s. Nearly two decades later several American universities including Wisconsin, Chicago, and Kansas, started extension programs. However these programs floundered until the turn of the twentieth century when administrators shifted away from the English emphasis on course credit and examinations. In the United States, extension work became oriented toward correspondence study and dissemination of information about social, business, and political issues. But an overarching emphasis was on the value of public discussion within communities.[12]

In his 1902 inauguration speech, University of Kansas chancellor Frank Strong enunciated a commitment to extension work. He said in part: "Men and women of Kansas, do you love this state? Do you love its broad prairies where in the springtime the wandering breath of God stirs the perfume in a million flowers? . . . Then do not allow the University of Kansas to miss its destiny."[13] The destiny that Strong had in mind was akin to that of the formative "Wisconsin Idea," later expressed as "the boundaries of the campus are the boundaries of the state" or the university in service to the state. It would be articulated fully by Charles McCarthy, a member of the Wisconsin Free Library Commission who urged University of Wisconsin president Charles Van Hise to reinvigorate the languishing extension division in 1912. Decades earlier Wisconsin had embraced the concept of an extension division "as an agency by means of which all or any knowledge not only could but would be transmitted to those who sought it and those who ought to have it."[14] Kansas Chancellor Strong became so captivated by the mission of the Wisconsin extension division that he visited Madison in 1911, bringing with him the progressive Republican governor of Kansas, Walter R. Stubbs. "Now, by all natural rights Kansas has more to be proud of than Wisconsin has," Strong announced. "Its people have certainly as much right to take pride in their citizenship and to assert their daily proprietorship in the affairs of the commonwealth."[15]

Even before Richard Price arrived at Lawrence, he had reviewed material about the Wisconsin extension division and decided to use it as his model for Kansas. He institut-

10. "New Members of the Faculty," *Graduate Magazine of the University of Kansas* 8 (October 1909): 24. In March 1905 Richard Rees Price began as the associate editor of *Interstate Schoolman: A Monthly Magazine of Education*, published in Hutchinson, Kansas. By February 1906 he was a co-editor with George W. Winans. *Interstate Schoolman* was published until 1913.

11. "The New University Extension Work at the University," *Interstate Schoolman* 8 (January 1910): 22–23; "New Members of the Faculty."

12. Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience*, 243–45.

13. Quotation in Theodore A. Wilson, *Cycles of Change, A History of the University of Kansas Division of Continuing Education* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 8.

14. Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin, A History, 1848–1925* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 2: 553–54, quotation on 564.

15. "University and State Superintendent," *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 13 (February 1912): 229.

ed the same four departments as Wisconsin (correspondence study, general information and welfare, lecture study, and debating and public discussion), and chose as its motto "The State is its Campus."[16] Price fervently believed in the Wisconsin Idea. The university "must be the working arm of the state and must enter into the life of the people along all the lines which contribute to the building-up of a great commonwealth," he wrote. Of the extension division, Price noted that its function was "taking the university to the grass roots" and observed that it was "organized for the express purpose of acting as a clearing house through which all the resources of the institution and the expert services of its faculty are made easily available to the people of the state."[17]

Soon after creating the Kansas High School Debating League, Price initiated the publication of a series of debate handbooks for high school students. The first handbook presented the topic that would be debated during the 1910–1911 season: "*Resolved*, That immigration should be restricted by a literacy test." In framing the argument for the students, four questions were posed.

Have illiterate immigrants pauper and criminal tendencies?

Are illiterates hard to assimilate?

Do they lower the standard of American life?

Can a literacy test be effectively applied?[18]

Obviously these questions required knowledge and analysis. From his work as a superintendent, Price understood that many small towns were without public libraries and had scant information about the policy issues posed in debate. Therefore debaters who lived on farms in western Kansas were at a disadvantage in tackling these questions.

But there was a solution. In developing affirmative and negative arguments, the debaters would come to rely largely on information furnished by the Department of General Information of the Extension Division. The staff of this department compiled books, magazine articles, and documents prepared by the federal government and various social and political advocacy organizations, and shipped them off to schools that requested them. The reference material, provided as "package library services," could be held for two weeks. Journals clipped often included the *Independent*, *The American Journal of Sociology*, *The Nation*, *North American Review*, *The Outlook*, and *Atlantic Monthly*.[19] Therefore students who read from package libraries encountered new ideas, intellectual allusions, and policy positions that they needed to interpret and understand. United States Bureau of Education records show that by 1913 the Extension Division of the University of Kansas had distributed thousands of package libraries. In contrast, the University of Iowa supplied material to high school debaters in a slightly different way, via the Iowa State Traveling Library whose librarian met personally with students.[20]

III.

ARGUMENTATION.

An effective argument is composed of three parts: an introduction, an argument proper, and a conclusion.

A. INTRODUCTION.

The introduction is that part of the argument which cuts the whole case down to a few central or vital issues, upon which the decision of fair-minded men should rest. The good debater is not content to talk *on the subject;* he must go right to the heart of the case and discuss only the essentials. For instance, one debating the question, "*Resolved*, That immigration should be restricted by a literacy test," when he comes to debate finds himself grouping his arguments about the following central points:

1st. Have illiterate immigrants pauper and criminal tendencies?

2d. Are illiterates hard to assimilate?

3d. Do they lower the standard of American life?

4th. Can a literacy test be effectively applied?

The first debate handbook for Kansas high school students presented the topic that would be debated during the 1910–1911 season: "Resolved, That immigration should be restricted by a literacy test."

16. A diagram showing the four departments is in University of Kansas Extension Division, *Debating Series, No. 4. Announcements of the Kansas High School Debating League, for 1912–'13. Bulletin* 13, no. 18 (September 1, 1912), between 8 and 9.

17. Richard Rees Price, "The University of Kansas Extension Division," *Twentieth Century Magazine* 6 (October 1912): 3–12.

18. University of Kansas Extension Division, *Debating and Public Discussion, Training for Debating, Debating Series, No. 1, Bulletin* 11, no. 8 (May 1910), 12.

19. Frank T. Stockton, *The University of Kansas Launches and Tests an Extension Division: 1909–1922*, University Extension Research Publication (Lawrence: University of Kansas, June 1957), 44. Magazines and journals used by debaters often were cited in debate handbooks; *see*, for example, E. C. Robbins, *The High School Debate Handbook* (Chicago: McClurg, 1913), 96–99.

20. Denise K. Anderson to author, August 16, 2004; Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience*, 245.

The first debate handbook that Kansas published, *Debating and Public Discussion, Training for Debating*, featured the essay "Principles of Effective Debating" by Rollo L. Lyman, professor of rhetoric and oratory at the University of Wisconsin. Lyman wrote: "The disciplinary value of debating may be discussed under four heads: (1) Training in self-control; (2) formation of correct habits of speech; (3) organization of the power of thought; (4) ability to recognize sound reasoning."[21] Certainly mental discipline has always been part of the value of high school debate. But it is a value that is cautionary in nature, evocative of the lessons imparted in the nineteenth-century schoolhouse. In 1910 Kansas, Richard Price expressed other compelling reasons to initiate a statewide high school debate program.

Foremost, high school debate encouraged students to consider college. It would be the best means to establish liaison, Richard Price noted, between the University of Kansas and high school students. By organizing the state into eight debating leagues with whose coaches and members he was often in contact, Price promoted the progression from high school and college. He chose the officers of the Kansas High School Debate League with the intent to cultivate students for college; the officers were local principals and superintendents with just one representative of the university.[22] Despite Price's inclusion of educational administrators from the big cities—Topeka, Kansas City, and Wichita—most of the schools that participated in the debate league (until after World War II) were small towns in western Kansas. Arguably the urban students were more likely to have been headed to college with or without the debate experience. High school debaters in rural Kansas, however, could have been strongly affected by the introduction to the university made possible by Price. Since Price intended to forge bonds with Kansas high schools, it is possible that the debate league's reach into rural Kansas may have helped diversify the university's enrollment.[23]

Further, high school debate posed a challenge to the existing emphasis on high school athletics. "Debating goes far to produce a sane and normal balance of interest as between things pertaining to the body and things pertaining to the mind," Richard Price wrote in 1911. "Already in many of our high schools the football star and the track team hero have ceased to occupy the undisputed preëminence as subjects of high-school hero-worship," he added, implicitly attributing the shift to the expansion and prestige of debate. Among the fifty-two schools that were members of the debate league, in small towns spread across the state, Price perceived that contests calling for intellectual achievement would become as esteemed as athletic contests.[24] While sports would always dominate high school culture, debate added a new niche into which students could fit.

Finally, the Kansas High School Debating League created an opportunity for school boosterism and socialization. From Lawrence, the Extension Division publicized state and regional tournaments to increase attendance and urged local districts to present debate at school assemblies, parent–teacher association meetings, church events, and gatherings of women's and men's clubs. In this way the community became informed about the work of its high school students and developed a new incentive to support the schools. By fostering a "localized sense of community," historian Laurie Moses Hines has suggested, extracurricular events eventually would become the center of small school-based towns.[25]

The educational value of high school debate lies in its fundamental progressiveness—information is a form of currency and therefore of power; Americans should be informed about all aspects of their daily lives, and society benefits as a whole from greater knowledge and intelligent discussion. The entire Extension Division, of course, was a progressive institution that reached from the professions of law, journalism, and clergy, to labor unions, granges, farmers' institutes, parent–teacher associations, civic improvement clubs, and to high school debating societies. However, high school debaters constituted a unique category because they were young—younger than anyone else within the reach of the Extension Division—and extremely conversant with issues and ideas related to industrialized society. For example, Richard Price commissioned Kansas professors to write informational essays expressly for use by high school debaters. An American history pro-

21. Rollo L. Lyman, "The Principles of Effective Debating," University of Kansas Extension Division, *Debating and Public Discussion, Training for Debating*, 7.

22. "Constitution and By-laws of the Kansas High School Debating League," *Debating Series, No. 2. Announcements of the Kansas High School Debating League, for 1910–'11. Bulletin* 11, no. 10 (July 1910), 9.

23. Price, "A Review of the Work of the League for 1910–'11," 13–16.

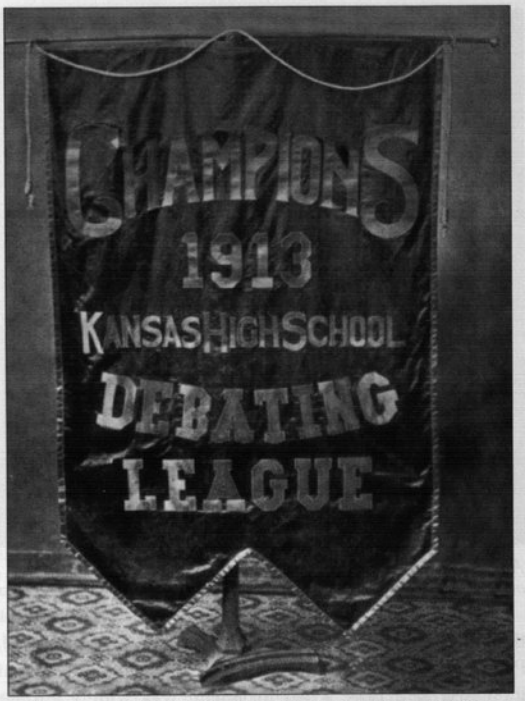
24. Ibid., 13; Price, "A Review of the Work of the League, for 1911–'12," University of Kansas Extension Division, *Debating Series, No. 4*, 14.

25. Laurie Moses Hines, "Community and Control in the Development of the Extracurriculum," in *Hoosier Schools: Past & Present*, ed. William J. Reese (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Richard R. Price, "Preliminary Statement," University of Kansas Extension Division, *Debating Series, No. 3*, 7–11.

fessor, Frank Bates, prepared a report on "The Commission Plan of Government," for example, and a public speaking professor, Gerhard Gessell, wrote about "The Recall of Judges," and these papers were distributed to debate teams. Prior to World War II the closest public high schools would come to the level of critical analysis of social problems conducted by debaters would be through the textbooks and pamphlets written by the innovative Teachers College professor Harold O. Rugg during the 1930s.[26]

High school debate would seem to have descended naturally from nineteenth-century classes in rhetoric, elocution, and oratory. In fact it was a twentieth-century invention. The activity and its broad organization may be said to reflect the public university's progressive values, the promise of encouraging and extending education to all citizens. Progressive Era concerns among educators are also revealed in the juxtaposition of high school debate to issues current in secondary education between 1900 and 1920. Among these issues were escalating high school enrollment, the growth of the immigrant population, the expansion of consumerism, and the diminished authority of the church, family, and school. All influenced educators' ideas about high school requirements and extracurricular activities. Debate was not for everyone, but its strong presence in the schools raised awareness of the importance of oral and written expression, enhanced insight into social change, and encouraged an understanding of modern culture.

Around 1910 the pages of *Kansas Teacher* magazine began to reflect a kind of agony about the public schools as educators argued about the flight of farmers' sons and daughters. How could this trend be reversed to preserve the agrarian way of life? Allegiance to rural culture would need to come through the school, charged the Country Life Commission appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt and chaired by horticulturalist Liberty Hyde Bailey. Those who stayed, it was thought, must develop a "sense of dignity in rural living and an intellectual attachment to the countryside."[27] Notably, country life was characterized by "social disorder," lacking cohesion—hardly a surprise since farms were so dispersed across the Plains. The commission urged the development of the school as a social center to create an enduring sense of community. It also proposed a shift in the curriculum so that students who lived on farms would study subjects that resonated with their daily lives. "There may be a difference of opinion about the advisability of training these children for country life, but there can be none about the necessity of utilizing their experience gained in the country in teaching them the procedure of successful living," wrote W. W. Charters, an educator with a special interest in curriculum development, in an introduction to a series of texts for rural teachers.[28]



Banner won by Burlington High School, the 1913 champions of the Kansas High School Debating League.

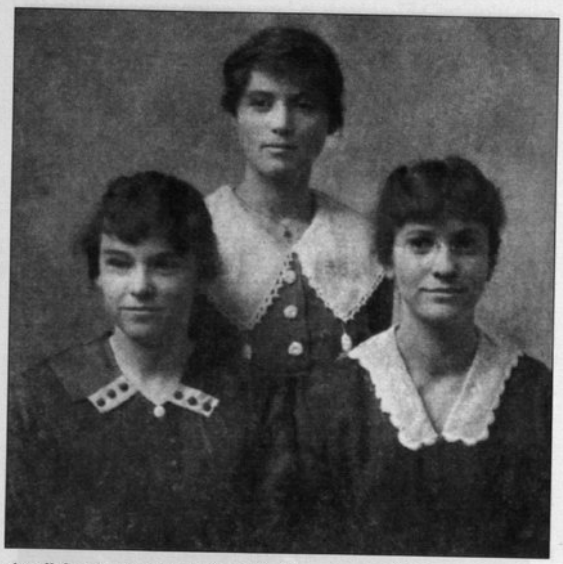
During these years of despair when educators and social activists proposed solutions to the "problem" of country life, high school debate in Kansas generally drew more participants each year: thirty-four in 1910–1911, thirty-

26. Frank G. Bates, *The Commission Plan of Government* (1910), and Gerhard A. Gesell, *The Recall of Judges* (1913). *See* University of Kansas Extension Division, *Debating Series, No. 4*, 2. Although the bulletin states *The Recall of Judges* will be ready in December 1912, this title was issued December 1, 1913. Harold O. Rugg, *The History of American Civilization: Economic and Social* (Boston: Ginn, 1930).

27. Paul Theobald, *Call School: Rural Education in the Midwest to 1918* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995), 171; *Report of the Commission on Country Life*, 60th Cong., 2d sess., 1911, S. Doc. 705.

28. William Albert Wilkinson, *Rural School Management* (New York: Silver, Burdett and Co., 1917), viii.

three in 1911–1912, and fifty-two in 1912–1913, dropping to forty-two to forty-four teams between 1914 and 1916, then steadily rising to 144 by 1922–1923. The next season, 1923–1924, high school teams were split into two categories: Class A for larger schools and Class B for smaller.[29] The Kansas debaters worked with a great range of issues: capital punishment, old-age pensions, conservation of natural resources, federal versus state rights, restriction of immigration, woman suffrage, social purity, and the "yellow peril." Paradoxically, the commitment of rural students to debate increased at a time when urbanism was widely equated with intellectualism. Further, debate went against assumptions about rural education: it was secular and its content usually was not related to agricultural practices. Finally the "speaking" component of high school debate bore no relation to recitation, the standard form of teaching and learning in rural schools at least until the end of World War I.



An all-female debate team from Mt. Hope won the 1917 state championship. Left to right are Marcie Tucker, Lola Hoover, and Mildred Tihen.

In 1913 University of Minnesota president George Vincent recruited Richard Price to run Minnesota's extension division. Two years later Price helped establish the National University Extension Association, whose founding member institutions included eighteen land-grant universities and first president was Dean Louis Reber of the University of Wisconsin. Meanwhile back in Kansas the extension's ties to Wisconsin were reinforced when Price's position was filled by Frederick R. Hamilton, former president of Bradley Polytechnic Institute who had worked in the Wisconsin extension division. He was particularly pleased in 1917 when an all-girl team won the state championship.[30] Subsequently, Harold G. Ingham, also from Wisconsin, would serve at Kansas until 1935. He reported on debate regularly and about the 1932–1933 season, he commented:

> The most remarkable feature of the entire season's work was the ability acquired by these high-school debaters in comprehending and discussing intelligently so difficult and involved a question as that of the sources of taxation and the justice of the property tax as compared to other types of tax levies. Many school officials, debate coaches and others interested who felt, at the beginning of the season, that the question involved problems of economics far beyond the comprehension of the average high-school student, were most enthusiastic in their commendations before the season closed.[31]

Harold Ingham's commitment to high school debate led him to establish a University of Kansas summer debate institute where students had the opportunity to be evaluated by Kansas professors and attended lectures by politicians, business executives, and civic leaders about issues of the day. The University of Kansas continued to operate the high school debating league until 1937 when the Kansas High School Activities Association assumed leadership. However, the summer debate institutes continue today.[32]

The men who popularized high school debate in Kansas were inspired by the expanse of possibility embodied in American education and to that end they were true progressives. In seeking to maximize the university's service to the state they also were focused on

29. Richard R. Price, "A Review of the Work of the League, 1912–'13," University of Kansas Extension Division, *Debating Series, No. 5. Announcements of the Kansas High School Debating League, for 1913–'14. Bulletin* 14, no. 17 (August 1, 1913), 13. *See also* University of Kansas Extension Division, *Announcements of the Kansas High School Debating League, 1914–1924. Bulletins* 15–23 (1914–1923).

30. The National University Extension Association became the National University Continuing Education Association in 1980. For the 1917 championship team, *see* University of Kansas Extension Division, *Debating Series, No. 5*, 6; *Kansas Teacher* 5 (May 1917): 18.

31. Quotation in "A Review of the Work of the League, 1932–'33," University of Kansas Extension Division, *Announcement Kansas High School Debating League for 1933–'34. Bulletin* 34, no. 15 (September 1, 1933), 15.

32. "Debate Institute November 25 and 26," *University of Kansas Newsletter* 37 (October 29, 1938): 3, Artificial Records of the Division of Continuing Education, University of Kansas Archives, Lawrence.

efficiency, not simply willing but eager to use the state to "expand the domain of public schooling," in the words of historian David Tyack.[33] The high school debate program is an unconventional but excellent illustration of that expansion, for through it the state of Kansas served both the secondary schools and the university thereby increasing its own breadth and influence.

One of the twists in the history of high school debate is that it became popularized largely as a rural endeavor yet is today best known through the National Association of Urban Debate Leagues. This organization, founded in 1997 and funded by the Soros Foundation, promotes debate in twelve large American cities and is active among 221 urban public high schools. The association's literature notes that debaters receive higher grades than non-debaters and are more likely to attend college.[34]

The history of debate in American high schools is useful in examining regional education trends and issues. Since most debate programs that date from between 1900 and 1915 were developed through or with help from state universities, it is worthwhile to ask whether all were responding to similar concerns about young people and community stability. After all, the main focus of the extensions was adult and continuing education. The University of Kansas extension, for example, supported high school students who were involved in civic work or correspondence study or needed reference books and lantern slides.[35] Yet debate was the only extracurricular group that received formal attention from the extension in the form of handbooks, newsletters, and active encouragement. Such devotion is intriguing if one considers the multitude of issues that rural schools faced during the first few decades of the twentieth century.

Since about 1900, high school debate programs have served the needs of at least five state universities and reflected regional issues in secondary schooling. As a competitive "extracurricular" infused with the joy of argument and ideas, debate quickly gained stature in early twentieth-century high schools. Certainly some of its importance was conferred by the strong connection to the state university and professors. Debating's association with higher education, however, and its intense intellectualism would ultimately keep it marginal in most parts of the country. Even after World War II when most high school debate leagues cut their ties to university extension divisions, the fact that debate as an activity was actually dependent on divergent viewpoints posed a threat to strict classroom control. For this reason debate has remained largely extracurricular although the strengths it imparts to students are among the very ones that are said to be sought by educators. Its presence in Kansas signifies a truly progressive enterprise. KH

The University of Kansas continued to operate the high school debating league until 1937 when the Kansas High School Activities Association assumed leadership. Pictured here are the 1937 champions from Mulvane: Winifred Farber, Betty Kimble, Vivian Pike (coach), O'Thene Huff, Margaret Valeria Burress, and (back row) Superintendent Rider.

33. David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue, Public School Leadership in America 1820–1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 95.
34. *See* www.urbandebate.org/factsheet
35. "Correspondence-Study," University of Kansas Extension Division, *Debating Series, No. 4*, 62–63.

EYEWITNESS REPORTS OF QUANTRILL'S RAID

Letters of Sophia Bissell & Sidney Clarke

edited by Fred N. Six

One assertion can be made with absolute confidence about Kansas history: many scholars and history buffs have a nearly insatiable appetite and interest in Bleeding Kansas and the Civil War on the border. If one character, besides the abolitionist John Brown, or incident has continually intrigued amateur historians and scholars alike, it is William Clarke Quantrill and his infamous raid on Lawrence, Kansas.[1] The letters of Sophia L. Bissell and Sidney

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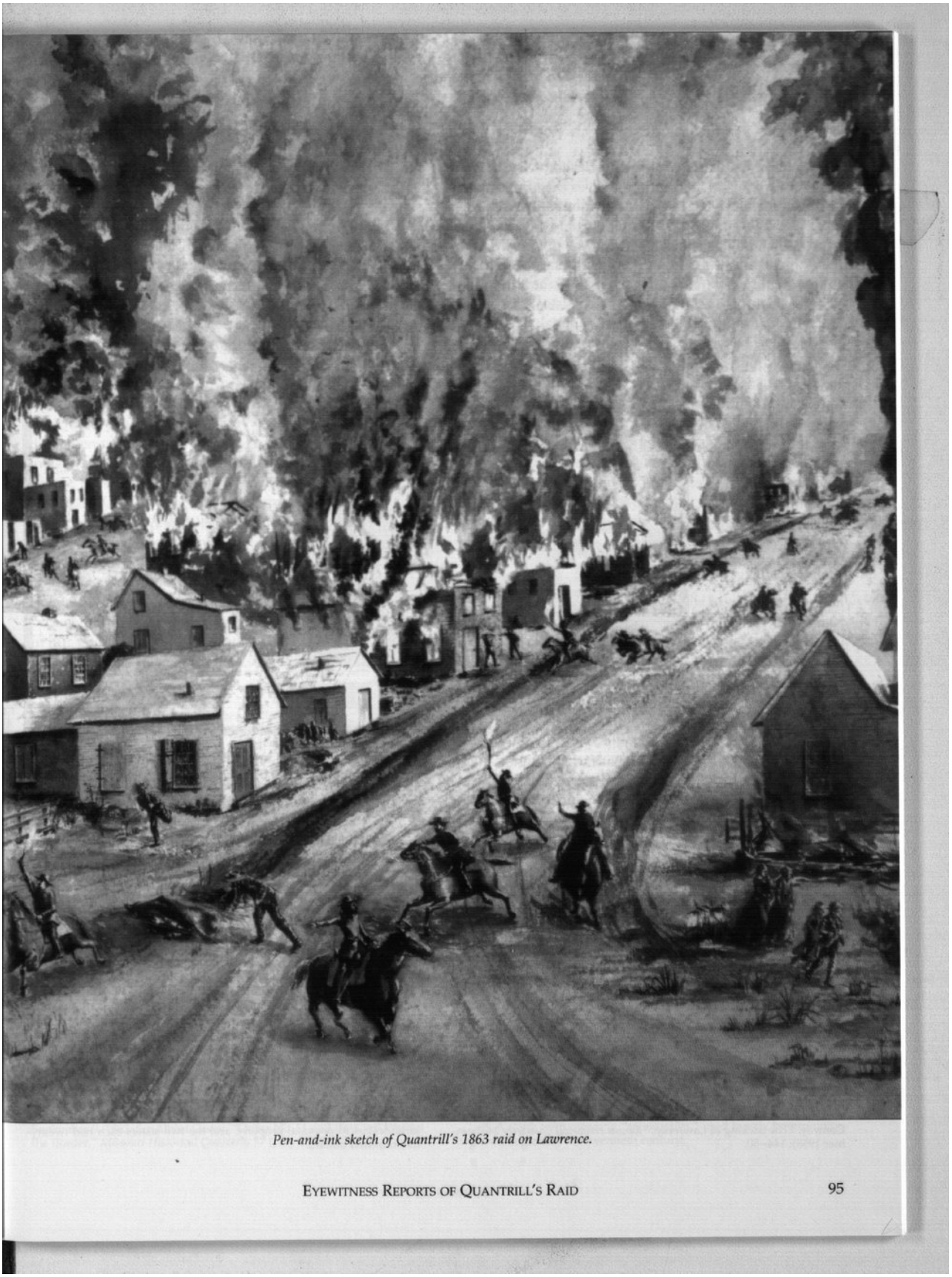
Fred N. Six *served as a judge on the Kansas Court of Appeals from 1987 to 1988 and as a justice on the Kansas Supreme Court from 1988 to 2003. He earned his bachelor's degree in history and his Juris Doctor from the University of Kansas, and a master of laws (The Legal Process) from the University of Virginia in 1990.*

The author would like to thank Dr. Virgil Dean, editor, for his guidance and support, and Judy Sweets of Lawrence, Kansas, for her research assistance.

1. *See* Gunja SenGupta, "Bleeding Kansas. Review Essay," in *Territorial Kansas Reader*, ed. Virgil W. Dean (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 2005): 329–52; Barry A. Couch, "A 'Fiend in Human Shape'? William Clarke Quantrill and His Biographers," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 22 (Summer 1999): 142–56.

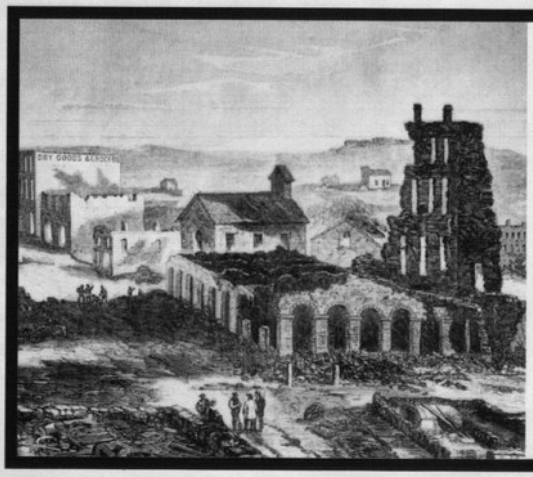
Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains 28 (Summer 2005): 94–103.



Pen-and-ink sketch of Quantrill's 1863 raid on Lawrence.

Clarke reprinted here permit the reader to revisit that terrible day, August 21, 1863, through eyes that differ in gender, frontier lifestyle, and perhaps motivation: Bissell, a single woman, living with her family, and Clarke, a husband, father, military officer, and a target of the raid.

Sophia Bissell, a native of Suffield, Hartford County, Connecticut, was thirty-three years old and living in Lawrence with her mother Arabell (or Arabella), a widow, and her older siblings, Henry and Arabell Bissell, when she recorded her eyewitness account of Quantrill's raid in a September 8, 1863, letter to "Dear Cousin" Henry C. Lawrence.[2] Sophia's letter and another eyewitness account composed by Sidney Clarke less than a week after the raid are at the core of this article. Clarke, who had been born in Southbridge, Massachusetts, in 1831, and later served Kansas in the U.S. Congress, was assistant provost marshal at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1863. Back in Leavenworth, Clarke recorded his vivid description of that fateful August morning in Lawrence for "My dear Friends." [3]



Back in Leavenworth, Clarke recorded his vivid description of that fateful August morning in Lawrence.

The Bissell Letter

In 1858 Sophia Bissell accompanied her family to Kansas Territory and at the time of the raid lived in what is now the 900 block of Kentucky Street.[4] The copy of Bissell's "Dear Cousin" letter transcribed and reprinted here is the property of the Chicago Historical Society and is part of the Society's Henry Asbury Collection. Asbury received the original Bissell letter from a Henry Lawrence and made a handwritten copy, probably while he was living in Chicago; he then apparently returned the original, as the following appears on the reverse of Asbury's copy: "The origional [*sic*] of this letter was sent to me by the gentleman to whom it was addressed Mr. Henry Lawrence—I carefully copied it myself and so it is thoroughly correct—the original I gave or sent to Mr. Lawrence the writer being a relative of his. [Signed] Henry Asbury." At another location on the reverse of the copy, Asbury writes, "Miss Bissels [*sic*] letter con[cernin]g the Lawrence Massacre, date Sep 8 1863. If the original has been preserved perhaps Mr. Lawrence nephew & late partner of Judge Lawrence at

2. Sophia Bissell was born in Suffield, Connecticut, February 9, 1830, where she lived most of her life and died at age eighty-two. Years after the massacre that she witnessed during her relatively brief sojourn in Kansas, while living in Suffield, Bissell set down her memories of the raid, which were published as "An Eyewitness at Lawrence: 'See those men! They have no flag!'" in *American Heritage* 11 (October 1960): 25. Her account accompanied an article by historian Albert Castel, "The Bloodiest Man in American History," ibid., 22–24, 97.

See also obituary, "Sophia L. Bissell," news scrapbooks, Suffield Public Library, Suffield, Conn. According to Lester Smith, the Suffield town historian, the obituary would have come from the *Windsor Locks Journal*. At the time of Bissell's death, the *Journal* covered both Windsor Locks and Suffield. *See* Suffield Library to author, December 9, 2004, e-mail in possession of author.

3. The Bissell letter is typical of survivor accounts. The Clarke letter, however, almost seems to have been written with the historical record in mind, and it contains a few details that have not been independently substantiated. For additional eyewitness accounts, *see* Hovey E. Lowman, *Narrative of the Lawrence Massacre on the Morning of the 21st of August, 1863* (1864; reprint, Lawrence, Kans.: Watkins Community Museum, n.d.); Richard B. Sheridan, ed. and comp., "Quantrill and the Lawrence Massacre: A Reader," unpublished manuscript (Lawrence, Kans.: 1994); Alan Conway, "The Sacking of Lawrence," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 24 (Summer 1958): 144–50.

4. *Lawrence City Directory, 1860–61* (Indianapolis: James Sutherland, n.d.), 11; *Atlas of Douglas Co., Kansas 1873* (New York: F. W. Beers, 1873); Kansas State Census, 1865, Douglas County, Wakarusa Township. The family is enumerated as: Arabella, age seventy; Henry F. (or perhaps T.), age forty-five; Arabella J., age thirty-nine; and Sophia L., age thirty-seven. All are single. The elder Arabella (the mother) is listed first; her real estate is valued at five thousand dollars and her personal property at thirty thousand dollars, a tidy sum, if correct. Henry is a farmer with one thousand dollars in personal property, and the two sisters each had twenty-five hundred dollars.

Chicago can ? ? ? it up—It is only important as showing the Quantrill raid as seen by the writer. [Signed] HA." [5]

Lawrence Sept 8 1863

Dear Cousin, We were very happy to receive a letter from you last week and were grateful to think you felt such an interest in our welfare. The twenty first of August (1863), was an awful day in Lawrence and one never to be forgotten by her inhabitants. I presume you have read most of the mawkish circumstances of the day, and as you requested us to write the part we bore, I will endeavor to give you some idea. You may be aware that ever since this war began, every few weeks, it would be reported about town that Quantrell was coming, that he was so many miles off. Horsemen would come rushing in saying he was coming and sometimes it would be Price that was on the way.[6] Well we got accustomed to these reports and did not believe them. Last fall however after our return from the East one night the Militia were called out and a great many of the citizens packed their trunks and made various preparations for their coming, but that was a false alarm. Five or six weeks ago Genl Ewing or one of his Staff sent word to Mayor Collamore, that Quantrell was getting together a force eight hundred strong for some plan and we better be on our guard.[7] The Mayor sent to Leavenworth for troops and they came—a large number of citizens were placed on guard every night for a week or more. A great deal of sport was made of our "big scare" and of our nervous Mayor both here and in Leavenworth, so much in fact that the troops were sent away and the guard given up. Quantrell had his spies here all the time then it seems and knew just what we were doing– We as a family laid it a little more to heart than most of the others: a great deal more than ever before– We arranged our money and papers and talked over what we should do, putting our papers in a safe place, there they remained several days unharmed, as we all did, and so it went on until the fright was entirely forgotten. Time passed on until that Friday morning Quantrell did indeed come to Lawrence.

Henry and Robert our black boy rose early that morning, as they were going up to the farm to work. It was between four & five: They were in the yard when Robert looked up on some rising ground just a little ways from us & says who are those! They are "Secesh" —[8] They have no flag. Arabella called to me to look out of the window at those men! I ran threw open the blinds & then I saw a large body of horsemen trotting quite briskly along—just then they turned a corner coming nearer us—and we heard them say— Rush on—rush on for the town—and they did rush on, but did not stop for us at that time. We hear pistols firing and looking back of us saw the Horsemen running from house to house & we knew who had come.

So we took in a faint sense of what it was to be surrounded by Guerrillas—we immediately buried our papers & money excepting a little which we left out to appease them—put our silver in the cistern & disposed of our watches and jewelry & waited for them to come. And oh to hear the yells & hear the firing and to see the people running black & white old and young and the Fiends chasing after them firing as fast as they possibly could. Oh it was perfectly awful! The only wonder is there were not more killed. The first ones that came to us drove up to the back door—two men—asked for the man of the house—Henry went to the door. Said they your name! Bissell! Do you belong to the Service? No Sir! If you had told me you did I would have shot you dead! Your money. Henry handed them ten dollars. They turned towards the barn. Where are your horses—they looked in and saw but one (we had

5. Sophia Bissell letter, September 8, 1863, folder 1810–1896, Henry Asbury Collection, 1839–1883, Chicago Historical Society (CHS). Virgil W. Dean, editor of *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, first became aware of the Bissell letter in October 2000 thanks to noted Civil War-era historian Albert Castel, who had obtained a copy from the CHS in 1976. Castel thought Bissell's letter would be of interest to the readers of *Kansas History* and encouraged its publication. We are grateful to him for that assistance and encouragement.

6. General Sterling Price, a former governor of Missouri, commanded Confederate troops in the region throughout the Civil War. On September 19, 1864, approximately a year after the August 1863 massacre at Lawrence, Price led an army of about twelve thousand northward from Arkansas into Missouri in a campaign that came to be known as the Price raid. The Confederates reached Westport, Missouri, before Price initiated his retreat south along the Missouri–Kansas border. Price's army was "completely shattered" by Union regulars and the Kansas militia commanded by Major General Samuel R. Curtis. Militarily, the Price raid ended the Civil War in Kansas and the West. *See* Albert Castel, "War and Politics: The Price Raid of 1864," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 24 (Summer 1958): 129, 130, 132, 140, 143; Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 238–55; Kip Lindberg, "Chaos Itself: The Battle of Mine Creek," *North and South* 1 (1998): 74–85; Edgar Langsdorf, "Price's Raid and the Battle of Mine Creek," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 30 (Autumn 1964): 281–306. Quantrill's contemporaries frequently spelled his name "Quantrell."

7. On August 25, 1863, two days after the Lawrence massacre, Union General Thomas Ewing Jr., commander of the District of the Border, issued Order No. 11 clearing certain Missouri border counties. The order embittered many Missourians because it required all inhabitants of Jackson, Cass, and Bates Counties, with certain exceptions, to evacuate by September 9, 1863. *See* Albert Castel, "Order No. 11 and the Civil War on the Border," *Missouri Historical Quarterly* 57 (July 1963): 357–68.

Lawrence mayor George W. Collamore was not as fortunate as Bissell's brother Henry. Collamore lived in a two-story stone house at 646 Kentucky Street. Awakened by the shouts outside, he ran to the back of the house to hide in a dry well. The raiders set fire to the house, and Collamore suffocated in the well. *See* David Dary, *Lawrence, Douglas County Kansas: An Informal History* (Lawrence: Allen Books, 1982), 111, 112.

8. A slang term meaning "secessionist," used mostly by pro-unionists and obsolete by the twentieth century.

given the black boy a pistol & sent him to the country with two other horses. He was chassed & fired upon was obliged to let one go but escaped with the other) then said they take everything out of the house! You are not going to burn us are you! Yes we are. They then left! We began in good earnest to take the things out. Another came & wanted water & said we were not going to be burned.

We took a little courage then & stopped to look towards town. We could see Mass. St. all in flames & the houses of our friends and acquaintances here & there all in a blaze. All the houses of the first settlers were burned & of course the Branscomb place went (our house on Kentucky St)[9] Then another came & wanted Henry—he went out to him. He wanted money—H gave him five dollars & he left. Then we saw the bands collecting as if to move off & soon they did—passing directly in front of our inclosure. We could hear them ask from time to time if they should come up. Something would be said & they would pass on. We began to take long breaths and think we were going to escape—when looking towards town we saw five coming rushing & yelling directly for us. Then we knew our time had come. In they came on horseback right up to the front door. The leader forcing his horse up on to the Piazza. Matches, matches said one & [marked out word] up stairs—The others ransacking the house up stairs & down. The leader called for the man of the house. Henry went out to him. Your name? Bissell? You from New York! So said I, from Ct. Worse yet. Worse yet. Our trunks we had got into the yard although they forbid our doing it. Then they began breaking these open—throwing them into the air & letting them come down & stomping on them but they did come open. I ran to the leader & begged him to spare the house, pleading and telling him we were just peaceable people! Will you not spare the house? At last he said he would for my sake. Said I it is now on fire. Oh then I can't save it.

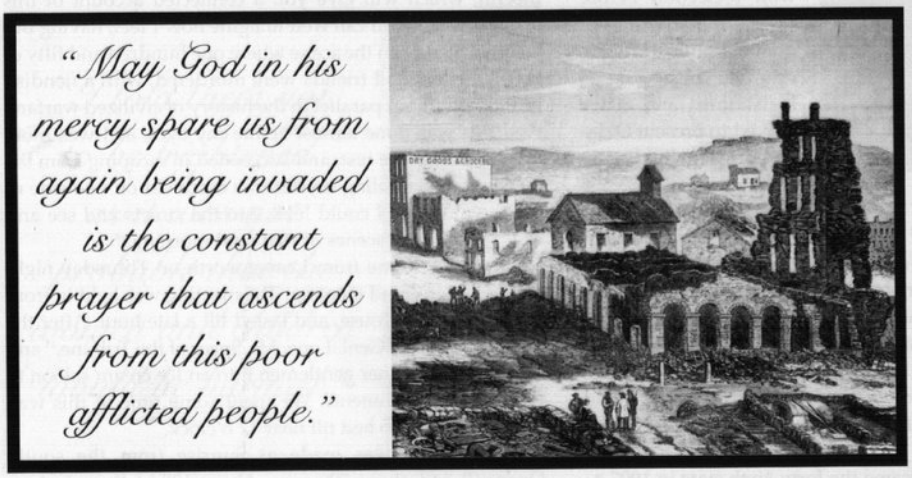
But I took courage & ran up stairs & found they had torn open a husk mattress & it was all in a blaze. I got a feather bed & put out the blaze but not the fire. Up came one of them to see how the fire was progressing. He said to me did you put out that fire! To be sure I did. He gave me a horrid look & said I shall set it on fire again! Said I the leader said he would spare the house. He ran down stairs (I following him) and asked him if he said so. I caught him by the arm and held him while I plead with the leader—He did not go up again. While I was up stairs the most fiendish one attacked Henry, telling him he wanted more money. "They told him uptown we had money". He knocked him down with his pistol, pulled him up again striking him several times on the head—the blood running down his face. Then he fired or snapped his pistol all the rounds, but it was empty. He took his other & said—"Now I will fix you." Arabella was pleading all this time with him to spare her only brother, running from him to the leader & back again in agony. The leader relented & spoke to the man. He let go his hold & Henry ran for the corn. Then this fiendish one ran into the house set it on fire down stairs—turned us all out of the house shut the door & told us not to go in again.

The leader relented again, ordered them all on their horses & be off. They tipped their hats and bid us good morning. We returned the salutation, trying all the time they were here not to irritate them at all. We rushed into the house put out the fire down stairs & carried water up stairs time & time again, tried to throw the things out of the windows—nearly suffocated—left it to burn. We found the barn all on fire, got the carriage & harness out & sat down on the Piazza in despair—not saying a word—or shedding a tear. Just then a man from Franklin rushed into the house up stairs by a good deal of exertion put out the fire.[10] So we have a house to live in. Henry was not seriously injured. Mother had been sick all the week, sat up day before for the first time but she worked like a trojan. Mother lost about a thousand dollars by that raid. Arabella the next worse. They taking a good many things from her trunks, among other things her best silk dress. Henry next & I least. I cannot begin to tell you all that was said and done. Oh we fared so much better than a great many others. Some had their houses and stores burned & men killed leaving their poor wives widows & penniless. [Illegible] thought there were between seventy and eighty widows—& between two & three hundred made orphans that terrible day. Nearly every house has a story to tell, although some were not molested in the least. We have packed a trunk of linen which I think we shall send to you

9. Charles H. Branscomb and Charles Robinson, the first governor of the state of Kansas, were the initial New England Emigrant Aid Company agents responsible for locating the Lawrence townsite. Branscomb, one of Lawrence's prominent "founding fathers," also conducted the second and several later emigrant aid company parties. *See* Louise Barry, "The Emigrant Aid Company Parties of 1854," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 12 (May 1943): 120, 124, 139. The *Lawrence City Directory, 1860–61*, 11, lists an H. T. Bissell residence at 73 Kentucky; this appears to be at the southwest corner of Ninth [Warren] and Kentucky Streets. The Bissell residence would have been immediately south of what is now the office building known as 901 Kentucky. *See also Atlas of Douglas Co., Kansas, 1873.*

10. Franklin was about two miles east of the current Lawrence city limits, south of Highway 10 where the Douglas County jail now stands. Adam B. Waits, *Map of Historic Douglas County, Kansas* (Logan, Utah: GEO/Graphics, 1985).

tomorrow for safekeeping. We do not feel secure yet. May God in his mercy spare us from again being invaded is the constant prayer that ascends from this poor afflicted people. Have just heard Charley Lawrence is in Prairie City, as it is very painful to think over & especially to write what occurred that dreadful day—will you please send him this letter. Send to Chas H. Lawrence Prairie City.[11] We have some troops here but not enough I think. Four days will decide whether we remain in this country or not. Yours affectionately.
Sophia L. Bissell



All send love to all
Hope Charley will write his Father the particulars—we shall write Charley soon to Prairie City.

Sophia Bissell returned to Connecticut within two or three years of this horrific experience but continued to own property in Lawrence and Douglas County. The House Building on Massachusetts Street, probably the only downtown business building left standing after Quantrill's raid, was conveyed to Bissell in 1873 by Shalor W. Eldridge, trustee of the estate of Mary R. Eldridge. Sophia, unmarried, and Henry, her brother, conveyed the property to Jacob House in 1886.[12] The Bissell family also owned rural property south of Lawrence. The property today is part of the tract on which the house of the author and his wife is located.[13]

Back in Suffield, Bissell became a longtime and active member of the Suffield First Congregational Church. She also was a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Her obituary noted that she was "one of the best known women in town and leaves a host of friends in whom she was always interested and by whom she was greatly admired."[14]

The Clarke Letter

As Sophia Bissell was burying her papers and money on the morning of August 21, 1863, Sidney Clarke was hurriedly throwing on old clothes and heading to the west side of Lawrence to James Lane's cornfield. Clarke, who was living in the 1000 block of Tennessee Street with his wife, Henrietta, and two small sons on the morning of the raid, was born in 1831 in Southbridge, Massachusetts, and became editor of the *Southbridge Press* in 1854. Clarke took an active interest in the Free Soil Party, supporting General John Frémont for president in 1856. That interest in politics continued after his move to Lawrence, Kansas Territory, in the spring of 1859, one year after the Bissell family arrived. Clarke immediately joined the radical wing of the Free

11. Charles H. Lawrence likely is the grandson of Arabella Bissell, the son of her deceased daughter Elizabeth Amelia. Arabella's will states that Charles, in 1868, lived in Vergennes, Vermont. Prairie City was just south and west of Baldwin City. *See* William G. Cutler and Alfred T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1883), 1: 308, 355; Last Will and Testament of Arabella Bissell of Douglas County, Kansas, December 14, 1868, Book G, 98, 99, 100, Kansas Collection, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.

12. The Eldridge name survives today in the historic Eldridge Hotel at the southwest corner of Seventh and Massachusetts Streets. The House Building occupies 729–731 Massachusetts Street and is the current home of Francis Sporting Goods. *See* Carol Buhler Francis, *The House Building: My Search for Its' Foundations* (Lawrence, Kans.: Transom Works Press, 1990), 3, 173, 177.

13. Henry Bissell took an assignment of a mortgage on a portion of section 19, township 13, and range 20, in Douglas County (approximately one mile south of the current southern Lawrence city limits on Louisiana Street). Sophia received a sheriff's deed to the property in 1888 and conveyed the property the same year. Deed book 46, 141, 398, Douglas County Register of Deeds, Lawrence, Kans.

14. Obituary, "Sophia L. Bissell,"