

Kansas historical quarterly

Section 343, Pages 10261 - 10290

The quarterly journal of the Kansas Historical Society from 1931-1977, the Kansas Historical Quarterly succeeded the Kansas Historical Collections, 1875-1928, (also available as unit 221606) and preceded Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains, 1978 - present.

Creator: Kansas State Historical Society

Date: 1931-1977

Callnumber: SP 906 K13q

KSHS Identifier: DaRT ID: 221562

Item Identifier: 221562

www.kansasmemory.org/item/221562



KANSAS
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY



mitted him to use the manuscript records on file in their department archives. None of these were men who had been leaders during the territorial period. In the latter category, Holloway's list included, in the order named: Dr. A. Hunting, G. W. Smith, Joel Grover, C. K. Holliday, J. A. Halderman, Charles Robinson, James Montgomery, J. A. Wakefield, George Hillyer, John Ritchie, and James Christian. Only two of these, Halderman and Christian, had been identified with the so-called Proslavery party, and in commentary upon James Christian, Holloway remarked that he had "the most valuable library in the Territory."

Among the territorial leaders omitted, but who were still present in Kansas, were J. B. Abbott, George A. Crawford, of Fort Scott, R. G. Elliott and Josiah Miller, who had edited the *Kansas Free State*, H. Miles Moore, Marcus J. Parrott, Mark W. Delahay, William A. Phillips, John Speer, T. Dwight Thacher, Samuel Walker, and S. N. Wood. These names would seem to comprise a minimum list on the Free-State side. Gen. Benjamin F. Stringfellow and Judge S. D. Lecompte might have been interviewed to represent the Proslavery side. Among Free-State men omitted, special emphasis should be placed upon Miller and Elliott, and their *Kansas Free State*. Failing an interview with either of the men concerned, Holloway should have given careful attention to their paper, which he virtually ignored. Thus he was without any effective antidote to the New England and Eastern interpretation of events. More than that, he omitted completely the Sandbank convention of July 17, 1855, and the bearing of its supporters upon the Big Springs convention and the origins of the Topeka statehood movement.⁴ Holloway did refer in his bibliography to the Augustus Wattles "Complete History of Kansas. . . .," published in the *Herald of Freedom*, but without mention of the author's name. Apparently he did not appreciate the relation of Wattles to the southeastern Kansas wars.

THE CONTENT OF HOLLOWAY'S *History of Kansas*

The content of Holloway's history may be indicated by using the same list of questions employed in reviewing the Phillips and Wattles histories in part one. Stephen A. Douglas received little space (p. 67), but his behavior in connection with the Kansas-

4. Cf. part one of this series, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 21 (Autumn, 1954), pp. 184-223; "The Topeka Statehood Movement Reconsidered: Origins," *Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial* (University of Kansas Publications, Social Science Studies, 1954).

Nebraska bill, including the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was represented as having as its object a service to the South that "could only be rewarded by placing him in his long sought for position—the Presidency." This interpretation of Douglas was grossly in error, but was essential to the logic inherent in the structure he had imposed upon Kansas history. The thesis of chapter 2 was the "Introduction and Establishment of African Slavery in the United States Against the Wishes of the People"; and the next three chapters, the "triumph of slavery" in succession, in the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the annexation of Texas, and in the Kansas-Nebraska act. The logic was then carried into the years immediately following in the form of the conquest of Kansas by "the slavery propagandists" through the instrumentality of the Missourians and the South, supported by the general government. This approach resembled more nearly the Wattles than the Phillips structure, but was not necessarily either one, because the point of view was well established by 1867, in such books as Horace Greeley's *American Conflict*. In fact, it was essentially the orthodox interpretation by the North of the American Civil War.

Popular sovereignty was recognized only as a device of the slavery propagandists: "But its success on the field of practice was prevented by its own friends and itself rendered ridiculous before the world [p. 137]." As has been pointed out already, Holloway bungled the account of the Free-State party and the Topeka statehood movement. On the issue of Leavenworth or Lawrence leadership in the Free-State cause, he made no explicit commitments, but in his narrative alternated approximately Leavenworth (including northeastern Kansas) and Lawrence events. Thus he did in fact recognize that the Lawrence area did not have a monopoly on the Free-State cause. That in itself can be urged in Holloway's favor as one of the merits of his book.

In the treatment of the Wakarusa war, Holloway was quite sketchy about its origins, or background. Had he interviewed S. N. Wood and J. B. Abbott, he would have found sharp differences between them about what had happened and which one deserved the credit.⁵ His account of the sack of Lawrence was pinned on D. R. Atchison and his alleged grand jury indictments.⁶ The ubiquitous problem of Charles Robinson and James H. Lane gave Holloway trouble, but

5. Charles Howard Dickson, "The True History of the Branson Rescue," *Collections*, K.S.H.S., v. 13 (1913-1914), pp. 280-298.

6. James C. Malin, "Judge Lecompte and the 'Sack of Lawrence,'" *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 20 (August, November, 1953), pp. 465-494, 553-597.



he attempted to evade the main issue. Instead of treating them as rivals for power, his character sketches of the two men were constructed in contrasts; Robinson the sagacious planner (p. 259), and Lane the man of action. But Holloway made clear where his own sympathies lay by admonishing Kansas youth to "practice his [Lane's] untiring energy and unfaltering perseverance, but let them flee from the way of the ungodly, which perisheth [p. 262]."

Holloway evaded the complexities of the southeastern Kansas wars, and admitted it frankly. He organized that struggle around the activities of James Montgomery who assumed heroic proportions in his account. The Doy rescue was not assigned to the leadership of J. B. Abbott. John Brown appeared as the martyred hero, according to the legend that had been established. The blood of the Pottawatomie massacre was washed from his hands by representing him as not present, although afterwards approving the murders (ch. 33).

Holloway's history was not all bad. The high point was chapter 47, "Political Parties," the only major portion that has, in any substantial manner, stood the test of time. Probably here is to be found the sobering influence of two men, Halderman and Christian, moderate Proslavery men, both Democrats. Holloway opened with an emphasis on Gov. Robert Walker's new policy, inaugurated in the spring of 1857, as contributing to the breakup of the early Proslavery and Free-State party alignment and paving the way for the Democratic-Republican party system which took form in 1859. In this connection, Holloway admitted that: "The mass of the pro-slavery party, who never had been pecuniarily interested in making Kansas a slave State, readily abandoned the contest and became the followers of Walker [p. 528]."

Another important concession to the conservative point of view was the admission that in the spring of 1858: "It was now generally conceded that the Topeka Constitution was but a temporary expedient to afford a rallying point and shelter to free state men while contending against slavery and oppression; that the emergency for which it had been framed, was past [*sic*], and it had better be abandoned, . . . [p. 530]." But he pointed out that in turn the conservatives in the Free-State party "who most strongly condemned the adherents of the Topeka Constitution were themselves the tenacious adherents of the free state party," resisting the new party alignment (p. 536).

The new party system required Kansans to make fresh choices.



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Holloway generalized that the moderate Proslavery men became Democrats, along with many conservative Free-State men, and that the radical Free-State men went into the new Republican party. The problem was not so simple as that however, and he qualified his interpretation in an important manner:

There was but little difference in the platforms of the different parties. . . . The organization of these parties was the inauguration of that confusion and personal bitterness that had always characterized Kansas politics. Her early troubles attracted to her soil men of talent and ambition. Never could a new Territory boast of so many able and enthusiastic young men. The troubles had made them querulous; then these had subsided each one was ready to cast everything aside that stood in the way of his aspirations. No party nor principle could carry them through, for there was little distinction in parties; they were but in their infancy. Office-seeking, therefore, became a personal strife, an individual contest between men of equal merit and ability [p. 537]."

Holloway subscribed to the conviction of the old settlers in Kansas about the peculiar importance of Kansas history. His preface opened with the declaration that "Kansas has a history which is common with no other State in the Union." The reason assigned was that here supremacy of "Free Labor in Kansas" over the onward march of slavery "was finally settled." Then, illogically, he asserted that having lost in Kansas the "Slave propagandists . . . turned in their wrath upon the General Government. . . ." If, "finally settled" in Kansas, then why was the Civil War fought? Holloway was not alone in his difficulty. His reviewers revealed also a commitment to a similar determining role of Kansas in American history.

SALES AND CONTEMPORARY EVALUATIONS

Having printed his book privately, the job being completed about December 15, 1867, Holloway was obliged to arrange for marketing it. J. Nichols & Company of Topeka became his general agent, and they appointed agents throughout the state. The first of their advertisements found appeared in the Atchison *Daily Champion*, December 15, 1867. It was short, announced the book, a "Complete, Consecutive and Reliable History of Kansas. . . . A STANDARD WORK of great interest and value to the people of Kansas." They emphasized that it would be sold "only on subscription, and an Agent will soon visit this city to canvass for it." The Topeka *Kansas State Record*, December 18, carried a long advertisement, announcing that the book was "now before the public." After an outline of the contents the advertisement continued:

The book presents facts in a very life-like and entertaining manner. Mr.



Holloway has clothed his thoughts in the most classical language, and given to his writings a charm which never fails to interest and absorb. His style is terse, simple and animating without the show of display or effect.

A virtue was made of the fact that Holloway had not participated in the Kansas troubles, permitting him to take an unbiased attitude:

"Kansas has justly been entitled the historic State of the Union.—Scarcely an acre of her eastern soil can be found which has not witnessed some daring deed or frightful rencounter. Her Territorial Conflict attracted the attention of the world. . . ."

The exaggeration was not greater than book publishers usually indulge in, and the blurb closed with the assurance that "the whole is beautifully illustrated with engravings, from original designs by the author." Three bindings were listed: muslin at \$5.00; sheep at \$5.50; and Turkey Morocco (full gilt) at \$6.50.⁷

From Lawrence the "news" came soon that the agent there, G. W. Hunt, had sold 50 copies the first two days: "Agents can make money at those rates." In February, the report from Ottawa said that Holloway had sold 75 copies in a short time, and that over one thousand copies had been sold over the state "during the past month." A discordant note came from Atchison about the same time, admonishing Holloway that if he wished to sell his book, he should provide the press with copies for review. Later the sales campaign was extended to northeastern Kansas, the White Cloud *Kansas Chief* received a copy, but no review has been found from John A. Martin of the *Champion*.⁸

In his journal, Holloway did not reveal the machinery set up for handling his book, but made it appear that he had done the promotion and sales mostly by himself and agents. He emphasized there how he had concentrated on Topeka during the session of the legislature in January and February, 1868, and then had gone out with horse and buggy to sell through the country during the summer, returning to Indiana in the fall.⁹

The first review that has been found appeared in the Topeka *Leader*, December 26, 1867, and certainly did not convey the good will of the Christmas season. It was written apparently by the editor, J. F. Cummings, who had been, in 1855, the printer for E. C. K. Garvey's *Kansas Freeman*. Although pronouncing the typog-

7. A similar long advertisement appeared in the *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, December 26, 1867, and elsewhere. A third form of the advertisement appeared in the Topeka *Weekly Leader*, December 19, 1867.

8. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, January 8; *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, February 20; *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, February 6; White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, April 16, 1868.

9. Journal entries for April 15, 1868, and January 11, 1869; Johnston, *loc cit.*, p. 85. Apparently Johnston did not know about the Nichols agency as the selling organization, depending alone on his grandfather's journal.

raphy excellent, the woodcuts were "of such a character as to make us thankful there were not more." On the last point all will agree. Although admitting that examination of the book had been "but a cursory" one: "What we have seen, however, has not impressed us favorably. The book lacks several necessary points. It has no pathos, no humor, no system, and is far from accurate in its details." The editor thought Holloway had "failed to become acquainted with those who could give him correct and necessary information." In dealing with Judge Lecompte Holloway was accused of giving opposite opinions, "so that the reader, who pays his money, takes his choice. . . ." Among other things challenged, the editor ridiculed the account of the Marais des Cygnes massacre which represented Montgomery as having advance information about Hamilton's plans yet permitted the tragedy to happen. If Holloway offended on that score, many others have done likewise since. The treatment of Charles Robinson, James H. Lane, and S. N. Wood, did not suit the *Leader*, especially the last named—he was willing to wager that Sam Wood would buy ten copies, and never pay for them. Referring to the acknowledgments in the preface the reviewer insisted that the list included "several noted wags," which led "to the very painful conclusion that the author has, in several instances, been hoaxed. . . ."

New Year's Day, the *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, gave Holloway a courteous notice, but by no means a complimentary review. The authorship is not certain; either S. D. McDonald, or F. P. Baker. In either case, the reviewer would be a man who had had no part in the Kansas troubles. He explained that he had looked through only about half of the book, that Holloway was a resident of Topeka, and that he had given his attention entirely to collection of material for the book, so had made few acquaintances. Holloway was credited with good intentions about fairness, but the reviewer himself admitted that he was not sufficiently acquainted with the seven years of territorial history to pronounce judgment about accuracy: "The time has however come that a history should appear. . . . If there are errors, there are plenty of actors still living who will make the proper corrections." . . . Exception was taken in general terms, nevertheless, to the treatment given Robinson and Lane: "We do not wish to open old sores, and would rather bury in oblivion the quarrel between these early champions of Kansas, but we cannot let pass the grave charge that Lane was 'reckless and cowardly,' or that 'he shaped his action by the signs of the times.' Gen. Lane is gone and the people of Kansas owe to him

a debt that they do not to any other man." In these disagreements, the reviewer gave assurance that he did not wish to appear to belittle the work: "Old residents will want it to see how it agrees with their remembrances, new settlers will want it so as to know about the early history of the state."

The next review to be considered is that of the Rev. Isaac S. Kalloch, editor of the *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, printed January 23, 1868. Kalloch was a notorious antislavery preacher in Boston during the 1850's, who at one time was charged with adultery, and underwent a sensational trial which resulted in a hung jury. In 1860 he had been sent to Leavenworth under the auspices of the Home Missionary Society to minister to a small Baptist congregation without a meeting house. Van Horn, of the *Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., was contemptuous of both Leavenworth and Kalloch, commenting May 10, "If Leavenworth likes his style, all right." He had become involved in land speculation, railroad promotion, journalism, and politics, and in 1868 was nearing the climax of his Kansas career, bearing the doubtful reputation of "the sorrel stallion of the Marais des Cygnes." At the time of his assassination in San Francisco, in 1879, S. S. Prouty wrote in the *Junction City Union*, August 30: "His best forte is preaching, though he indulges in the hallucination that he was born for a statesman. As a pulpit orator he has no superior in the United States. He possesses a handsome figure, a very large head, classical features and would be recognized as a man of mark anywhere."¹⁰

Although Kalloch assured his readers that he intended only to thank Holloway for the complimentary copy sent to him, the duty note ran on and on to one and a half columns:

No state in the American Union has such a history as ours. . . . This will be the verdict of the future. It will then be seen and recorded that the experiment of consolidating the various States into one homogeneous Republic was prosecuted with varying success, but still with increasing hope, the one great element of evil and precursor of disaster being the existence of slavery in some of the States, and the growing antagonism to it in the remainder. . . . in the Kansas conflict . . . the fate of slavery, and the future of the Republic were decided in Kansas.

Lest the reader's indoctrination in the slavery interpretation of the history of Kansas and of the United States mislead him in the reading of the foregoing portion of Kalloch's argument, the summary is interrupted to make a check on his premise, or the base from

10. Others said much worse things about him, and for a hostile biography, see John H. Shimmons, *The Shame and Scourge of San Francisco, or, an Expose of the Rev. Isaac S. Kalloch*. . . . n.p. (1880).

which he started, and the direction of his thought. To Kalloch, slavery or freedom per se, was neither the base nor the goal; slavery was only the obstacle in the way "of consolidating the various States into one homogeneous Republic." The success of freedom in Kansas assured the victory of unitary nationalism (not federalism) over state rights in the American Civil War. This was the American counterpart of similar wars of national unification taking place in Germany and Italy during the same period of time.

Kalloch clinched his argument about the outcome of both the Kansas conflict and the Civil War by introducing the "if" alternative. If slavery had won in Kansas, and the Civil War deferred, "we should have had a slave Republic." In other words, not a federation of states, but a unitary "nation." But if the Civil War had not been deferred

the geographical position of Kansas was such that her position in the conflict might have turned the scale which so often and fearfully trembled. . . . Kansas like a huge breakwater between contending seas, was able to say: Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further. . . . They fought the battle for the world when they fought for freedom in their State.

If Kalloch's argument were true, then indeed, the little handful of Kansas Free-State men of the middle 1850's were a "chosen people" who changed the course of world history.

. . . never . . . braver men or truer women than those who "marched along," to the music of old John Brown's majestic spirit. . . . They were few in numbers. . . . [but] God is stronger than armies—stronger than parties—stronger than majorities—stronger than all the councils and combinations of the wicked—stronger even than the universe which he made and is able to destroy.

Facts or logic to support Kalloch's bursts of rhetoric there were none, but these quotations from his resounding periods may convey to the reader something of his capacity to evoke emotional reactions by means of words that made Kalloch, and make others like him any time or place, such a power in society.

But, back to Holloway's book that set off Kalloch's pyrotechnics. He pointed out Holloway's misuse of words and other literary deficiencies, error in facts about the admission of Kansas, but a point that irritated him particularly was Holloway's closing compliment to a Democrat, "James Christian who has the most valuable library in the *Territory*." Some of the choice political wisecracks of that era turned on the dicta that a Democrat could not read.

Charitably, Kalloch qualified his disapproval of Holloway's history: "If it were, what perhaps it aims to be, an exhaustive and

final 'History of Kansas,' we should feel it our duty to criticise it unsparingly as utterly unworthy the magnitude of the theme." As a stopgap "It will be a valuable aid to the historian of the future. . . . we trust he will be duly rewarded for it. The 'History of Kansas,' however, remains to be written." But when would the time come?

The Kansas conflict is among the unwritten histories of men. Partisan prejudice and passion are not yet ready to hear or believe the truth. But when these unholy passions have subsided; when the actors in the tragedy have been gathered to their fathers; when the love of patriotism swallows the love of party, and sympathy with treason to sympathy with truth; that history will be written.

But for Kalloch, the rhetorician, there was still another qualification to which, in modesty, he deferred: "To write such a history will require a master of the art. The time has not come to write it yet."

O. H. Browne, a former Proslavery man challenged the accuracy of Holloway's documentation of the bills passed by the "Bogus" legislature, and offered \$100 to any one who could produce one document. The *Kansas State Record* advised Browne that he could save his money by coming to Topeka where Holloway would gladly and without pay show him the document in question in the archives of the department of state where it had been copied for the book.¹¹

The Leavenworth *Commercial* appraised Holloway's history as "the only book yet published worthy to be entitled a 'History of Kansas.' . . . However much we may differ from the author in his conclusions . . . , we must yet accord him praise for giving us so good a history of Kansas."¹²

The canvassing for the book in the southeastern part of the state came late in the spring, the Fort Scott *Monitor* noticing it May 20, "the work which has been creating such a wonderful sensation in the northern part of the State. . . . All other States in the Union have had their history written in book form; but Kansas—the most historical of all—has not until now had a record of her stirring events given." The *Monitor* called attention to the prominence of Fort Scott in three chapters of the history, but pronounced no judgments, except recommending it to every family, and commending the author for his great service.

The most vicious of the reviews was one in the form of a letter

11. *Kansas State Record*, February 19, 1868.

12. Reprinted in the *Western Home Journal*, March 12, 1868. The file of the *Commercial* for this date has not survived.



JOHN NELSON HOLLOWAY
(1839-1887)

Author of the first general
history of Kansas (1868).



to the editor, printed by the Topeka *Leader*, April 30, 1868, over the initials "H. B. A.," devoted mostly to ridicule of what the author thought were its literary and organizational deficiencies. Actually, however, he was using those shortcomings, real or imaginary, as a cover for his disagreements on subject matter and interpretation. Having seen a notice of the publication of Holloway's book "a reliable History of Kansas in the most classical language," when

A stray copy . . . having come into my hands I sat down to enjoy this classical feast. I think, however, that Mr. Holloway's ideas of the classics and mine differ. I found the volume made up of a strange medley of things. Solecism after solecism abounds throughout the entire work. Words have broken loose from their ordinary moorings, and seem to be drifting in every direction. The parts of speech seem to be on a general rampage. . . . Sentences coil around each other like serpents about Laocoon and his sons in the temple of Neptune. . . . The grossest blunders in language, numbering from one to five, occur on almost every page. If the book were a skeleton it would need immediately to be wired together to keep it from falling to pieces.

Only a few samples of "H. B. A.'s" criticisms can be included here:

. . . the good Saxon word "amidst" takes on its poetic form and whirls on its toe "amid the darkness." On the same page he says, "The pro slavery men from other houses began to *bang away* at—they scarcely knew what." "Bang away" is a choice expression worthy of Macaulay. On the next page he speaks of a large force assembling "on Bull Creek, about twelve miles east of *where* Baldwin City now stands." There must be another "bull" here besides the creek. "Of where" is worthy of an "A. M.," *Magister Asinorum*.¹³

At another place the reviewer went on by citing Holloway's statement:

"The people were poor, and *scanty* of pecuniary means." To be poor is bad enough, but in addition to be "scanty of pecuniary means" is a classic phrase, and a distressing calamity. . . .

I am happy to state that one grammatical sentence has been discovered in the book, but I must add that on further examination it proved to be quoted from Bancroft the historian. There is one thing, however, to be commended about the book—it has a strong binding; this was thoughtful on the part of the publishers, as it has a tendency to keep together the shattered sentences.

True, Holloway's grammar and literary usage left something to be desired, but the adverse criticism focusing on that aspect of his book cannot be taken at face value. Other things were involved. Hol-

13. On the title page of his history, Holloway had listed himself as J. N. Holloway, A. M. The available biographical data do not indicate when or where he had earned the academic degree of Master of Arts.



loway was not as completely bilingual in the provincial American sense as his critics. They used a spoken slanguage which, no doubt violated rules of grammatical construction, but employed a quite different written language—artificial and formal—such as no person used for common oral communication. Holloway's written language was rather closer to the spoken language of Indiana and Illinois, than to the literary language of New England. Much of what the adverse critics complained had its origins in the natural idiom of the spoken word, the oral tradition, rather than in the artificialities and formalism of the written tradition, which they thought they were following as a standard of excellence.

"H. B. A." cited the English historian Macaulay, and the New England historian George Bancroft. Those who had been raised on the colloquial speech of the Indiana-Illinois area, or Ohio and Kentucky, found themselves very much at home with Holloway's written language. Kalloch objected strenuously to Holloway's phrase "personal preferments," which he insisted should have read "personal preferences." The word "preferment" is in good standing in all dictionaries of the English language. Furthermore, Holloway used it correctly, although Kalloch was in accord with the prevailing literary form in his "preference."¹⁴

Much of what appeared as defects in Holloway's book was merely the result of inexperience in writing for publication and in book-making. Holloway's journal shows that his printer was also without much, if any, experience in these matters, was not adequately equipped, and did not execute the contract in what Holloway thought was a workmanlike manner. His adverse critics who appeared in print, were mostly men who wrote only for newspapers, and were experienced only in that medium. By and large the most intolerant in these matters are those with the least experience in their own right. As he had no source of income, and the whole project was being financed with borrowed money, even his living for himself and his family, the urgency of completion as the only means of liquidation of his debts, excluded imperatively any quibbling about perfectionism. If these aspects of the enterprise are kept in perspective, the truly remarkable thing about the episode is not the shortcomings, but that the book turned out so well.

14. The word "preferment," as Holloway used it, is classified as obsolete by *The Oxford English Dictionary*, *Being a Re-issue of a New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, edited by James A. H. Murray, and others (Oxford, England, University Press, 1933), v. 8, p. 1269. The latest example cited was dated 1754. As late as 1910, however, the *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, *of the English Language* (Springfield, Mass., G. and C. Merriam Co., 1914 [c1910]), gave priority to the following meaning: "1. A preferring; state of being preferred." The most recent editions of the leading unabridged dictionaries (1949, 1950) do not list the Holloway usage.



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Holloway had not sold books on promises in advance of the writing and publication, thus no element of misrepresentation or fraud entered into his operations. The completed book was offered for sale on its merits and subject to the criticism of newspaper commentary, advance copies being supplied for that purpose. In the Kansas of 1868, the only book-review medium available was the newspapers. He had the courage and tenacity, not only to write the book, and to make his own interpretations, but to publish and market it, and in doing so to shoulder personally all the hazards.

The one reviewer that stands out above all others found by the present writer, is that of James Hanway of Lane (Dutch Henry's crossing). He was the only "old settler," active in the Kansas troubles of the middle 1850's, who reviewed Holloway's book, and the only reviewer who dealt with it on the intellectual level of legitimate historical criticism.¹⁵ Living in the John Brown country, and within a short distance of the site of the Pottawatomie massacre, Hanway was deeply concerned about anything dealing with John Brown. Although a loyal admirer of "the Old Hero," Hanway was in sharp disagreement with the form taken by the legend about John Brown. Of particular concern in his communication in correction of Holloway's history, was the question of Brown's participation in the massacre. Holloway had followed one version of the legend which insisted Brown had not been present and was not responsible. Hanway was otherwise minded, and marshalled his facts carefully and presented them logically in proof of his contention about both John Brown's presence and responsibility. On the main issue he was correct, although in error on some details, but he was a rare example of a Free-State man in Kansas who had the courage to stand out against the most flagrant falsifications of the John Brown legend.¹⁶

Holloway and his general agent, J. Nichols & Company, avoided any controversy over the adverse reviews, but late in January released a number of favorable testimonials: Gov. S. J. Crawford, ex-Gov. Charles Robinson, Secretary of State R. A. Barker, State Auditor J. R. Swallow, Adj. Gen. J. B. McAfee, Superintendent of Public Instruction P. McVicar, and G. W. Smith. All gave the book guarded praise. Governor Robinson, and McVicar admitted only " cursory examination." Two, Swallow and McAfee, qualified their approval by a form of limitation: "so far as my own knowledge or

15. *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, April 16, 23, 1868. The former is a preliminary letter to the editor explaining the review article that was to follow, and which was printed the next week.

16. James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1942), ch. 12, "Hanway's Challenge. . . ."

recollection extends," and "so far as I am personally acquainted." All agreed on Holloway's desire to present his facts accurately and fairly. Only two of the group had really been major actors in the Kansas troubles. Governor Robinson congratulated Holloway "on your success, in furnishing to our people so valuable a work. . . . I regard it as by far the most complete and reliable work yet published on that subject." G. W. Smith wrote without evasion:

I was an ardent participator in the early events of our State, and was a member of about all important Free State conventions.

In detailing the political movements, in presenting a correct and impartial account of the conventional proceedings in the Territory of Kansas, Mr. Holloway's "History of Kansas" is very accurate. The spirit of the work is candid and manifests a disposition on the part of the writer to do justice to all parties and persons. I hope that it will, as it should, find a place in every library in Kansas.

Of course, Smith did not say that he agreed with everything Holloway had written, only that the historian had shown "a disposition . . . to do justice," and that "the spirit of the work is candid."

The Nichols company had attributed the unfavorable notices of the book to "a few petty and aspiring politicians . . . simply because it says nothing about them, or presents them in their real light," and "Notwithstanding the hard times no book has ever met with such a wonderful sale in Kansas. . . ."

In May, 1868, mention has been found of plans by Holloway for a second volume.¹⁷ As the book published had covered seven years of territorial history, a second volume on the seven years of statehood was quite reasonable. But, in spite of the glowing claims of the Nichols company about sales, Holloway's journal revealed that they were relatively small.

In June an announcement came out about a second edition; apparently the same material with only an additional chapter. The explanation was that this edition was designed for circulation in other states, and for that purpose another chapter had been prepared dealing with the country's resources and prospects. The Topeka real estate firm of Mills and Smith secured an advance copy of this new chapter which was published in full in their trade paper, *The Real Estate Advertiser*, June, 1868.¹⁸ Holloway's journal recorded his return to Indiana to sell his books there during the fall or early

17. *Kansas Central*, Olathe, May 6, 1868. One of the editors of this paper, W. F. Goble, was agent for the book in Olathe. A price reduction of 75 cents was announced. The rival *Olathe Mirror* did not mention the book, or Holloway's visit in behalf of sales.

18. The chapter was reprinted in the *Kansas State Record*, the weekly for June 10, and the daily for June 11, 1868.



winter. His entry of January 11, 1869, referred to difficulties with his printer about bindings, which he considered damaged the sale of books, more than their cost, and to his doubt about getting more books until his debt to the printer was settled. Anticipating a suit to compel settlement, Holloway retired to Illinois and taught school the remainder of the winter. He was determined, if suit was brought, to file claims for damages in excess of the cost of binding. The journal entry is so vague that specific conclusions about the second edition cannot be drawn. Possibly, not all of the printed sheets had been bound, and his plan before leaving Kansas had been to have the additional chapter printed and bound with the remaining original sheets for sale in the East. If so, the inference from the entry of January 11 would be that the plan did not materialize. At any rate, the present author has not found a record of any copy of the history containing the additional chapter. All bibliographical listings are for a volume of 584 pages, the original number.

A CRITIQUE

When W. D. Wilder compiled his *Annals of Kansas* (1875, 1885) he listed Holloway's *History of Kansas* under the date line of December 30, 1867:

Like the other histories [of Kansas], it has no index; the important facts published in it are badly arranged, and it is not easy to find any special subject in regard to which the reader may want information. The opinions, the grammar, and the spelling, especially of proper names, might be criticized. The author was a non-resident, and it is really surprising that the book is so complete. . . . Mr. Holloway has not received the credit which his industry justly entitled him to.

In his adverse criticisms of Holloway, Wilder revealed himself through the standard of measurement he imposed upon another: "no index . . . badly arranged . . . not easy to find." Was that a fair yardstick? These unfavorable judgments turned on the assumption by Wilder that the primary purpose of a history was its effectiveness for ready reference. As a newspaper editor, that point of view is understandable. To serve best that purpose a historical work must take one of two forms; that of a topical encyclopedia arranged alphabetically, or a chronology accompanied by a voluminous index. Wilder had chosen for himself the latter. Did he have a right to impose that test upon Holloway?

Implicit in Holloway's history is a different conception of the use to which a history was to be put. For Holloway, the primary purpose of history was to be read as a whole. To read Wilder through would be much like reading a large dictionary from A to Z. It could



be done, but not many have tried, and fewer have succeeded. The theory of history is not at stake here; only the practical question of the functional effectiveness of different methods of presentation of history for particular limited purposes. Neither Wilder nor Holloway would have served their generation satisfactorily as classroom textbooks for the public schools. Neither met the test of Literature, with a capital L.

In agriculture, the choice of a breed of cattle depends upon the purpose for which it is included in the individual producer's program; beef, dairy, or dual purpose. At the strictly functional level, histories may be written for specialized purposes. The confusion about histories, in contrast with cattle, arises out of the unreasonable demands so often imposed upon histories. They are expected to be, not merely dual-purpose books, but multiple-purpose miracle works. To change the metaphor, to pretend such an accomplishment of functionalism would put history in the same class of commercial frauds as the old-fashioned cure-all patent medicines.

In the practical sense the organization given a particular history depends upon the choice of methods made by the author and the reason therefor.¹⁹ Holloway was an amateur historian, and hit upon the chronological form of presentation, with modifications. Why? he did not explain. Possibly, because it presented fewer practical difficulties. The choice had its merits, however, in this particular case, regardless of whether or not the decision was largely a matter of accident. Had he capitalized fully upon the idea of the annual increment of newcomers dominating the changing historical scene in successive years or periods, he would have had something of outstanding importance in his favor as a justification for his choice. As it was, whether or not his interpretation worked out unconsciously and accidentally as he wrote, or whether he sensed the significance of the principle before writing began, but did not succeed in making himself articulate in what he set out to do, the idea did emerge significantly in his distinctive chapter 47, "Political Parties." Unfortunately, he did not place that chapter at the end as the climax of the book. The four chapters which followed were an anticlimax, which obscured and for most readers obviously eclipsed the basic idea.

Wilder was correct when he told his readers that Holloway had not received the credit he deserved. But Wilder stands convicted

19. The problem of the theory of history as an abstract question, with its philosophical implications, is discussed elsewhere. See James C. Malin, *On the Nature of History: Essays About History and Dissidence* (Lawrence, 1954), and an earlier volume, *Essays on Historiography* (Lawrence, 1946).



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under his own indictment. Holloway's book, even though it had had an index, did not stand the test as an accurate reference work for details of facts and interpretation. It is astonishing how many professional historians, who should know better, cite Holloway as an authority in this particular category where his work is least reliable. It did serve an important purpose in collecting (not saving from destruction) for his generation important but otherwise widely scattered documents under the cover of one book for reference. The really significant feature of the book has escaped attention altogether; that of the role of the annual increment of newcomers. That principle was valid, not only for Kansas, but for the pioneer stage in particular, or settling-in-process, in all newly settled areas.



The Annual Meeting

THE 79th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 19, 1954.

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

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 19, 1954

At the conclusion of last year's meeting, the newly-elected president, Angelo Scott, appointed Frank Haucke and reappointed Charles M. Correll and Robert C. Rankin to the executive committee. The members holding over were John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard.

During the past year death took four members of the Society's board of directors: Jess C. Denious, John M. Gray, W. H. Montgomery, and Robert C. Rankin. Their passing is recorded with sincere regret. Mr. Rankin, in addition to long service as a member of the executive committee, was president of the Society in 1939, and Mr. Denious was president in 1946.

THE TERRITORIAL CENTENNIAL

This year, the 100th anniversary of the organization of Kansas territory, has been an unusually busy and gratifying one for the Society. When Gov. Edward F. Arn appointed a centennial committee in December, 1952, to make recommendations and co-ordinate plans for state-wide observances, he named Dr. Robert Taft of Lawrence, then president of the Society, as its chairman. Charles M. Correll of Manhattan, a member of the Society's executive committee and a former president, was named vice-chairman, and 26 other Kansans, nearly half of them members of the Historical Society, were also appointed.

The Society has co-operated in many ways with the centennial committee. It has supplied accounting and bookkeeping services for administration of the Kansas centennial celebration fund which was appropriated by the 1953 legislature. Members of the committee recommended to the legislature that its funds be limited to \$10,000, with the idea that interested state agencies and others from their own resources might aid in every possible way. The Historical Society was glad to be able to contribute among other things nearly \$2,500, most of it for salaries of committee employees.

Perhaps the most noteworthy single undertaking of the Society's staff on behalf of the centennial observance was to plan and install exhibits in a railroad coach, obtained by Dr. Taft from the Santa Fe. Designed as a traveling museum, the displays were intended to tell the story of Kansas up to 1861. Most of the objects used were from the Society's collections. The coach left Topeka on February 16, and under the direction of Dr. Taft and the Santa Fe, and with the assistance of other co-operating lines, has been on the road ever since. It will conclude its tour in December, after covering every county in the state. As of September 30, 75,000 persons had visited the car.

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Beginning in April, the Society has sent out each month to the newspapers of the state a series of releases, telling the story week by week of Kansas territory 100 years ago. Many of you have seen these in your local newspaper. Most of the accounts have been taken from early-day newspapers, and have dealt with such topics as the Kansas-Nebraska act, slavery, Indian problems, the opening of the territory, the founding of towns, the first newspapers, and many other related subjects which combine to sketch the beginnings of Kansas. More than 300 newspapers over the state are now receiving these monthly releases, and they will continue to be sent out as long as they are desired. Our president, Angelo Scott, himself a newspaperman, assisted in the planning of the project and has contributed greatly to its success.

Individual members of the staff have aided the observance of the centennial by doing research and supplying information for the use of local committees, by assisting in the writing of books and pamphlets, and by making talks. Pictures and articles were furnished for many purposes, and especially for the April-May issue of *To the Stars*, a magazine published for general distribution by the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, which was devoted to the centennial.

Several of the staff and members attended a Kansas centennial history conference at Lawrence on April 30 and May 1, sponsored by the University of Kansas. The Kansas Association of Teachers of History and the Historical Society were among the cosponsors.

The Society also participated in a joint meeting with the Nebraska State Historical Society at Falls City, Neb., on May 9, in observance of the 100th anniversary of the organization of the twin territories—Kansas and Nebraska. Many of our members were present. The principal speakers at this meeting were Dr. Robert Taft of the University of Kansas and Dr. Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania.

The territorial centennial year will soon be over. However, the centennial of the territorial period will continue for six years, culminating in 1961 with the 100th anniversary of the admission of Kansas to the union as a state. This anniversary, for Kansas as a whole, will have greater significance in the minds of many people than the territorial centennial. For the Historical Society it presents an opportunity to enlarge our activities in both scholarly and popular endeavors, and to increase our usefulness to the people of Kansas.

This year we published an illustrated brochure, copies of which were sent to all members, summarizing the varied work of the Society. It has been well received, and several thousand have already been distributed. Consideration is now being given to the preparation during the next few years of several major works. An illustrated history of Kansas, of booklet length, written for the general reader, would have wide appeal, and if planned for completion by 1960 would be available for publication as a 1961 centennial souvenir. A list of state officers for the past 100 years is being assembled, and its publication would benefit students, newspapermen, and others. Another important reference tool that should be put into printed form is our "List of Dead Towns."

Work has already begun on a project of great value: a master index to all the Society's publications—the *Collections*, the *Quarterlies*, the old *Biennial Reports*, and the special *Publications*. This is a tremendous undertaking, but such an index will make the store of information in these volumes more acces-



sible than ever before. Five volumes of the *Collections* have already been indexed, and nearly 10,000 entries have been made. Publications of this character can be important and beneficial contributions by the Society pointing to the 1961 centennial.

We have learned at least one valuable lesson in 1954: that the Society should not expect to schedule any major work of its own during the 1961 centennial year. The time of the staff has been so taken up this year by countless calls for aid from communities and individuals, in addition to the routine daily work that must be kept up, that special projects could not be given adequate time. It is essential, therefore, that all our activities of more than ordinary scope be planned and executed in advance. And that, of course, is simply a matter of good business.

If the Society's members approve, and will help to obtain covering appropriations from the legislature, these publications can be scheduled for issue within the next six or seven years. The 1955 session is being asked for funds to publish volume two of the current *Annals* series. Each succeeding legislature can be asked for appropriations for one or more of the other works which have been mentioned. An expression from our members as to the worth and feasibility of these projects will be appreciated. If they meet your approval, your recommendations to your legislators may provide the impetus needed to achieve these goals.

BUDGET REQUESTS

Appropriation requests for the next biennium have been filed with the state budget director. In addition to the usual items for salaries and maintenance, funds have been requested to permit the employment of a cataloger to care for the Society's large and steadily increasing collection of maps and photographs, and an additional attendant to help in the museum. An increase of \$3,000 per year was asked for printing, which, if granted, will make possible the restoration of the *Quarterly* to its former size and will also permit the occasional publication of historical leaflets and booklets.

Requests for partial rewiring and replacement of obsolete electrical fixtures, and for installation of steel stack floors, which were denied by the 1953 legislature, are repeated in the current budget. As mentioned in the reports of the last two years, these items are necessary for proper maintenance of the building. Such protective measures should not be delayed. Funds have also been asked for painting, plumbing, elevator repairs, and insulation of steam lines.

The largest single item in the budget is \$44,000 for air conditioning. A few years ago such a request might have seemed out of place. Today, air conditioning is generally accepted as a necessity of modern life, and business institutions which lack such improvements are finding their personnel problems intensified. The Society has not yet received resignations from staff members because of the heat, but there is little inducement to working in a building where the temperature reaches 120° or higher—as it did in our museum on 35 days during last July and August.

To install electric lighting in the First Capitol at Fort Riley \$750 has been asked, and for a new roof, of old-style hand-split shingles, \$1,500. Museum cases are also needed, and \$1,200 has been requested for their purchase.

At Old Shawnee Mission several items of equipment are needed, including a three-gang lawn roller, new portable picnic tables and chairs, a display case for

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the museum, and a drinking fountain. Purchase of a pickup truck, long needed, has also been requested, and on the recommendation of the local fire department funds have been asked for an underground gasoline storage tank and pump to replace present storage in the garage. These requests total, in round figures, \$4,000. The most essential item for maintenance is tuckpointing and waterproofing of the West and North buildings, for which \$3,500 has been budgeted. Other important requests include \$5,000 for enlarging the garage to hold the truck and lawn roller and to provide additional space for storage and work rooms, \$3,500 to erect a chain link fence across the north property line, \$3,000 to enlarge the basement of the West building and install a concrete floor, \$1,500 to reinforce the first floor of the West building and \$3,000 for exterior painting on all of the buildings.

The Kaw Mission at Council Grove, which was purchased by the state in 1951, is now operating successfully as a museum. Plans are being made to convert the large stone garage adjoining the mission building into living quarters for the caretaker, so that the second floor rooms of the mission may be used for museum purposes. The state architect's office has estimated that \$6,000 will be required for this work. In addition, \$1,575 has been requested to construct a new frame garage, large enough to include storage for tools and supplies.

LIBRARY

During the year 3,910 persons have done research in the library. This number—693 more than the previous year—is the highest in the history of the department, and is almost certainly accounted for by the increased interest in Kansas history caused by the territorial centennial. Of these patrons, 1,650 worked on Kansas subjects, 1,393 on genealogy and 867 on general subjects. Many inquiries were answered by letter and telephone, and 146 packages on Kansas subjects were sent out from the loan file. A total of 5,808 clippings were mounted, and 1,463 pages from early volumes of clippings were re-mounted. Ten daily newspapers were read and clipped regularly, and approximately 1,400 single issues of other Kansas newspapers were also read and clipped.

Important gifts which have enriched our genealogical department are microfilm copies of the United States census of 1850 for North Carolina, received from the State Society of Sons of the American Revolution; for South Carolina, from the Thomas Jefferson Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution; for Virginia, from the State Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; and for Kentucky, from Mr. and Mrs. Frank Helm of Topeka. The Daughters of American Colonists contributed \$100 toward the purchase of the Illinois census. The 1850 census was the first census to list all the names in every family. From May through September, 1954, these records have been used by 190 persons, which proves their value to genealogists.

Gifts have also been received from the Smoky Hill chapter, the Emporia chapter, and the Eunice Sterling chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; the National Society United States Daughters of 1812; the National Society Children of American Colonists; Margaret Dunning chapter, Daughters of American Colonists, and the Woman's Kansas Day Club. Kansas books and genealogies have been received from individuals, including 13 volumes of genealogical works given by Mrs. Guilford Dudley.

To our collection of Kansas music several gifts have been added: *Sunflower Song*, by Edna Becker and Rebecca Dunn; *Topeka, the City of My Dreams*, by Franz Steininger; *Topeka*, by Elizabeth Van Ness Hutton; *The Voice of the Prairie*, by Irma Doster and Esther Clark Hill; *Cheers for Kansas*, by Duff E. Middleton and Robert R. Jones; *In the Twilight Rays*, by James B. Inscho, and seven songs by S. O. Oyler. Some of these were inspired by the centennial.

Several books and pamphlets which are in poor condition have been microfilmed: *History of the Town of Hingham, Mass.*, Vols. 2 and 3; Wyman, Thomas Bellows, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, . . . Mass.*; Newton, G. W., *Sketch of Comanche County* [ca. 1885]; Sharpe, A. T., *Franklin County, . . . 1893*; and Davy Map and Atlas Company, *Atlas of Elk County* [ca. 1885].

The following items were lent the Society for microfilming: Pioneer Kansan club of Morris county, "Records, 1927-1944," lent by Mrs. A. W. Musgrave, secretary, through Neosho Fredenburg; Slechta, Don B., "Dr. John R. Brinkley, a Kansas Phenomenon," M. A. thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State Teachers College, 1952, lent by the author; and Hayes, Jennie Lorene, "Kansas Cow Towns, 1865-1885," M. A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1938, lent by the University library.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the year 330 photographs and paintings have been added to the picture collection. From the children of Addison W. Stubbs, an interpreter to the Kaw Indians, a collection of 37 photographs was received, 23 of Indians, ten of the Stubbs family, and four early scenes of Garden City. Tracy F. Leis presented pictures of his father, George Leis, and his mother, Lillian (Ross) Leis, daughter of U. S. Sen. Edmund G. Ross.

Use of the collection by authors and publishers in need of early pictures for illustrations has continued heavy. In addition, hundreds of the Society's photographs have been reproduced in historical pamphlets and special editions of newspapers during this centennial year. Costume and scenery designers for parades and pageants also visited the Society to consult old photographs in order to make their work more authentic.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

Public records from the following state departments have been transferred during the year to the archives division:

Source	Title	Dates	Quantity
Adjutant General's Department	Correspondence Files	1932-1945	19 transfer cases
Agriculture, Board of . . .	Statistical Rolls of Counties, 1947 Population Schedules of Cities and Townships . . .	1953	1,670 vols. 3,960 vols.
Governor's Office	Correspondence Files	1952, 1953	5 transfer cases
Grain Inspection Department	Correspondence Files	1942-1945	16 transfer cases

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<i>Source</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Industrial Development Commission	Correspondence and Reports, State Planning Board		
	Scrapbooks and Photographs		
	Climatological Data	1934-1941	2 transfer cases; 3 letter file boxes
Insurance Department ..	* Annual Statements	1947	49 vols.
	* Admission Statements ..	1947	1 vol.
	* Certificates of Authority, ..	1947	1 vol.
	* Tax Statements and Fire Marshal Statements	1947	1 vol.
	Official Lists	1947	1 vol.
	Applications, Certificates of Authority	1947	1 vol.
Secretary of State	County Officers' Signatures, ..	1889-1900	12 vols.
	Record of Commissions and Bonds, Notaries Public ..	1940-1945	16 vols.
	Legislature: House and Senate Dockets	1941-1951	48 vols.
Vocational Rehabilitation Service, State Board for Vocational Education, Closed case file folders [samples]		1941-1945	6 folders

* Microfilmed and originals destroyed.

Annual reports were received from the Director of Alcoholic Beverage Control, the Budget Department, the Entomological Commission, the Horticultural Society, the State Treasurer, and the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, and from the State Printer and the Board of Engineering Examiners for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954.

The correspondence files of the Adjutant General's Department and the Grain Inspection Department will be screened for important material and the remainder will be discarded.

Some additions were made to the territorial archives during the past year. Three volumes of the records of the First District Court, 1859-1862, were obtained from Leavenworth county; Dr. Frank Schaeffer, McLouth, gave four commissions issued by the governor's office to Jefferson county elective officials, 1857 and 1858; and from Frank Reeder, Jr., of Easton, Pa., through Dr. Robert Taft, came 20 documents from the papers of his grandfather, Andrew Reeder, first governor of Kansas territory. These items are of particular interest during this centennial year.

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

The papers of the late Jess C. Denious, Dodge City, given by the Denious family, form the largest single collection received during the year. Because



of the prominence of Mr. Denious in the newspaper field, in Republican politics, and in affairs of Southwestern Kansas, it undoubtedly will offer rich returns to researchers. Mr. Denious received early training as a journalist under Henry J. Allen. He purchased the Dodge City *Globe* in 1910 and was publishing this newspaper at the time of his death in 1953. He was elected to the state senate in 1932 and again in 1936; served as lieutenant governor, 1943-1947; and was a member of the first legislative council in 1933. He was equally active as a civic leader. An estimated count of the papers is 15,000.

Single accessions and small groups of papers number 540; and 22 manuscript volumes were received.

A group of 300 papers, 1880-1916, was received from the estate of James W. F. Hughes, adjutant general of Kansas, 1905-1909.

Mrs. André Baude, Topeka, gave a copy of the diary of her grandfather, Enoch O'Brien, for the years 1868-1869. Mr. O'Brien was a Montgomery county settler.

Charlotte McLellan, Topeka, presented the complete manuscript of her study of Potwin Place, Shawnee county. A portion of this was published in the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society* for December, 1953.

Eight registers of the Hanover House, oldest hotel in Hanover, Washington county, 1873-1890, were given by Charles W. Munger through Leo Dieker of Hanover.

The children of Addison W. Stubbs presented 70 manuscripts from their father's papers: letters, radio talks, and articles. Addison Stubbs and his father, Mahlon Stubbs, were agents, teachers and interpreters to the Kansas Indians, and much of the material relates to the Indians.

Annie B. Sweet, Topeka, gave personal account books of her father, Timothy B. Sweet. One volume contains tax information on land owned by the Topeka financier, and the other is an account of income and disbursements, 1869-1875.

Four volumes of business records of the firm of H. Wentworth & Co., Russell, were given by E. R. Wentworth of that city.

Edward M. Beougher, Grinnell, presented a photostatic copy of a report by Capt. John M. Hamilton, Co. H, 5th U. S. cavalry, dated Fort Wallace, November 16, 1875, describing an engagement with hostile Indians near the Smoky Hill river.

Rena Reinhart, Chanute, gave five manuscript volumes written by her father, entitled "Life and Recollections of Herman Francis Reinhart." These reminiscences cover 50 years, 1832-1882. Herman Reinhart was born in Germany and came to America with his family as a boy. After active and colorful years in various parts of the country, he settled in present Chanute in 1870.

Howard C. Raynesford gave an article on George Ellis, first lieutenant, Company I, 12th Kansas infantry, with his original commission. The town of Ellis and Ellis county were named for Lieutenant Ellis.

Other donors were: Monroe Billington, H. E. Breed, Mrs. Lalla M. Brigham, Berlin B. Chapman, Mrs. H. C. Foster, R. S. Fowler, Thomas M. Galey, Mrs. Ira E. Harshbarger, Paul Henderson, Mrs. Minnie Jacobs, George Jelinek, C. W. Kanaga, Myra Summers Keeler, Marie Kelley, Mrs. Charles Lane, James C. Lysle, Lea Maranville, Clifford Marcell, Sister Mary Mark, Dr. Karl A. Menninger, Morrill Free Public Library, L. A. Ormsby, Mrs. Eunice Batch Rash, Mary J. Rees, J. C. Ruppenthal, Mrs. W. B. Sadilek, Charles

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W. Sargent, A. L. Shultz, Dolph Simons, Carroll D. Smith, Harriet E. and Harry W. Stanley, Marguerite Stevenson, Grace Tear, Mrs. Elmer Wegman, Dean Earl Wood, E. K. Wharton, and Mrs. B. W. Woodward.

Several manuscripts and other records were lent to the Society for micro-filming. Included among these were the following:

Records of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Kansas, with a minute book of the trustees of the College of the Sisters of Bethany, Topeka, 1861-1926; minute book, trustees of Christ's Hospital, Topeka, 1882-1902; and papers pertaining to Grace Cathedral, 1879-1917. The originals were lent by the Rt. Rev. Goodrich R. Fenner.

Excerpts from the journal of John H. Forsyth, 1849, lent by D. M. Ward, Peabody.

Recollections of the Battle of the Blue, by John Kemp, lent by Mrs. Minnie Kirkwood.

"Cat-Wagon Trails," by W. G. Clugston, lent by the author.

Account book of Moses Grinter, 1855-1882. Grinter operated a ferry across the Kansas river about eight and one half miles west of the Kansas-Missouri line. This was the earliest ferry established on the Kansas river. The book is the property of Anna Stevens and was brought to the Society by Mrs. Harry Hansen.

Three volumes of Russell county records: Wisconsin colony minute book, 1871-1884; Russell townsite company, secretary's book, 1871; Northwest company and Russell townsite company, ledger, 1871-1874, lent by the Russell Public Library.

Journal of Donald McKay, trip from Des Moines to Marion, Kan., 1870, lent by Edward Weilepp, Topeka.

Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages, by J. W. Powell, given by the children of Addison W. Stubbs.

Memoirs of the Butler wagon train to Oregon, 1853, by G. M. West, and letters, 1850-1862, lent by Mrs. Hazel Woodmansee, Dunlap.

"I Crossed the Plains in the '50's," reminiscences of James C. Carpenter, lent by Mrs. Lewis R. Chase.

MICROFILM DIVISION

In its eight years of operation the microfilm division has made nearly 3,500,000 photographs, about 300,000 of them during the past year. More than 250,000 were of newspapers, 35,000 of archives, and the balance were library and manuscript materials.

Filming of the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler* was completed for the period October 30, 1929-September 29, 1951, a total of 126 rolls of film containing more than 85,000 exposures. The *Wichita Morning Eagle* was continued from April 5, 1948, and the *Evening Eagle* from January 1, 1948, both runs ending with the issues of August 31, 1953, a total for these two papers of 145 rolls with 93,000 exposures. The *Topeka State Journal*, 1941-1942, and the *Coffeyville Daily Journal* for the period June 16, 1893-December 30, 1899, were also filmed.

Other newspapers microfilmed during the year were: *Abilene Gazette*, May 3, 1878-November 30, 1889; *Barbour County Mail*, Medicine Lodge, and *Medicine Lodge Cresset*, May 21, 1875-December 28, 1894; *Cheney Blade*, January 20, 1888-October 12, 1890; *Cheney Journal*, March 1, 1884-January

22, 1887; Coffeyville *Weekly Journal*, October 30, 1875-January 8, 1920; Emporia *Democrat*, August 16, 1882-December 19, 1889; a second Emporia *Democrat*, June 24, 1898-January 26, 1900; *Kansas News*, Emporia, June 6, 1857-August 6, 1859; Emporia *News*, August 13, 1859-May 1, 1890; *Cultivator and Herdsman*, Garden City, May, 1884-March 5, 1887; Garden City *Sentinel*, July 30, 1884-December 29, 1900; *Kansas Chief*, White Cloud and Troy, June 4, 1857-December 28, 1899; *Kansas Gazette*, Enterprise and Abilene, April 27, 1876-April 26, 1878; *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, October 15, 1859-April 28, 1875; North Topeka *Times*, March 16, 1871-December 28, 1883; *Topeka State Record* (a short-lived Populist newspaper), July 20, 1899-January 4, 1909; and the Topeka *Weekly Leader*, December 7, 1865-November 4, 1876.

For the archives the division microfilmed records of the state insurance department for 1947, and a series of daily weather maps and forecasts, 1900-1948, which were received a year ago from the Topeka office of the United States Weather Bureau.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

The steady increase in the number of persons making use of materials in the newspaper and census divisions which has been noted in past years is continuing. These divisions this year served a total of 5,540 patrons who used 6,893 single issues and 5,022 bound volumes of newspapers, 1,593 reels of microfilm, and 22,913 census volumes.

Demand for certified copies of census records remains high. A total of 10,775 certifications was issued during the year, most of them to persons seeking proof of age and place of birth for delayed birth certificates, social security, railroad and other retirement benefits. These certifications are furnished by the Society without charge.

Nearly all Kansas newspapers are received regularly for filing. They include 55 dailies, one triweekly, 11 semiweeklies, and 292 regular weeklies. The Society's files of original Kansas newspapers totaled 56,059 bound volumes, as of January 1, 1954, in addition to over 12,000 volumes of out-of-state newspapers, dated from 1767 to 1954. The Society acquired 606 reels of newspapers on microfilm this year, and the film collection now totals 4,827 reels.

Several publishers are regularly contributing microfilm copies of current issues of their newspapers. They include: Oscar Stauffer and Rex Woods, the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*; Angelo Scott, *Iola Register*; W. A. Bailey, *Kansas City Kansan*; Dolph Simons, *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*; Daniel R. Anthony, III, *Leavenworth Times*; and Henry Blake, Milton Tabor, and Leland Schenck, *Topeka Daily Capital*.

One of the most interesting gifts came from Charles A. Knouse of the *Osawatimie Graphic-News*. Mr. Knouse donated four copies of the *Southern Kansas Herald* of Osawatimie, dated January 16, April 24, May 1, and August 7, 1858. The Society had known that the *Herald* began publication about that time, but heretofore none of its early issues had been received.

The Society was able to obtain a photostatic copy of *The Kansas Freeman*, Topeka, for September 26, 1855, through the kindness of Annabel Garvey, Topeka, granddaughter of the publisher, E. C. K. Garvey. This issue is Vol. 1, No. 2, and was the first issue of any newspaper ever to be printed in Topeka. The *Freeman's* first number had been printed in Lawrence before a press could be brought to Topeka.

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Other donors of miscellaneous older newspapers include: Annie B. Sweet, Clif Stratton, Mrs. Thomas A. Lee, City Library, Mrs. Lee Conwell, Marion Beatty, and the Rev. Ernest Tonsing, all of Topeka; Jim B. McWilliams, Great Bend; Morrill Free Public Library, Hiawatha; J. C. Ruppenthal, Russell; Clifford E. Marcell, Minneapolis, Minn.; Charles C. Calnan, Troy; Frank Hodges, Olathe; and the children of A. W. Stubbs.

MUSEUM

Attendance for the year in the museum was 41,137, an increase of nearly 3,000 over the preceding year. There were 45 accessions, comprising 300 objects.

One of the most important of several large collections was received from the King estate, Junction City, through the generosity of the heirs, Robert Callen King, Washington, D. C., and Adelaide King West, Healdsburg, Cal. The collection was obtained through the assistance of Charles M. Correll and included a selection of women's clothing dating from the 1860's to the 1920's, an assortment of toys made around the turn of the century, and a variety of early furniture, glass, and household items.

A large collection of homespun linens and clothing was received from the A. E. Crandall estate, Jewell county, through Mrs. Hubert C. Andrews, Independence. Adelaide Bolmar, Topeka, gave her father's wedding suit, made in 1875, an early Quaker dress and cap, a homespun coverlet, and an embroidered carriage robe. E. K. Wharton, Powhattan, donated several handmade carpenter's tools, dating from the 1870's, and the children of A. W. Stubbs gave a large group of Indian objects and early household items.

Perhaps the most unusual accession was an old "jail," made of native walnut planks, which was built and used at Burlingame in the 1860's. During the city's centennial celebration it was displayed, and again used, on the main street. From there, with local assistance, it was "stolen" by some gentlemen from Mission, later returned, and after the celebration was presented by the city to the Historical Society.

Other items of interest acquired during the year included: a hunting knife of Osa Johnson's, received from her mother, Mrs. Belle Leighty, through the Woman's Kansas Day Club; an early quilting frame from Mrs. Duane McQueen Ward, Peabody; a trunk which belonged to Avery Washburn, from Mrs. Caston Washburn Royer, Topeka; a sod plow used in Tecumseh in 1856, from A. B. Cusic, Topeka; a leather license plate from a 1911 Stafford car, from Mrs. C. A. Wolf, Topeka; and from John Eisenhower, Topeka, a buggy yoke used by Charles Curtis when he drove a hack to earn money for his education.

Modernization of the museum is continuing. Displays have been rearranged, cases and large exhibits have been regrouped to facilitate the movement of visitors through the galleries, walls have been painted, and many objects have been cleaned, repaired, and relabeled.

Special displays in connection with the territorial and Topeka centennials have been arranged in the main lobby and museum gallery. Of particular interest is a collection of items which belonged to Cyrus K. Holliday, one of the founders of Topeka, lent for the centennial year by his granddaughters, Mrs. Frank Smithies and Mrs. George W. Burpee of New York.

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ANNALS OF KANSAS

The first volume of the new *Annals of Kansas, 1886-1910*, featuring 64 pages of pictures, is before you today. The extensive photograph collections of the Society were searched for suitable pictures of the period, and personal letters and notices in newspapers brought in many more from over the state and nation. Final selection of photographs to illustrate the first volume was made in July. Cuts and captions were finished in August. The first completed volumes were delivered by the state printing plant early this month.

Manuscript for the second volume, 1911-1925, has been revised, rechecked, and two thirds of it retyped. Approximately half is ready for the printer. Publication of this second volume, which will contain the index for both, must of course await authorization by the 1955 legislature.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Extended research during the year included the following persons and subjects: Chester I. Long; Samuel N. Wood and the Stevens county-seat fight; Dr. John R. Brinkley; Waconda Springs; Fort Zarah; Fort Harker; Riley county history; histories of Hartford, Perry, and other Kansas towns; territorial history for centennial celebrations and publications; Tennessee town kindergarten, Topeka; Jewish colonies in Kansas; history of Topeka and Leavenworth schools; editorial opinion concerning the Spanish-American War; irrigation in western Kansas; Negro exodus to Kansas in 1879; early oil explorations in Oklahoma; history of Crested Butte, Colo.; Kansas newspapers printed in German; Kansans who have received the Congressional Medal of Honor; Kansas Freedman's Relief Association; history of the Kansas State Department of Public Instruction; campaign songs; Cyrus K. Holliday house in Topeka; Kansas homestead act; history of woman suffrage in Kansas; Kansas during the Civil War; Fascism in Kansas; linguistic survey in Kansas; promotional publicity put out to bring settlers to Kansas; American toys.

ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1953, to September 30, 1954

Library:	
Books	1,033
Pamphlets	1,693
Magazines (bound volumes)	216
Archives:	
Separate manuscripts	128,500
Manuscript volumes	5,763
Manuscript maps	None
Reels of microfilm	45
Private manuscripts:	
Separate manuscripts	540
Volumes	22
Reels of microfilm	2
Printed maps, atlases and charts	171
Newspapers (bound volumes)	629
Reels of microfilm	606
Pictures	330
Museum objects	300



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TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1954

Books, pamphlets, newspapers (bound and microfilm reels), and magazines	459,890
Separate manuscripts (archives)	1,943,811
Manuscript volumes (archives)	70,688
Manuscript maps (archives)	583
Microfilm reels (archives)	807
Printed maps, atlases, and charts	10,282
Pictures	28,871
Museum objects	33,872

THE QUARTERLY

Due to the reduced printing appropriation, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* will continue to be issued with fewer pages during 1954 and 1955. Volume 20, consisting of the 1952 and 1953 numbers, was distributed early this year. Volume 21 will be made up of issues appearing in 1954 and 1955. This winter the legislature will again be asked to restore the cut in printing funds.

During the next six years appropriate centennial articles will appear in the *Quarterly*. In 1954 several of this nature have been or will yet be published, including: "The Appearance and Personality of Stephen A. Douglas," by Robert Taft; articles by James C. Malin on housing in Lawrence in 1854 and 1855, and on the general histories of Kansas; "The Bishop East of the Rockies Views His Diocesans, 1851-1853," by J. Neale Carman; and "Atchison's First Railroad," by the Rev. Peter Beckman, O. S. B.

An unusual article dealing with another era is appearing in the Autumn number of the *Quarterly*, soon to be off the press. It is a story by Monroe Billington of Susanna Madora Salter of Argonia, the first woman to be elected mayor of an American city.

Dr. Malin's valuable assistance in reading and evaluating articles submitted for publication is again gratefully acknowledged.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

During the year visitors registered from 25 states, the District of Columbia and the Marshall Islands. Many school and scout groups visited the Mission.

Shawnee Mission is listed in many tourist guide books, and U. S. Highways 50 and 69, only a block away, are marked with signs directing the way to the Mission. This, no doubt, accounts for a large number of the visitors.

New metal markers have replaced the old wooden signs at each building, and a new flagpole has been erected. The exterior brick walls of the East building were tuckpointed and waterproofed last fall, and the interior was completely redecorated. Some exhibits were rearranged, and the displays generally have been made more attractive. A new accession is a hymnal in the Shawnee Indian language, published in 1859. It was presented by Mrs. W. W. Higbee, whose father was a member of the Shawnee tribe.

The annual pilgrimage of the Kansas department, Daughters of the American Revolution, was held at the Mission as usual on Constitution Day, September 17. Approximately 125 members from over the state attended the meeting and picnic.

The Society is indebted to the state departments of the Colonial Dames, the



Daughters of American Colonists, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of 1812, and to the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society for their continued assistance at the Mission.

THE KAW MISSION

Attendance at the Kaw Mission, Council Grove, during the past year—its second full year of operation—was 5,716, more than four times that of 1953. Visitors came from 37 states and nine foreign countries.

A formal dedication was held May 12 in connection with Council Grove's centennial celebration, and on that day 867 persons registered. Several hundred others visited the Mission without registering. Mr. and Mrs. Frank (Chief) Haucke were active on the local arrangements committee and the "Chief" was master of ceremonies for the dedicatory services which featured Sen. Andrew Schoepel as the principal speaker. [Senator Schoepel's dedicatory address is printed on pp. 308-311 of this *Quarterly*.] Several Indians of the Kaw tribe, and at least two Cherokees, were among the guests. Three Kaw Indian women from Lawrence had their pictures taken with the portrait of Charles Curtis which hangs in the Mission. Asked if they were interested in Mr. Curtis, one of them remarked: "He was my Uncle Charley." Then, seeing another portrait of an Indian in native costume, she added: "That is my grandfather, Washunga."

A four-page leaflet on the Kaw Mission, with a list of ten other historic sites in the Council Grove area, was printed by the Society for free distribution.

Reconstruction of the old Indian building on the Mission grounds by the Council Grove Rotary club, which was mentioned in last year's report, has been completed. The building is a gift of the club to the state. A flag pole for the grounds was donated by the Nautilus club of Council Grove.

Approximately 90 articles were added to the museum displays during the year. Donors were Harold Anker, B. R. Berkihizer, Gene Block, Mrs. Lalla M. Brigham, the Council Grove Library Board, Mrs. R. R. Cross, Mrs. L. S. Harris, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Haucke, Mrs. John Jacobs, Johnson Brothers, Orval Kendall, Hattie Mack and John Quiett, Georgia Nicholson, Allen Nixon, Mrs. W. H. Pierce, Andrew and R. C. Porter, G. G. Puryear, Mrs. Quinter Sample, R. O. Scott, and the Stubbs family.

THE FIRST CAPITOL

Next year is the centennial of the First Capitol. The first territorial legislature met in the building July 2, 1855, in accordance with Governor Reeder's proclamation, but adjourned on the 6th to meet at the Shawnee Methodist Mission. Antagonism was rife between the Proslavery legislature and the Free-State inhabitants of Pawnee, as this short-lived town was called. A resident wrote that during the session occurred the first and only Fourth of July ever celebrated in Pawnee, and that it was "of such a tempestuous nature that no inhabitant of that city ever desired to see another celebration of the day."

Plans are being made to install new and attractive displays in the hope that visitors, particularly from out-of-state, will be interested in seeing the building even though the principal highway now by-passes the Fort Riley reservation. There were 4,890 visitors at the Capitol this year, an increase of more than 25 per cent over 1953.