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IRONQUILL'S "WASHERWOMAN'S SONG"

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Among other things, these two letters show how greatly times have changed. People took more time then, in writing such comments and in contemplating poetry in this profound sense. What now seems somewhat wordy and beside the point served as recreation as well as literary art, and when a series of events such as this developed, it was like the serial on the inside of the back page, except that anyone could offer something to the growth of the train of letters. Also, discussions close to the hearts of the people were carried on through the newspapers, often in a literary and informative fashion, taking the place of modern "canned" amusement.

An editorial in the *Sunday Capital*, November 25, 1883, was headed, "The New Poem of Hon. Eugene Ware":

It will be unnecessary for us to call the attention of our readers to the beautiful poem from Hon. Eugene Ware, of Fort Scott, addressed to Hon. N. C. McFarland in reply to his letter which appeared in the *Capital* last Sunday. The letter of Judge McFarland has been widely copied in the weekly press of Kansas. The poem is rich in pure, deep and reverential feeling, delicate and most beautiful in expression [,] a most appropriate reply to Judge McFarland's thoughtful letter.

In another column of the same page, Ware's contribution was printed with the heading "Hon. Eugene Ware to Hon. N. C. McFarland":

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CAPITAL:

FORT SCOTT, KAN., November 21.—I have just seen in your excellent paper of Sunday an open letter addressed to me by the Hon. N. C. McFarland of Washington, D. C. I assure you that I feel honored that my "Washerwoman's Song" should be noticed by one who to high official position adds a recognized standing as a lawyer and a cultivated gentleman. The kindness of the criticism leads me to venture a reply, which I ask you to publish.

TO HON. N. C. MCFARLAND, Washington, D. C.

I see the spire,
I see the throng,
I hear the choir,
I hear the song;
I listen to the anthem, while
It pours its volume down the aisle;
I listen to the splendid rhyme
That, with a melody sublime,
Tells of some far-off, fadeless clime—
Of man and his finality
Of hope and Immortality.
Oh, theme of themes!
Are men distraught?
And hopes like dreams
To come to naught?



Is all the beautiful and good
Delusive and misunderstood?
And has a soul no forward reach?
And do indeed the facts impeach
The theories the teachers teach?
And is this Immortality
Delusive unreality?
What Hope reveals
Mind tried to clasp,
But soon it reels
With broken grasp.
No chain yet forged on anvil's brink
Was stronger than its weakest link;
And do not arguments maintain
That many a link along the chain
Can not resist a reason strain?
And is not Immortality
The child of Ideality?
And yet—at times
We get advice
That seems like chimes
From Paradise;
The soul doth sometimes seem to be
In *sunshine* which it cannot see;
At times the spirit seems to roam
Beyond the land, above the foam,
Back to some half-forgotten home.
Perhaps—this immortality
May be indeed reality.²⁸

In reprinting the "Reply," the *Junction City Union*, December 1, 1883, commented: "The letter and the two poems constitute a cheerful oasis in the slush the newspaper man is called upon to deal with." The lack of a name for the poem, besides the term "Reply" was a handicap, but a temporary title was supplied; one of more logical significance by the *Emporia News* in its Holiday edition [December 25], 1883: "It May Be Reality." The *Manhattan Nationalist*, November 23, 1883, put Ware "at the head of Kansas poets," and suggested, "if he would cultivate his talents in this direction, might secure a national fame."²⁹

28. The wording and arrangement of the lines is that of the poem as published in the *Capital*. The punctuation, however, follows that of the third edition of the *Rhymes of Ironquill* (1892). In that edition, for the first time, changes were introduced including the lines seven, eight, and nine of the third stanza which were revised to read:

"And are there not along this chain
Imperfect links that snap in twain
When caught in logic's tensile strain?"

29. In its issue of November 29, 1883, the *Lyndon Journal*, contrasted McFarland and Sen. John J. Ingalls to the disadvantage of the latter as a sceptic. In his *Troy Kansas Chief*, December 13, 1883, Sol Miller blundered in his reading of the *Journal's* comment, and at-



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One of the most remarkable aspects of both the Ware episodes, 1876 and 1883, is the absence of personal hostility toward Ware, or ridicule of his verse or of his ideas. With due regard to the allowances that properly belong to any attempt at generalization, the dictum of "FSM," in 1876, about Western people and religion may again apply—respect for sincere faith even when agnostic toward it.³⁰

In Ware's reply to McFarland, which will be referred to henceforth by the later name "Kriterion," what was his position on religious orthodoxy? In "The Washerwoman's Song" Ware had assumed the position of doubt, softened by tolerant compassion. In "The Real" he had stood his ground, but in "Kriterion" he appeared to hedge

Perhaps—this immortality
May be indeed reality.

In order to appreciate more accurately and adequately what had happened to Ware's thinking and feeling, it is well to go still farther back into the record. On October 23, 1870, the *Daily Monitor* had printed a poem over the initials "EFW," the first of his poems found there with so explicit an identification. This represented orthodox theological certainty. "The Washerwoman's Song" revealed Ware at the other extreme, a confessed agnostic, but also certain he had found truth. The text of "The Palace," of 1870, which Ware never saw fit to revive or revise for book publication in the *Rhymes of Ironquill*, follows:

THE PALACE

Father, lay aside your paper—
See the house that I have builded,
With the blocks which uncle gave me
Christmas day.
See! its got a dozen windows,
On the sides and on the gables,
And its made so you can see out every way.
Then its got a little 'zervatory
Rising from the corner,
Where a person stands and looks out at the sky.
And its roof is very pointed,
And its made of gilded shingles,
And it rises in the middle very high.

tributed to it a comparison of Ware and Ingalls; Ware the Christian and Ingalls the sceptic. Miller preferred Ingall's brains to Ware's piety. This is one of the few unkind Kansas reactions to Ware's poetry, and both its error and its animus were evident. If Ware was a candidate for the United States senate, Miller suggested, then, "perhaps there is a necessity for starting a religious boom in his favor."

30. Topeka *Commonwealth*, April 9, 1876.



And its got a lot of porticos
And balconies and arches,
 And great big flights of back steps made of stone;
And inside there are galleries,
And staircases and parlors—
 And that's the kind of house that I will own.

Father, lay aside your paper—
There! Why didn't you look sooner!—
 Its too late now—you should have looked before,
For the wind came through the doorway,
And it tilted up the carpet,
 And it wrecked my little palace on the floor.

That's the way it *always* happens—
When I've got my house finished,
 There is always something sure to happen then;
And there is no use of trying,
For they crumble to the carpet,
 Though I build them over time and time again.

.....
Ah, my curly headed builder,
You have learned the lesson early,
 That there's something always ruining our schemes;
Happiness is but a palace,
Built of hopes and aspirations,
 With its spires and domes and minarets of dreams.

Ah, my little blue-eyed schemer—
Many palaces I've builded,
 But the gales and storms would come
 with angry strife;
First the spires and domes and minarets,
And then after that the palace
 Would be wrecked upon the carpet of my life.

You will build them—they will crumble,
And the higher up—the sooner;
 And as often as you build them—o're and o're,
When they're finished, through the doorway
Comes the wind that tilts the carpet,
 And the palace crumbles downward to the floor.

But, my curly headed dreamer—
In the sky there is a palace,
 And its builded there for those who
 love the truth;
And its changeless and uncrumbling,
And the splendor of its beauty,
 Far outrivals all the wildest dreams of youth.



The contrast between the texts of "The Palace" and of the "Kriterion" is made the more sharp by the titles supplied for the latter by the *Emporia News*, "It May Be Reality." Ware had reversed himself once, and had gone part way apparently in a return, but had not completed the cycle. Yet, candor must insist upon sticking to the record, although a good case could be made for the view that privately Ware had not abandoned the position of 1876 on "The Washerwoman's Song," and "The Real," but purely as a matter of expediency, had made a concession to what "FSM" had insisted Western People demanded in "fair play" on matters of difference in religion—a sincere respect for a genuine religious character, though not necessarily acceptance of religious form. Unknown is the reason why Ware selected, apparently belatedly, the title "Kriterion," both the idea and the Greek spelling. Yet the public accepted the name without any question about the meaning or about orthography.

THE KRITERION HOAX

All this was written prior to a full realization by the present author of the fact that there was a private view of the "Kriterion" episode quite different from the public view—in fact, a contradiction of both the main facts and the interpretation just given them. In order to reconstruct history as a whole, the private view must now be stated. The "Kriterion" was not a new poem, and it was not written in reply to Judge McFarland. Already it had been published under its proper title, "Kriterion," and over his pen name Ironquill, in the *Daily Monitor*, August 16, 1874, or nearly nine years prior to McFarland's "Open letter." That was long enough before the episode of 1883 that those who may have once known of the earlier printing had long since forgotten. Besides, in 1874, so far as can be discovered, the poem did not attract any attention either at home or abroad. Why should it have created so remarkable a flurry in 1883? Why did Ware misrepresent it; offer it without its title, and as a reply to the open letter? Surely after the remarkable experience with "The Washerwoman's Song" he was aware that he was in the presence of an occasion that might involve portentous responses. Even though unprepared to answer with a new production, and like the preacher who turned his sermon barrel upside down to select off the bottom, he must have weighed the choice with care. Why did he perpetuate the hoax in the book publication of the *Rhymes of Ironquill*, in 1885, and in the many editions thereafter, by printing



the McFarland Open Letter as the link between "The Washerwoman's Song" and "Kriterion?"

But more important than this physical manipulation of tangible facts, is the violence which Ware committed upon himself; upon his private intellectual and religious integrity. As pointed out already, if "Kriterion" had been written in response to McFarland, it meant a retreat in thought. In its true chronology, however, it was a way-station along a straight line transition from the orthodoxy of "The Palace," through "Kriterion," to the agnosticism of "The Washerwoman's Song." Already, the suggestion has been made that possibly it was a concession to his public, an act of expediency, without necessarily being a private reversal. That view now becomes more insistent, but for a quite different reason. Henceforth the student of Ware's poetry, and admirers of "The Washerwoman's Song," or of "Kriterion" as individual poems must keep in mind these two views, the private and the public, and their irreconcilability. Viewed as a whole, truth is complex and challenging.

A Chronology of Kansas Political and Military Events, 1859-1865

I. INTRODUCTION

ON January 29, 1861, President James Buchanan signed the bill which made Kansas the 34th state.

For nearly seven years Kansas territory had been strife-torn and bloodied by the struggle over slavery. But statehood did not bring peace. It was the withdrawal of Southern senators which assured the passage of the Kansas bill. Thus joy over the admission of Kansas to the Union was tempered by concern over the departure of the Southern states.

War clouds were threatening when President-elect Abraham Lincoln started from Springfield, Ill., to Washington to take the oath of office. Because of threats of assassination his route in some areas was kept secret. However, he appeared in Philadelphia long enough on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1861, to raise the first flag containing the Kansas star to fly at Independence hall.

Mr. Lincoln's appearance at Philadelphia was reported in the press in part as follows:

FELLOW CITIZENS.—I am invited and called before you to participate in raising above Independence hall the flag of our country, with an additional star upon it. (Cheers.) . . .

I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here, in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live. You have kindly suggested to me that in my hands is the task of restoring peace to the present distracted condition of the country. I can say in return, Sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here, and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother land; but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world for all future time. (Great applause.) It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is a sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be

saved upon that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world, if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. (Applause.) Now, in my view of the present aspect of affairs, there need be no bloodshed or war. There is no necessity for it. I am not in favor of such a course, and I may say in advance, that there will be no bloodshed unless it be forced upon the government, and then it will be compelled to act in self-defense. (Applause.)

My friends, this is wholly an unexpected speech, and I did not expect to be called upon to say a word when I came here. I supposed it was merely to do something toward raising the flag. I may, therefore, have said something indiscreet. (Cries of "No, no.") I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, die by. . . .

War came, and, though most of the major campaigns were fought in the East, some with Kansas troops participating, the state was still troubled at home. Skirmishes along the eastern and southern borders culminated finally at Mine creek, Linn county. Here, on October 25, 1864, the most important Civil War battle in Kansas was fought, with nearly 25,000 men engaged.

Because of the approaching centennials of Kansas statehood and of the Civil War, the latter to be observed nationally, the following chronology of political and military events covering these stirring years is here submitted. Entries for the most part were taken from D. W. Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*.

II. THE CHRONOLOGY

1859

OCTOBER 4.—The Wyandotte constitution, drawn up in the town of Wyandotte (now Kansas City, Kan.) in July, 1859, was adopted. The popular vote was: For, 10,421; Against, 5,530.

OCTOBER 12.—The Republican "state" convention was held at Topeka.

OCTOBER 16.—Capt. John Brown, with 18 men, took possession of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Va. Several were killed and wounded before they were captured by federal troops, under Col. Robert E. Lee, who battered down the doors. John Brown was wounded, and two of his sons were killed.

OCTOBER 22.—Party arrived at site of "Camp on the Pawnee Fork" to begin construction. The name was soon changed to Camp Alert and later to Fort Larned.

OCTOBER 25.—The Democratic convention was held at Lawrence.

NOVEMBER 8.—Marcus Parrott was elected congressional delegate



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from Kansas. Members of the Kansas territorial legislature also were elected.

NOVEMBER 30.—Abraham Lincoln arrived in Elwood and made a speech.

DECEMBER 1.—Lincoln made a two-hour speech at Troy and a speech of shorter duration at Doniphan.

DECEMBER 2.—John Brown was hanged for treason at Charlestown, Va.

Lincoln traveled from Doniphan to Atchison, where he spoke in the Methodist church.

DECEMBER 3.—Lincoln arrived in Leavenworth. A welcome had been prepared for him and he spoke that night to a large crowd at Stockton hall on the topic of popular sovereignty. He mentioned the execution of John Brown on the previous day saying:

Old John Brown has just been executed for treason against a state. We cannot object, even though he agreed with us in thinking slavery wrong. That cannot excuse violence, bloodshed, and treason. It could avail him nothing that he might think himself right. So, if constitutionally we elect a President, and therefore you undertake to destroy the Union, it will be our duty to deal with you as old John Brown has been dealt with. We shall try to do our duty. We hope and believe that in no section will a majority so act as to render such extreme measures necessary.—Roy P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Rutgers University Press, 1953), v. 3, p. 502.

DECEMBER 5.—Lincoln spoke again at Leavenworth and remained there to observe the voting on state officers.

DECEMBER 7.—Lincoln departed for his home in Illinois and Marcus Parrott accompanied him eastward. The Leavenworth *Times* of that date stated: "The River opposite this city has been frozen over since Sunday morning. The ice on an average is six inches thick, and many persons and horses crossed with safety yesterday." It is probable that Lincoln was driven across the ice on his return to St. Joseph.

1860

JANUARY 2.—The Kansas Territorial legislature met at Leecompton. The council consisted of eight Republicans and five Democrats; the house, 23 Republicans and 16 Democrats. The legislature on January 4 voted to adjourn to Lawrence but Governor Medary vetoed the proposal. The legislature passed the adjournment measure over his veto on January 5 and 6.

JANUARY 7.—The legislature moved to Lawrence and remained in session there until January 18, 1860.



JANUARY 18.—Gov. Samuel Medary issued a new proclamation, summoning the legislature to meet at Lecompton on January 19.

JANUARY 19.—The territorial legislature met at Lecompton but again, over the governor's veto, moved to Lawrence where it stayed until adjournment, February 27, 1860.

FEBRUARY 14.—The Wyandotte constitution was presented to the United States senate.

FEBRUARY 15.—Galusha Grow, of Pennsylvania, introduced House Bill No. 23 in the U. S. congress to admit Kansas under the Wyandotte constitution.

FEBRUARY 21.—Sen. William H. Seward, of New York, introduced Senate Bill No. 194, asking for the admission of Kansas.

MARCH 16.—James Montgomery and his followers were prevented by snow from rescuing some of John Brown's men at Charlestown, Va.

MARCH 20.—Raids by Missourians on Bourbon county were reported.

MARCH 27.—The Democratic convention was held at Atchison.

APRIL 3.—The first rider for the Pony Express left St. Joseph for Sacramento, Calif. Until October 26, 1861, the Pony Express was the fastest mode of transmitting messages from St. Joseph to the west coast. For a period of 18 months, until the telegraph took its place, the Pony Express was the vital communication link between the east and west coasts. The Kansas portion of the route ran between Elwood, via Seneca and Marysville, to the area of present Hanover, where it angled northwest into Nebraska.

APRIL 11.—The U. S. house of representatives voted 134 to 73 to admit Kansas under the Wyandotte constitution.

The Republican convention was held at Lawrence to elect delegates to the party's national convention at Chicago, and to select presidential electors.

APRIL 12.—The clerk of the house reported the Kansas admission bill to the senate.

APRIL 13.—The house bill was referred to the senate committee on territories.

MAY 16.—The house bill was reported back from committee without recommendations.

MAY 29.—Camp Alert was renamed Fort Larned.

JUNE 5.—Sen. Edward Wade moved to reconsider the bill, but the motion was defeated 32 to 26.

JUNE 7.—Sen. Robert Hunter, of Virginia, moved to postpone action on the Kansas admission bill. His motion carried 32 to 27.



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NOVEMBER 6.—Election of the territorial legislature was held.

NOVEMBER 28.—Governor Medary and Gen. W. S. Harney left Leavenworth for Fort Scott.

DECEMBER 8.—The military expedition sent by the governor of Missouri to the Fort Scott vicinity was encamped near the state line.

DECEMBER 11.—Sen. Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, recalled House Bill No. 23.

DECEMBER 31.—Judge John Pettit of Kansas declared unconstitutional the law abolishing slavery in Kansas.

1861

JANUARY 4.—Fort Leavenworth was placed on short mobilization notice by Gen. Winfield Scott. Every man and horse was to be ready to go to Baltimore at a moment's notice.

JANUARY 7.—The final territorial legislature convened at Leecompton and adjourned to Lawrence where it met until February 2.

JANUARY 10.—The governor's message was presented to the legislature by George Beebe, acting governor, replacing Medary who had resigned.

JANUARY 18.—Sen. James S. Green, of Missouri, proposed an amendment to the Kansas admission bill. This amendment provided that the Platte river region to the north should be added to Kansas, while the Cherokee neutral lands and the Osage lands would be cut off on the south. The measure was defeated, 31 to 23.

JANUARY 19.—Sen. Graham N. Fitch, of Indiana, moved to add sections 4 and 5 to the measure, constituting Kansas a judicial district of the United States, with "like powers and jurisdiction as the district court of the United States for the District of Minnesota." The motion was defeated 27 to 26.

JANUARY 21.—The senators from Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida withdrew; the senators from South Carolina had done likewise in November, 1860. It has been stated that the presence of those members in the senate delayed the passage of the Kansas bill.

Senator Fitch reintroduced his amendment on the judiciary. It was passed 29 to 28.

JANUARY 21.—The senate passed the bill as amended, 36 to 16, and sent it to the house for concurrence.

JANUARY 28.—The house suspended its rules so that it could take up the Kansas admission bill as amended. The senate amendment was concurred in by the house sitting as a committee of the whole, and the Kansas bill was passed, 117 to 42.



JANUARY 29.—Pres. James Buchanan signed the Kansas admission bill and Kansas became a state.

The Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* published an "extra" concerning the passage of the Kansas admission bill.

FEBRUARY 1.—Both houses of the territorial legislature passed a resolution to elect two U. S. senators from the state of Kansas.

FEBRUARY 8.—Marcus Parrott, Kansas delegate to congress, arrived at Lawrence late at night bringing the official notification of the admission of Kansas to Governor-elect Robinson.

FEBRUARY 9.—The first governor of Kansas, Charles Robinson, took the oath of office at Lawrence. The oath was administered by Caleb Pratt, county clerk of Douglas county.

FEBRUARY 20.—James Montgomery wrote to the governor that the southern border of Kansas was in danger of Confederate attack.

FEBRUARY 22.—President-elect Abraham Lincoln, on his way to Washington, paused at Independence hall, Philadelphia, to speak and to raise the flag bearing the Kansas star.

MARCH 5.—An election was held to fill vacancies in the new state legislature.

MARCH 10.—Linn county organized the first militia regiment in the state.

MARCH 26.—The first state legislature convened at Topeka.

APRIL 4.—James H. Lane and Samuel Pomeroy were chosen by the state legislature to be the first U. S. senators from Kansas.

APRIL 12.—Fort Sumter, South Carolina, was fired on by secessionist troops.

APRIL 14.—James H. Lane, senator from Kansas, began enrolling troops in the Frontier Guard. This organization was voluntary and unofficial and was never mustered into the regular army. Its primary mission was to serve as a bodyguard for President Lincoln and it was made up of Kansas men who were in Washington for the inauguration. On the night of April 18 and several nights following, the Frontier Guard bivouacked in the East Room of the White House. The group was disbanded on May 3.

APRIL 17.—Capt. Samuel Walker, of Lawrence, offered Governor Robinson a company of 100 men. A meeting was held in Atchison to form a Union military company but some residents cried "Coercion" and the company was not formed.

APRIL 18.—The steamboat *New Sam Gaty* arrived at Leavenworth from St. Louis with a rebel flag flying. An immense crowd collected on the levee, and the captain was compelled to take down the Confederate ensign.



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APRIL 20.—Seven military companies were trained in Douglas county and nine in Leavenworth; one was ordered to Fort Leavenworth for 30-day service.

APRIL 25.—Military companies were being formed in nearly every county.

APRIL 29.—Capt. J. L. Reno, for whom Reno county was later named, was placed in charge of the arsenal at Fort Leavenworth.

MAY 1.—Rebel flags flew in many places in Missouri.

MAY 10.—Capt. Nathaniel Lyon and Col. Francis P. Blair, at the head of 6,000 Union volunteers, surrounded the rebel state guard at St. Louis, and took them prisoners.

MAY 22.—The Republican congressional convention was held at Topeka.

MAY 28.—The First Kansas volunteer infantry regiment began to organize in Leavenworth.

JUNE 1.—Col. William H. Emory and Maj. S. D. Sturgis arrived at Fort Leavenworth from the southwest with United States troops.

JUNE 3.—General Lyon became commander of the Military Department of the West.

The First Kansas infantry regiment was mustered in at Leavenworth.

A rebel flag was captured by Kansans at Iatan, Mo., and was brought to Leavenworth.

JUNE 4.—The state legislature adjourned.

JUNE 10.—Capt. Alfred Sully went from Fort Leavenworth to St. Joseph, with a force of regulars, to organize a home guard.

JUNE 11.—M. F. Conway was elected to Kansas' seat in the U. S. house of representatives.

Capt. William E. Prince and a body of U. S. troops left Fort Leavenworth for Kansas City.

JUNE 13.—Seven companies of the First Kansas left Leavenworth for Kansas City.

JUNE 17.—Governor Robinson called for more troops.

JUNE 20.—The Second Kansas infantry regiment was mustered into service at Kansas City, Mo., for a period of three months.

JUNE 24.—The First Kansas infantry regiment and regular troops, under Maj. Samuel Sturgis, left Kansas City for Springfield, Mo.

JUNE 25.—James Lane published a statement in the *Leavenworth Conservative*: "On the 20th instant I was duly appointed a Brigadier General in the volunteer force of the United States."



JUNE 26.—The Second Kansas infantry regiment left Kansas City for a meeting with Major Sturgis in Missouri.

JULY 4.—Printers in the First and Second Kansas regiments took over the Clinton (Mo.) *Journal* and published a Union issue, remarking that the former editor left in "very indecent haste."

JULY 7.—Kansas troops under Sturgis joined General Lyon at Grand river.

JULY 8.—The Kansas senators, James H. Lane and Samuel C. Pomeroy, drew lots to determine the length of their terms in the U. S. senate.

JULY 12.—Organization of the Fifth Kansas cavalry regiment was started.

JULY 15.—The Third Kansas regiment was organized with James Montgomery as its colonel. The Third and Fourth Kansas regiments were consolidated to form the Tenth Kansas infantry regiment, April 3, 1862.

JULY 24.—The First battery of light artillery was mustered into service. Thomas Bickerton was the captain.

JULY 25.—By a vote at a Union meeting in Leavenworth, business houses were to close early every day to allow all citizens time for military drill.

AUGUST 9.—The rebel John Matthews drove 60 Union families from the Neutral lands.

AUGUST 10.—The Battle of Wilson's creek was fought south of Springfield, Mo. Troops from the First and Second Kansas regiments took an active part.

AUGUST 17.—General Lane began to fortify Camp Lincoln, Bourbon county.

SEPTEMBER 2.—The Battle of Dry Wood. Union men under Cols. James Montgomery, C. R. Jennison, and H. P. Johnson and Capts. Thomas Moonlight, John Ritchie, James M. [?] Williams, and John E. Stewart fought the rebels under Gen. James S. Rains.

SEPTEMBER 7.—Atchison was in danger of invasion by rebels from Missouri. Five companies went to her assistance from Jefferson, Jackson, and Doniphan counties.

SEPTEMBER 8.—The First Kansas infantry regiment was located at Hannibal, Mo.

SEPTEMBER 10.—The Sixth Kansas cavalry was mustered into service at Fort Scott. It had been organized in July.

SEPTEMBER 12.—Humboldt was sacked by rebels.



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SEPTEMBER 15.—The Second Kansas infantry regiment arrived in Leavenworth and was given a public reception.

SEPTEMBER 20.—The "John Brown's body" song was first sung in Leavenworth. The song originated with Union soldiers at Fort Warren, Mass.

SEPTEMBER 21.—Col. William R. Judson of the Sixth Kansas regiment returned from the Neutral lands, having routed the Confederate marauders.

SEPTEMBER 23.—Lane took Osceola, Mo., and burned it.

SEPTEMBER 30.—Lane's brigade arrived in Kansas City, joining forces under Sturgis.

OCTOBER.—Organization of the Third Kansas battery was begun.

OCTOBER 11.—Sturgis and Lane left for Springfield, Mo.

OCTOBER 16.—Humboldt was attacked by rebels for the second time and burned.

OCTOBER 24.—Organization of the Ninth Kansas cavalry was begun.

OCTOBER 25.—Gardner, Johnson county, was sacked by Missourians.

OCTOBER 27.—The organization of the Eighth Kansas infantry regiment was completed.

OCTOBER 28.—The Seventh Kansas cavalry regiment was organized at Fort Leavenworth.

OCTOBER 30.—Settlers were driven from Mine creek in Linn county.

OCTOBER 31.—The Second Kansas infantry regiment, a 90-day unit, was honorably discharged.

NOVEMBER 2.—Lane and Sturgis reached Springfield, Mo.

NOVEMBER 5.—Votes for the state legislature and a location for the state capital were cast. Topeka received the majority of the votes, thus making it the permanent capital of Kansas. Lawrence was second in the balloting. Whisky Point, near Fort Riley, received two votes!

NOVEMBER 12.—A new military area, the Department of Kansas, was established with Maj. Gen. David Hunter in charge.

NOVEMBER 15.—The Kansas brigade returned to Fort Scott.

NOVEMBER 27.—The Third Kansas battery was mustered at Leavenworth.

NOVEMBER 30.—Gen. James Denver was ordered to report to Fort Scott.

DECEMBER 11.—Rebels raided Potosi, Linn county.

DECEMBER 14.—Maj. H. H. Williams and his Third Kansas regiment took Papinsville and Butler, Mo.

DECEMBER 20.—The Eighth Kansas infantry was located at Westport, Mo. One hundred contrabands, freed by Colonel Anthony at Independence, arrived at Leavenworth.

DECEMBER 31.—The First Kansas infantry regiment was ordered to Kansas City and Fort Scott.

1862

JANUARY 9.—Capt. John Brown, Jr., arrived at Leavenworth with enough men to fill his company, which was Co. K, Seventh Kansas cavalry. The men in Brown's company were mainly from Ohio.

JANUARY 14.—The state legislature met at Topeka.

JANUARY 15.—Union Indians were defeated in the Indian territory, and were driven to Kansas. They encamped on Fall river.

JANUARY 20.—The Second Kansas cavalry was ordered from Fort Leavenworth to Quindaro (now part of present Kansas City).

JANUARY 21.—The decision of the supreme court, declaring the election of the governor in 1861 illegal, was published. The opinion was handed down by Chief Justice Thomas Ewing, Jr. This decision was considered a defeat for Senator Lane in his attempt to remove Governor Robinson from office.

JANUARY 23.—The Thirteenth Wisconsin volunteer regiment arrived at Fort Leavenworth.

JANUARY 27.—James H. Lane arrived in Leavenworth, supposedly as a major general, to take command of an expedition to the South.

JANUARY 29.—The Ninth Wisconsin volunteer regiment arrived at Fort Leavenworth.

JANUARY 30.—Investigations were begun in the house of representatives against Gov. Charles Robinson, Secretary of State John W. Robinson, and State Auditor George S. Hillyer "for high misdemeanors in office" relating to the sale of state bonds.

FEBRUARY.—The supreme court held that laws passed by the territorial legislature, after Kansas became a state, were valid.

FEBRUARY 14.—The report of the house committee on the negotiation of state bonds was published. It concluded with a resolution to impeach the governor, auditor, and secretary of state.

FEBRUARY 26.—Gen. James Lane wrote the legislature that he would not lead a military expedition but would resign his commission and return to the U. S. senate.



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FEBRUARY 28.—The *Daily Inquirer*, a rebel organ, was started in Leavenworth. A meeting was called to mob the newspaper. D. W. Wilder and M. W. Delahay addressed the mob, advocating free speech and the meeting of argument with argument.

The Third Kansas battery was assigned to the Second Kansas cavalry regiment.

MARCH 1.—Three seats in the state senate were declared vacant because the senators had accepted commissions in the volunteer service. They were friends of Governor Robinson and enemies of Senator Lane.

MARCH 6.—The legislature adjourned.

MARCH 7.—The notorious William Quantrill, alias Charley Hart, plundered Aubrey, in Johnson county, and killed at least three citizens.

MARCH 14.—John A. Martin, lieutenant colonel of the Eighth Kansas regiment, was appointed provost marshal at Leavenworth.

MARCH 15.—Kansas soldiers at Fort Riley destroyed the office of the *Kansas Frontier News*, at Junction City, believing it to be a disloyal newspaper.

General Denver was ordered to take command in Kansas. Gen. George W. Deitzler was to join Gen. Samuel R. Curtis in Arkansas.

MARCH 26.—The First Colorado regiment was defeated at Pigeon's Ranch, New Mexico. This regiment was reportedly made up of Kansas men.

MARCH 27.—The Ninth Kansas cavalry was mustered in at Leavenworth.

The Ninth Kansas volunteer regiment was renamed the Second Kansas cavalry.

APRIL 8.—Robert Mitchell and James Blunt were appointed brigadier generals.

MAY 2.—Gen. James Blunt took command of the Department of Kansas.

The First Indian regiment was organized at Le Roy, by Robert Furnas.

MAY 8.—Congress appropriated \$100,000 to pay the Lane brigade.

MAY 11.—The Jayhawker, Marshall Cleveland, alias Moore, alias Metz, was killed at the Marias des Cygnes river by men of the Sixth Kansas regiment. He once had been a captain in Jennison's regiment, and stole in the name of liberty.

MAY 24.—Col. William A. Barstow, of the Third Wisconsin, was appointed provost marshal general for the state. Maj. Elias A.

Calkins, of the Third Wisconsin, received the appointment as provost marshal for Leavenworth.

MAY 27-29.—The First, Seventh, and Eighth Kansas regiments, the Second Kansas battery, and the Twelfth and Thirteenth Wisconsin regiments sailed for Corinth, Miss.

MAY 30.—Col. William Weer, of the Tenth Kansas, was given command of an Indian expedition.

JUNE.—The first reoccupation of any part of the Indian territory, now Oklahoma, since May, 1861, was made by Kansas troops, who marched almost to Fort Gibson.

JUNE 2-16.—The Kansas senate met as a court of impeachment. Secretary of State John W. Robinson and Auditor George S. Hillyer were impeached and removed from office, while Gov. Charles Robinson was acquitted.

JUNE 15.—The Leavenworth *Inquirer* was suppressed by General Blunt.

JUNE 18.—D. R. Anthony, lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Kansas, issued the following order: "Any officer or soldier of this command who shall arrest and deliver to his master a fugitive slave, shall be summarily and severely punished, according to the laws relative to such crimes." For issuing this order Colonel Anthony was arrested and deprived of his command in Tennessee.

JUNE 20.—Decision of U. S. Attorney General Edward Bates: "The absence of Governor Robinson from the State did not create the disability contemplated by the Constitution of Kansas, by which the Lieutenant Governor would be authorized to perform the duties of Governor." The need for this decision came about when Governor Robinson and Lieutenant Governor Root appointed different men to the colonelcy of the Seventh Kansas regiment.

JUNE 22.—The organization of the Second Indian regiment began.

JUNE 30.—Bill and Jim Anderson, Quantrill and others, raided into Lyon county, shooting several people and stealing horses.

AUGUST 4.—James Lane opened a recruiting office in Leavenworth for negro and white troops.

AUGUST 8.—General Blunt left Leavenworth to take command of the expedition in the Indian territory.

AUGUST 12.—Preston B. Plumb and Edmund G. Ross were enlisting men for the Eleventh Kansas regiment.

AUGUST 15.—Quantrill issued orders that men going to federal posts to enlist would be shot when captured.



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SEPTEMBER.—Organization of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Kansas regiments began.

SEPTEMBER 7.—Quantrill raided Olathe, killing several men, and destroying offices of the *Mirror* and *Herald*.

Governor Robinson issued an order for complete organization of the militia.

SEPTEMBER 10.—Organization of the Second battery began.

SEPTEMBER 14.—Thomas Ewing, Jr., chief justice of Kansas, was mustered as colonel of the Eleventh Kansas cavalry regiment.

John Halderman was appointed major general of the militia of northern Kansas.

SEPTEMBER 15.—The Eleventh Kansas cavalry regiment was mustered at Fort Leavenworth.

SEPTEMBER 16.—Organization of the Third Indian regiment began.

SEPTEMBER 17.—The Republican state convention was held at Topeka.

SEPTEMBER 18.—D. R. Anthony resigned from the Seventh Kansas regiment and returned to Leavenworth.

SEPTEMBER 20.—The Thirteenth Kansas cavalry regiment was mustered at Atchison.

SEPTEMBER 29.—The Union state convention was held at Lawrence.

SEPTEMBER 30.—The Twelfth Kansas infantry regiment was mustered at Paola.

OCTOBER 1.—The Democratic state convention was held at Topeka.

OCTOBER 17.—Quantrill and his gang raided Johnson county, killing three men and burning 13 buildings.

The First Kansas Colored regiment was organized near Fort Lincoln, Bourbon county. It was ordered to Baxter Springs. The Thirteenth regiment was at Fort Scott, the Twelfth on the eastern border and the Eleventh had gone to join Blunt.

NOVEMBER 4.—An election was held for state officers, members of the state legislature and a U. S. representative.

DECEMBER 7.—General Blunt won a victory at Prairie Grove, Ark. He also gained victories at Newtonia, October 4; Old Fort Wayne, October 22; and Cane Hill, November 28. Blunt's forces took Van Buren, December 29.

1863

JANUARY 13.—The state legislature met at Topeka.

The First Colored regiment was mustered at Fort Scott.

JANUARY 17.—Fort Scott was re-established as a permanent military post.

FEBRUARY 10.—The Leavenworth *Daily Inquirer*, a secession paper, ceased to exist. The presses were destroyed, the type thrown out the window and cases burned.

MARCH 3.—The legislature adjourned.

MARCH 13.—Thomas Ewing, Jr., was appointed a brigadier general.

APRIL.—The Fourteenth Kansas cavalry began to organize.

JUNE 1.—Sidney Clarke was appointed provost marshal for Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado.

JUNE 11.—Col. James Montgomery, of Kansas, with his Colored regiment, left Hilton Head for a raid in Georgia.

JULY 1.—Col. James Williams, with 800 men of the First Kansas Colored regiment and 500 Indians, defeated a force of Texans under the Cherokee Stand Watie at Cabin Creek.

JULY 4.—The surrender of Vicksburg, Miss. Troops of the First Kansas regiment took part in the campaign.

JULY 17.—Blunt gained a victory over Cooper at Honey Springs, south of the Arkansas river in Indian territory.

AUGUST 21.—Quantrill and his guerrillas raided and sacked Lawrence. Approximately 200 buildings were burned and nearly 150 persons were killed.

SEPTEMBER.—The Fifteenth Kansas cavalry regiment was organized to protect border towns from further raids.

SEPTEMBER 8.—A Republican convention was held at Paola. A resolution was passed asking for the removal of Gens. John M. Schofield and Thomas Ewing and the establishment of a new military department.

SEPTEMBER 19.—The Battle of Chickamauga, in Georgia. Members of the Eighth Kansas regiment took an active part.

OCTOBER 6.—General Blunt and a small escort were attacked near Baxter Springs by Quantrill and his Confederate guerrillas. Blunt escaped, but most of his men were killed. Fort Blair was also attacked, but the guerrillas were repelled and several were killed.

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Kansas up to this date had furnished the Union 9,613 white troops, 2,262 Indians, and one Colored regiment.

OCTOBER 15.—The Fifteenth Kansas cavalry regiment was mustered at Fort Leavenworth.

OCTOBER 25.—Col. Powell Clayton and the Fifth Kansas regiment took part in the Battle of Pine Bluff, Ark. Negro noncombatants were used to barricade the streets.

NOVEMBER 3.—The general election was held in Kansas. State representatives, district attorneys and a chief justice of the supreme court were elected.

NOVEMBER 25.—The Battle of Chattanooga, Tenn. The Eighth Kansas regiment was instrumental in securing Mission Ridge and Orchard Knob.

DECEMBER 18.—Col. William Phillips defeated a rebel force near Fort Gibson.

1864

JANUARY 1.—Kansas was made a military department with Gen. Samuel Curtis in command.

JANUARY 12.—The Kansas legislature met at Topeka.

FEBRUARY 6.—The Seventh Kansas cavalry regiment was given a reception in Leavenworth.

Eight senators and 19 members of the house protested the forthcoming election of a U. S. senator.

FEBRUARY 9.—Sitting in joint convention, the two houses elected a senator for the term that began March 4, 1865. Gov. Thomas Carney was declared elected but never claimed the office.

FEBRUARY 20.—The Battle of Olustee, Fla. Col. James Montgomery, commanding Colored troops, was in this battle.

FEBRUARY 29.—A reception for the Eighth Kansas infantry regiment was held at Leavenworth.

MARCH 1.—The legislature adjourned.

APRIL 20.—The War Department credited the state with 1,529 Colored troops.

APRIL 21.—The Republican state convention was held at Topeka.

APRIL 30.—A battle at Jenkin's Ferry, Ark. Members of the Second Kansas cavalry participated.

MAY 4.—Kansas had raised 4,500 troops in excess of all calls.

JUNE.—Fort Ellsworth, later known as Fort Harker, was established.

JUNE 1.—Democratic state convention was held at Topeka.



JUNE 17.—The First Kansas infantry regiment was mustered out at Fort Leavenworth, with the exception of two companies of veterans who were mustered at Bovina, Miss., to form the Veteran battalion, First infantry.

JULY 2.—Capt. William Matthews began to raise a Colored battery.

General Curtis was authorized to raise a regiment of "Hundred Days" men. It was to be called the Seventeenth Kansas regiment.

JULY 27.—Confederate Gen. Richard M. Gano attacked an outpost at Fort Smith, Ark., capturing Capt. David F. Medford and 82 of his Sixth Kansas men.

JULY 28.—The Seventeenth Kansas infantry regiment was mustered at Fort Leavenworth.

AUGUST 3.—A state convention of Colored men was held; they asked that the word, "white," be struck from the constitution.

AUGUST 10.—Indians made a serious raid on the Little Blue river near Marysville.

AUGUST 29.—Four companies of the Fifth Kansas, commanded by Maj. Samuel Walker, arrived at Leavenworth.

SEPTEMBER 6.—Fort Zarah was established by General Curtis. He named it for his son, who was killed at the Baxter Springs massacre.

SEPTEMBER 8.—The Republican state convention was held at Topeka.

SEPTEMBER 13.—Republican Union state convention was held at Topeka.

OCTOBER 1.—Confederate Gen. Sterling Price was reported advancing toward Kansas.

OCTOBER 8.—Gov. Thomas Carney called out the state militia, Maj. Gen. George Deitzler commanding.

OCTOBER 10.—General Curtis proclaimed martial law in Kansas.

OCTOBER 14.—General Blunt moved from Olathe to Hickman Mills, Mo. His command was organized into three brigades.

OCTOBER 16.—Blunt moved toward Lexington, Mo., with two brigades.

OCTOBER 19.—Blunt met the Confederate army and was driven back.

OCTOBER 20.—Blunt moved to Independence, Mo. General Moonlight was defeated at the Battle of the Little Blue.

OCTOBER 22.—The Battle of the Big Blue was fought, ending in a Union victory.



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Kansas had an estimated 20,000 men under arms.

OCTOBER 23.—The Battle of Westport, with General Price's line extending west nearly to the Shawnee Methodist Mission in Kansas. The rebels were defeated and began to retreat.

OCTOBER 24.—Price's army entered Kansas in Linn county, and camped at Trading Post on the Marais des Cygnes.

OCTOBER 25.—The Battle of Mine Creek. Kansas troops met and routed the Confederate army.

OCTOBER 26.—Generals Curtis and Blunt, along with their brigades, started to follow the retreating Confederates.

OCTOBER 27.—Governor Carney ordered the militia members to return to their homes.

OCTOBER 28.—The Sixteenth Kansas cavalry regiment was mustered at Fort Leavenworth.

The Battle of Newtonia, Mo. Blunt began the fight alone but later was reinforced by Sanborn. The rebels abandoned the field.

OCTOBER 29.—Gen. William S. Rosecrans ordered all troops in his departments to return to their districts; however, Gen. U. S. Grant ordered the pursuit of Price to be resumed.

NOVEMBER 8.—The pursuit of Price was discontinued when Generals Curtis and Blunt reached the Arkansas river.

State and national elections were held. Members of the state legislature, state officers and national congressmen were elected; also several amendments to the state constitution were approved.

1865

JANUARY 10.—The state legislature met at Topeka.

JANUARY 12.—James H. Lane was re-elected U. S. senator.

JANUARY 19.—The legislature adjourned until January 23, to take a railroad excursion to Lawrence and Wyandotte.

FEBRUARY 7.—Gen. G. M. Dodge took command of Fort Leavenworth, succeeding Gen. Samuel R. Curtis.

FEBRUARY 15.—Kansas received a draft call for the first time. Due to an error the state had not been given full credit for her volunteers.

FEBRUARY 20.—The legislature adjourned.

FEBRUARY 21.—The Eleventh Kansas regiment left Fort Riley for Fort Kearny.

FEBRUARY 25.—Gen. Thomas Ewing, Jr., resigned his command and left the army.

MARCH 15.—The draft in Kansas was suspended.



MARCH 18.—Five Kansas regiments left Fort Smith.

APRIL 9.—End of the Civil War.

APRIL 14.—Assassination of President Lincoln, by John Wilkes Booth.

During the four years of the Civil War, Kansas supplied 17 regiments, three batteries, two Negro regiments and a Negro battery. Altogether Kansas is reported to have contributed 18,069 white troops and 2,080 Negroes; an excess of more than 3,000 over all calls. The census of 1860 gave Kansas a white male population between the ages of 18 and 45 as only 27,976 and less than 300 male Negroes.

Mark W. Delahay: Peripatetic Politician

A HISTORICAL CASE STUDY

JOHN G. CLARK

THE Democratic party, in territorial Kansas, was the victim of a deep split engendered by the slavery issue. One faction, composed mainly of Missourians settling in Kansas, supported slavery. A second faction viewed slavery on grounds of expediency and refused to condone the militant tactics of the Proslavery group. As a result of this factionalism Democrats labored under a manifest disadvantage in the contest for political control of Kansas. The Democratic party was early associated in the minds of the electorate with the Proslavery faction, and the possibility of Democratic ascendancy in Kansas became more remote in proportion to the mounting free-state sentiment of the settlers.

Representative of the group opposed to both Abolitionist and Proslavery factions was the politically ubiquitous Mark W. Delahay, a Democrat, and editor of the Leavenworth *Kansas Territorial Register*. Delahay was cognizant of the weak Democratic position in Kansas and threw his support to the formation of the Topeka Free-State government in the spring of 1856, although retaining his position as a Douglas Democrat. The effort at Topeka proved to be a failure but it served the purpose of consolidating the various Free-State groups on a political level. These groups were soon to furnish the nucleus of the Republican party in Kansas. Mark W. Delahay was to be one of the founding fathers of Kansas Republicanism. This study will attempt to trace the reasons and motivation behind Delahay's change in politics. One factor, and probably the decisive one, was Delahay's long association and friendship with Abraham Lincoln.

According to Delahay, his acquaintance with Lincoln began in 1835 in Illinois when both were circuit lawyers.¹ A newspaper man in Kansas, Delahay had gained his experience in the Illinois of the 1840's and had conducted a Democratic paper, the *Virginia* (Ill.)

JOHN G. CLARK, native of New Jersey, received his B. A. degree from Park College, Parkville, Mo., in 1954. He is currently a graduate student in history and an assistant instructor of Western civilization at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

1. Mark W. Delahay, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, Daniel H. Newhall, 1939—a limited edition, reprinted from the *Unique Broadside*, issued by M. W. Delahay about 1870), p. [2]. Delahay was also a distant relative of Lincoln's, having married the latter's sixth cousin.



Observer in 1848-1849. About 1840 Delahay was editor of a Whig paper, the Naples (Ill.) *Post*.²

Politically, then, Delahay was both Whig and Democrat during this decade. He participated in the Whig nominating convention of 1846 prior to the congressional elections. According to Delahay, his role was crucial. In 1840 the Whig party came to an agreement within the Springfield congressional district that congressmen were to be chosen by rotation. Abraham Lincoln obtained the position guaranteeing nomination in 1846. In that year another Whig leader attempted to supplant Lincoln. This move was defeated by a series of articles composed by Delahay in Whig papers. Delahay was a member of the five-man committee choosing the permanent officers of the convention and thus in a position to exert some influence over the choice of personnel on the nominating and resolutions committees. Both committees were eventually composed of Lincoln's partisans. Furthermore, Lincoln had in January, 1846, expressed doubt as to his receiving the Cass county vote. Delahay was delegate from Cass county and in November, 1845, had been active in Lincoln's interest. Much to Lincoln's surprise, Cass county was delivered for Lincoln,³ at least partially as a result of Delahay's efforts. According to Delahay ". . . in a letter Mr. Lincoln did me the high honor of ascribing his success to my efforts."⁴ Delahay was, perhaps unknowingly, cultivating a future patron for his political wares.

Elections under the Topeka constitution, which Delahay had aided in constructing, were held in January, 1856. Charles Robinson and W. Y. Roberts were elected governor and lieutenant governor; and Delahay was named representative to congress.⁵ The Free-State government organized in March, 1856, and elected James H. Lane and Andrew H. Reeder as senators from Kansas.

Territorial comment on Delahay's nomination and election was generally favorable. The Lawrence *Herald of Freedom* accepted Delahay as a Douglas Democrat who would serve to make the ticket popular in "those districts of Kansas where freedom is not regarded as *infinitely* preferable to slavery, but is weighed in the

2. Franklin W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois 1814-1879* (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, v. 6, Springfield, 1910), pp. 258, 345.

3. Donald W. Riddle, *Lincoln Runs for Congress* (Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Ill., Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1948), pp. 154-156.

4. Delahay, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

5. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 29, 1855, January 19, 1856. On December 29 the *Herald* cited Robert Klotz and M. F. Conway as his competitors in the Lawrence convention of December, 1855. Delahay ran unopposed in the elections. On the evening of December 22, 1855, Proslavery groups from Missouri invaded Delahay's Leavenworth office, destroyed it, and threw his printing press into the Missouri river.

balance of political expediency, and found to be rather more desirable, if anything, to the peculiar infamy of the South."⁶

Sometime shortly after the Topeka legislature adjourned, Lane and Delahay left Kansas and traveled eastward. A biographer of Lane has indicated that Delahay was present at the Cincinnati Democratic National convention in June, 1856.⁷ However, John Speer, contemporary of Lane and Delahay, and biographer of the former, reported a conversation with Delahay stating that Lane and Delahay both campaigned for Fremont in 1856. Allegedly, the Republican party invited Delahay and Lane to New England "for an assault on Democratic Connecticut."⁸

It is certain that Delahay was in Washington, D. C., in July, 1856. In a letter to Governor Robinson and Lane, Delahay reported that Governor Shannon was on his way to Kansas with express instructions from Buchanan to arrest and punish "any and all persons that may take part in the organization of the Independent State Govt. . . ."⁹

Delahay's forebodings were turned into actualities in July. Governor Robinson had been arrested in May, 1856, and then came the dispersion of the Free-State legislature. Armed parties of both Free-State and Proslavery men roamed the territory with occasional meetings and skirmishes. A new governor, John W. Geary, arrived replacing the dismissed Governor Shannon. In October elections were held for representatives to the territorial legislature and on the question of calling a convention to form a state constitution. The Free-State men boycotted the elections and the question was affirmatively answered.

Where was M. W. Delahay during these momentous times? As the *Illinois State Register* put it, "one Mark W. Delahay, sometime general loafer from Kansas, shrieks for freedom at a Republican meeting at Carlinville."¹⁰ Delahay was on the stump in Illinois campaigning for Fremont. One can imagine that Delahay, as a bona fide Kansan, stumping for a party based on anti-slavery principles

6. *Ibid.*

7. Wendell H. Stephenson, *The Political Career of General James H. Lane* (Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, v. 3 [1930]), p. 61.

8. John Speer, *Life of Gen. James H. Lane, "the Liberator of Kansas"* (Garden City, Kan., 1897), p. 108.

9. Mark W. Delahay to General Robinson, Colonel Lane and others, Washington, D. C., February 16, 1856.—"Robinson Papers," Mss. division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka (hereafter cited as K. S. H. S.). Delahay from the beginning of the Topeka movement had expressed doubt as to its legality, stating that "the power of a Territorial Government ceases only by an act of the body which created it."—*Kansas Territorial Register*, Leavenworth, December 22, 1855.

10. *Illinois State Register*, Springfield, October 18, 1856, quoted in Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (4 vols., Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1928), v. 4, p. 56.

and advocating the admission of "Bleeding Kansas" as a free state, made full use of his oratorical powers. The 1,300,000 votes garnered by the Republicans in the nation could not have failed to impress Delahay. Flexibility and willingness to advance with the times were characteristics of Delahay throughout this amorphous period. He was not yet ready to make a final political commitment but when he did it would be the right one.

Lincoln's stature as a Republican leader was on the rise in Illinois and Delahay probably possessed the necessary political astuteness to recognize this trend. In fact, one biographer of Lincoln has asserted that during the entire territorial period Delahay was merely the echo of Lincoln in Kansas. This same authority referred to Delahay as a "dissolute Illinois attorney" who was "among the broken-down politicians, unsuccessful lawyers, and failures in business who . . . went to the new Territories for 'another chance.'" ¹¹ Although Delahay may have been in touch with Lincoln during the earlier territorial period, the former's forthright stand on the Kansas-Nebraska act and its correlative principle, popular sovereignty, seems to invalidate such a conclusion.¹² Delahay perceived that the advocacy of a Democratic position in Kansas was of little value in terms of popular support. However, he remained, at least outwardly, until the presidential campaign of 1856, a faithful exponent of Democracy. In explaining Delahay's position, it seems reasonable to conclude that since Lincoln and the Republican party did not prove themselves nationally until 1856, a sudden switch of politics would have been premature and could have resulted in political suicide.

The year 1857 opened inauspiciously for Free-Staters and Republicans of all shades. In March the supreme court announced the Dred Scott decision which actually destroyed the basic principle upon which the Republican party had organized, that of recognizing congressional authority over slavery in the territories. The Republican *bete noire*, Slavocracy, was stirring aggressively.

In Kansas the Proslavery territorial legislature had issued a call for a June election of delegates to a constitutional convention, which framed, in October, a constitution legalizing slavery. During the same month the Free-State party captured decisive majori-

11. *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 308, 309.

12. *Kansas Territorial Register*, July 7, 28, August 4, 11, 1855. See, also, last issue of *Register*, December 22, 1855, for Delahay's effort to keep any mention of slavery out of the Topeka constitution. See, also, *Daily Kansas Freeman*, Topeka, October 26, 1855, for Delahay's resolution introduced in the Topeka convention supporting the Kansas-Nebraska act.



Mark William Delahay
(1817-1879)

Early Leavenworth publisher and a friend of Abraham Lincoln. Copy of a painting in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

ties in both houses of the territorial legislature. The passage of the Lecompton constitution led to the famous, or infamous, Lecompton debates in congress with Douglas combating the Buchanan machine in an effort to defeat the bill admitting Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. Passing in the senate, the bill failed in the house and in April the house approved the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment providing for resubmission of the constitution to a popular vote.¹³

Delahay's reaction to these events is illuminated in a letter to Douglas in April, 1858:

Last night the Steamer brought us the glad news of the defeat of Lecompton in the House (or rather what we regard as equal to a defeat) . . . the people collected on the Hill by the Eldridge House, Drum & fife and a torch light procession with loud calls for me, and the occasion forced me from my *sick room* . . . to speak to the vast crowd. I could not do less than my *duty to you* and *Crittenden* . . . I desire to assure you that all past differences between you and me upon political views, I am disposed as much to regret as I am to forgive; . . . you [I] am at your command whenever I can testify my greatfulness to you.¹⁴

Then came the compromise English bill and the rejection of the Lecompton constitution in August, 1858, by Kansas voters. Delahay's position, a study in equivocation, is expressed in a letter to Abraham Lincoln in June, 1858. In regard to political parties in Kansas, Delahay stated that:

. . . there are some here who are trying to get up an organization of a Douglas party, but I am oppose[d] to any such folly . . . & again there are others who are trying to inaugurate a Republican party which I also regard as bad policy . . . and to which I am opposed, at least until we become a State; . . . I have today offered to Bet an even Bet of \$100 that you will be the next Senator from Ills.¹⁵

The definitive test of strength between Lincoln and Douglas was yet to come. When it came, Delahay was to be on hand to play an active, if somewhat unethical, role.

As the summer of 1858 commenced, Delahay's field of activities had moved from Kansas back to Illinois. The contest between Douglas and Lincoln for Douglas' seat in the United States senate

13. In an extra-legal election on the entire constitution, held in January, 1858, it was rejected 10,226 to 161.

14. Mark W. Delahay to Stephen A. Douglas, Wyandotte, April 7, 1858.—"Stephen A. Douglas Papers," University of Chicago. Copy in the possession of Dr. Robert W. Johannsen, University of Illinois. Delahay had served with Douglas in the Nauvoo expedition against the Illinois Mormons in 1846.

15. Mark W. Delahay to Abraham Lincoln, Leavenworth, June 13, 1858.—"Lincoln Papers," Library of Congress, copy in the possession of Dr. Robert W. Johannsen. See, also, Thomas Ewing, Jr., to R. B. Mitchell, December 15, 1858.—"Ewing Papers," K. S. H. S.