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KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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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. Mc-Farland":

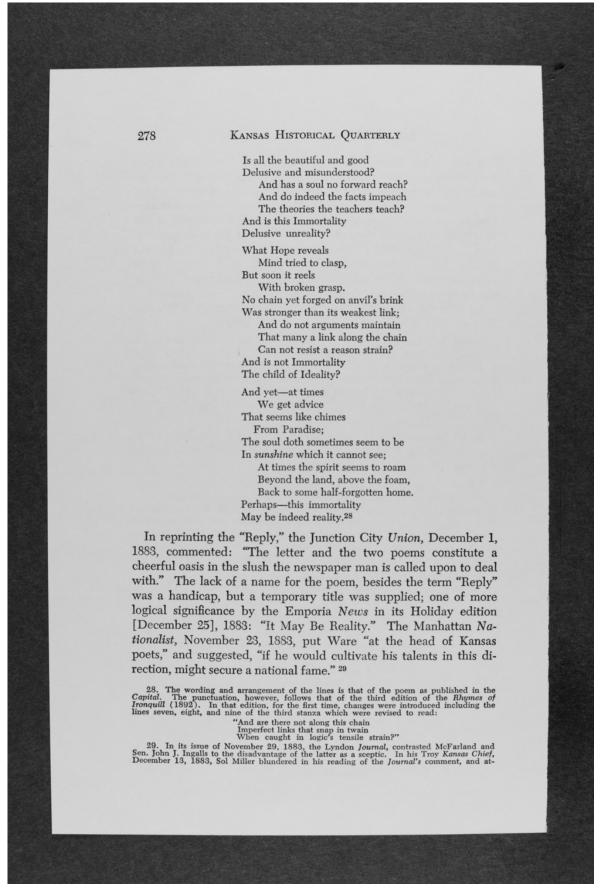
TO THE EDITOR OF THE CAPITAL:

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?









IRONQUILL'S "WASHERWOMAN'S SONG"

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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.

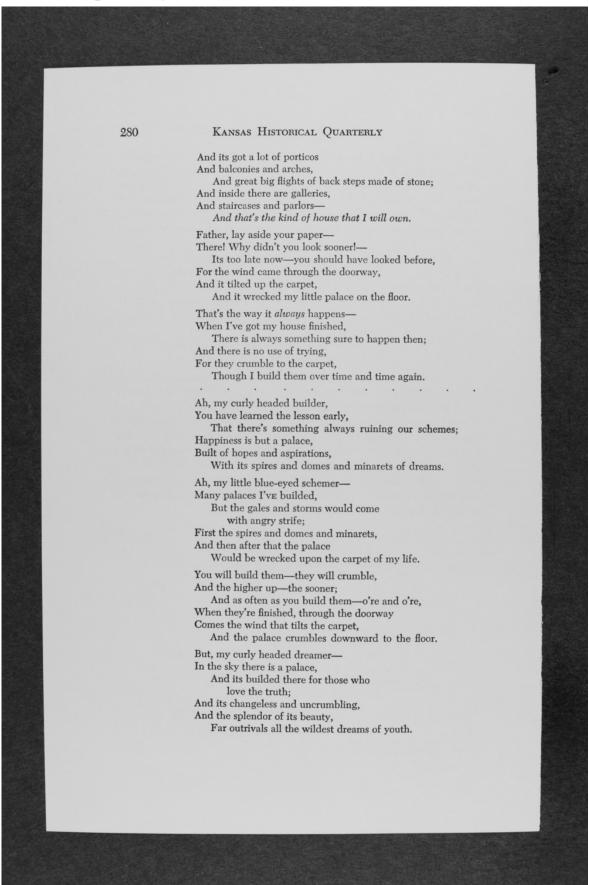
Then its got a little 'zervatory Rising from the corner, Where a person stands and looks out at the sky. And its roof is very pointed,

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.







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IRONOUILL'S "WASHERWOMAN'S SONG"

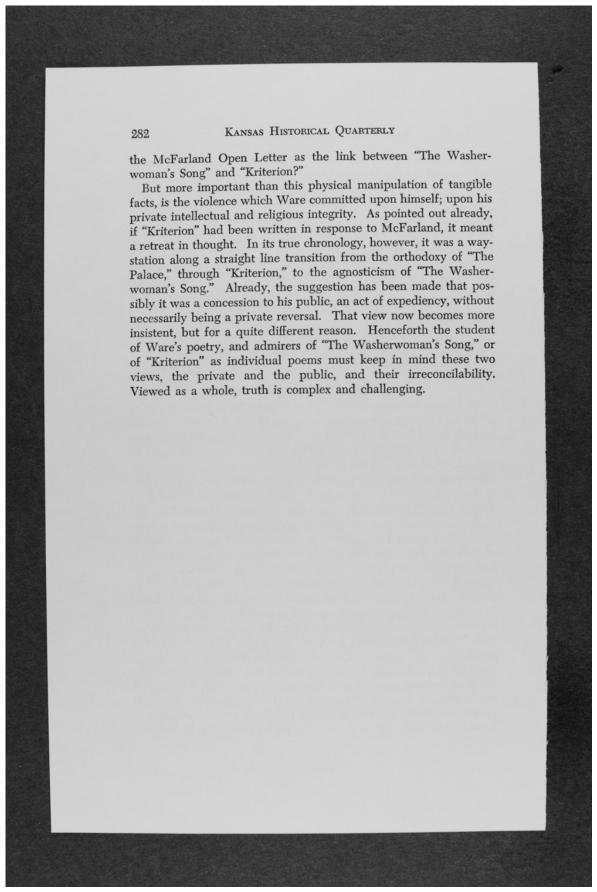
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The contrast betwen the texts of "The Palace" and of the "Kriterion" is made the more sharp by the titles supplied for the latter by the Emporia News, "It May Be Reality." Ware had reversed himself once, and had gone part way apparently in a return, 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 Mc-Farland'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









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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.

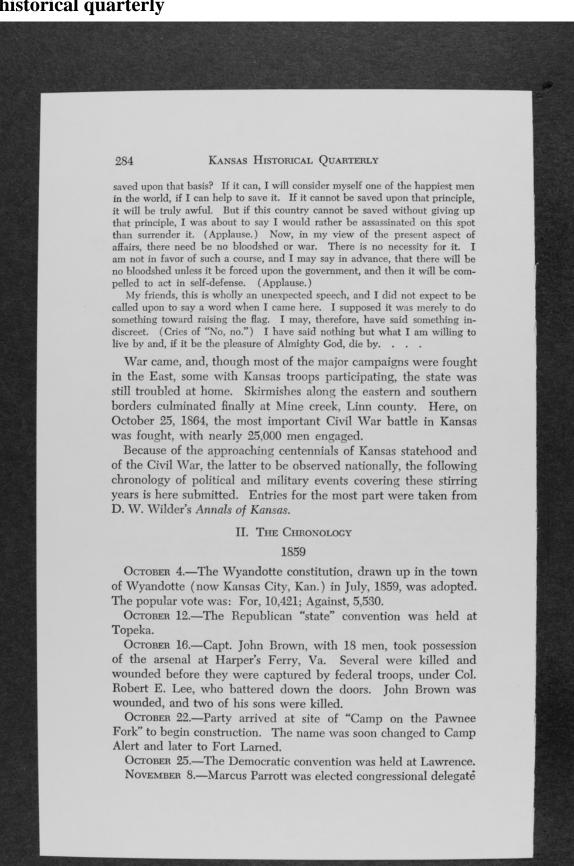
Mr. Lincoln's appearance at Philadelphia was reported in the press in part as follows:

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

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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 dealth 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 Lecompton. 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.





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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.

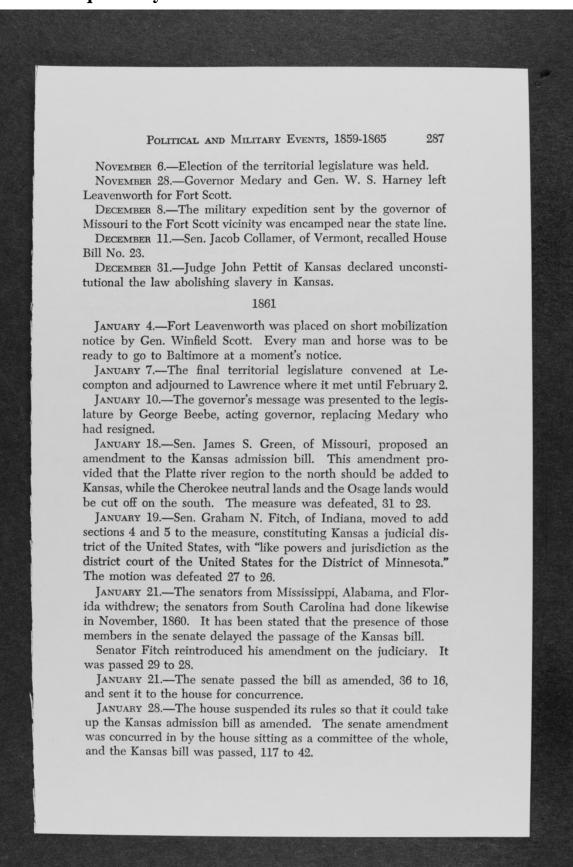
May 16.—The house bill was reported back from committee without recommendations.

May 29.—Camp Alert was renamed Fort Larned.

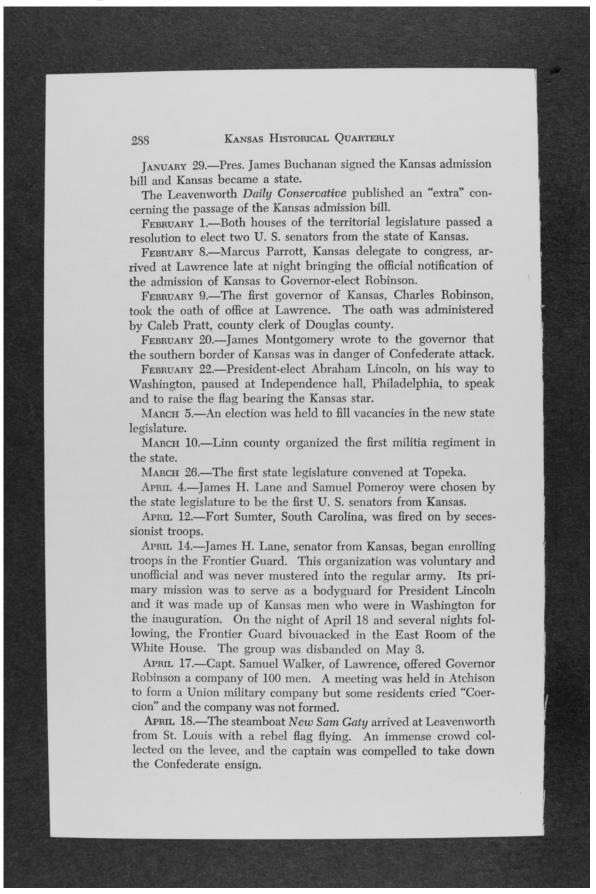
June 5.—Sen. Edward Wade moved to reconsider the bill, but the motion was defeated 32 to 26.

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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POLITICAL AND MILITARY EVENTS, 1859-1865 289 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 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 Leaven-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." 19-9545





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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.

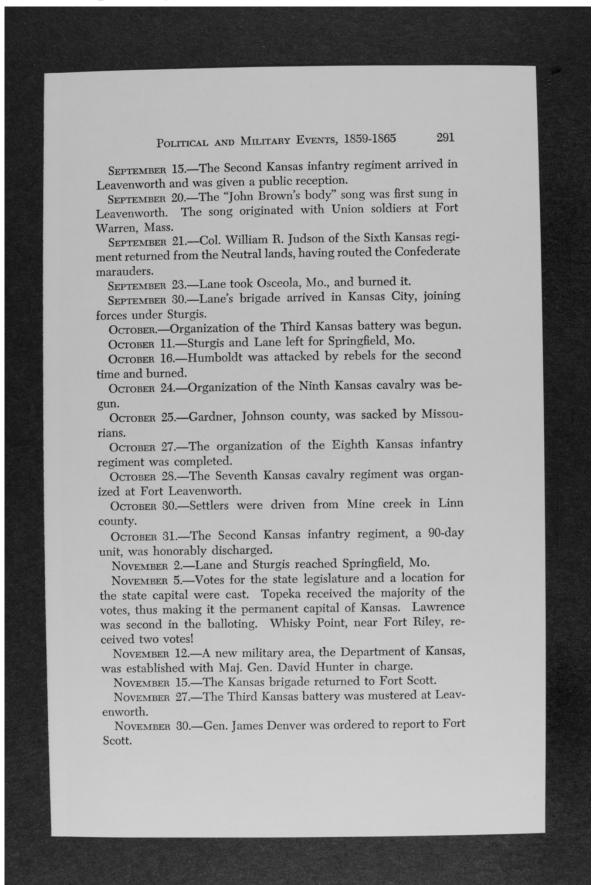
September 7.—Atchison was in danger of invasion by rebels from Missouri. Five companies went to her assistance from Jefferson, Jackson, and Doniphan counties.

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

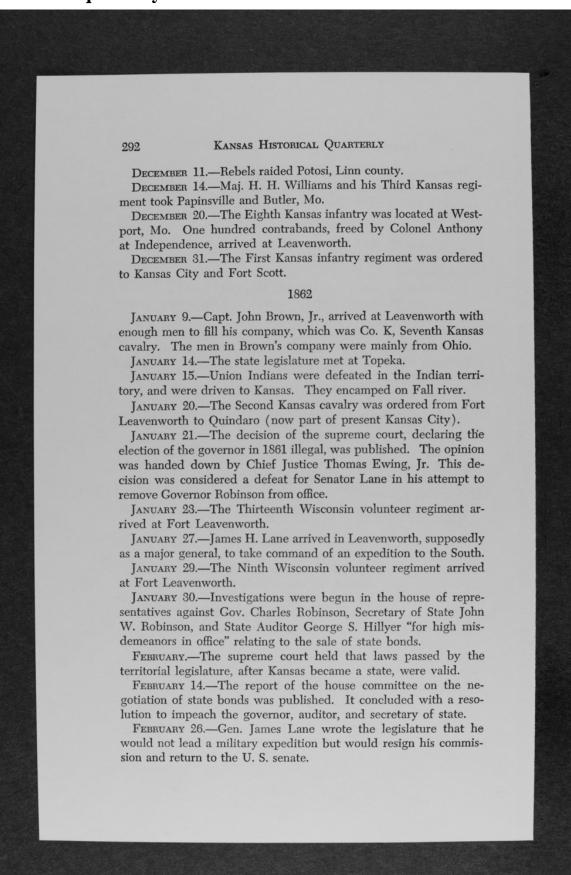
SEPTEMBER 10.—The Sixth Kansas cavalry was mustered into service at Fort Scott. It had been organized in July.

SEPTEMBER 12.—Humboldt was sacked by rebels.













POLITICAL AND MILITARY EVENTS, 1859-1865

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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.

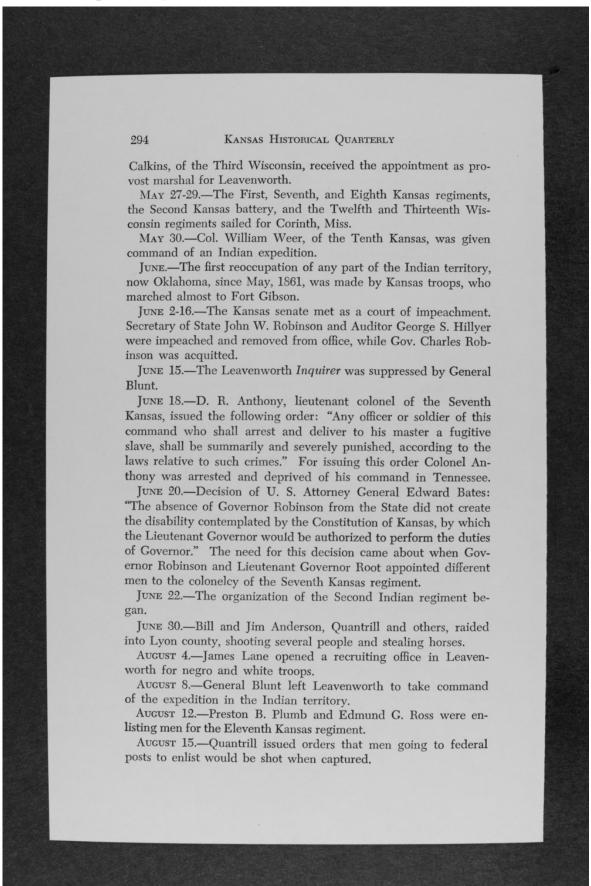
The First Indian regiment was organized at Le Roy, by Robert Furnas.

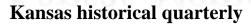
May 8.—Congress appropriated \$100,000 to pay the Lane brigade.

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.









POLITICAL AND MILITARY EVENTS, 1859-1865

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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.





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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.



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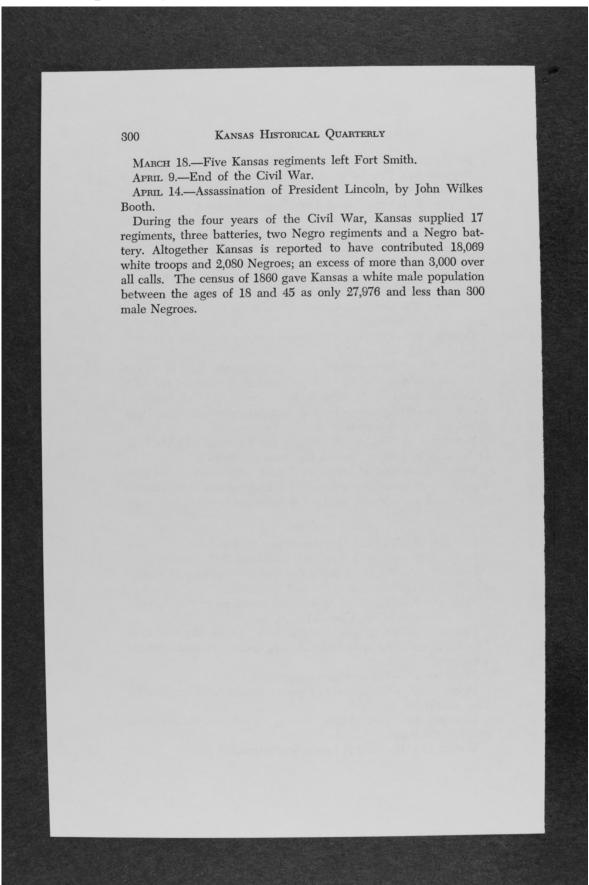
KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY 298 June 17.—The First Kansas infantry regiment was mustered out at Fort Leavenworth, with the exception of two companies of veterans who were mustered at Bovina, Miss., to form the Veteran battalion, First infantry. July 2.—Capt. William Matthews began to raise a Colored bat-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 mas-September 8.—The Republican state convention was held at Topeka. September 13.—Republican Union state convention was held at 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 OCTOBER 20.—Blunt moved to Independence, Mo. 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.



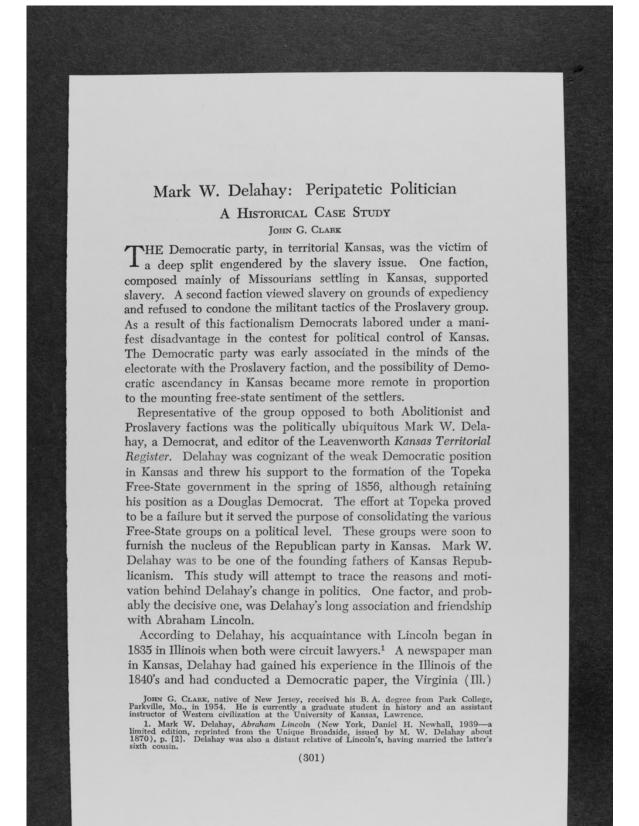
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POLITICAL AND MILITARY EVENTS, 1859-1865 299 Kansas had an estimated 20,000 men under arms. OCTOBER 23.—The Battle of Westport, with General Price's line extending west nearly to the Shawnee Methodist Mission in Kansas. The rebels were defeated and 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. 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 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.













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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

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





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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

bid.
 Wendell H. Stephenson, The Political Career of General James H. Lane (Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, v. 3 [1930]), p. 61.
 John Speer, Life of Gen. James H. Lane, "the Liberator of Kansas" (Garden City, Kan., 1897), p. 108.
 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 Register, Leavenworth, December 22, 1855.
 Ullinois State Register, Springfield October 18, 1856, quoted in Albert I. Beveridge.

^{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.



