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THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF BALDWIN CITY, KANSAS

By

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Dedication.

To the good people of Baldwin and vicinity, the author's respect for whom has been strengthened by this study.

PREFACE.

Much of the attention of sociologists has been directed toward the larger communities. In our cities the social organization is more complex, extremes of type are more apparent, and social studies have proved most valuable in clarifying ideas concerning society, and in leading to remedies for existing evils. But the rapid growth of our cities, with the attendant shifting of population, has a tendency to obscure much in a study of the social mind because "so often in a large community development of the social mind has only just begun." (Gillin in *Am. J. Soc.*, Mar., 1912, p. 645)

Attention to the problems of the smaller communities and the rural districts is now widespread and its importance recognized. "It is believed by many careful observers that in all the small towns and in our rural communities the elements of the chief social problems exist." ^(Ibid., p. 652) And the tracing of the changes in the social mind should be the more easily accomplished because of the smaller population. Again, the small community is more typically American than the large city. Less than half our population in 1910 lived in cities of more than 2,500 population.

The attempt is made in the following pages to set forth a history and discussion of the changes in the social mind at Baldwin City, Kansas.

SOURCES.

A complete enumeration of the sources used for this study cannot be given by the author. A part of the material has simply been "absorbed" during the time when he has lived in the community and made it an object of study. An earnest attempt has been made however to keep an open mind toward the work, and to keep all data accurate.

The following sources were especially valuable:

Andreas, County History of Kansas.
Minutes of the Kansas and the South Kansas Confer-
ferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
Catalogues of Baker University.
Annals of Baker University.
Newspaper Files, in particular "The Freeman's Champ-
" ion", and "The Baldwin Ledger."
Interviews with residents, especially early settlers.
Reports of the State Board of Agriculture.
The United States Census Reports.

Of these sources, the personal interviews have been unquestionably the most interesting. Some of the most valuable information was secured from those who did not know the purpose of the author. In many cases, direct quotations have been made. Since the names of those quoted have been withheld in most cases, it is felt that no confidence has been violated.

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CHAPTER I. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND ENDOWMENT.

The village of Baldwin City, in Douglas County, northeastern Kansas, is located almost at the crest of the rather high divide that acts as a watershed between the Kansas River system and the region of smaller streams flowing toward the southeast. Of the latter streams, the ^{ar}Marias des Cygnes is the most important in Baldwin's vicinity. The crest of the divide is about a mile north from the town, and several small streams, known as branches of Coal (or Cole) Creek, take their rise at the foot of the more abrupt northern slope. The surface water in the immediate vicinity of Baldwin is drained to the south by a number of small creeks, the higher part of the village appearing as a sort of shield with one of these streams at either edge, their confluence being about a half mile beyond the southern limits of the town. There are no streams of any importance for some distance. The nearest point of the Wakarusa, the largest tributary of the Kansas River found in Douglas County, is approximately ten miles to the north. Tauy Creek (sometimes spelled Tawa) is formed by the union of smaller streams, and at a distance of about eleven miles to the south of Baldwin it is of sufficient size for boating, many camping parties from the town visiting the place every summer. The town is about fifty miles southwest from the

point where the Kansas River flows into the Missouri. The elevation of Baldwin City is 1057 feet; of Lawrence, located on the Kansas River, sixteen miles to the north, is 822 feet; of Ottawa, on the ^{at} Marias des Cygnes twelve miles to the south, is 891 feet; and of Kansas City, Kansas, at the mouth of the Kansas River, is 760 feet.

The rainfall of the region is usually adequate for fair production of crops. Occasionally a summer deficient in rainfall, or an excessively wet month causes much loss. Ottawa's minimum rainfall was 23.56 inches in 1911. The year of greatest precipitation was 1915. For that year the Weather Bureau reports 51.61 inches at Lawrence, and 58.35 at Ottawa. The mean average annual rainfall at Lawrence for the years 1868 to 1908 inclusive was 36.63 inches. At Ottawa for 1896 to 1908 inclusive the mean was 39.91 inches. More than two-thirds of this precipitation comes in the six months from April to September inclusive.

In summarizing the data gathered with reference to climatic conditions for Kansas, the United States Weather Bureau makes the following report concerning temperature: "The maximum temperature frequently reaches 100 degrees in July and August, less frequently in June and September, and occasionally in May. The minimum temperature frequently falls below zero in January and February, occasionally in December, but seldom in March or November." The highest

recorded temperature at Ottawa in the years 1896 to 1908 inclusive was 110 degrees; the lowest was 28 degrees below zero. The latest killing frost at Ottawa has averaged at April 20th, the first killing frost of autumn coming on the average at October 15th.

The soil in this part of Kansas is residual in origin, and "it has been formed largely from the weathering of limestone, sandstone, and shale." ^{Ref.} In 1876 the State Board of Agriculture reported as follows: "The general surface of the county (Douglas) is undulating. Of the land, 20% is bottom, 80% up land, 6% forest, and 94% prairie. The average width of the bottoms is one mile. The width of the timber belts ranges from a few rods to a mile, and the varieties of timber are walnut, ash, hackberry, oak, elm, cottonwood, etc. Coal is supposed to underlie the whole county. The thickness of the vein is from 12 to 20 inches and at a depth of from ten feet below the surface downward; quality poor and not much developed as yet. There is plenty of building stone of fine quality in various localities." ^{Page} In the report for 1890 the following additions are made to the list of trees: hickory, linn, boxelder, and sycamore; and it is stated that fire clay exists in small quantities in Palmyra township (in which Baldwin is located). A present-day farmer expressed the following opinion as to the soil in the vicinity of Baldwin: "The soil in this neighborhood is

'patchy'. It is thin in spots, in places it is quite sandy, and in other places there is a fine quality of limestone soil. In the immediate vicinity of Baldwin the soil is not particularly good -- it is much better three miles to the north, and there is a fine strip four miles or so to the east. The soil near Worden to the west is more fertile also than that adjoining Baldwin." Because of the soil and climatic conditions it was in the earliest days of settlement "the opinion of every nine men out of ten that neither trees nor fruit could be successfully grown in Kansas." (First Biennial Report, State Board of Agriculture.) The soil was found fairly well adapted to fruits and to forest trees however, and old residents report more timber at present than when they arrived, due to the checking of prairie fires which earlier destroyed much timber, and to the development of the woods conditions through tree planting. The report of the Kansas State Horticultural Society for 1912 indicates that Douglas County had 99,000 apple trees of bearing age, 10,000 pear trees, 39,000 peaches, 4,000 plums, 6,000 cherry, 350 quince and 400 apricot. There were reported also 10,000 street trees, 7,000 acres of wild timber, and 27 acres of cultivated timber.

Water is found at varying depths. About three miles to the southeast of the townsite are numerous springs, and from this source the city gets its water supply. The water

in the wells of the town stands at about thirty feet on the average. In the Andreas compilation of Kansas History, it is stated that good water is found, taking the county as a whole, at a depth of twenty-five feet.

The locality is high, well drained, temperature and rainfall are fair for crop production, timber and stone are fairly abundant, and the soil, though not superior, is of fair fertility.

CHAPTER II. AGGREGATION AND SOCIAL ORIGINS.

In 1803 the Louisiana Territory came into the possession of the United States. Extending from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Gulf of Mexico to an indefinite boundary west of Lake Superior, it furnished a vast area rich in natural resources tempting the ambitious settler from the East. The increase in population east of the Mississippi, due to a large European immigration, and the lure of the fertile fields in the new territory, were quite naturally effective in bringing a large number of homeseekers into the region. In 1821 Missouri was admitted into the Union, and Arkansas, Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin were added before 1850. The influx into the western country was sufficient, in the ten years preceding 1860, to move the center of population west one-third of the distance across Pennsylvania. In the years prior to 1854, when Kansas was opened to settlement, it was quite natural that the homeseekers who did not find the most favorable opportunities in Missouri, Iowa, and Arkansas, looked to the region bordering on the west as next desirable for settlement.

Other influences were centering attention on Kansas. In the time before the homeseeker entered the region, the government explorer and trader were there. In 1806-7,

Lieut. Zebulon Pike made an expedition as far west as the Rockies, crossing Kansas on the trip. In 1819-20, Major J.C. Long made a topographical survey of the lower portion of the Kansas River. In 1821 Mexico achieved her independence, and trade sprang up at once between Santa Fe and the stations at the mouth of the Kansas River. From 1822 to 1843 the Old Santa Fe Trail, following the divide across eastern Kansas and thence southwest to the Mexican city, was the scene of much commercial activity. The value of the merchandise transported annually over the trail varied from \$12,000 to \$250,000, and in 1843 the traffic amounted to \$450,000. The number of men engaged in hauling was in almost every year more than one hundred, in each of the two years of greatest traffic amounting to about three hundred fifty. In 1843 Santa Anna, president of Mexico, closed the frontier custom houses, and the trade along the trail was temporarily checked, but the highway established continued to serve as a gateway to the western country.

The discovery of gold in California and the movement of the "Forty-Niners" through the region also added much to the knowledge concerning the country. In the Andreas compilation of county histories of Kansas is found this statement: "California emigrants, passing over this route, were particularly struck with the beauty of the scenery and the magnificence of the view in the vicinity of Lawrence."

In 1849 and 1850 it is estimated that 90,000 people passed through Kansas on their way to California.

Another and much more important factor, and one influencing most directly the early settlements in the territory, was the slave issue. As a national problem the slave question had for several decades been one of growing importance, and one of greater and greater contention. When the time came for Kansas to be thrown open for settlement, the South made vigorous efforts to enroll her as a slave-holding state, while the people in New England and other sections of the North were equally determined that slavery should not be permitted. The rapidity of the settlement, the nature of the "squatters", the groups formed for aggression and protection -- all were decisively influenced by the pressing national issue, were a result of the popular feeling of the time.

The leading general factors having important influence in the early settlement of the region have thus been indicated to be the general spread of population westward as population increased in the eastern part of the country, the traffic carried on with the cities of northern Mexico over the Old Santa Fe Trail, the rush to California in 1849, and the desire of each faction to the slave question that it should control the new territory.

Prior to May 15, 1854, the region was occupied by the Shawnee Indians, and white people were not permitted to

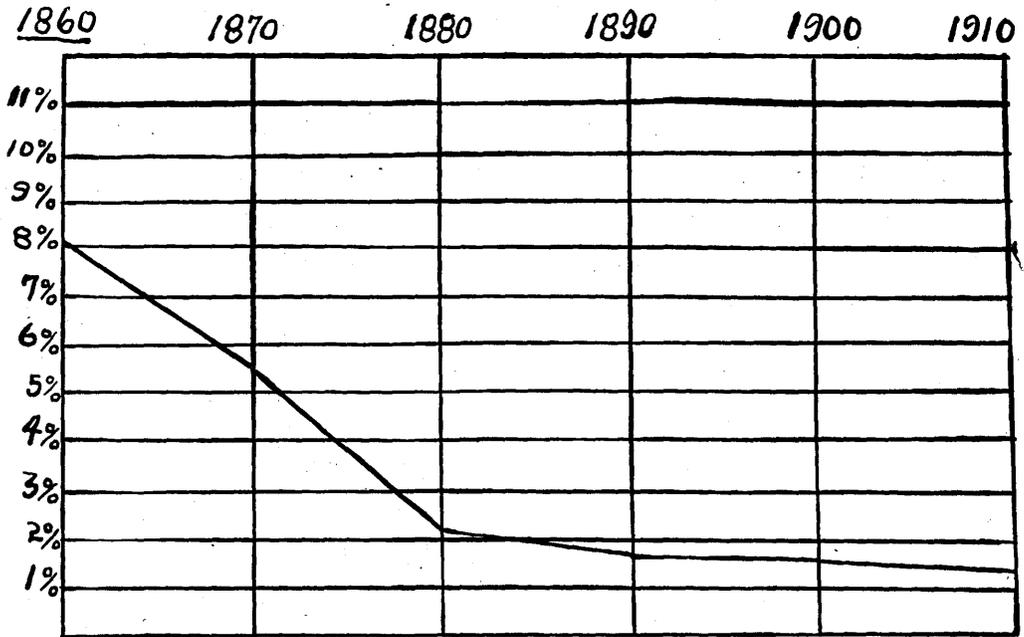
settle in the reservation. The treaty setting aside this territory for them was drawn up in 1825. In May, 1854, a new treaty with the Shawnees was effected, and they were limited to smaller territory, chiefly in what is now Johnson County, Kansas. On May 30, 1854, after nearly five months of debate, the Kansas-Nebraska Act became a law. By this act, introduced in Congress by Stephen A. Douglas, the Missouri Compromise was abrogated and the principle of "squatter sovereignty" was adopted. Slavery was not to be legislated into, or excluded from the territory by Congressional action, but the people were to be left "perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way." The scenes which followed were ones of confusion and uncertainty historically. In the prefatory note to "Kansas", L.W.Spring quotes this story: Theodore Parker in 1856, at the anniversary of the Anti-Slavery Society, said concerning the Kansas business, "I know of no transaction in human history which has been covered up with such abundant lying, from the death of Ananias and Sapphira."

Settlers began to take claims at once following the opening of the territory. The first actual settler in Douglas County was, it is thought, a large athletic frontiersman from Parke County, Indiana, named Kibbee. In July, 1854, Kibbee was living in a cabin at the crest of what is now known as the "Big Hill", a little more than a mile north

of Baldwin. The claim is made that the second actual settler in the county was R. H. Pierson, whose homestead was taken in May, and which lay to the southwest of Kibbee's home. Pierson's claim was less than a half mile north of what is now Baldwin. Several others took up claims within the year, but the number was quite small in comparison with those arriving in the vicinity of Lawrence. In July, 1854, emigrants were arriving at Lawrence "in scores", and "tents were stretched all over the prairies, cabins going up in all directions." (Andreas, County History of Kansas, pp.309-10.) The settlers in that vicinity were quite largely New Englanders, aided in their coming by the Emigrant Aid Society. Their sympathies were strongly anti-slavery. A correspondent of the Liberty (Mo.) Tribune in 1855 said that "Lawrence is the resort of about 400 abolitionists." The pioneers with the more decided anti-slavery views seem to have settled quite largely at Lawrence, and those in other sections were usually less radical. The desire for homes -- for new land -- was of greater importance in the particular community we are studying than were abolition views. As a pioneer from Illinois who settled in the vicinity in 1855 said, "Our idea when we started was to get land and homes. On the way our party passed through Missouri, and the people there were very sour and hostile. By the time we got to Kansas we were ready to fight for the

free state cause." A Virginia family found the land too well taken and too expensive in Missouri, and came to the community in 1857. Members of the family fought with the Union troops in the Civil War, but the slavery question was of little importance in causing their settlement. A Wisconsin and an Ohio family, among the early comers, had practically the same experience. One man, rather peaceably free-state in his sympathies, tried to establish a home among some southern sympathizers further east, but was forced to leave a very suitable claim when his views were discovered, coming west to this vicinity where he found the settlers friendly. The homesteaders of the region, and the men engaged in business in the small trading posts, were mainly Northern in their sympathies, but were not aggressive. At the trading stations they strove to maintain the appearance of neutrality, because of their exposure to attack. As the breach between the factions -- the "Border Warfare" -- came on, the settlers organized decisively for the free-state cause. The community had a location which involved it quite thoroughly in the early history of the state. Spring says, "Geographically, the capital events of Kansas history in the territorial days covered a narrow space. With Lawrence for a center, the revolution of a radius thirty miles in length would include them all."

Although claims were taken here and there throughout



PER CENT. OF KANSAS POPULATION
RESIDING IN DOUGLAS COUNTY.

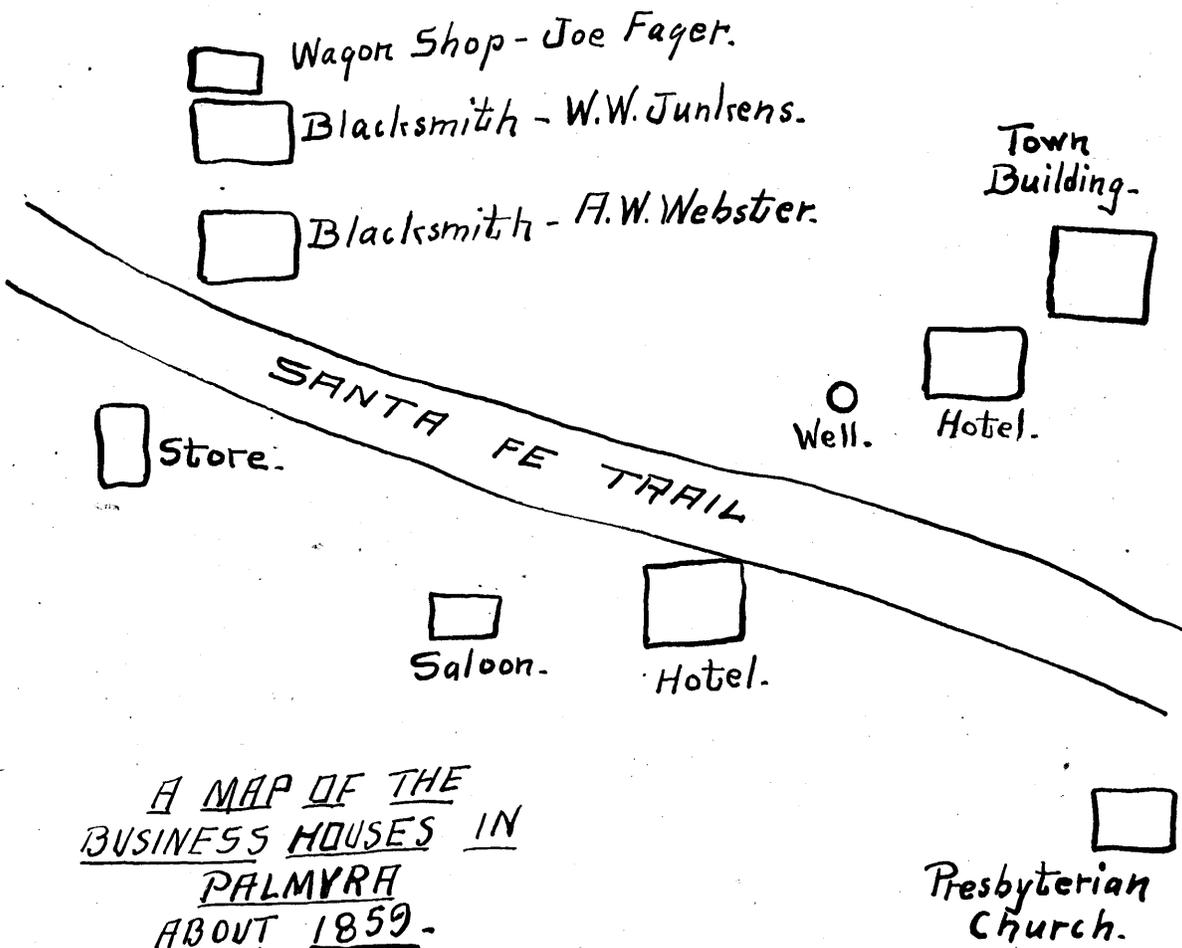
the region, trading posts were of course early localized. The chief centers of distribution for provisions and of location for mechanics and such professional men as came early to the vicinity were Palmyra and Prairie City.

Palmyra was surveyed and laid out by the Palmyra Town Company in 1855. The site comprised 320 acres, parts of sections 27 and 34, township 14, range 20. There were twelve members of the town company. The chief reason for the particular location of the town seems to have been the idea that it was well situated to become a large trading center. Near the southern limit of the townsite there was a point where the wagon trains over the Santa Fe Trail had been stopping for repairs. A well, conveniently located and furnishing good water, and some neighboring slopes furnishing good pasturage for the oxen while the repairs were being made, were conditions favorable for a village. Old settlers recall that there were two blacksmith shops and a wagon maker's shop, and that these did a thriving business. One of the blacksmiths of old Palmyra, who began work there in 1859, says that horses, mules and oxen were shod by the hundreds in the shops during territorial days. For the oxen, on account of the split hoof, shoes in two sections were used. Much of the work was the fitting of iron tires to the wheels of the great wagons. The hind wheels of these cumbersome vehicles were about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in

diameter, the tires were $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and the thickness of the tires ranged from three-fourths of an inch to one inch. To repair one of these wagons it was often necessary to remove the bed, and to accomplish this the wagon had to be overturned. For this purpose six or seven men were required. One early resident says that buffalo were sometimes used for hauling. Another's most vivid recollection of the traffic along the trail is of the cries of the Mexicans, and of the rattling of the lynch-pins in the cumbersome wagons, which resembled somewhat large prairie "schooners", and sometimes formed trains about a mile in length.

The trail traffic seems to have been the chief reason for Palmyra's early existence, and hopes were entertained that the town would come to be one of the chief cities of the state, situated as it was on the leading thoroughfare. The railroads, however, when they entered the state, followed the river bottoms, not the divide, and Palmyra was never more than a mere village. In May, 1856, the town had only four or five families. (Spring, "Kansas", pp. 153-4.) A postoffice was established in 1856, and the most that early settlers remember of the business houses is that there were a store, two hotels, three shops, a town building, and for a time a saloon. (See sketch map of early Palmyra.)

Prairie City's location was not due to its situation



A MAP OF THE
BUSINESS HOUSES IN
PALMYRA
ABOUT 1859.

Sketched from description
given by three
early settlers.

with respect to a thoroughfare. It was rather due to the enterprise of some men who thought they saw a possible location for a thriving town. Prairie City was about two miles off the trail and lay to the southwest of Palmyra. The surrounding region was fairly fertile, there was in the immediate vicinity good water and stone to be used as building material. In numbers it soon surpassed Palmyra, and there are far more records bearing on its early history. An insight into the town's early history and conditions is given in the columns of its newspaper, "The Freeman's Champion." The first issue was on June 25, 1857. A column of fine print advertising appeared in this paper over the name of the Prairie City Town Company. The scenery, the soil, the advantages of stone and timber for building, and the educational facilities were set forth. There were advertisements for eight Prairie City individuals or firms -- a general store, a blacksmith, a contractor, two doctors, a land agency firm, a surveyor, and the County Register of Deeds. By Feb. 11, 1858, there were advertisements for nineteen Prairie City firms, and in addition eighteen advertisements from Lawrence. In the issue of Sept. 16, 1858, (the last number available), there were advertisements for fourteen Prairie City firms or individuals, three columns of New York advertising material (books, patent medicine, etc.); and twenty one Lawrence advertisements. The

number of advertisements for local firms would seem to indicate that for a time the town gave some real promise. The outside advertising would indicate perhaps a fair circulation, an enterprising editor, and a community in which there were possibilities of profitable trade. The town's greatest prosperity was in 1857 and 1858. The chief reason for its leadership among the large number of villages -- many of them "paper cities" -- which had "booms" in the vicinity during the earliest years, was the ability and enterprise of the town leaders. S. S. Prouty, a strong free-state man, and James H. Lane, a leader in the Kansas conflict and later one of the first senators from the state, were among the strongest influences for the town. During the first six months of 1858, Lane was the president of the town company. Mr. Prouty was a man of newspaper experience before coming to Kansas (or "Kanzas", as it is spelled in the "Champion"), his articles -- especially those on slavery and the political topics of the time -- were forcefully written, and after leaving the locality he established a newspaper at Topeka which later became the Topeka Daily Capital. The "Champion", although only forty numbers were published in the fifteen months of its existence, was alike a cause and an expression of the town boom. In June, 1857, Prairie City is said by the "Champion" to have consisted of "four insignificant log cabins", and the first issues of the newspaper were printed in a tent. In six months thereafter the newspaper was printed

in a tent. In six months there were "nearly forty good substantial buildings", and eight of the more important structures were "of stone." Early in 1858 a bill for chartering the Prairie City and State Line Rail Road Company passed the legislature. At a meeting of the directors of the Leavenworth and Fort Gibson R. R. Co. held at Garnett in 1858, "the headquarters of the company was located at Prairie City." This road was later constructed, and, improved and taken over by the Santa Fe, is the present railway serving the community.

Prairie City then began to suffer decline, the newspaper was discontinued in Sept., 1858, the educational facilities of which much advertising capital had been made dropped from sight, and in a few years the town was little more than a name. Its decline was due to the departure of the leaders, and the appearance and growth of a new village, Baldwin City.

Palmyra and Prairie City were the only towns in the very early history of the vicinity which deserve more than mention. Other villages, some really existing but others serving only for speculation, were to be found at every turn; the ones most often mentioned being Brooklyn, Pacific City, and Louisiana.

In the settling of these communities the commercial int-

erest seems to have been the chief factor, with the political issues of the day influencing largely the character of the settlers. Baldwin City, which followed these fore-runners, was founded chiefly for a different purpose.

Among the early settlers in this region were many who were members of the Methodist church. The first sermon by appointment to white residents of the territory of Kansas was preached by William H. Goode, for "ten years a member of Methodist frontier conferences." *(Title page to "Outposts of Zion, by W.H. Goode.)* A This sermon was delivered July 9, 1854, at the home of the Indiana immigrant Kibbee aforementioned. A class was organized in July, 1855, by Rev. L. B. Dennis at Palmyra, and for about three years services were held at the residences of the various members. The Kansas and Nebraska Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church convened at Lawrence in October, 1856, (some members bearing arms on account of the border disturbances), made its appointments and transacted other business. Among the resolutions was one favoring education. At the session of the conference the next year, held at Nebraska City, an association of ministers was formed -- The Kansas Educational Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church -- and power was given to establish a school. The Palmyra Town Company purchased a section of land adjoining their town-site on the south, and deeded it to the Association in consideration of their consenting to establish the Methodist

school there. On Feb. 3, 1858, a charter was granted to the Association, from which the following are excerpts:

"That L. B. Dennis, A. Still, C. H. Lovejoy, Ira Blackford, W. J. Piper, T. J. Ferrill, Wm. Butt, N. Taylor, and their associates and successors are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate under the name and title of the Kansas Educational Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

* * It shall be lawful for this Association to locate a university, to be called Baker University, at the town of Palmyra, or within one mile of said town." On Feb. 12, 1858, a second charter was granted by the territorial legislature, this one to Baker University, with the provision that "the said institution shall be and hereby is permanently located at Baldwin City, in the Territory of Kansas."

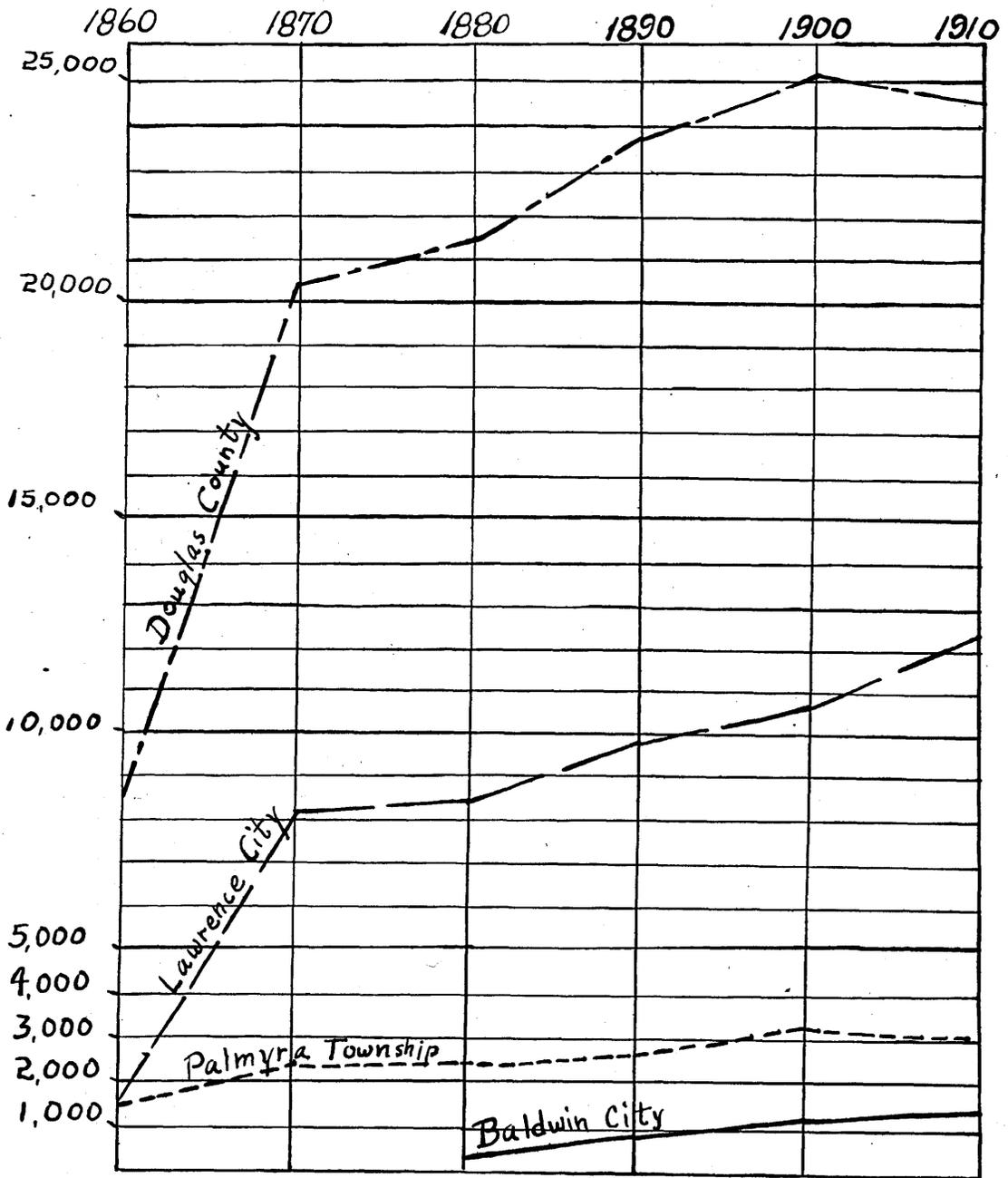
The townsite owned by the Association was named Baldwin City in honor of John Baldwin, a resident of some means who had come from Ohio, and whose son had charge of a private school at Palmyra. It was thought that Mr. Baldwin, because of his means and his interest in education -- he had previously established a college bearing his name at Berea, Ohio -- would do something of material assistance for the new school. However the son, Milton Baldwin, died and was buried in the local cemetery, and Mr. Baldwin's expected gifts did not materialize as he left the town soon for Louisiana. The college had been named Baker University in

honor of Bishop Osman C. Baker, who presided over the 1856 session of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference, at which the educational resolutions opening the way for the establishment of a college were passed.

After the granting of the charters, plans were made for the erection of a building so that the school might open in the fall of 1858. A building of two stories, made of stone, and covered with a temporary roof as it was the plan that a third story should be added later, was constructed. With the opening of the school late in the year, the establishment of some business firms in the vicinity, and the gradual building up of residences, Baldwin City began a slow and steady growth, and the villages of Prairie City and Palmyra began to decline. The educational factor is thus seen to have been the primal cause for the starting of the town.

A survey made by a college student in 1864 gives an account of the business places, indicating the growth of the town to that time. The statement follows: "Seven Dry Goods and Grocery Stores; One Book and Two Drug Stores; One Tin, one Paint, two Carpenter's, two Shoemaker's, and Saddle and Harness Shops; one Waggon Manufactory and repair Shop, one Livery & Feed Stable, Meat Market, two Hotels, two Printing Offices, and a Graded Common School in the prospective. We have also a good flouring mill, and facilities for procuring Lumber. Stone we have convenient and in abundance.

We need Mechanics, Laborers, and Artizans." The census of 1860 assigns a population of 1,516 to the township, and in 1863-4 the college catalogue shows the enrollment in Baker to have been 204.



GRAPH OF POPULATION
DOUGLAS COUNTY, LAWRENCE,
PALMYRA TOWNSHIP, and BALDWIN

CHAPTER III.

SOCIAL ORIGINS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ASSOCIATION.

The economic necessities in the earlier years of the community were among the most important influencing the lives of the settlers, and with these are also to be considered the educational, religious, protective, and recreative interests. Dr. Albion W. Small of the University of Chicago classifies the human interests as those of health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and rightness. The outline as just indicated for this chapter shows that in the main these are the apparent interests in the early history of the community here studied.

On asking the older residents of the community whether there were any evidences in the early years of any division of the people into classes on account of property or wealth, a characteristic answer was given as follows: "Classes? Yes, there was one class, and we all belonged to it. We were all mighty poor." In speaking of the first years of the college's existence, one woman was quoted as saying, "In those days caste was unknown -- those honest days when boys with patches on their knees, with no regard to cut or style of clothes, and girls with calico dresses, no matter whether they boarded in first families or batched on turnips with only a tallow candle for warmth, if they possessed gray mat-

ter sufficient to struggle for an education and deported themselves in a respectable manner, they were one of us." The struggle against poverty served as a common interest, and sympathy and warm hearted fellow feeling were the result. "Every body in the country was generous in those days, they were free and open hearted. One person was just as good as another. They would give you very nearly the last thing they had if you needed it." A woman who came to Kansas in 1855, and whose first recollections of Palmyra date from the time when she "rode into the town behind her brother, on a horse", said, "Why, nobody knew whether anyone had any money or not -- well, maybe we did too, for I guess nobody had any money. 'Society'? There wasn't any such thing." The following facetious paragraph from a history of Baker shows the poverty of the times:

"Then came hard times * * the-double-distilled-essence-of nothing-to-do-but-starve. A real dollar was as scarce as a banana on a Peary expedition. If one did come to town by mistake, the eagle feathers were worn to a frazzle and its claws to stubs before the town let it go. Bonds were issued, based on the dreams that follow sweet potato pie. Scholarships for the great grandchildren of that day were sold for something like a dollar apiece, six for five, and the money was used to buy sorghum for the faculty's corn bread. Town lots could not be given away, unless you first

tied the receiver to a tree and pinned the deeds to his coat lapel with a shingle nail."

In the earliest years of settlement, prices at the trading posts were comparatively high. In its issue of Aug. 13, 1857, the "Champion" quotes the following prices for the Prairie City market: Flour, superfine, \$5.50 per hundred; Wheat, \$1.50 per bushel; Crackers, 20¢ per pound; Fresh Butter, 25¢ lb.; Brown Sugar, 16 2-3 ¢ lb.; White Sugar, 18 to 20¢ lb.; Beef, 5 to 8¢; Nails, 8 1-3¢ lb.; Salt, per sack of 200 lbs., \$5.00; Boots, stogies, per pair, \$3.50 to \$4.00; Boots, calf, per pair, \$5.00 to \$6.00; Oil, linseed, per gallon, \$1.50; Molasses, per gallon, \$1.10; Wood, hard, per cord, \$2.50; Lumber, per thousand, \$25 to \$35; Shingles, per thousand, \$5.50 to \$6.50; Work Oxen, \$50 to \$100; Cows, \$18 to \$35; Horses and Mules, \$75 to \$150; Lumber Wagons, \$80 to \$110. The high prices of most of the articles in the list can be accounted for through the newness of the country and the consequent lack of efficiency in production, and the high cost of transportation because of poor roads, poor means of travel, and distance from markets. A few of the prices obtaining in 1865 are taken from "Young America", issue of March 20, and they show an increase, due to the added influence of the Civil War. Flour, per sack, \$7.50; Kerosene oil, per gal., \$1.25; Molasses, per gal., \$1.25; Sugar, white, 35¢; Apples, per

bu., \$4.00; Nails, per lb., 15¢; Tea, per lb., \$2.60; Eggs, per doz., 20¢; Butter, per lb., 40¢; These prices throw some light on the statements of poverty by some of the early settlers.

The sources of income for the residents were agricultural production, simple manufactures, and professional services. The business firms and professional men have been indicated in part by the lists given in Chapter II, when growth of population was under consideration. (See pp. 19 and 24.) In addition to these a tannery one and one half miles northeast of the town was mentioned in a newspaper of 1859, and early settlers speak of saw mills and a lime kiln also to the north. The income of the college in its first year can be estimated from its rates. The following advertisement appeared in the "Kansas Messenger", Jan. 1, 1859.

"BAKER UNIVERSITY. REV. WERTER R. DAVIS, A.M., M.D., President. The Preparatory Department of this institution opened its first term on the 23rd. of Nov., to be continued thirteen weeks. Instructions will be given if called for in all the branches, solid, classical, and ornamental. EXPENSES. Tuition in the Preparatory Department, per term, \$7.00; tuition in the Preparatory English, per term, \$6.00; tuition in Common School branches, per term, \$4.00; tuition in College branches, per term, \$8.00; Lessons upon the Piano or Melodeon, per term, \$10.00; Contingencies, per

term, \$1.00; Board per week, \$3.00. College fees invariably in advance. B. R. Cunningham, Principal of the Preparatory Department." The land values of the vicinity were of course rather low. Claims with timber could be bought in 1857 at prices ranging from five to fifteen hundred dollars. Town lots were cheap. To mechanics settling in Prairie City, one, two, or three lots were donated by the town company, according to the occupation pursued, and the amount invested in improvements. It is further recorded that in September, 1857, lots sold for from five to thirty-seven dollars. The business firms changed hands often, and some had a wide variety of commodities in stock. For instance, "Winton & Willets Cheap Cash Store (Dry Goods, Groceries, Hardware, Queensware, Tinware, Hats, Boots, and Shoes)," and Mr. Winton was also Postmaster at the time. The crops raised were the cereals, and timothy, clover and the prairie grasses. At first there was practically no attempt to raise fruit. Though there were some settlers of means who entered business in the vicinity, the average condition was one of comparative poverty and the people had to be both industrious and economical. Often the condition was more than one of mere simple living -- it was one of actual hardship.

Protective activities played their important role in the early history of the community, as was also true of all

the communities in Eastern Kansas in the region affected by the Border Warfare. The antagonisms between the Missouri invaders and other Southern sympathizers on the one hand, and the radical and conservative elements of the free-state settlers on the other, resulted in bloodshed and actual war long before the firing on Ft. Sumter. Charges of illegal elections, of force and fraud and drunkenness and violence, of assaults and murder, coming to this outpost of free-state sympathizers early caused their military organization for protection. And several important incidents of the guerilla war occurred in the vicinity. On the 21st. of November, 1855, F. M. Coleman, a pro-slavery man, shot and killed C. W. Dow, a free-state man, in the neighborhood of Hickory Point, near Palmyra. The resistance by free-state men to the carrying out of arrests and imprisonment by Sheriff Jones, a Missouri official much noted in early Kansas history, led to the Wakarusa War, in which the slave forces massed their strength against Lawrence, the "abolitionist" center. Peace was made without bloodshed, through the intervention of Governor Shannon.

At the time of the first territorial election in Kansas, the man named Kibbee, who is believed to have been the first bona fide settler in the county, was in Lawrence. On the way to his home near Palmyra that day he saw a drunken Missourian destroying a roadside tent or shanty, and tried

to stop the destruction. The drunken man attacked Kibbee, but was killed in the resulting encounter. That Kibbee might be protected from pro-slave attack, his friends had a warrant for his arrest issued. After imprisonment for a time at Ft. Leavenworth, he was released on bail. "Weary and harassed with perpetual apprehensions for his life, and doubtful as to obtaining a fair trial, he indemnified his bail, forfeited his recognizance", and was heard of no further. (Goode's "Outposts of Zion!")

Two organized companies of armed men participated in the border disturbances at various times in this locality, the Coal Creek Company and the Prairie City Company. A member of "Captain Sam Shore's Prairie City Company" tells the following concerning their activity: "The number in our company varied, but was usually about thirty or forty. We chased the border ruffians several times, one trip taking us, as far as Gardner. Our forces were armed with Sharpe's rifles and muskets. The muskets used by the cavalry were shortened by sawing off the ends, as otherwise they were too cumbersome for use from the saddle. The encounter of chief interest perhaps in which I took part was the one against some of Quantrell's raiders after they got through with their burning and killing at Lawrence. Our skirmish was about three miles southwest of Baldwin. Two of our men were shot, but we captured a lot of the goods

they had taken from the Lawrence stores, in particular dry-goods and tobacco, and they were sent back to Lawrence."

The Prairie City Company and a small force under John Brown captured a larger force of pro-slave invaders at Black Jack, (four miles east of Baldwin) on May 31, 1856, after what has been recorded as "the first real battle of the Civil War"

The Coal Creek Company joined often with the Lawrence companies for offense and defense in the Wakarusa valley. An illustration of their activity may be taken from the Battle of Franklin, August 11, 1856. Said a member of the Coal Creek Company: "There were two companies from Lawrence, the Stubbs company and a company of volunteers. Besides these there were fourteen or fifteen of us under Captain Abbott. We determined to take the block house at Franklin, and a cannon which was supposed to be there. It was night when we attacked, and we fired at them chiefly from behind a garden fence which afforded some protection. They had an advantage however, firing from the eaves of the building, and the moon got over further to the west and showed us up too much in our position, so we had to retire. We collected at a barn, loaded a wagon with hay and shavings and poured on kerosene, and several men pushed it up to the blockhouse and fired it. The defenders escaped from the other side of the building and were unaccountably unhindered by our men stationed there. Within the blockhouse were the

cannon, a store of arms, and a barrel of whiskey. The whiskey was destroyed, I myself driving in the head of the barrel. In this and our other encounters we were greatly at an advantage over the ruffians, because of the Sharpe's rifles. They were the first rifles we had that fired cartridges, though we had to use caps to cause the discharge. It certainly helped a great deal to be able to load your gun without standing at least partly erect." The attitude of the community on the border questions was one of aggression as well as one of resistance. The "Freeman's Champion", in its first issue, stated this position: "On one point only can we speak with a firm reliance; we shall be uncompromising, unflinching, bold and fearless in aiding to secure the triumph of Freedom over tyranny in our Territory and shall labor assiduously for the free-state party. * * That the salvation of our cause depends upon its friends uniting heart and hand in carrying out their policy, we firmly believe." The hostile spirit of the day is reflected in the following extract from the editorial columns of the newspaper: "Denver's jorden-washer last week fired a broadside into us of about half a column, in which he called us a 'liar', 'coward', 'knave', 'fool', etc. Yes, yes, Driggs, we admit all this. We used to think we were the greatest liar, the most abject tool, the most subservient and truckling dough-face, and the dirtiest and most

truckling cat's-paw that ever existed, before we knew you!" In 1864, "The Young America", published by a Baker college student, C. W. Goodin, had the following comment reflecting the community's attitude during the war: "We are glad to say that when the call to arms was heard, in Minneola no hiding in the brush was practiced, but each man came forth ready, with but the exception of one, a cowardly whelp in Centropolis who hid himself until the men left. What are such scoundrels good for?" Organization for protection or law enforcement was far more prominent in these earlier years -- those before 1865 -- than has been true of any subsequent period of the community's history.

The recreative activities of the earlier years have been suggested in the discussion of the economic phases earlier in the chapter. The common poverty necessitated simplicity, and gave rise to a sympathetic and helpful spirit with most of the people, so that their social life was largely one of brotherly visitation. Those were the "good days", and "no one was afraid he might do something for his neighbor", while today "there are people living on the same street with you, and if they do not happen to be church people, you hardly ever see them." Today, too, some people "seem to have lost out -- nobody pays so very much attention to them." The camp meetings, discussed later in this chapter, afforded opportunity for much making of

new acquaintances and visiting with old ones. The following statements from a book, "In God We Trust", by Mary Still Adams indicate something of the early possibilities of the early meetings: "My father purchased a tent, and arranged for his family to attend these meetings. * * The one of which I write was to be held at or near Baldwin City. We have prepared food, cake and pies, chicken and fresh pig, in an abundant supply for a stay of at least two weeks. These, with bedding, chairs and tent, are all placed within a large wagon, to which are hitched * * Buck and Berry, two dark red oxen. * * It is not an hour after our arrival until to the already hundred tents ours also has been added. Look where we will, we see a friend to greet us * *."

With some of the young people among the early settlers dancing was the most popular form of amusement. It was never the socially approved thing by the community leaders however. To give an opportunity for other social gatherings than the dance, the Vinland Library Association was one of the plans adopted. It was started about 1860, and meetings were held. At these meetings there was some study, and games, such as charades, etc., were played. Many Baldwin people were interested and welcome attendants. "By 1870", said an early resident, "Commencement at the college was the big time socially. Everybody came and had a good time. There were occasional grange picnics, with races of different

kinds, sometimes a merry-go-round, and occasionally a dance. There was a great deal of objection to the dance and they didn't have much of them. The dances held in Baldwin at the time were planned and patronized by people from the country, and the townspeople had little to do with them." A colored man of the town, who located in Baldwin in 1863, corroborated the testimony of the white people interviewed. Said he, "We negroes used to attend the college festivals, commencements and the like, and we never had a complaint to make as to our treatment. I quarried the stone for the old Methodist church, and they gave me a seat in it, but I didn't use it for the negroes got so they didn't stand so high with the white folks. We used to dance a lot, mostly in town, but sometimes in the country. We didn't do any two-steps -- we had Virginia reels and the like. Why don't the negroes dance now as they used to? Oh, they got tired of it I reckon, and besides the white folks don't dance so much any more." The social intercourse of the earlier days was simple, and was characterized by frankness, sincerity, and an absence of what is oftener termed "social position."

The educational interests of the community were early manifest. When Prairie City began to be heard from, a school was one of the advantages it advertised. "On Liberty Hill, within the city site", said the advertisement, "is now being erected a seminary, which is designed

for four teachers. When completed it will be two stories in height, surmounted with an ornamental cupola." This school however was built as much because it would help the town in a business way, it is thought, as for any other motive. In Palmyra, probably in the spring of 1858, a private school was established by Milton Baldwin. The purposes in establishing Baker University, the events in connection with which were mentioned in the previous chapter, were the maintenance and ^{promotion} ~~aggression~~ of the Methodist belief, the providing of opportunities for the instruction of young Methodist people of the region, and a desire to spread the benefits of education. Although the first factor mentioned was undoubtedly present, it did not take an objectionable -- a narrow and bigoted -- form, hostile to other creeds, insofar as the author can determine. Late in 1858 the "college" began, and from the first served as a focus point for Methodist attention, and as a sort of central station for the radiation of Methodist influence. Insofar as Baldwin and Palmyra are concerned, the early educational interests were quite thoroughly interwoven and interdependent with the religious interests.

The life of the community may also be considered from the standpoint of the religious interests. The Methodists have left records more nearly complete than have the other denominations. Church organizations were among the first

ones formed. There were groups of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, United Brethren, Christians and Methodists mentioned in the files of the Prairie City newspaper of 1857 and 1858, and it is known that many Roman Catholic families were also among the early comers. The Methodist Episcopal church was interested in a missionary way in the territories from the very first. On May 15, 1854, a commission was given William H. Goode, a minister of that faith residing in Richmond, Indiana, to explore the territorial settlements being made in Kansas and Nebraska, and to report so that the leaders in the church might know how many missionaries to send to the country and where to send them. Goode made the trip, preached one sermon to the settlers north of Palmyra (not then laid out as a town) on July 9, 1854, and after visitation and preaching in other communities in the territories, returned to Indiana. The report given by Goode after his return said among other things that there were apparently no more than five hundred families in the territories. The organization of a Methodist class under L. B. Dennis in 1855 has already been mentioned. Services were held at the residences of the various members until 1858, when the University chapel at Baldwin City was used. The services were often of a much more emotional type than was true later. Camp meetings were a means of adding numbers to the church and for quickening the religious inter-

ests of those already in the organization. One of these early camp meetings, held probably in 1858, has been described by Mary Still Adams; there were about a hundred tents in the camp, which was held at Baldwin City. "My father's one desire in attending this particular meeting was to give my two younger sisters a chance to be brought under the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit, which would lead them to Jesus as their personal Savior. * * Dr. W. R. Davis had preached his never-to-be-forgotten sermon on "Although one arise from the dead they will not be persuaded", and had taken his seat. Brother Ferril had called for penitents to come forward for prayers; many had already obeyed the call, and some had even found peace and pardon. * * These gatherings were wonderfully blessed of the Lord to the salvation of the people. * * At this instant my soul grasped the blessing, and instead of shouting and leaping and praising God as I had done when converted, and supposed I would do when receiving the blessing of sanctification, I did not utter a word; was too happy for utterance. * * And from that day * * I know that I have had the indwelling of the Holy Ghost." There were revivals each year during the early history of the college. In 1860, "Your infant University has been favored last winter in a gracious revival of religion. Not less than one hundred persons, including students and citizens, have been converted." (Con-

ference Minutes of 1860.) "God has blessed the institution with revival influence, more or less, for the last two years." (Minutes of 1861.) "It is a matter of congratulation that the school has shared largely in the blessings of a gracious revival during the year." (Minutes of 1863.) In this manner the conference minutes report revivals of religion and resultant conversions, for nearly every year of the earlier church history. In the first six years of the reports of the local Methodist church -- from 1858 to 1863 inclusive -- the annual membership was as follows: 82, 42, 146, 105, 95, 142. Thus with the Methodists, religious services, with the revival a usual and accepted feature, marked the early years, a steady growth in numbers in the church being manifest as the college and town slowly increased in population.

Early transportation and one or two other points of interest throw some light also on the development of association in the community. Before the building of the railroad through Baldwin City, in 1867, travel and transportation was of course overland. The Santa Fe Trail was a great pioneer thoroughfare, and Palmyra had much of its early importance because of its location on this highway. Prairie City's accessibility was a little more difficult, and in August, 1857, the "Champion" urged a tri-weekly mail.

In August, 1858, just a year later, there was a tri-weekly mail from Kansas City, and a mail from the north. In September, 1857, a daily stage to Lawrence was established.

The following advertisement appeared in the Prairie City newspaper: "PRAIRIE CITY & LAWRENCE DAILY EXPRESS! Stages will leave Prairie City every morning at 8 o'clock A. M., and Lawrence every evening at 4 o'clock P. M. Fare, each way, \$1.00; fare, to Lawrence and back same day, \$1.50. Especial attention will be given to the transmission of goods and packages, and the collection of notes, drafts and accounts at and between PRAIRIE CITY, BROOKLYN, WAKARUSA, and LAWRENCE. This Express will connect at Lawrence with Richardson's Missouri River Express. JAS. W. BEGGS."

This was Prairie City's first attempt to establish daily communication with any other city. Prairie City was on several proposed improved roads, one being the Lawrence to Humbolt, for the consideration of which a mass meeting was held at Ohio City in August, 1857; and a second being the one projected from Wyandotte southwest to the Neosho. John R. Winton has been mentioned as an early postmaster at Prairie City, while N. Blood and H. Scott were the first two postmasters at Palmyra, where the office was established in 1856. A condition which influenced the early community was the scarcity of women. The pioneer people were chiefly families and single men, and there were few unmarried

women. The preponderance of men in the western states is due, it is generally conceded, to the more ready adjustment of the single man to the rigorous and irregular frontier conditions. Two quotations from the "Champion" of 1857 show the preponderance of men and give some hints as to frontier attitudes. "What do you think of this, Ladies? The better sex are a scarce commodity in this community. We have a few as handsome, intelligent and highly accomplished young ladies as any city can boast of, but "declarations of intentions" have been "filed" on the most of them, with fair prospects of being "pre-empted" and no hopes of "jumping". Considering this state of things, the proprietors of Prairie City, with the view of supplying the wants of our young men, offer as an inducement for young ladies in the States to emigrate and settle among us, a City Lot to each and every one, so soon as they consent to become a "squatter's claim". What more inducements can you desire, ladies? Let us know, and you shall be satisfied." The second quotation is a matrimonial advertisement. "It is not good that man should be alone. Thus said the apostle, and how emphatically and forcibly is that wise saying illustrated in Kansas. -- Here where man is deprived in a great measure of the elevated and refined influences of the better sex, man becomes careless, indifferent in regard to his personal appearance, and degenerates into a style but a few

degrees above the brute. The undersigned, having arrived at the age when single blessedness has lost all its charms, desires to venture into the order of benedicts. He wants a woman with a kind and affectionate disposition, accomplished in music and dancing, handsome, between the ages of fifteen and twenty. As it is a Wife that he wants, and not Money, he is not particular whether she is favored with the "dimes" or not, though if she fully meets with his requirements, and happens to be troubled with "filthy lucre", he will not consider it a very serious objection. The advertiser is twenty four years of age, he is considered good looking, neither indulges in the use of ardent spirits, nor tobacco, has enough property and an income sufficient to comfortably maintain a family, and is possessed of a warm and confiding heart. He wants a tendril to cherish. If this meets with the eye of a young lady answering his description, who wants a companion of this stripe, she will please address him, through the postoffice at Prairie City, K. T. Orsemus Poe." The weddings of pioneer times were occasions of social rejoicing and general interest.

The difficulties of an economic nature influenced markedly all the phases of social life of the early community. Religious, educational, social activities bore the stamp of lack of means, and the cooperation necessitated for the ear-

ly community activities of all sorts meant much for community spirit and life. In turn, educational and religious activities brought people into the vicinity, and the economic status was influenced by their coming. Each phase of a community's life is influenced, often quite directly and decidedly, by other phases.

CHAPTER IV. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.

In the preceding chapters the beginnings of association along various lines have been shown. Because of increased complexity and differentiation it is impossible to keep all the threads of development together in the later history of the town, so for purposes of study different phases of community activity will be considered relatively apart from other phases.

That the consideration of one phase of community life wholly or even largely apart from others is impossible however, is evident from the start. All that is really accomplished is the focus of attention chiefly upon one manifestation of community life. The economic, the religious, the educational, the recreative, are all interwoven and interdependent in a community's life. In particular does the town under consideration seem to show the fallacy of the now discredited doctrine of the "economic man". The many illustrations which the town has afforded of privation and suffering that a certain educational ideal or religious plan might be fulfilled show the working of what might be called the converse of the old economic theory. Of course basically the original proposition and the converse are alike false.

A conversation with Mr. B. may be taken to illustrate

the idea just presented. Said he, "My father came to this region at about the time Baker started. He settled on a claim near town. He had good business ability, was a successful farmer, and seemed to possess a likable personality. If he had given strict attention to making money he could have become wealthy. If he had even put his earnings made "on the side," in land, the increase in land values here would have made him more wealthy than perhaps any man now living in the community. But what did he do instead? All his earnings and a lot of his time that might have been turned into cash, were given to the church here and to Baker University. And I can think of a half dozen others who have done practically the same thing. We certainly ought to be proud of the record of unselfishness left us by my father and the other men I have mentioned." The history of Baldwin, from earliest times down to the present, is filled with examples of somewhat the same sort as that of Mr. B's father.

Baldwin economically has undergone slow and steady development, without large fluctuations at any time. The following division into periods will serve for purposes of study: the pioneer period up to about 1880, the period of slow improvement intervening until about 1905, and last the present period of rather sound financial footing.

From the town's founding in 1858 down to about 1880

the outstanding economic fact was hardship. The reasons for this were varied. The country was new, and markets, means of exchange, and knowledge of crops to which the soil was adapted were all inadequate. The soil itself was of only average and in places of less than average fertility. The interests in college and church took much funds that might have otherwise have been put into profitable financial ventures, and the financial returns from the location of the college were long in coming to be of consequence. Conditions in general were not favorable to the accumulation of much property, or to the transaction of much business.

Many records have been left reflecting early financial difficulties. Though Baker was the first college in Kansas and though the school's early history is supposed to have ^{been} superior to that of other schools of early times, the aggregate receipts and disbursements up to 1873 amounted to only \$70,500. (Minutes, 20th Session, Kansas Conference.) In 1879 the South Kansas Conference recognized and approved "the generous proposition of the faculty to serve the University at an average salary of \$500." Prior to 1881 the allowance of the Methodist ministers at Baldwin ranged all the way from \$230 to \$900, and the first allowance of \$1000 came in 1882. In these days there was no bank in the town, and "checks were cashed at the stores, while deposits were chiefly in the Lawrence banks." The expenses of the city

for the year ending in April, 1877, were four dollars.

At the time of the grasshopper troubles in 1874, the report of the State Board of Agriculture was that eight hundred needed rations in Douglas County. Throughout this period the faculty was poorly paid, public school expenses were small, student life was simple, and people lived without the use of many things which in later periods came to be thought necessities. As one student of early Baldwin history put it, "The people then underwent the greatest hardships. We are reaping the profits of their privations." Illustrations of the difficulties throughout this period might be given at some length, but much is of necessity given elsewhere in connection with the religious and educational history of the town. The church's finances in this period are partially shown by a table at the end of Chapter VI.

An exception to the more usual early experience is afforded in the case of Mr. B. With Mr. B., the idea of financial success was easily dominant, and many of his plans materialized. Says Mr. B., "I came to Kansas in 1865 from Pennsylvania, and all the money I had was a five dollar bill. I had relatives here but they gave me absolutely no backing. I took a quarter section for a homestead, and had to make payment of \$2.50 an acre. I lived on this place forty-one years. I started out raising calves. I'd

raise a few, sell them, and put the money into more land. I came to town as often as I needed to on business, but I made it a point never to stay. I never sat down anywhere in town -- I figured that I would lose out by such ways, and I for one meant to attend to business. I never visited with those whom I happened to see in town, but I got what I wanted and went back home. I now own over a thousand acres, and I'm a director in one of the banks here. We never worked on Sunday, though, and we always set a good table. There weren't many in my direction from town who kept up with me -- they were mighty few. I know of only one fellow who could beat me buying calves, and that was J. S. Well, sir, J. S. was a little old fellow, illiterate, he couldn't read nor write. He wore old clothes, and you'd never think from his clookss he had a cent. But he surely made money -- why, he'd buy cattle, feed them and ship them, and then buy more -- that fellow was always buying calves. I reckon he was the only fellow in this country that beat me getting land, too. He took sick, and the doctor at Kansas City told him to make out a will, if he wanted to, as he was about gone. I declare if he didn't clean forget one eighty -- forgot he had it, and when his estate was being settled they found he hadn't given it to anybody." This quotation is remarkable as an exception to the usual type.

The partial overcoming of the difficulties of the first

period was the reason for the improvement we may notice in the next period, that from 1880 to about 1905. Larger population, improved markets, better means of transportation and exchange, greater crop returns, and better support of the college from the outlying territory -- all contributed to the progress made during this period.

The completion of a second college building, Centenary Hall, was an event of importance at the beginning of this second era in the town's history. The building was constructed about 1884. Prior to 1884, the Biennial Reports of the State Board of Agriculture did not give Baldwin's population apart from that of the township. In that year the population, given as 692, was set forth for the first time. Within a few years the population increased to over a thousand, not far from which point it has remained until the present. In 1869 improvements on public school property called for an outlay of over \$9,000 as contrasted with the expenditure of \$2,400 for the year preceding. The public school enrollment, reported as 171 in 1881, increased steadily to above 350 in 1906. The records of the city council throw some light on the increased activities during the second period. In 1879 and 1880 the minutes show business with sidewalks and city parks. Shortly after, a "city pound, 32 ft. x 32 ft., and 6 ft. high" was ordered, and J. L. Bristow became "city clerk."

The records during the following years show that the city business was gradually increased, indicating growth and the financial benefits accruing therefrom. That the village did not become a city overnight however is shown by the following extract from the city records for May 13, 1884: The "Ordinance committee was instructed to draft an ordinance allowing each family three milch cows to run on the townsite."

During this period, Baker University, which depended to quite an extent on voluntary subscriptions from Methodists in the territory tributary, came to receive gradually better support. In 1887, the South Kansas Conference, one of the college's supporting conferences, recommended that it assume responsibility for \$1,200 for Baker during the year; in 1895 the amount had increased to \$2,500. At the close of this period the needs of the school and the support given it, justified the construction of two new buildings -- a gymnasium and a library; and the town constructed a church valued at \$30,000. From 1900 to 1907 the assessed valuation (only a percentage of the actual valuation) of taxable property in the town, increased from \$82,000 to \$136,000. The first bank of the town, excepting a small private bank which may be neglected, was the Baldwin State Bank which was established in 1893. By 1906 the totals in its statements of business had increased from \$50,000 to \$150,000. In 1906 the second bank, the People's

State Bank, opened for business, its totals for the first year being \$30,000.

The second period was clearly one of bettered finance and increased business. Conditions have been further improved in the present period. The reasons for improvement are chiefly the extensions of development along the lines mentioned for the second period; in particular the development of the state at large has influenced the community. Imitation of larger towns with their public improvements, and the better financial condition of the students at the college have helped in this latter period. This part of the town's history, from about 1905 to the present, has been one of more settled business methods, of increased city expenditure and efficiency, and in general of more definite and certain financial footing. The tables appended to this chapter show these facts in a statistical way.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER IV. TABLES SHOWING BALDWIN'S
FINANCIAL CONDITION IN PRESENT PERIOD.

A. Bond Issues for Public Improvements.

Nov. 15, 1906, electric light, 20 & 10 yr., $4\frac{1}{2}\%$, \$10,000.
 Dec. 1, 1908, water works, 25 yr., $4\frac{1}{2}\%$, \$35,000.
 Oct. 1, 1910, sewer mains, 10 yr., 6% , \$9,000.
 Oct. 1, 1910, sewer mains, 15 yr., 6% , \$9,000.
 Jan. 1, 1911, sewer laterals, 10 yr., 6% , \$15,000.
 Apr. 1, 1912, water works, 15 yr., 5% , \$3,000.
 Oct. 1, 1912, water works, 15 yr., 5% , \$15,000.
 (From records at city clerk's office.)

B. United States Census Reports on Population.

Baldwin City, 1890, 935; 1900, 1,017; 1910, 1,386.
 Palmyra Township, including Baldwin City, 1890, 2,772;
 1900, 3,071; 1910, 3,050.

C. Crop Report for Douglas County, in part, 1912.

	Acres	Product	Value
Winter Wheat bu.	37,246	931,150	\$838,035
Corn bu.	61,637	1,910,747	1,165,555
Oats bu.	6,387	255,480	97,082
Rye bu.	491	11,293	8,469
Irish Potatoes bu.	1,419	167,442	98,790
Sweet Potatoes bu.	102	13,260	10,608
Flax bu.	576	4,608	6,912
Millet and Hungarian tons	351	702	3,861
Forage sorghum	1,652		24,780
Kafir tons	4,513	118,052	81,234
Legumes, tame grasses tons		9,689	101,734
Prairie Grass tons	70,244	4,310	36,635

(From 18th Biennial Report, St. Board of Agriculture.)

D. Douglas County Live Stock, in part, 1912.

	Number	Value
Horses	10,147	\$1,146,611
Mules and asses	1,658	217,198
Milch cows	9,010	405,450
Other cattle	10,339	330,848
Sheep	3,849	16,358
Swine	24,601	246,010

(From 18th Biennial Report, St. Board of Agriculture.)

E. Totals for Statements of Business, Baldwin State Bank.

1893	\$56,417	1906	\$152,988
1894	55,686	1907	202,804
1895	60,592	1908	192,895
1896	48,841	1909	226,065
1897	61,852	1910	216,495
1898	60,359	1911	207,865
1899	54,074	1912	235,249
1900	71,625	1913	255,269
1901	109,055	1914	249,921
1902	101,317	1915	241,902
1903	155,142	1916	258,958
1904	150,579		(From records at bank.)
1905	140,323		

F. Totals for business, People's State Bank.

1906	\$30,355	1912	\$89,864
1907	49,963	1913	105,462
1908	69,420	1914	90,492
1909	73,987	1915	99,673
1910	72,845	1916	116,955
1911	80,454		(From records at bank.)

G. Approximate Assessed Valuation, Business Firms, 1914.

Baldwin Lumber Company	\$12,000
Peckham Green Clothing Co.	8,000
Baldwin Cash Store	10,000
Row Drug Co.	1,500
L. Yauslin, Jeweler	4,000
College Cafe	1,200
Morgan Gardner Merc. Co.	23,000
Liggett, Harness and Shoes	1,300
Blaney, Hardware and Plumbing	1,900
Soxman, Restaurant	1,000
Thudium, Ice and Meat	5,600
George Nabb, Implements	2,200
Nabb's Blacksmith Shop	450
Sack, Barber Shop	400
Hyland, Cream Station	700
Fischer and Marsh, Grocers	2,500
Trotter, Hardware and Implem.	10,000
Mrs. Thorne, Milliner	700
Vance and Watson, Hardware	4,000
Hall, Meat Market	450
Driggs, Bakery	900
Welfley, Grocery	2,250
Hardin, Grocery	3,500

Assessed Valuation, Baldwin Business Firms. (Continued.)

Hitchcock, Drugs	\$5,000
Morgan, Book Store	7,800
Stover, Livery Barn	1,700
Griffin, Undertaking	900
Knepp, Electrician	600
Jones, Transfer Co.	1,900
Le Master, plumber	600
Hoefer and Clark, Barbers	250
Ives-Hartley, Lumber	17,000
Baldwin Gas Co.	9,000
Baldwin Telephone Co.	22,000

(Estimates furnished by assessor, July 14, 1914.)

H. Baker University Valuation.

Buildings and Grounds	\$292,646.53
Laboratories and Museum	38,860.54
Libraries	50,771.95
Furniture and Equipment	<u>25,179.03</u>
Total	407,458.05

(From treasurer's report, June 30, 1915.)

I. Assessed Valuation of County, Township, and City.

	Douglas County	Palmyra Twp.	Baldwin City
1908	\$32,355,579	\$3,714,702	\$1,104,292
1909	33,028,066	3,710,300	1,175,266
1910	33,800,845	4,811,030*	1,174,353
1911	34,623,880	3,668,797	1,219,093
1912	35,085,751	3,495,992	1,238,356
1913	35,619,600	*Includes Baldwin City.	

(From County Clerk's office.)

J. Methodist Episcopal Church Budget.

Current Expenses.

Pastor's Salary	\$2000	
District Superintendent	160	
Conference Claimants	115	
Episcopal Fund	35	
Janitor	360	
Heat, Light, Water	300	
Insurance	180	
Music	440	
Budget Expense	225	\$3615

Benevolences.

Baker University	201
Foreign Missions	518
Home Missions, Ch. Extens.	449

Methodist Episcopal Church Budget.(Continued.)

Freedmen's Aid	\$78	
Board of Education	39	
Sunday School Board	61	
Temperance Society	14	
American Bible Society	29	<u>\$1389</u>
Total		<u>\$5004</u>

(From Church Budget statement, March, 1914, to
March, 1915.)

CHAPTER V. REGULATIVE AND PROTECTIVE ACTIVITIES.

An ever discernible phase of the community life at Baldwin has been the effort at regulation and protection of the group. The great semi-conscious force tending to bring about these ends has been popular opinion, or custom. The conscious and direct efforts to regulate and protect have been the community's authoritative and legal activities.

Custom has molded conduct. This has been true of all phases of community activity. Standards are set up by popular opinion, taboos are established. The working of custom in the college may be taken as typical of all the town's phases of life. "We young fellows took the girls to prayer meeting and thought nothing of it -- it was the thing to do." "When I visited Baldwin that winter one thing struck me decidedly -- it seemed to be the thing to carry your Bible with you, and to refer to it, too."

"We were all poor, and anyone who tried to appear too well dressed soon realized that he or she was not one of us. I remember in particular one young man -- a bright fellow, too, and a success in business later -- who had practically no standing in the college because he was too 'fussy'."

"Did we resent the faculty's spying on us to see that we didn't get into mischief? Oh, not like the students would

today; we sort of expected it." These quotations from reminiscences in the eighties show that certain standards existed, and that there was an unconscious falling into line.

Other illustrations of the influence of general opinion in student conduct are: In the late nineties and up to about 1907 the literary societies were especially prominent in the school's affairs. There was open rivalry between the various societies and practically all the students were members. The students were eager to join and fall in line with the general trend of opinion. Again, about ten years ago to participate in college athletics and earn his "letter" became the ambition of almost every young man. Attending intercollegiate contests became a student habit, and in general the student's mode of life was greatly influenced by these phases of the school atmosphere.

Popular opinion has also worked negatively. The incident related below occurred in 1903. "B. was a peculiar fellow, egotistic, super-sanctimonious, and generally obnoxious. We got awfully tired of him, and to get even we made life miserable for him. Finally some of the boys got him and put him through some paces so he left school, and it wasn't a bad riddance." At about this time in the school's history the "Kangaroo Court" was a sub rosa means

of carrying out the wishes of various groups of students. At times it was used merely to satisfy some students' desire for adventure and participation in the forbidden, but often its purpose was to instruct an offender in the real "error of his way" as the students viewed it. The following description of a "Kangaroo Court" was related by a participant: "I think it was in 1907. There was a young teacher at the University who was bright enough, only he didn't know anything. He didn't have common judgment on a good many points, and he annoyed some of the college students by his attentions and general way of acting, and we all got disgusted. There was a bunch of about six of us, and we were the leaders in school, too -- one high officer in the Y. M., two fellows who had been class presidents, and there was even a younger member of the faculty with us -- and we planned to show this fellow just what we thought of him. About eleven o'clock one night we got him to come down town on a bogus long distance call. Two masked fellows stopped him on a dark corner, and blindfolded him. He was surely frightened and began to plead all sorts of things -- he wasn't physically strong, and all such stuff. We took him out to the ball park, and in a secluded place just south of the high fence we had our session. We asked him all sorts of questions, dignified and otherwise, and by the time we had finished he was intimately informed of just

what we wanted him to know. It helped him a lot, we all thought, only we got somewhat worried -- there was a threat that we would find ourselves deprived of degrees or expelled or something else if the authorities could learn who did the stunt. We had our tracks pretty well covered however, and so far as I know, none of the boys was ever detected." The desire for public approval and the inability to resist the condemnation of one's fellows, has proved one of the greatest forces in regulating the community.

The conscious and definite efforts to regulate and protect have been in the form of city council legislation, police courts, arrests by constables, etc. In Chapters II and III, mention was made of the Prairie City and Coal (Cole) Creek Companies which served in the interests of the Northern adherents at the time of the troubles along the border. The early city records are not available, but the memory of the older settlers is that after the troubles incident to the war were past, the community was a rather peaceable one, that flagrant offenses were very few, and minor causes for arrest not particularly numerous. The first mention of the police court on the city records available, is in the council proceedings for May, 1880. The first court proceedings recorded were in January, 1888. There have been 210 pages of the police record used (1916), the average space for each case being one page. Of these

cases which average about eight per year, the larger portion has dealt with negroes, and the use or sale of liquor has been the chief complaint. In comparison with other communities, Baldwin has a good record for law observance. Said a sheriff of the county in 1913: "There's not much doing in the line of trouble at Baldwin. If a sheriff had to depend on fees from business connected with such as the white people of Baldwin are, he wouldn't have much of an income." There are of course many offenses which do not come before a court for trial. These are handled only by the pressure of general opinion as has been discussed -- through loss of reputation by the offender. Some of the offenses noted in getting material for this study are: chicken stealing by students, trespassing and leaving gates open, watermelon stealing, breaking into stores for petty thievery, breaking into garages and using and damaging cars, stealing of party refreshments, etc. In general the impression holds that Baldwin is a moral, law-abiding town. Many doors are left unlocked at night, and people of all ages and both sexes come and go without much thought as to the possibility of their being molested. The town leaders often mention the fact that lawyers have never found it profitable to locate in Baldwin. There have been attempts at robbing banks, and the postoffice safe has been cracked and the funds taken, but these things have of course been thought

the work of professional criminals from outside. The present marshal (1915) reports: "My job as town marshal is an easy one. We have no night watch now, as one does not seem needed. The most trouble we have had in the town in the years (about ten) since I have been marshal was at the installation of the waterworks mains. There were laborers from out of town, and some of them got on drunks and tried to shoot up the town, and were a little ugly. The negroes give some trouble, but I think they are usually stirred up by some of the 'trash' among the whites. Wrestling matches drew a tough crowd, so the city put a license fee on them, and the bouts have stopped. Recently the people at the skating rink were on the point of starting regular dances but they didnt go far because they were told that, though there was no ordinance forbidding the holding of dances, the whole thing would probably be classed as a nuisance and stopped. I think Baldwin is a good town." That Baldwin's protective organization is a relatively simple one for a town of its size, is due probably to the religious and educational habits of the community which conform quite well to the general standards of law, having helped make the law; and the fact that the community is not composed of widely varying classes. There are no widely diverging economic gaps between people, and while there are superficially social classes, there is even here but small real divergence. And

the religious nature of the community, being here conservative as is usually true of religion, has also had its influence.

The city government is that for third class cities in Kansas. The mayor and council form a sort of legislative and administrative body. The present development is a growth from simple beginnings. The ordinances passed since 1870 are available at the city clerk's office, as are minutes for the city council sessions since 1877. The minutes for April 12, 1877, show the status of the city government at that time. "Meeting at W. J. Leiser and Co.'s store room. Messrs. S. S. Weatherby, M. I. Crosby, J. G. Schnebly, Geo. Stuart present. (Dallas, absent). J. R. Campbell, mayor. E. E. Gaddis, retiring mayor. Report of M. I. Crosby, treasurer for preceding year, made following report, viz: On his appointment there was no money in the treasury and not any debts against the city. Had received during the year \$65 from Co. Treasury, \$5 license fee from ----- Circus Co. making \$70. Paid out \$3 to S. N. Walker for taking census of the city, \$1 to E. E. Gaddis for repairs on sidewalks, etc. Balance in treasury, \$66." The business of the council as reported on the minutes for the first ten years concerned sidewalks, legislation on streets and alleys, granting use of the parks for Fourth of July celebrations, urging of the Railway Company

to change the name on the station from "Media" to "Baldwin" (Media was a small town near, and would have been a suburb had Baldwin been large enough at the time to have one), the ordering of the building of a city pound (1881), and business with taxes. The city business gradually increased until 1908, when electric light bonds were voted, and soon the further improvements of waterworks and sewer system were provided. The city's business came to be so much more complicated that modern methods of bookkeeping had to be adopted, and at present much importance attaches to having an efficient administration. The city government at present is organized as follows: mayor and council of five, city clerk, city treasurer, marshal and street commissioner, superintendent at the city light plant, and "help" at the light plant.

The college, the public school, the church, and the fraternal orders have a limited "legal" direction of their members. The penalty for violation of rules is usually suspension of certain privileges. College students are dropped if certain standards of action are not observed, high school pupils are occasionally suspended for infraction of rules. These groups do much to bring all this community into relative conformity to the general community standards.

The general temper of the people of the town on gov-

ernment and politics is today more liberal than at earlier times. Elections were formerly a time of much excitement and personal antagonism for a large portion of the community. "I remember," said one man of the town, "some incidents in an election along about 1890. There was a lot of feeling about some issue -- I've forgotten just now what the issue was -- and two old men began a fight. Well, these two old fellows, feeble and tottery, clinched and in the struggle their holds broke and both fell. It was all they could do to get back on their feet but they wanted to go at it again. Each thought his own side of the question the only one. Again, I remember old Captain B., who used to tell us younger fellows how to vote. He was very earnest and outspoken and his line of argument was like this: 'I fought in the Civil War so that you fellows might have a good meaningful ballot. Yet you won't listen to me when I tell you how to vote.' We tried to tell him that our ballots would not be really 'meaningful' if he dictated how they should be cast, but he thought we were upstarts and presumptuous." The following narration of some incidents in connection with the bond election of 1908 shows some later workings of public opinion. "There have always been some who liked to be on the other side of the fence. There were six or seven Democrats who used to be leaders here, and they ran the election by nominating a "Citizens'

Ticket." They worked it pretty well, too, for the town was mainly Republican. Their greatest power was along about 1890. We got them out of power, elected a council of women for one term, and then had things more as we wanted them. But they were always on hand to oppose anything we wanted to do for the town -- waterworks, electric-light plant, everything. The fight on the electric light bonds was an especially hard one. Prof. Bauer of the college had asked for an electric light franchise, but the council wanted an absurd sum. Others took up the matter and went before the council, but K. said we ought to vote bonds if we wanted public improvements, and there was no reason for letting individuals do what the city could do better. We took them up, and demanded that the bond issuance should be put up to the voters. And what do you think K. did? He flopped right over and opposed the bonds, tooth and nail. It was a hard fight. The town paper was on our side, the editor got out a daily for a week or so before the election, and some of us persuaded the editors of papers in neighboring towns to make thrusts at us editorially, and they made effective reading when they were copied in the newspaper here. The election was held, and we beat them. The night of election day K. and several more of the opposition came down to the polling place to hear the result. It was dark, and some of them were carrying lanterns. Just think of it!

Lanterns for light on the streets in 1906! "Boys", spoke up one of our bunch, "Are your lanterns for sale?" They only muttered in reply, and started on inside. "Boys, you might as well hunt up an auctioneer now, for your lanterns won't do you any more good. We've beat you -- two to one. We're going to light this town with real light." We didn't want the thing to go too far, so several of us went on up the street and saved a fight. The later public improvements came easier, but that bunch has always been kicking over the traces."

Elections today are not the occasion of much animosity or bitterness. The greater liberality has been due to the factors which liberalized also religion and recreation, as discussed elsewhere in this paper.

CHAPTER VI. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES.

A study of the religious life of Baldwin reveals most effectively the working of the social process. Religion is conservative. Changes are brought about with difficulty, and often in the course of change confused thinking and unconscious inconsistencies are most prominent. "There is an everlasting struggle in every mind between the tendency to keep unchanged, and the tendency to renovate its ideas," and in the religious field, with the earlier idea that all truth was absolute and that certain facts had been established for all time, change has been especially difficult. We are often inclined to think, because our minds cannot wholly get rid of the supposition that an idea itself has force, that changes might be wrought quickly and permanently, if we could get other people to see the truth as we are sure it exists. But we are coming to learn that truth is not absolute and apart from men, that criticism and analysis and experiment are essential, and that religion is destined to undergo change. The people of Baldwin have clung tenaciously to early ideas. Dr. Albion W. Small speaks of the "strength of mind it has always cost individuals who were in and of resolute religious groups merely to begin tentative criticism of the mores of those groups."

There have however been marked changes, at least of

superficial nature, in the religious life of Baldwin, and it seems to the author that there is no question that there has been some basic change of attitude as well.

The religious life of the community may well be considered as comprised of two periods -- a first period characterized by emotion and rigid discipline, and uncritical; and a second of more liberal attitude, more scientific and more in touch with other phases of community life. The transition was gradual and is still in progress. If a definite date could be assigned to the critical point in this change, it would be about 1906. At least at about this time the "new ideas" caused more comment and were brought more to everyone's attention than at any previous or subsequent time.

as told by religious students and as held by some even today,
 The beliefs in the earlier period were about as follows: God is a spirit, all wise, all good, and we are his children. We were placed on the earth for God's glory. There is much inexplicable in our relations with God, but it is not expected that we comprehend all things -- only He has infinite wisdom. We know that these things are true because they are in the Bible, and the Bible is God's word to His children. If we believe in the Bible's teachings we are saved. Salvation keeps us from the tortures of Hell and secures for us the pleasures and happiness of Heaven. The present results of religion are happiness and

peace, the living of a life that we know to be blessed. The Bible is literally inspired and the miracles unquestioned. Satan is ready to enslave us at all times, and his chief bait is amusement. Amusements are especially tempting to the young, greed for money and possessions and the satisfactions of the flesh are the temptations to those who are older. We must steel ourselves against these worldly tendencies, we should be in the world but live a Heavenly life, a life of otherworldliness. God gives some of his greatest blessings in the privacy of our own devotions and meditations. The greatest among us is he who leads the most "spiritual" life. God moves ^{us} often to exhortation, to witness for Him. Conversion is the experience wherein God touches the sinner, he feels that he is forgiven his transgressions, and that he now becomes the child of the Father. A revival is God's means of awaking a community and saving souls. A revival is brought about through God's grace, our own prayers being essential to cause God to act. To those of us who resist the worldly temptations completely, who live close to God and lead others to the spiritual life, with whom the spirit of God abides and radiates in our words and deeds, if we consecrate ourselves wholly, God gives a "second blessing," the "sanctification" mentioned by St. Paul, and no longer will we experience desire to sin; our deliverance from the "body of death" will be complete; and influ-

enced directly by the Father we will often shout and sing his praises and glory. Jesus Christ was God's representative to a sin-cursed world, He brought our salvation, and in worshipping Him we worship the Father, likewise our praises to God glorify also the Christ.

The typical beliefs today include much that was held in the earlier period, but the emphasis has been greatly shifted.. Things which were formerly considered vital are now but little considered. Today there is but little talk of the glories of Heaven and life in the New Jerusalem; a Hell of torture and endless punishment is seldom held up to our vision as a warning. Happiness and peace are no longer spoken of as the greatest blessings of the Christian life; amusements are no longer considered the highway to perdition; it is not thought that the best thing a man can do is to keep himself unspotted and untarnished by worldly things; and conversion of non-Christians is not considered necessarily the greatest goal of the church. The most advanced beliefs today may be stated about as follows: The people of the world form a great number. A Christ came and lived in the world and taught. His teachings have been the greatest teachings ever enunciated. They have been great not so much because Christ spoke the words as because the words themselves are the most applicable to life of which we know anything, in our attempts to get at the great-

est values in life. The essentials of Christ's teaching are that we shall love our neighbors, that we shall expect not so much to be ministered unto as to minister, that giving is more blessed than receiving, and that he who would be first of all must be last of all and servant of all. The normal is of more value in life than the abnormal, Christian living is of more vital import than conversion. Children should be educated in the Sunday Schools to accept the principles of Christ and the church, and revivals are not the greatest things in a church's life. Amusements are not the instruments of the Devil, but one's life can easily be made fruitless and void through lightness and frivolity and failure to focus thought on things worth while and failure to perform good deeds. The church must hold up before young people alike the challenge of life, the opportunity to grow and develop through efforts to carry out Christ's principles. The purpose of religion is to help us to lead a useful life, to help satisfy the different demands of man's nature. We should seek to be constructive in our religion. Our best attention may well be given to the living of a righteous life now and the future existence will take care of itself without our constantly thinking about it. The future existence is a certainty however, and is one of the rewards for a good life here. We should be tolerant; let our people be baptized in whatever fashion they choose; let

them have their own ideas so long as they are not opposed to the general purposes of the church. Our church should have "socials" to satisfy that side of the nature of our members; athletics are a good thing for our boys because we want them developed physically and socially; we ought to help the needy in our community not necessarily in the name of the Lord but because it is justice; and our whole community ought to be a good one economically in which to live.

It must not be thought that the whole community is a unit on these beliefs or on any beliefs. There are many in the town who believe almost precisely as the people did in the earlier period. There are many who believe a part of the earlier beliefs and a part of the later ones. On succeeding Sundays, sermons from widely divergent angles will be preached from the same pulpit by different ministers, and sometimes the same minister will seem to take positions that are incompatible. The whole emphasis of religion is shifting from the otherworldliness idea to strivings for a good life in this existence, from extreme spiritism to well rounded social development, and people hold views all the way between these extremes. But that the whole point of view is changing is unquestioned.

Many illustrations of the early religious convictions might be given. The following is a typical experience, related by Mr. L. "Along about 1880 there was a big tent

revival east of town about three miles. There was a man named Hughes who had been a swindler -- he was a trader and very shrewd and many a time he had cheated so successfully that the other fellow didn't learn of the deception. Well, the Lord got to troubling Hughes, wouldn't let him rest, and Hughes got to going to the altar to seek conversion. For a long time he got no satisfaction, but at last out at the tent meeting I mentioned, Hughes found the Lord. Now, I'll tell you, God's grace made a man out of Hughes. The thing that had kept him a seeker for so long was that he held out and didn't want to make restitution for the swindling he had done. But on his knees he said, 'Lord, I'll do it', and you never saw a happier man or one more changed. He got his check book, computed the amount due each of the men he owed, and went all over the country righting the wrongs he had committed. I remember one time afterward when Hughes and another man came into town one day in a wagon. They stopped in front of a store and there were quite a few men on the street. Well, those men sang two or three hymns and offered prayers before they got out of the wagon. I tell you there was power in Hughes' experience. Such experiences ought to be more common." Again, Mrs. C. remembered instances where religion made people happy in those better early days. Said she, "There was old Mr. S.. who died as recently as 1909, and was one of the last of the

old group. For several days before his death he was the happiest man you ever saw -- he died shouting happy. And Dr. Davis, the college president, was one of the best men ever in Baldwin. He was always filled with the spirit." "My recollection of the religious life in the early eighties", said Professor H., "is that it was much more demonstrative than it was later. A revival used to be as definitely on the college program for the year as the class work. "Amen", "Praise the Lord", "The Lord help us", and other phrases were often interposed when one was leading in prayer. There was some physical exuberance and demonstration, some in the services getting quite 'happy'. Dr. Davis, the early religious leader of the community and a wonderfully fine man, used to approach the joyous shouting stage. Many of the church people would stifle thought in those days, some of them would do so today too, by the way, but at that time such statements as this were often heard: 'It's in the Bible, that's enough for me and I don't care for your philosophy in the matter.' A certain phraseology was tied up with the religious experience, as 'atonement', 'blood atonement', etc. Even in 1914, when the query was put to a Sunday School class of older years as to what they would say of a man who, reared in unfortunate circumstances, had made the most of them, had done much of a helpful nature and developed a high grade character, but who had never been 'converted'.

The class doubted his chances for Heaven." A representative of the earlier type of thought, in January, 1915, preached a sermon in Baldwin the nature of which can be seen from the following statements: "The Christian life should be one of glory. It should be our great glory to be a slave to Jesus Christ. We should consecrate ourselves and we shall partake of the glory of Heaven. Education, social reform, and the like fail, Christ is the essential. The Christian life is the one we should strive for because it is increasingly glorious." That it was firmly felt that God spoke simply and directly to his people is shown by the statement of Rev. W. H. Sweet, one of the most successful presidents of the college, and whose administration was from 1879 to 1886. Said Mr. Sweet, in "Fourteen Years of My Life", a part of his booklet on "A Chapter of the History of Baker University": "I went to church Sunday morning, and in the afternoon took a walk along the railroad. The cry of my heart was like that of Paul's on his way to Damascus: 'Lord, what wilt thou have me to do'. I had no Ananias to tell me but I trusted that the Holy Spirit would speak it to my heart. Not far from the station I sat down on a railroad tie, and thought and thought and prayed. The question to be decided then and there was: 'Shall I accept this offer (an offer to teach in Illinois) or not'. I had not sat there long till there was whispered to my consciousness as

plainly as if it had been spoken in my ear: 'Do not accept it.' Owing to this experience I have never doubted that I had a work to do at Baker." That there was any possibility of the church proving fallible does not seem to have occurred to the early church leaders at Baldwin. Said one old resident, "There have always been some who were antagonistic to the church, and some on the college faculty have been rather skeptical. The reason for this is that these people were servants of the Devil."

Illustrations of a different present day attitude on religion are numerous also. One fruitful source for illustration is the pulpit utterances of the ministers. The following statements from recent sermons reflect the newer views. "From the taxgatherer to St. Matthew, the effective Christian, is a long process." "The Kingdom of God is simply your sense of right worked out in your community." "The only witnessing of any value is service." "The Book of Revelations is too far behind the times to be accepted by Twentieth Century thought." "Much 'Christian' work is really rather pointless. It consists in bringing new members into the church; why? To help bring more new members in." "Sin is the waste of human energy, righteousness the conservation and effective use of human energy." "The true gospel is productive. A true religious revival ought to lower the death rate, better the agricultural production,

and improve the community economically and socially."

"If the revival idea gets into a man's cranium so that it keeps him from effective work, he needs attention from the brethren." "The church is not an entity apart from men -- the state is not such an entity -- you and I do whatever is done in this world." "We used to think here in Baldwin that the Lord would save the country only through the Methodist Church and the Republican Party. Now we know that no catch-words will be our salvation. We are learning to mix our politics and our religion and stay constantly on the job." "Our religion is usually too external. It must be ingrained into the fiber of our lives else it is of no avail." "I don't care who wrote the Pentateuch. That's not the vital point at all." Further light is afforded by a recent summary of the general Methodistic trend of the last fifty years, from Dr. S. S. Klyne, the Methodist pastor: "(1) The church is coming more and more to avoid the negative or 'thou shalt not' type of authority. People are becoming more capable of discrimination and judgment for themselves. Action in accord with wise personal choice is better than action in harmony with rigid external dictum. (2) The church is realizing more adequately than before that the only way in which real preparation for the future life can be made is through effective life on earth. Earlier times saw a disproportionate centering of attention on

Heaven with an inadequate realization of the method of attaining Heaven. (3) More tolerance is being shown and controversies on doctrinal points are seen unimportant. (4) The right way to make people Christian is seen today to be education, rather than neglect of the young people and the attendant wild oats period, and then efforts at conversion. The Christian experience is the normal and natural."

It must constantly be borne in mind that the ideas just presented are the most advanced ideas. They are not all wholly accepted by those who utter them. For instance, in some of the sermons from which the above quotations were made were the following statements. "The way to become a Christian is to follow Jesus -- don't worry, just follow." "Man of himself is absolutely helpless." "Most of the process of becoming Christian is the work of God." There are many who are openly antagonistic to the evident trend of thought. At present (1916) there are about twenty whose worship and conversation are typically of the earlier type. Said one, "I could tell by figuring a little just when I entered into this (sanctification) experience." "Do I believe in the doctrine of total depravity? Why, it's in the Bible -- there's no getting around it." "We ought to get saved so that we may be assured of Heaven and so that we may be free from the sins of the world -- we should lead

a Holy life, one close to God."

The reasons for the marked change in religious attitude which has been indicated are at least three in number: the rising of the economic status of the community and the surrounding country, the greatly improved means of communication and travel of recent times, and the scientific attitude of thought which has come to affect without exception every phase of human life.

As has been pointed out in the chapters on social origins and in the one on the economic life of Baldwin, the early years were ones of deprivation and hardship. Living was of necessity simple, self-denial an enforced virtue. Under such conditions, religion was naturally somewhat of the negative -- the 'thou shalt not' -- type. In practically all of the early Eastern Kansas history, the wisest leaders -- the shrewdest managers -- were conservative in finance, rigid in their ideas on amusements and things of like nature requiring much expenditure. The religion was one of self denial, relatively simple and uncritical. The rise in the economic status of Baldwin and of Eastern Kansas was a very pertinent reason for less rigid views on expenses, for tolerance in amusements and lighter 'social' life, and, the wedge having entered, for more liberal religious views. The industrial development of the United States as a whole and the resultant wealth have been effecting the

same changes in the country at large. Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations", states that a study of history and social conditions in general reveals an economic basis for religious sects. The economic state unconsciously affects religion and all other phases of human life. Baldwin may be said to have just attained a desirable economic footing at the time when the religious changes were rapidly coming to a critical point. The time assigned as the probable one for the crucial point of the religious change was 1906. In that year the financial state of the community was such that a second bank was established and the voters of the city decided on the issuance of electric light bonds to the extent of \$10,000. The college at this time was practically at its high point in enrollment and the general prosperity of the community was greater than ever before.

There came also to be much improvement in communication and travel in the years leading up to and during the time in question. The trend of ideas the country overstruck with more force the community which was becoming less and less isolated.

The modern scientific attitude of thought has had a most marked effect on the changes being considered. Working upon and influenced by the work of predecessors, leaders in thought in recent times have come to be more analytical and critical than was formerly true, many of the presupposi-

tions of earlier thought have been evaluated, and there have resulted great changes in education, philosophy, religion. The industry of today offers every reward to the inventor and investigator. Analysis and experiment have resulted in almost unbelievable advancement in commerce and communication. A fixed and immutable standard of religious dogma is incompatible with a scientific industrialism. Criticism, analysis, evaluation and experiment are becoming habits of mind and are being applied to every phase of the life of men. Up to 1850 the Christian world believed practically as a unit in truth as an absolute quantity, as something partially revealed to man, and almost as a unit minds were closed to innovation or criticism. At about this time attempts were made to bring a spirit of inquiry to bear upon all problems -- the biological and psychological and religious phases of life being especially included. After a period which seemed to many a chaos -- an era in which 'evolution', 'Darwinism', and 'Spencer' called forth almost instant condemnation from the religious leaders -- a very definite cosmos began to appear. The newer ideas gave promise of being constructive. Doctrinal disputes came gradually to be considered as often wholly irrelevant to any ascertainable good, and people came to see that religion ought to sensibly serve humanity. The welfare of men -- human beings -- is coming to be our great

goal. The country's religious, educational, philosophic leaders have accepted the new attitude. Religion has been vitalized by what its leaders first opposed. But the conservative nature of religion has afforded much resistance. The acceptance of the new attitude at Baldwin is far from unanimous. With the college leaders and with many others the 'viewpoint' obtains. But men are found in all stages of transition. Most opposed to the newer ideas is the small group of twenty or more which believes firmly in the doctrine of sanctification. Their attitude is probably well expressed by one of their number: "The tendency to-day I think is wrong. A lot of this stuff the students study I think makes them infidels. I want to stick by the Book." But the change as a whole is being effected.

The difficulties of transition may be indicated by the following quotations from the Kansas Conference minutes (Methodist Episcopal Church) for 1905, and the South Kansas Conference minutes for 1909. "We commend the action of the Board of Trustees at their meeting last December in regard to the teaching of destructive higher criticism, and we expect them so to continue their good work that if such teaching should at any time be found in the University, the teachers and all who are responsible for it shall no longer be retained." "A university may have great buildings and splendid equipment but it cannot produce great men without

good teachers who, inspired with great ideals and grounded on the eternal verities of God's Truth, can impart both knowledge and faith to our aspiring youth. If the result of Modern Education is 'Doubt' and not 'Faith', then there is something wrong with the system. All higher education should lead to God. Now if the teacher should exalt 'Materialistic Evolution' to the place of God, and supplant 'Faith' with 'Culture' we should have a generation of doubters. The most strategical departments in a university are the departments of Philosophy and Bible Study." Such attitudes have however not been expressed or approved in the more recent sessions of the conferences. That a few teachers on the college faculty severed connection with the school at least partially on account of friction resulting from a conflict of views is a matter of common knowledge in the community. A telling cartoon at one of the crises represented a professor tearing leaves from the Bible and an aged minister of the town coming along, picking up the torn sheets, and putting them back in place.

The following quotations from Walter Lippman's book, "Drift and Mastery", are pertinent in the present discussion. "There is no compromise possible between authority and the scientific spirit. They may happen to agree on some particular point today, but there is no guarantee that they will not disagree tomorrow. * * The Nineteenth Century

undoubtedly meant a shattering of the traditional faiths. And yet no century has been so eager to understand the very idols it was breaking. The same period in which the secular spirit won its greatest triumphs saw the first real effort at an understanding of superstition and magic, ritual and taboo, religious need and doctrinal sources. Indeed the interest of the scientific spirit in the past has been so masterful that all previous history looks like village gossip. It is utterly untrue, therefore, to say that the modern outlook means an abrupt break with the accumulated wisdom of the past. It has meant a break with blind obedience to an ignorant fabrication about the past. But that break is what has opened to us the lessons of history as they have never been opened to any other people." "The Biblical scholars of the last hundred years, in spite of all their so called atheism, have, I believe, seen deeper into the basis of Christianity than the Church which has represented it. And while they have undoubtedly shaken authority, they have built up a sympathetic understanding of the human values it contained. * * What they (the conservatives) miss in modern science is submission." "Only when we have destroyed the authority of tradition can we appreciate its treasure. So long as tradition is a blind command it is for our world an evil and dangerous thing. But once you see the past merely as a theater of human effort

it overflows with suggestion."

The accompanying statistical table gives some idea of the church's place in the community life. The interaction of the religious views with the educational and recreative activities is partially indicated in the two following chapters.

STATISTICS FOR FIRST M.E. CHURCH
BALDWIN, KANSAS.

YEAR	Church Membership	Probationers	Value of Church Building	Name of Preacher	Allowance
1858	-- 82	-- 26	-- \$ 800	-----	\$ 625
1859	-- 42	-- 10	-- 500	Wm. Butt	-- 446
1860	- 146	- 133	-----	M. Robertson	- 576
1861	- 105	- 34	-----	I. F. Collins	- 620
1862	- 95	- 10	-----	W. R. Davis	- 650
1863	- 142	- 89	-- 100	{ T. H. Mudge } { C. H. Lovejoy }	- 230
1864	- 120	- 8	-----	T. J. Ferrill	- 400
1865	- 136	- 54	-----	Wm. Butt	- 600
1866	- 147	- 24	-----	G. S. Dearborn	-----
1867	- 141	- 71	-----	S. E. McBurney	- 900
1868	- 146	- 40	-----	J. Lawrence	- 800
1869	- 172	- 35	- 3,000	J. B. Orwig	- 850
1870	- 88	- 6	- 4,000	{ J. A. Simpson } { J. E. Bryan }	- 600
1871	- 132	- 25	- 6,000	J. E. Bryan	- 700
1872	- 140	- 45	- "	D. A. Perrin	- 800
1873	- 99	- 12	- "	D. A. Perrin	- 500
1874	- 185	- 9	- 4,000	-----	- 750
1875	- 180	- 25	- "	R. A. Caruthers	- 700
1876	- 155	- 6	- "	J. Denison	- 700
1877	- 143	- 9	- "	H. W. Reed	- 650
1878	-----	-----	-----	F. B. McHenry	-----
1879	- 195	- 35	-----	A. B. Murray	- 580
1880	- 225	- 25	- 3,500	A. B. Murray	- 610
1881	- 242	- 94	- 4,000	-----	- 732
1882	- 275	- 38	- "	A. H. Walter	- 1000
1883	- 275	- 13	- "	W. R. Davis	- 1000
1884	- 407	- 44	- "	W. R. Davis	- 1000
1885	- 475	- 10	- "	W. R. Davis	- 1200
1886	- 445	- 99	- 5,000	E. C. Boaz	- 1300
1887	- 480	- 45	- "	E. C. Boaz	- 1300
1888	- 468	- 55	- 3,000	E. C. Boaz	- 1300
1889	- 508	- 102	- "	C. W. Gullett	- 1300
1890	- 558	- 31	- "	{ C. W. Gullett } { J. A. Motter }	- 1225
1891	- 574	- 61	- 2,500	J. A. Motter	- 1300
1892	- 618	- 17	- "	J. A. Motter	- 1300
1893	- 650	- 22	- "	J. A. Motter	- 1300
1894	- 556	- 22	- "	C. R. Rice	- 1300
1895	- 560	- 30	- 3,000	C. R. Rice	- 1225
1896	- 600	- 65	- "	R. P. Hammons	- 1700
1897	- 675	- 20	- "	R. P. Hammons	- 1700
1898	- 585	- 53	- "	S. S. Murphy	- 1550
1899	- 620	- 16	- "	S. S. Murphy	- 1550

STATISTICS FOR FIRST M.E. CHURCH

BALDWIN, KANSAS.

YEAR	Church Membership	Probationers	Value of Church Building	Name of Preacher	Allowance
1900	- 522	- 5	- \$3,000	S.S. Murphy	\$1550
1901	- 520	- 35	- 3,000	S.S. Murphy	- 1550
1902	- 600	- 48	- 3,000	S.S. Murphy	- 1550
1903	- 625	- 12	- 16,000	S.S. Murphy	- 1600
1904	- 635	- 50	- 26,000	S.S. Murphy	- 1600
1905	- 780	- 45	- 30,000	I.B. Pulliam	- 1680
1906	- 825	- 125	- "	I.B. Pulliam	- 1730
1907	- 875	- 48	- "	I.B. Pulliam	- 1960
1908	1,005	- 22	- "	J.F. Jenness	- 1960
1909	1,020	- 29	- "	J.F. Jenness	- 1960
1910	- 928	- 11	- "	R.B. Kester	- 1960
1911	- 936	- 11	- 38,000	R.B. Kester	- 2400
1912	- 880	- 6	- 38,000	R.B. Kester	- 2400
1913	- 804	- 12	- 36,500	R.B. Kester	- 2400
1914	- 796	- 5	- 36,500	R.B. Kester	- 2400
1915	- 787	- 13	- 36,500	S.S. Klyne	- 2400
1916	- 950	- 12	- 36,500	S.S. Klyne	- 2400

CHAPTER VII. EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES.

As was pointed out in Chapters II and III, the town of Baldwin took its origin as a location for Baker University. From the earliest days the college has been the central institution of common interest, and the economic, religious and recreative activities have been influenced by the college and in turn have affected it. As need for the public schools developed, they also became important parts of the educational system.

The history of Baker University may be roughly classified into three divisions. The first includes the period from 1858 to 1885, and was a time of hard struggle and stern sacrifice, of debts and privations. The second period was from 1885 to 1907, and was a period of increased enrollment, better equipment, and broadening of interests and scope for the school. The last period, from 1907 down to the present, has been a time of slight reduction in numbers of students, of providing a stronger financial basis for the institution, and of more liberal educational views.

All reminiscences of the early period reflect the economic difficulties of the times. Almost at the college's beginning it was found that the title given by the Palmyra Association was defective and that a clear one could be

obtained "by paying Jacob Hall \$500. This news greatly discouraged the little band, and although a building had been begun to accomodate the school, some, and even for a time a majority, were in favor of moving the school away. But the loyal friends and townsmen made up the sum privately and cleared the title." Once started, the college did fairly well up to 1869. There were in the years up to 1869 seven presidents, however, and one of them, Dr. Davis, served three times. But the conference reports of the Methodist Episcopal church, which had charge of the institution, were favorable, and the state superintendent reported in 1867 that the school was in good condition. A new building, Science Hall, was begun in 1864, and all sorts of financial difficulties resulted. "By 1866 the foundation and walls of the first story were completed; then came a lull; funds were low and work was spasmodic until 1869, when a bond issue to the extent of \$10,000 was made. * * The building was hastened to partial completion, and in 1871 was opened for use." In 1869 the Conference reported that "the best interests of this Institution require an entire change in the management of its affairs. * * The current expenses of the Institution amount to 55% more than its receipts for tuition, which additional expense has been met by the sale of lands and contributions from the friends of the college. The whole amount of money

thus expended in defraying the current expenses for the past six years, including salary of agent, is \$18,175.10.

* * Resolved that the Board of Trustees of Baker University be instructed to reduce the Faculty thereof to such a number as can be supplied by the tuition fees of the institution." The result of this action is shown in the report of 1870 which stated, "The policy recommended by the last conference, of reducing the Faculty to such a number as could be supported by the tuition fees, has resulted as was undoubtedly expected by all -- reduction in the Faculty has resulted in reduction in the literary standing and character of the school; only about thirty students being in attendance during the last term. This policy, if continued, will close the school in three months."

The succeeding times were the hardest years in Baker's existence. Legal difficulties on account of a double charter, charges of "fraud", and general hard times brought about a special investigation by a Board of Commissioners, from June to December, 1873. Their report took thirteen pages of the Conference minutes for 1875, and may be summarized thus: There were two charters, one for Baker University and the other for the Kansas Educational Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church; the college property, about six hundred town lots, and some unpaid subscriptions were held by the Educational Association; the bonds and

other debts were owed by the University corporation, which had no assets whatever; and the creditors of the institution raised the cry of "fraud". The debt, though not legally collectable, was assumed, and later paid. The \$10,000 in bonds was held by a bank in Raway, New Jersey, and arrangements were made to pay off the bonds at forty cents on the dollar. Strenuous efforts resulted in paying off \$4,000 of the debt. Then in 1879 the college seemed to be getting on its feet again, and the bondholders demanded the remainder of their money at the face value of the bonds, so the financial gloom still persisted. In 1883 the bonds were retired however, and publicly burned. The authorities at once planned a new building, and another campaign was launched without delay.

The college was maintained in these strenuous times only through sacrifice of salary by teachers, and through subscriptions often far beyond the means of the friends of the institution. At the time of the bond difficulty mentioned, there was a floating debt of \$7,000, the greater part of which was owed to teachers. An illustration of sacrifice for the school is taken from Dr. W. H. Sweet's booklet (A Chapter of the History of Baker University). A claim for \$1,700 was held by Mrs. Sells, and represented some purchases of lumber for the college building. Dr.

Sweet wrote to Mrs. Sells as follows. "Dear Madam: The proposition I make is this; my father and I own a quarter section of land in Otoe County, Nebraska, the north half of the southeast quarter and the north half of the southwest quarter, section 4, township 7, range 9. If you will accept this piece of land for your claim against this institution, we will turn it over to you, in case the other debts including the bonds are paid. * * I asked a real estate man in Nebraska City, a little more than a year ago, what our land was worth. He replied, 'I have land in that neighborhood which I am holding at \$1,000 per quarter; but the land is worth \$800'. You would receive a good title, there are no incumbrances against it. (Signed) W. H. Sweet." The deed passed and the claim was settled. Said an old resident, in speaking of these critical years, "I helped maintain Baker's existence at a most critical time. On one occasion all the faculty had left except Prof. Weatherby, and I think the only reason he was staying was because he had some money from his wife."

These economic difficulties were reflected in the student life and the affairs of the town. "For nearly ten years preceding 1882 I don't remember that there was a shingle laid in Baldwin." "In those early days I certainly thought Baldwin was a dead town. So far as I know there was no lecture course, no athletics, very little except

classes and camp-meetings." "There weren't many picnics, and when one was arranged there were no distinctions between students, faculty, and townspeople. We were all alike together." Economic hardships tend to establish a religion of self denial, and the early college rules were quite restrictive and negative in character. (Another reason for the ~~former~~ close supervision of the times may be found in the religious traditions -- faith was such as to foster the 'thou-shalt-not' type, and goodness consisted in the absence of evil.) The first college catalogues, issued from 1862 to 1865, set forth these rules, in part: "No student will be allowed to absent himself or herself from college, except by permission of the faculty, and in the case of a minor, a written permission of a parent or guardian may be required." "Punctual and regular attendance at recitation, at public college exercises, at prayers and at church, and observance of study hours, are required of every student." "Ungentlemanly or unladylike treatment of fellow students or citizens, disrespect toward the faculty, irreverance at church, amusements, visits of pleasure, gathering in groups, and noise in rooms on the Sabbath, absence from room at night later than ten o'clock, loud conversation, loud laughing, wrestling, jumping or other unnecessary noise in the college building, leaving town without the knowledge and consent of the Faculty, contracting

debts without the consent of parents or guardians, disorderly deportment at boarding houses or elsewhere," permitting disorder in a room by any person whatever, wearing firearms or other weapons, visiting circuses or theaters, games of chance, card playing and gambling of every kind, visiting drinking saloons, or keeping intoxicating liquors in room or elsewhere, and all other breeches of good morals or good order, are strictly and totally forbidden; while entire freedom of religious sentiment and practice is allowed. The students are required to attend regularly at some place of religious worship on the Sabbath, and on all occasions to treat the institutions of religion with respect." "Absence of every student from recitation, chapel exercises and church, and the deportment and standing of each recitation in every department of study, are placed in a record; and the general standing of each one is read before the whole body of students at the close of each term." This general tenor of rules held throughout all the period from 1858 to 1885, though not catalogued at such length, and held over into the next more prosperous period.

The restrictive nature of the school regulations led to many offenses on the part of the students. Those desiring excitement or adventure found it, not so often in constructive student activities as in rule breaking. "What did we do for a good time? Oh, we deviled the faculty,

mostly", said one who fitted only fairly well into the school program, but who has been somewhat of a leader more "recently in the affairs of his community. Others relate incidents showing this attitude. "President Sweet came to a room, suspicioning card playing. His approach was detected, and one of the guilty inmates began a very 'devout' prayer. Dr. Sweet tiptoed away." "There were some gangs of us who used to make plenty of disturbance. We paid no attention to the nine o'clock bell, but we scattered when any of the faculty appeared. For excitement we did all sorts of mean tricks -- we filled the doorway at the Old Castle with wood and big timbers, and I don't know how they ever got them away. We tied a cow once to old Mr. B's door late at night, and by throwing clods at her, kept her moving about and ringing the bell she wore. Some of us had bet that we could make the good old Methodist swear, and we won that time. President Hartman used to chase us when he saw us out after night. One time there were about a dozen of us who had been enjoying the evening in various ways, but S. and I weren't satisfied, and after the others went home, we slipped around and succeeded in arousing Mr. Hartman. He dressed himself partially and came out to settle us. S. and I had it made up that we would make for a field of tall bluestem near the timber, and take turns resting and being chased, and wear Hartman out. When S. got tired running, he'd yell, and

I'd cut in between him and the president, and then S. would rest while the president and I dodged around through the bluestem. S. went back on me though; when I yelled for him he didn't cut in, and I came near being caught. But just as the president was ready to seize me I instinctively dropped to the ground, and he tripped over me of course and rolled headlong into the grass. I hurried on home, and I settled with S. later." Pranks, for spite and for fun, have occurred throughout all the school's history, probably for the same causes. Their relative prominence seems to have been greatest at this period.

During this first period of difficult finance, of rigid rules, of simple social life with social lines practically undrawn, and of mischief as an outlet for surplus energy, the educational ideal of those who supported the college was religious, in particular the ideal was for denominational education. The denomination was interested not so much in fostering education in general, as in maintaining and increasing the power and influence of its creed, and to ward off any encroachment of outside ideas upon its young people. The most outspoken statement expressing this view occurred in the Kansas Annual Conference minutes for 1871. "Your committee are ready to take advanced ground upon the subject, and make the Methodist school as denominational as the Methodist pulpit, yea, and furnish

from our own schools young men of high religious culture, who, moved by the Holy Ghost, shall stand upon the Methodist pulpit, and perpetuate the name and power of Methodist Christianity." And further, "Shall we say the State Institutions are sufficient? * * Shall we let mere politicians say who shall teach the men and women that in a few years are to control the interests of the Methodist Episcopal church? Surely we might take a lesson from the Catholics on this point. We want our own university the more because of the existence of the State Institutions. Should it happen that therein, morals and religion were overlooked, or worse, that insidious infidelity should become popular, what else but the denominational schools would furnish the antidote to the poison?" Since these statements were made, the adherents of the school have acquired more proportionate faith in humanity and have come to put less dependence on Methodistic view, as will be shown later. The different view of life as effected by the modern 'scientific attitude' is helping to bring about these changes.

In this first period as in the subsequent ones, a 'cultural' or 'classical' ideal has obtained at the institution. The rich life was the one which could 'appreciate' the values, especially the non-economic ones, from the past, and 'knowledge' as such was desired. These were the current ideals

the country over during the first period, and were naturally the ones unconsciously accepted at Baker. The same ideals are holding into the present, and are only partially displaced by the 'social service', 'vocational', and 'knowledge for use' ideals. The commencement program for 1868 reflects these attitudes somewhat, and illustrates the abstract nature as well as the religious character of much of the teaching. The program follows, in part: (1) Lecture to Philosophian Society, by Prof. J. W. Horner, "American Culture." (2) Baccalaureate sermon, Rev. G. S. Dearborn. (3) Address to the students, Rev. J. B. Orwig. (4) A musical concert. (5) Orations: "Arctic Regions and Dr. Kane", "Monuments", "Habit", "Where Dwell the Loved", "Emulation", "One by One", "How Far That Little Candle Throws His Beams", "Nature's Noblemen", "Action", "Plus", "According to One's Powers", "Unto This Last", "The Power of Character".

The personality of leaders was important also in the early years of the college. Mention need be made only of Dr. W. R. Davis, the first president and twice afterward president at critical times, and an influential man of the town until his death. "He served for a time as agent for the institution, and was also in charge of the church of the town. He was chaplain of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, a representative in the first State Legislature, and Superintendent of Instruction in Douglas County." "He

was chaplain of the 12th Kansas in the Civil War, and later colonel of the 16th." "He was a man of unusually dignified bearing -- no other man we've ever had in our midst could equal him. His presence was a social benediction. He was a splendid inspirational speaker, yet he lacked the ability to manage well. His personality was a great force in the earlier years."

The second period in the college's life -- that from 1885 to 1907 -- may be more briefly considered, as it had many points in common with the first period. The chief differences were the greatly increased enrollments and outward prosperity of the college, the extension of the college life to include many activities previously unknown, and the beginnings of the educational ideals which are developing in the present period.

During the time up to 1880, the college enrollment had been fluctuating and uncertain, and never large. Toward the latter part of President Sweet's administration, which closed in 1886, the town and college took on an impetus which started them well upon a larger later history. The enrollment climbed steadily from less than three hundred in 1882 to nearly one thousand in 1907. The period closed with the erection of a gymnasium and a library building in the years from 1900 to 1907, and when the gymnasium was destroyed by fire, it was replaced by a larger and more mod-

ern structure in 1908. There were fourteen changes in the presidency in the first period mentioned, three served the more stable institution in the second. The town began to build up and improve. The city government assumed a place of more importance. The economic development to which these changes were at least partially due were discussed in Chapter IV.

School activities were extended to include new phases in this second period. College athletics developed into an important one of these phases. Early in the eighties base ball was being played. At this time a game was played with Kansas University, "the score being 15 to 14 in favor of Baker, B. U. making 11 runs in the ninth inning." Class base ball games were held in 1885, and were quite prominent among the school interests in the spring. "It was the old game with underhand pitching, fouls caught on the first bounce were out, and curves were a mystery." Football was introduced about 1887. "There were five to fifty on a side, there were no fixed positions, no lining up, no scrimmages. Running with the ball and throwing the ball were generally forbidden." In 1890 a team was organized, "and for the first time in Kansas a rush-line lined up for a scrimmage." Tennis came in the year 1889, and for quite a time received more attention than track, which had a brief vogue early in the nineties and then dropped

from sight. Football was the greatest of the early games, however. Beginning in 1890, the Baker team met with one success after another, her famous "flying wedge" was too much for all opponents, and the school and town were swept with enthusiasm. Baker won the "Championship of the West", Kansas University went down in a crucial game, and the college paper issued extras in orange ink, orange being the Baker color. But intercollegiate athletics were not favored by the governing conferences. In March of 1893 the South Kansas Conference deplored the tendency to intercollegiate sports, and in 1894 the faculty was requested to discontinue them. The attitude of the conference seemed to be that athletics were "distracting", that they appealed to a lower side of human nature, and that evil came from the trips taken in meeting other schools. The responsibility for abolishing intercollegiate athletics, football in particular, rested with the conservative ministers of the governing conference. With the exception of football, intercollegiate games came back into prominence after a short period had elapsed, "a period in which all athletic spirit seemed to be killed at the University". A need for a gymnasium came to be felt in the late nineties, for gymnastics and games. A splendid building was erected, but the growth of the idea was somewhat as follows: "Dr. Parmenter proposed a shed to cost about \$500. A Mr. Fogle said if

they would make it \$3,000 he would give half; he had a son whom he wished to be gymnasium instructor. Prof. Wolf said if he were given the second story for quarters for a commercial department, and were allowed all revenues for five years, he would give \$2,500. Then Mr. Rippey, an elderly friend of the school, gave \$10,000; many other contributions, large and small, were received, and from meager plans grew the idea for a first class gymnasium, the best one and one of the first ones among the Kansas colleges at the time." The foregoing is a good illustration of how public opinion on a point is developed. Plans are made, discussion provoked, plans revised in the light of the discussions, new ideas presented, and instead of the whole program being made "of whole cloth", many people contribute to the scheming and an integrated compromise is adopted.

The students used the literary societies as a means of satisfying many of their demands for social life, for personal achievement, and for various other purposes in the second period of the colleges history, the years of growth from 1885 to 1907. A number of societies had existed for short periods in the earlier years of the school, but they were comparatively unimportant. In 1877, however, the Biblical Society was organized, its first purpose being to study the Bible but its main function soon centering in lit-

erary work. The Athenian Society, or "Greeks", organized in October, 1878. These were men's societies. For women, the Aelician Society was organized in 1879 and the Clionian Society in 1881. From the time these societies were organized down to about 1905 they were the most important and influential organizations at Baker. Practically the entire student body was included in the membership. Rivalry was intense, intersociety contests were noisy and characterized by each society's staunch "support" of its representatives. These organizations were more than literary -- they served a social purpose as well. Banquets came to be an important feature; Peace Conferences, Inauguration of Presidents of the United States, Scenes from Roman History, were staged on a large scale. Initiation ceremonies were worked out. "Jell eats and cake eats" came to be regularly (sometimes surreptitiously and irregularly) planned. "Society" was the common topic for conversation at the post-office, on the campus, at the boarding club. Though all these other features were important, the debates, orations, and general programs were a chief focus point. This was especially true in the period when athletics was somewhat unimportant in the nineties. The splendid training in the society and intersociety contests stood Baker in good stead in the inter-collegiate contests. Baker built up a record that

for a time far outclassed that of any other college near. "The year 1896-7 witnessed nothing of more importance than the winning of the State (Oratorical) Contest by W. A. Brown." And in 1904 the University set forth these claims in advertisements: "Baker has never been defeated in debate by a Kansas College; and for the last three years Baker won first place in the State Oratorical Contest, and two years ago won first place in the Inter-state Contest."

The second period was also one when many other groups were organized, and many other activities begun. To mention only the most important, the Y. M. C. A. was established in 1886, the Y. W. C. A. in 1887, the Epworth League in 1890; some fraternities were organized, but the main discussion of these belongs in our consideration of the next period; class organizations were effected, and made permanent by books and traditions being handed down in series to later classes -- "The House of Hanover" originated with the class of 1891, and "King Arthur's Court", "The Columbian Commonwealth", and "The Roman Senate" soon were the official names given to the other three classes; there were college newspapers, the "Index" being issued through the eighties and part of the nineties, the "Beacon" covering part of the same period, and more recently the "Baker Orange"; glee clubs, bands of volunteers for work as foreign missionaries, Bible study groups, and science clubs

have thrived for longer or shorter times. Why this greater organization and formation of groups in this second period? Largely because of the larger number of students in attendance at the institution. Group life is an essential to human development and civilized life, since men develop minds by social contacts and become truly socialized by identifying themselves with ever widening groups. Baker's usefulness naturally broadened through the larger numbers in attendance, through more groups being established -- groups which gave opportunity for expressing varying student tendencies, which permitted selection and afforded stimuli. Baker came nearer to "living" her education, and as Randolph Bourne says, "that involves good health, play, sport, constructive work, talk, questioning, exercise, friendship, personal expression, as well as reading and learning."

It has been stated that the third period in Baker's history began about 1907 and continues into the present, and is characterized by a reduction in enrollment, a better financial condition, and broader educational views.

The falling off in attendance at Baker has been due chiefly to the decline of the special departments of the school -- the preparatory, normal and commercial departments. The collegiate department however has thrived. The falling off in these special departments has been due largely to

the growth of the high schools, which attempt to supply the needs of the Kansas young people at home, and the growth of special schools at various places.

The long list of financial difficulties and sacrifices noted in the first part of this chapter might have been partially duplicated in the second period, but the college is now on the way to a real financial support. On Oct. 1st, 1914, was closed a campaign for endowment, and pledges to the extent of more than \$550,000 were secured. The General Education Board (Rockefeller Foundation) made a conditional grant of \$125,000 of that sum. The campaign was a hard one, and its successful termination was the occasion of much rejoicing on the part of the friends of the college. The last college debt was removed, and though the endowment is still relatively small, the finances at Baker are at their best condition in history. This condition has been made possible only through the bettered economic condition in the territory from which Baker students come, as the greater portion of the endowment came from this source, much of it in relatively small contributions. The general popularity of "higher education" in this part of the country was also an important factor.

A most difficult problem is the educational ideal of the college at present. The assumptions which serve as bases for thought are not easily grasped. The following

seems to represent the condition however. There is more tolerance as to views other than Methodistic ones, state schools are not viewed with such skepticism and hostility as formerly. Better communication, inter-collegiate activities, cheaper travel have resulted in more actual knowledge and helped destroy prejudices; and modern scientific thought has rendered largely obsolete the idea that the "other fellow" is depraved. That much state education tends to be "Godless" is still a firm belief with many however. The whole matter is in flux, there is division of opinion as to how much denominationalism there should be in education. The trend of the administration of the school in recent years seems to have been toward the liberal, however. Again, the ideal as to the purpose of education is changing, likewise slowly. At first, education was for "Methodism" and "culture", next there was an era in collegiate advertising when a college course was spoken much of as an investment -- as dollars and cents in the pocket of the shrewd fellow who was "mentally trained"; and now both views exist, but some emphasis is coming to be placed on education as teaching one to live fully, to be active and useful in the community and the larger national group. It must not be thought that there was none of the latter attitude in former years -- there were many with the view; but the general trend has been in the direction indicated. The gen-

eral transition has resulted in some things that have seemed to many as school evils. The greater freedom -- the willingness to let each work out in his social groups his own life -- has weakened restraint. The students spend vastly more than formerly. The tobacco habit is spreading openly. "Along about 1900 some of us made a census of the school, and we found only seven boys who were what might be classed as "tobacco users" -- that is, who used it to any marked extent. Now I would estimate the number up toward forty per cent", said one man who has been connected with the town at intervals since 1892. The college fraternities have come to be a dominating interest with many. To those who view the right as the absence of evil and "worldly" tendencies, the fraternities have been a great evil. To those who view the right as constructive effort and industry, who view education and life as synonymous, the question is open. It is recognized by the latter group that the close association like the fraternity offers a very high opportunity for development. At present the general community feeling is that the fraternities live up only partially to their opportunities. The chief "social life" of the college is at present centered about the fraternities. The larger part of the real social contacts -- the "give and take" or general social life -- is of course not bound up in the fraternity system. The fraternities have been one

outstanding phase of contrast between the present period in the college life, and the former periods. Though fraternities existed in the second period, the general opinion is that their real importance has been in this last period.

The fraternities came into influence in the school especially in 1903, with the granting of charters to local clubs by Kappa Sigma and Delta Tau Delta. The record of local and national fraternities in Baker is briefly as follows: Alpha Omega, men's local, 1889. Nu Alpha, women's local, 1889. Zeta Iota Chi, women's local, 1890. Zeta Iota Chi absorbed by Delta Delta Delta, national, 1895. Ten O'Clock Club, men's local, established about 1900, and became Kappa Sigma, national, 1903. Alpha Omega became Delta Tau Delta, national, 1903. Zeta Chi, men's local, 1905. M. F. M., men's local, 1905. Nu Alpha became Alpha Chi Omega, 1908. M. F. M. became Sigma Phi Epsilon, national, 1910. Zeta Tau Alpha, women's national, 1912. Phi Mu, women's national, 1916. Delta Zeta, women's national, and Phi Lambda Chi, men's local, existed for a short time along about 1910. There was an isolated illustration of fraternities in the first period, in the case of Phi Delta Theta in the sixties.

The changes in student rules affords further evidence of the liberal tendency today. The restrictive, negative regulations of the earlier periods are a thing of the past.

At present the authorities make suggestions rather than absolute requirements in many cases, and there are relatively few regulations on religious conduct.

The educational ideals are at present changing. They are doubtless always changing in a developing society. As Prof. John Dewey says in the preface to his new book, "Democracy and Education", "Theories of knowing and moral development * * were formulated in earlier social conditions, but * * still operate, in societies nominally democratic, to hamper the adequate realization of the democratic ideal."

The following pertinent quotations from an article by Mr. Dewey on "American Education and Culture (New Republic, July 1st, 1916) show the opportunities and responsibilities confronting Baker and other educational institutions. "The beginning of a culture stripped of egoistic illusions is the perception that we (the American People) have as yet no culture: that our culture is something to achieve, to create. * * Our school men and women are seen as adventuring for that which is not but which may be brought to be. They are not in fact engaged in protecting a secluded culture against the fierce forays of materialistic and utilitarian America. They are, so far as they are not rehearsing phrases whose meaning is forgot, endeavoring to turn those very forces into thought and sentiment. The enterprise is of heroic dimensions. To set up as the protector of a

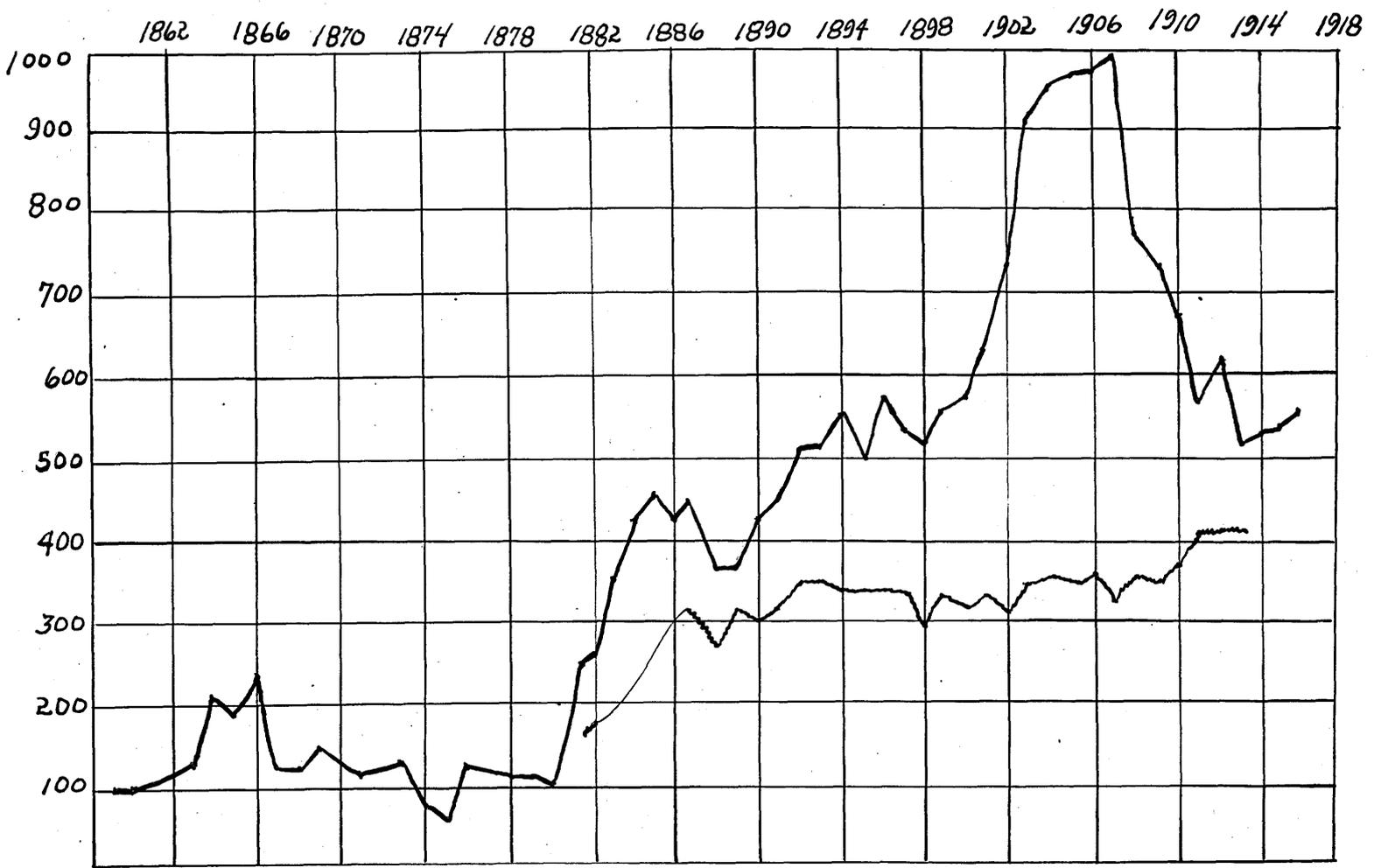
shrinking classicism requires only the accidents of a learned education, the possession of leisure and a reasonably apt memory for some phrases, and a facile pen for others. To transmute a society built on an industry which is not yet humanized into a society which wields its knowledge and its industrial power in behalf of a democratic culture requires the courage of an inspired imagination. * *

The explanation that the physical conquest of a continent had first to be completed is an inversion. To settle a continent is to put it in order, and this is a work which comes after, not before, great intelligence and great art. * *

That the achievement is immensely difficult means that it may fail. There is no inevitable predestined success. But the failure, if it comes, will be the theme of tragedy and not of complacent lamentation nor wilful satire. For while success is not predestined, there are forces at work which are like destiny in their independence of conscious thought or wish. Not conscious intent, either perverse or wise, is forcing the realistic, the practical, the industrial into education. Not conscious deliberation causes college presidents who devote commencement day to singing the praises of pure culture to spend their working days in arranging for technical and professional schools. It is not conscious preference which leads school superintendents who deliver orations at teachers meetings upon the blessings

of old-fashioned discipline and culture to demand from their boards new equipment, new courses and studies of a more "practical" and appealing kind. Political and economic forces quite beyond their control are compelling these things. And they will remain beyond the control of any of us save as men honestly face the actualities and busy themselves with inquiring what education they impart and what culture may issue from their cultivation. * * Certain commonplaces must be reiterated till their import is acknowledged. The industrial revolution was born of the new science of nature. Any democracy which is more than an imitation of some archaic republican government must issue from the womb of our chaotic industrialism. Science makes democracy possible because it brings relief from depending upon massed human labor, because of the substitution it makes possible of inanimate force for human muscular energy, and because of the resources for excess production and easy distribution which it effects. The old culture is doomed for us because it was built upon an alliance of political and spiritual powers, an equilibrium of governing and leisure classes, which no longer exists. Those who deplore the crudities and superficialities of thought and sensation which mark our day are rarely inhuman enough to want the old regime back. * * To bring to the consciousness of the coming generation something of the potential significance

of the life of today, to transmute it from the outward fact into intelligent perception, is the first step in the creation of a culture. The teachers who are facing this fact and who are trying to use the vital unspiritualized agencies of today as means of effecting the perception of a human meaning yet to be realized are sharing in the act of creation."



— Graph of Enrollment at Baker University.
~~~~~ Graph of Enrollments in Baldwin Public Schools.

## CHAPTER VIII. RECREATIVE ACTIVITIES.

As has been stated at other places in this study, an interpretation of the social mind of a community involves the consideration of all phases of activity within the community; and these phases are interdependent and interrelated, and no one an absolute factor apart from the others. By some, the economic has been considered as the determining factor in a community's life, and the other phases we have been considering have been viewed as activities determined by the more fundamental economic condition. Another error which has been made times without number is the belief that man's natural self is to be found most nearly in his play activities. James M. Williams, in his book, "An American Town", says: "The social mind of a population is best understood through a study of the pleasures of the people. Under stress of physical need an individual will often do work for which he is not adapted. Many individuals go through life following an occupation which, if their hands were free, they would abandon for some more congenial work. In their pleasures, however, they are themselves and follow their bent. Pleasure activity reveals more truly than work activity the nature of the social mind." This attitude is fundamentally wrong, if we are to

accept the views of Professors Dewey, Mead, and Small.

It is contrary to the present day ideas of development of individuals and society. The social mind is not something given, an entity seeking expression, and best discovered by studying a particular phase of its expression; it is rather an ever-changing complex, depending on and growing out of all social activity and intercourse; and pleasure is of no more value intrinsically as a point of departure for analyzing social forces than is any other form of social activity.

In Baldwin we find a very close correlation between the recreative and the other activities which have been studied. In fact it has been impossible to discuss the religious thought and the educational advancement of the community without using the expression of these ideals along the line of recreation and amusement for illustration. In particular in Chapter VII has the correlation between education and recreation been discussed at some length. An extensive consideration of recreation here would mean a re-statement of much that has already been presented, and would not be in keeping with the purposes of this study.

Recreation in the earlier periods was simple and self-denying, because of the lack of finances and because of the negative ideals promoted by the church. "In those days", said a chapel speaker at the college, "I didn't have what

you fellows seem to have in plenty -- spending money. When I wanted to have a good time I took a walk to the woods, went hunting, went to literary society or to a picnic perhaps. You fellows today go to the restaurants, the shows, go automobiling, and have banquets. I kept strict account of expenses, and I know of one term of school when my books didn't show as much as a quarter spent for things that I didn't count as absolute necessities." The earlier Puritanical attitude is reflected in the attitude of a large number of older people of the community on the amusement question. Said one, "The students aren't serious at all. I pass this place several times a day, and it seems to me there's always somebody playing the piano or singing some song. They ought to be improving their time." Said one professor, "When I came to Baker I got into all sorts of trouble. I took drives around the country on Sunday afternoons, and everybody seemed to think it was an un-Christian thing to do." The earlier idea was that amusement was, at least in part, an evil thing, at best to be countenanced but little. The church vigorously condemned several forms of amusement. And the community frowned in particular upon any recreation or amusement which involved what seemed needless expense.

The situation in the present period is vastly different. Though there are many who deplore the tendencies of the day,

the amusements of the community continue to break away from the earlier ideas. Amusements are coming to be greatly differentiated, and commercialized to a greater and greater extent. Kodaking, automobiling, trips to nearby cities, attendance at theaters of various sorts, picnics, and the use of the phonograph and other instruments for music making have now varying degrees of importance in the community's recreation. Whether with the liberalization of recreation, evils have not also entered, is an open question with many.

Within rather wide limits the community now leaves to the individual his plans for recreation and amusement, instead of acting the part of the rigid censor.

## CHAPTER IX. THE SOCIAL MIND.

The statement is often made by sociologists that a community comes to have a sort of personality, or individuality, and that the development of this can be traced. Certain characteristics come to prevail, and we can say that a social mind has appeared. Upon taking up this study, the author was somewhat doubtful about this point. In most communities is it not true that there are numerous newspapers and magazines which come in from without, and have rather general circulation? Is not the population constantly shifting? How is it possible for a characteristic social mind to be developed under such conditions? And again, are there not always factions within a community, which make such a condition impossible? The study herewith presented has demonstrated one thing clearly to the author, however. Baldwin from its founding had certain ideals prevailing, the ideals being determined by the character of the settlers and by the purposes which the town came to serve. Certain ideals came to dominate here which in other communities, even neighboring ones, seemed to have but little influence. A certain type of mind was fostered. People from other regions heard of the town and evaluated the reports. Some came to live and augmented the

standards already obtaining in the community. Those who lived in the community but out of harmony with its general tendencies, resisted the ideals prevailing, and if unsuccessful, as was usually the case if the difference in ideas was radical, tended to move elsewhere. The great majority of the adults of the town are therefore in sympathy with the town's ideals. In this study, many of the people interviewed were asked as to how they liked Baldwin. "Baldwin is a good town" and "Baldwin is a fine place to live" were the common replies. Such replies were to be expected from the like-mindedness of the social group and the common approval of group standards which we find characteristic of associations of people, and from the fact that such answers were in a sense complimentary to the speakers themselves. Those who came to teach in the community were moulded into the community's ways quite as truly as they in turn may have influenced the community's standards. The result at Baldwin has been just the individuality which the sociologist says comes to exist. Here however the social mind has been so conservative and so strongly developed that the liberalizing changes which we have mentioned have been very slowly brought about. The changes have been imperfectly effected, of course. There are at present within the community individuals whose types of mind belong at various earlier

dates in the town's history. There are counter currents, inconsistencies. There have been the inevitable dissatisfactions and unrest. As has been indicated, a changed social mind; an altered individuality, is evolving. These changes are steadily occurring, though the conditions of change are largely unanalyzed by the most of us. Perhaps those of us who have attempted the analysis have wrongly evaluated many points. But the main points seem to stand. The extent to which these changes are to be carried, the newer social mind, remain for Baldwin and the future to work out.

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