KANSAS LITERATURE: A Historical Sketch to 1875.

by

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Preface.

In 1914 there appeared a Kansas University thesis by Leila Marie Swartz entitled "Studies in Kansas Poetry". This was followed by two others the next year, "A Survey of Kansas Short Stories" by Iva Belle Harper, and "A Glance at Kansas Novels", by Mae Reardon. Besides these, Mr. Herbert Flint is at present preparing a thesis on the early newspapers in the state. With these as an incentive it is the purpose of the writer to make a study of Kansas literature in the form of a historical sketch to 1875.

As Mr. Flint's thesis is not yet finished it has not been available. And since the studies of Miss Harper and Miss Reardon consider forms of writing not clearly developed by 1875, and that of Miss Swartz includes largely only verse subsequent to that time, this work will be for the most part supplemental to the above.

The author acknowledges his indebtedness to the careful and suggestive though brief work of Professor William Herbert Carruth of Leland Stanford Jr. University on "Kansas in Literature". However, but slight use could be made of the collections of poetry by Horner, Barrington, and Wattles since practically nothing previous

to 1875 is included by any of them.

The interest these works manifest in state literature is noteworthy. That this interest is recent is indicated by the fact that none of the above named works appeared before 1891. Of these, all except the theses were finished before the end of a decade after the appearance of the first, in 1891. The revived interest in the literature of the state is owing in a great degree to the enthusiasm of Professor Selden L. Whitcomb of the state university, for he suggested and in some cases directed the work of all the theses.

As a general observation on the literature of the state, it is well to note that from the time of the earliest movements to make a literature in the state through such means as literary magazines, there has been a fostering spirit abroad to encourage literary effort, and a certain consciousness that this effort has resulted in the production of some things entirely worthy of notice. This result has come about as an effect of the impetus set moving by the Kansas Magazine, established in 1871 and by the men back of it, as well as by later writers of merit and aspiration.

Yet this ideal that has as its end the making and fostering of a native literature of excellence has not become sufficiently universal. The leaven already working has not affected nearly all the lump, for some

cultured Kansans yet venture the inquiry as to whether there is a Kansas literature. They have a look of sympathy for the student of this literature that seems to say that he will be surprised to discover the Kansas standard of values, that is wholly material, and will see his pretty dream of Kansas literature vanish with the dream cities and other vagaries of the plains.

But as William Allen White says,[1] a knowledge of the writing of Kansas should be a part of the education of every one reared in the state, or who comes from another state to stay. Of the general deficiency in this knowledge and lack of interest in things that would promote it, Charles Moreau Harger wrote in 1900:[2] "The West has but itself to blame. It has worshiped the gods of population and money.... its ambition, not devoted to politics, has been bounded by bushels, acres and dollars". Yet at the conclusion of this article he speaks a prophecy that is already beginning to be fulfilled, and that ought to be remembered by every Kansan interested in making his state great in culture and literature as well as in politics and industry. "The time is coming when the prairie West will be known of men not only as a granary to feed the nations of the earth, but as a producer of those things measured by the world's thinkers otherwise than in acres

1. In a letter to Mae Reardon, quoted in her "A glance at the Kansas Novel".
2. The Independent, July 19, 1900.

bushels and dollars".

A prophet is not without honor save in his own country, yet we can scarcely hope to have some benevolent friend play the part for us in discovering our writers that a visitor did for the New England woman who did not know that quail are among the delicious game birds and had never heard of eating them. One of the reasons why Kansas is not developing more rapidly as a literary center, is that there is so little state pride in literary matters. One of the first requisites for a successful growth in art of any kind is a consciousness that it is an expression of a common ideal that is usually rather definitely limited in a country or a distinctive part of it.

The Celtic Renaissance in Ireland, beginning about 1892, shows what such an ideal among a group of homogenous people can do in letters. There, effort directed toward a national Irish literature has produced some of the best literature of modern times, that owes much to the Irishman's love of things Irish. Nor has this quality of place detracted in any measure from its worth. Rather it shows an almost filial love for a part of the earth that is associated with all the sweetest emotions of the human soul. Until there is some such feeling for some part of life as

seen at some particular place, no great literature can result. And since there is a decided national feeling abroad in Kansas, to a degree not found in some states, it is to be regretted that this feeling has not been brought to bear upon the literature of the state. Then "Dear Old Kansas" will have added luster on her name, and her writers who have been prone to wander away to literary centers will find here the atmosphere conducive to their success.

It is true that not many centers of population are found in this part of the West, but great cities are not essential to a literary atmosphere. Synge left Paris, went to Ireland, and in the lonely Wicklow Islands found the pulse of simple Irish life that enabled him to write the beautiful and touching "Riders to the Sea". It is a fact that there is not the spirit of romance about the Kansas plains that lives in every Irish dell, and that the spirit of the plains that the pioneer knew when there was nothing to obstruct the vision on the silent interminable prairie, is gone, yet interesting life in a thousand forms is there instead. "The West, too, is growing old, and with its age is acquiring a quietness and pose, an elegance and culture, a delightful society, a refined wealth, and a real love of the beautiful and elevated".[1]

1. Louis Howland: Scribner's, April, 1908.

That this condition is not yet sufficient in degree is evident,-especially when the middle West is considered. But that there has been creditable literary production in Kansas, and that much plainly of a second or third rate value is distinctive and virile, the author hopes to show in these pages.

If this study contributes a measure to a better knowledge of the literature of our state, and more important still, aids in fostering a spirit of interest in that literature as a body of art, the purpose of its writing will have been realized.

The study will necessarily be incomplete because of a lack of time available for its preparation. It will be in the nature of a preliminary treatment of the subject to the year 1875, where a break can be conveniently made because of the close of the period of preparation and the beginning of a more definitely artistic period. The author hopes to complete the study and give it to the public as soon as the time at his command permits.

Introduction.

Chapter 1.

State Literature.

State Literature, in some of its phases, is beginning to receive attention in a great many places as widely separated and as different as Texas, Ohio, and California. This is but the result of the application, to a smaller unit, of the principle of division that has long been recognized in the study of our whole American literature. And just as it has become convenient to group certain writers of a particular section because of the increasingly large mass of writing, and helpful so to group them because of their likeness in spirit of treatment and in c choice of material, so it is beginning to seem that it is necessary to continue this grouping with the state as the unit.

At once a difficulty arises as to what writers belong to a particular state in view of the mobility of our population,- a tendency that is certainly not less marked in the literary man than in the average citizen. But the difficulty is not insurmountable. In most cases where there is any doubt in the matter as to the state to which an author belongs, a little charity with our state pride will

cover the rivalry as completely as it does a multitude of sins, and the honors will be divided. In more numerous cases, either the writer remains a native of the state permanently, comes into it before his literary fashion is determined, or has been so identified with it in a general way before leaving, that the memory of its life is never faded, so that his literary allegiance is rather evident.

Certainly there are cases like that of our novelist, Henry James. He was reared and educated in America, but has been in England during the most of his literary life. Recently he became a subject of King George. Yet until he renounced his nationality, we continued to number him among American writers, although his work is written largely from the English point of view. Probably such a case would fall under the particular class owing general allegiance.

But it is no vital matter if the section to which a writer belongs can not be determined with any degree of finality. Usually, in any classification, hard and fixed lines are evidence of artificiality. The more important consideration is the advantage in studying literature by states, at least locally, which more than offsets any disadvantage, that is at most superficial.

One of the chief advantages that will come from the study of literature by states is the stimulus that it

will give to the treatment of the varied life of every district of the nation. In a country so diversified as ours, where states are large enough to have a very great variety of topography, scenery, and population, as well as certain distinct and definite traditions and antecedents, the possibility of interesting things to write about is as infinite as the variations and combinations possible under the conditions. But to expect that each one of these sections will spontaneously produce its own novelist or poet is absurd on the face of it. However, a stimulus to the larger unit, the state, ought gradually to be felt in the smaller units until every county has its distinctive writers.

A necessary condition to such a result is a consciousness on the part of the people of the various states of the existence of a local literature, and a pride in this literature. In no better way can this condition be brought about, it seems, than by some comprehensive studies that will bring state literature to their attention. In fact this is the most important outcome that can be expected as the result of the interest in state literature, since it is doubtful if the needs of the general student will ever make it necessary to subdivide the literary map further, beyond the large sections we have already agreed upon.

It may be objected to this method of studying

literature by states, that there is an overlapping in neighboring states of the same part of the country,- in the middle West for example,- in topography, climate, and general natural conditions. In Kansas and Nebraska then, it may be assumed, the material that Nature furnishes the writer is very similar. But the traditions and populations of the two states are very different in some respects. Thus Kansas has in her population a strain that came from the stern days of the struggle here during pioneer times. This element is largely lacking in Nebraska. Likewise the traditions of the same days form an element that is different. In the population of the two states there is as wide difference. The New England and Southern elements from our own country are greater in Kansas; and the French, German, and Scandinavian peoples are found in different proportions and in varying combinations in the two states.

Concerning the general idea under discussion, Bliss Perry says:[1] "If every American county has not its novelist, its painter of manners,- as Scotland is said to have had,- at least every state can show fiction-writers who aim to delineate local conditions as faithfully as they may, and there is every reason for believing that this movement will be permanent."

1. Study of Prose Fiction, p. 342.

From the foregoing it seems a logical conclusion that the study of literature by states is going to receive a constantly increasing attention and incentive. But whatever part any state of the West takes in this movement will be distinctive only in so far as her literature is good. The newness of the country and the lack of conditions conducive to art can not enter into an estimate of it. "Western literature, if it is good at all, must be good as literature and not as Western literature".[1]

As to the possibility of an artistic literature rather than a provincial substitute, when a section of the country is made the unit, the Irish National Literature has already been pointed out. But a word more should be said on the matter of provincialism and literature.

On this point the opinion of a Western writer of note is worthy of consideration.[2] "For real art", he says, "the cry of sectionalism has no terrors, and indeed, that cry is raised only by those too ignorant to reflect that sections in civilization, in manners, in all ways of life, must of necessity exist.....To ask that the natural

1. Louis Howland, Scribner's Mag,, April, '08.

2. Emerson Hough, The West and Certain Literary Discoveries, The Century, Feb., 1900.

fruit, the natural expression, of one set of conditions shall conform to that of a different set of conditions is to ask that the men dwelling by the sea shall be the same as those born of the mountains, that the people of the plains shall be like those of the mountains or the sea".

That this is a sound position is further attested by the fact that books concerning the literature of their native states have been published by F.N.V.Painter of Virginia, and George Armstrong Wauchope of South Carolina. Including the works of these critics, there are already anthological, biographical, critical, and bibliographical works in nearly a score of states.[1] In some of them there are several works.

Of the five such works examined by the author only one attempts an extensive sketch of the literature of the state. And in this one, "The Poets of Virginia", by Painter, only the poets are discussed. Professor Wauchope's "Writers of South Carolina", contains a preliminary sketch in which a resume of the literature of the state is made, but the greater part of the book is devoted to the biographical notes and representative selections from both poets and prose writers. The plan of the others,

1. For a complete list of such works the reader is referred to Appendix 1.

Emerson Venable's Poets of Ohio", Parker and Heiney's "Poets and Poetry of Indiana", follows the general plan of Professor Wauchope's work without the introductory summary. To Davis Foute Eagleton's "Writers and Writings of Texas" is prefixed a very brief survey of the field.

From this statement it is evident that the study of literature by states is but in the beginning stages. It is possible that my list of the books on state literature published to date is incomplete, but so far as I know the field has nowhere been more completely surveyed than in this state.[1]

In the present historical study of the literature of Kansas, the division into periods will be made to correspond in general to the periods in the history of the state. In order to see how nearly these periods correspond, one needs but to consider them briefly. In the pre-territorial period, the literature of which is the subject of the next chapter, there is no consecutive history in the Kansas region, for there were no inhabitants besides Indians, a few traders, and occasional explorers. Naturally the only literature of the period is merely a series of accounts of explorers and adventurers. There is a like coincidence in the territorial period. During the years from 1854 to 1860,-the period of the territory,- the beginning of a

1. See preface.

permanent colonization was made, in a condition of profound unrest that at most times was so violent as to deserve the name of civil war. The literature of this time is but a reflection of this state of government and society. With a slight amount of poetry relating to the struggle that concerned every one, of a kind that can be expected in almost any place where there are intelligent people, there was a much greater and more characteristic mass of history and description of the time.

The next period, including the Civil War and reconstruction, is a great struggle to recuperate from the effects of war, and to attain to some measure of material prosperity, when conditions, already bad, were made desperate by drouths, grasshoppers, and other misfortunes. No literature of consequence is possible at a time like this. Besides, when the material concerning the country and its struggle was exhausted, a prosaic time of quiet followed that lacked even the dramatic element of a fight in which the outside world was interested. Instead there was the grim, apparently hopeless struggle against crop-failure and mortgages at ruinous rates of interest. Nothing less than a changed prospect could produce native literature of worth, and as for writers of otherwheres, they were no longer attracted. In may be true, moreover, that for the successful production of literature,-of verse especially,- there was

necessary a creation, to a large extent, of the material as well as the form.

A chapter will be devoted to each of the periods indicated above. In addition to the things suggested there, the fourth chapter will discuss the characteristics of the 'plains literature' as far as they are evident at this time. The concluding chapter will note the beginnings of the novel, the essay, the sketch, and the attempt to publish a Kansas magazine. The purpose of this chapter will be to show the beginnings or real literature in Kansas.

CHAPTER 11.

The Pre-Territorial Period (1541-1854)

1. Accounts of Foreign Exploration.

Through the centuries vast and olden,
Through the hazeland dim and olden
Comes the name of Coronado and his gallant Spanish train,
Who in search of famed Quivera
Traversed weary leagues of prairie,
Filling all the woodland vistas with the sunny songs of Spain.

Among the earliest records[1] of the United States is the narrative of the expedition of Coronado to Quivera, a part of Kansas between the Arkansas and Kaw rivers, east of Great Bend and south of Junction City.[2] Nearly a century before the founding of St. Augustine, and almost three quarters of a century before the planting of the first permanent English colony in the New World, Coronado and his companions, Jaramillo and Castenada, described their adventures on the vast plains while searching for the Eldorado, Quivera,- lured thither by a wily Indian who had been bribed to lead them from the tribes they had been oppressing near New Mexico.

None of the accounts is extensive except that of

1. Alvarez Nunez, who had been an officer in the unsuccessful Florida expedition, may have been through Kansas as early as 1636 in the course of his wandering from the Gulf, where he was wrecked, to New Mexico. See Kan. Hist, Col., Vol.lV; Blackmar's Kansas, Vol.11,p377.

2. See Kan. Hist. Col., X, pp. 68-80; ibid, pp 219, Jas. Newton Baskett's "Study of the Route of Coronado".

Castenada, and that is scarcely more than a brief diary, Castenada seems to have been a careful observer. As a result his account is not only a story of adventure, but is also a description of the country. He says:

"The country is the best I have seen for producing all the products of Spain, for besides the land itself being very fat and well watered by the rivulets and springs and rivers, I found prunes like those of Spain, and nuts and very good sweet grapes and mulberries."

Of the next expedition (1595) from New Mexico into the Kansas country, that commonly attributed to Humana, who killed his superior, Bonella, and turned an expedition sent to quell Indians into a search for Quiverian gold, no record is left.[1] Of this party only a friendly Indian escaped massacre. This man, Jose, reached New Mexico, and in 1601 acted as guide to Don Juan de Onate who also set out to find the fabled gold. Whether the party reached Quivera or not is uncertain. Of the diary recording very briefly the progress of the adventure, Ludovicus Tribaldus Toletus wrote from Vallodolid to his friend Hakluyt in 1605, that he had seen " a certain briefe yet very perspicuous relation of things accomplished by Don Juan de Onate".[2]

"Penalosa's Hoax"[3] (1662) was rewriting of this

1. Kan. Hist. Col., Vol. Vlll; Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico.
2. Hakluyt, Purchas His Pilgrimes, Vol. XVlll.
3. Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico.

diary by Padre Freitas, a priest in the employ of Don Diego Penalosa, governor of New Mexico. He caused the forgery to be made that he might enlist the interest of his king in an expedition that he planned for Quivera. Obviously such a document is without genuine literary interest. This feigned narrative was the last of the descriptions of the Kansas country until the coming of the French in the first quarter of the next century. Furthermore, it should be noted that as the discovery of the great plains was without significance either for the development of the country or the enrichment of its discoverers, so the accounts of this new country were not of importance since they did not become the beginning of more graceful and finished forms. Like the discovery of America by Leif Ericson, the thrilling adventure of the Spanish on the plains, as well as its accompaning description, passed into oblivion to be remembered only after accident or research uncovered the records.

But one contribution to the literary history of the state can be certainly attributed to the Spaniards. Had their efforts been successful, so that settlements would have resulted, Spanish influence would have become a part of the literary inheritance of the state. Hence the greatest interest of the student in these isolated pieces of description is antiquarian. Yet the one literary contribution

in the name of the state, is of great importance in view of the great place the word has in the writing of Kansas.[1]

These Spanish explorers were followed by the French. By the opening of the eighteenth century, through explorations and the establishment of trading posts, they laid claim to the Mississippi Valley, including the territory that is now Kansas with the western boundary moved to the Rockies. An expedition under the command of Colenel du Tissonet was sent to treat with the Indians in 1719.[2] He was followed by M. de Bourgmont in 1722. The massacre of his party at Fort Orleans in 1725 ended the French explorations in Kansas.

Of the records of these activities of the French explorers, the phrase " a briefe and very perspicous relation of things" is as apt description as of the older Spanish record of Onate. In fact there is no other than

1. George P. Morehouse, quoted in Blackmar's "Kansas" thus explains it: "The famous word 'Cansa' or 'Kanza' is neither of French or Indian origin. The word is plain Spanish, and as such has a well defined and expressive meaning when applied to an Indian tribe. 'Cansa' or 'Kansa' means 'a troublesome people', 'those who continually harass others'. It comes from the Spanish verb 'cansar' which means 'to molest', 'to stir up', 'to Harass', and from the Spanish noun 'cancado', 'a troublesome fellow' or disturber'." For an older and less probable explanation the reader is referred to Kan. Hist. Col., VIII, p. 173.

2. He visited the Osages and Pawnees, the latter at the mouth of the Republican; then he proceeded two hundred miles west to the Padoucahs.

incidental value to these journals, for they are not distinguished even by the claim of priority. No literary influence could survive, for as yet there was no permanent settlement.

II. Early American Exploration.

With the Louisiana Purchase a new epoch begins for the Kansas country. Henceforth the great overland trails to New Mexico and the Rockies ran through its length. Over such a route as the Santa Fe trail went first the explorer, who was soon followed by the trader. Regular caravans carrying goods valued at thousands of dollars passed over it annually to the far western Spanish settlements.

Later over this route the Pony Express carried mail and express in the service that extended from St. Louis to the Pacific Coast. Its importance passed only with the establishment of telegraph and railroad lines.

The beginning of the exploration of this plains country was made by the United States government. When the immense tract of unexplored land was acquired from Napoleon, Lewis and Clark were sent to the Northwest. In 1805, before their return, a similar plains expedition was entrusted to Major Pike.

Though the purchase of 1803 gave the United States a clear title to the Kansas country, the interest of the Spanish on the west had not yet ceased. In fact it seems that they still claimed the country that had not been

forgotten, and that had been frequently visited since the time of Coronado. As Major Pike proceeded in the summer of 1805, he found that the Pawnees and other Indian tribes of western Kansas had been visited but a few months before by three hundred Spanish troops, who had come to establish relations with them. In fact so friendly were these Indians to the overtures of the Spaniards, and so impressed were they with their power and generosity, that they seriously hindered the progress of the Pike party.

Now the claim of the French was nominally relinquished, yet the energy and tact of their traders and priests had given them quite a foothold in the eastern part of the territory. And while their plans for large trading posts and settlements had failed with the destruction of Fort Orleans in 1724,-it may be thru the connivance of the Spanish who had fitted out a force to drive out the invaders shortly before, that itself fell a prey to the savages,-through individual traders and priests their influence with the Indians was considerable.

The importance of the expedition is thus evident at once. Pike was the official vanguard of the ceaseless stream of trade and settlement that did not halt until finished states were carved from this "Great American Desert".

Major Zebulon M. Pike's Diary.[1] It contains a

1. Lieutenant Wilkinson, detailed from the main party at Great Bend, also wrote a brief account of the expedition.

record of three years of exploration and imprisonment, over a route westward through Kansas and Colorado, into New Mexico where Pike was imprisoned, whence he returned through the Southwest. Only the part that concerns the progress of the party through Kansas may rightly be considered as belonging to Kansas. But this part is of great importance in literary history of the state. First, it is the beginning of a series of well written stories of adventure and description of Kansas that were numerous for the next half century, and that became the source, in part, of many of the books written about Kansas during the territorial period. In the second place, it is not only written by an American, but it is written well. It is to be supposed that there would be literary grace about the narrative of the lively events of an exploration, written by a gentleman who spent stormy days while on the march in study, and in reading Pope's Essays and the Bible.

The diary consists mainly of daily notes that are always pointed and interesting. The occasional greater detail of an explanation or description is put in a scholarly logical manner that suggests the scientific writing of Huxley. Yet its historical importance is greater than any intrinsic literary value, for henceforth, if we accept the very fair suggestion of Professor Wauchope, that the birthplace of a piece of literature is one of the most important

factors in determining the state to which it belongs,[1] the stream of Kansas literature has never run dry.

Edwin James. An Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains is the next work of importance. This was written by Edwin James, botanist and geologist of the party under Major S. H. Long of the United States Topographical Engineers. As the account, published in London in 1823, was completed but three years after the return of the expedition, and was written from the daily notes of Major Long, Professor Say and others, it is naturally much more complete in form than the fragmentary diaries that we have found so far.

This work was written for the purpose of giving an interesting account of a part of the world but little known. In method it is not unlike the more modern travel books that find their acme in the delightful description of Howells and of James. A quotation from the preface will explain the author's purpose and the contents of the book:

"In selecting from a large mass of notes and journals the materials of the following volumes, our design has been to present a compendious account of the labors of the exploring party, and of such of their discoveries as were thought likely to gratify a liberal coriosity.. In the following pages we hope to have contributed something toward a more thorough acquaintance with the aborigines of our country".

1 Wauchope, Writers of South Carolina.

In other parts of our narrative where this interesting topic could not be introduced, we have turned our attention toward the phenomena of nature, to the varied and beautiful productions of animal and vegetable life, and to the more magnificent if less attractive features of the inorganic creation."

Little more need be said of the nature of this work, except that the purpose named in this preface seems to have been very successfully carried out. Besides containing a well told and exceedingly interesting narration of the adventure, the work includes a series of essays on the customs, and mode of life of the Indians, largely the work of Professor Say. These, with the description of the fauna and flora, that is never technical, and the general notice of the geographic and geologic features of the country, make the usual fascinating reading that one finds in the descriptions of things that a good observer notes. Especially is this true here, for the writing was done by the hand that was most gifted naturally.

With this notice of the earlier American description of Kansas, it will be possible to pass to the territorial period with a mere mention of the journal and diary accounts that come between, since in extent and literary quality they are all less important.

The earliest of these is by the Kentuckian, Major Jacob Fowler who crossed Kansas to New Mexico on a fur-trading trip in 1821. His record is a matter-of-fact daily statement of events and business transactions. In 1832 Captain Bonneville, whose story Washington Irving tells in the work bearing the adventurer's name, went across northeastern Kansas to the Grand Island of the Platte. But the part of the account devoted to Kansas alone, is negligible. Other works that are devoted to the Kansas region partly are Irving's "Tour of the Prairies", 1835,-the result of a trip to a trading-post on the Arkansas,- and the Englishman Murray's "Travels in the United States", 1839,-including among other things the story of a year spent among the Pawnees west of the Missouri. The journal of John C. Fremont(1843) reporting the exploration of the country between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains should be mentioned.[1]

Earlier than this, and of greater historical importance is Josiah Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies". This work, published in 1843, the result of nine years of life on the Sante Fe and in New Mexico, marks a departure from the type that we have found so far, in that it is written to be a contribution to the history of a distinctive

1.This is not intended to be a complete list, but merely some examples of the reports of men with varied interests who wrote of Kansas.

phase of prairie and pioneer activity. H.M.Chittenden in "The History of the American Fur-trade in the Far West"[1] says of it, "Although limited in scope, it fills its particular niche so completely, that it is entitled to rank as one of the great works of American history". It is the story of the establishment of the Sante Fe trade route over the famous trail bearing the name, of the type of trader who traveled it, his equipment and merchandise, and the adventures that befell his venture, together with a historical sketch of New Mexico. To say the least it is a very readable history,- so charming in fact that many of its incidents have been incorporated almost bodily into later romances of the Plains.

From the foregoing works the characteristics of the pre-territorial period may be summarized.(1) There are a number of French and Spanish accounts of travel and adventure that are interesting mainly as a beginning of history of the country, and as writing with an antiquarian value. These works are in no wise related, nor do they have any bearing on later writing of a similar nature. (2). In the next part of the period, that begins approximately in 1800, there is a body of diaries, journals, and slight histories that are not only the record of a daily life for

1.Quoted by Thwaites in the preface to Vols. XIX and XX of "Early Western Travels".

the pleasure of the writer, or for the preparation of his official report, but they are enlarged and so written that their literary value and interest are by no means negligible.

Though this is the beginning of the literature of the state, it is by no means a native literature. In every case where there is literary quality, it has resulted from a careful reworking of the original material. The mere material aim gave way to a higher artistic purpose, amid conditions removed from the hardships of the trail and the camp. And while it is rather obvious that under conditions such as entered into the making of this writing, no primitive lore or any form of romance was possible, a negative statement to this effect brings the real writing, in its less romantic forms, more clearly to mind.

But this region soon saw a transformation so sudden and complete, that it stands alone. With the Kansas question and slavery once begun, settlers flocked in at the suggestion of the most extensive journalistic activity that has ever praised the virtues of any climate, so that almost as if in a day, printing-presses, new towns and all the marks of civilization that could be had in a remote region, appeared. As in material things, so in literary activity there was a great step in advance. What that was is the story of the next chapter.

Chapter III.

The Territorial Period.

Part I. General Characteristics. At the opening of the debate on the Kansas-Nebraska bill in January, 1854, Kansas was merely the highway to other points farther west. Over its trails still went the trader and trapper to New Mexico, the Rockies, and the Northwest. The Mormons went over the Sante Fe to their retreat in the wastes of Utah. But its place as a highway was its chief importance. In fact the permanent population of white people was probably less than a thousand. These were mostly traders and missionaries clustered about the military posts, and a few settlers along the Missouri border. It is true that there were missions and Indian schools maintained by at least six different denominations,[1] and that the earliest Kansas printing-press had been brought to a Baptist mission in Wyandotte County in 1833. But in all there were less than ten trading posts, forts, and towns[2] including Forts Leavenworth, Scott, and Riley, and Council Bluff.

1. F.S.McCabe, "Churches of Kansas", Kan. Hist Col., Vol.III.
2. "Early Military Posts, Missions, and Camps". Ibid, Vol I. p. 263.

The next year after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the number of people in the state was 8,601, which increased to 140,179 by 1865.[1] Such an influx of people was phenomenal. Its cause was the rush of the parties divided on the question of slavery to get control of the new territory. The means employed to create an interest in settlement was the public press. Many of the leading editors of the country, among them Horace Greely of the New York Tribune wrote strong editorials in support of the free state cause. Moreover, the leading journals had correspondents in Kansas. The Englishmen Richard Hinton, who was long identified with American life, and his countryman Gladstone, and the Americans Higginson and Philipps were some of the most distinguished of these.

In the South the press was just as active in support of the pro-slavery party. Regular campaigns were conducted to encourage slaveholders to emigrate to Kansas to offset the stream of freestate men that the Northern press had started going. As a result of these rival efforts, probably no other single equal part of the United States has ever been so thoroughly discussed over the whole country as Kansas.

1. Works of John J. Ingalls, Kansas City, 1902. p. 462.

Within the territory the press was strong and active. With the earliest settlers came complete printing-presses, and a considerable number of able newspaper writers. Among the men who came during this period, and who became distinguished in journalistic work in the state were Miller, Stotler, Prentice, Martin and Thatcher. There was a less number of slavery organs in the territory, for much of the printing of this party was done across the Missouri border. In view of the importance of the newspaper in the making of the state, Kansas may be rightly called "A child of the newspaper".[1]

During the whole of the territorial period, until the admission of Kansas as a state in 1860, there was a constant local strife, that was merely merged into the national struggle at the beginning of the Civil War. With the part of this fight in the territorial period, the writing from 1854 to 1860 is mainly concerned. Consequently it is to be expected that the literature produced was not of the highest order, though it does compare favorably with much that was produced during the Revolution. The surprising truth about it is that it is so good.

The bloody struggle of the slavery men under the leadership of Stringfellow and Atchinson, and the free-state

1. Kan. Hist. Col., Vol. 3, p. 406.

men under Montgomery and Brown was full of the bitterest hate and shameful outrage. Pillage and murder were frequent; retaliation and revenge were not practiced by one side alone. But all the leaders were not of this type. Men of the kind of Philipps, Robinson and others were cool and politic, and it is to such leadership as theirs that much credit is due for victory against odds. One naturally expects that at a time like this recrimination would take place not only in warfare but through the press. The most noticeable quality of the literature of the time, therefore, is partizanship. Of the journalism this is especially true, for being devoted to transitory matters largely, it served its purpose and ceased to be of any further intrinsic value, except as annals of the time.

In the other forms of writing this quality is rather less marked. As a result there is a decided improvement in literary value. The satiric "Kansas Parody" suggests the "Battle of the Kegs", that Francis Hopkinson wrote in ridicule of the British in Philadelphia who became badly frightened when some wags started a flotilla of empty kegs down the Schuylkill River. It ridicules an unsuccessful attempt to take Captain Montgomery prisoner. The "Border Songs", Realf's "Defense of Lawrence", and "Song of Montgomery's

Men" are examples of songs that are freestate in sentiment but not disagreeably partizan. To a less extent is this violent partizanship obtruded into the books that describe the condition of the territory, or write a history of its struggles, for though the authors were usually sympathizers with the freestate people, they were for the most part men of capacity and judgment.

A second noteworthy characteristic of this territorial writing is its lack of the imaginative element, in place of which there is a constant consciousness of purpose. Certainly this is not universally true, but there is a striking parallel in this respect to the writing of the old New England colonies. Here the issues were different, but the struggle was for principle as the first consideration; hence a purposeful writing to help establish it.

In a sense it is not unfair to call this quality of these settlers Puritanism, that is reflected in their writing,- in their defense of principle, in unwavering courage in the face of severest privations, and in the constant ideal that saw in the struggling territory a great state, since won in the face of difficulties without equal in modern times.

"Kansas was settled by Americans, American men and American women possessed by the one dominating idea of holding

its territory and its wealth to themselves and their opinions. They went in first in the fifties with bayonets packed in Bible boxes".[1] As a particular example of Puritanism mention should be made of John Brown whose entire life, in speech, and in act was as puritanical as that of Cromwell.

Part II. Newspapers and Oratory. After this preliminary survey, we can now proceed to a discussion of some of the forms not primarily literature. Something of the importance of the newspaper has already been shown.[2] The place that its writers take in the literary output of the state, it seems best to indicate in connection with the works of the various men, and with the later magazines, for the majority of these men were contributors.

Brief mention should yet be made of oratory. The territorial period produced one speaker of distinction,- James H. Lane, the "Specter Chieftain of Kansas". No speech of his has come down to us, but it is probable that had we an example we should be disappointed as we are with the orations of Henry Clay. So much depended upon the magnetism of the man, and his manner of speech that it is

1. Kate Stephens, in American Thumb-Prints.

2. For a detailed discussion of the early newspapers in Kansas, the reader is referred to Herbert Flint's University of Kansas thesis, 1915,

well that we can say that his auditors were moved to enthusiasm despite his rasping voice, lack of logic, rhetoric, and grace. For oratory of worth, one must look, at this time, to Congress or to New England. And while the orations of Sumner, Seward, Douglas, Beecher and Phillips are not Kansan, being called forth by her struggles, they deserve at least a mention.

For convenience in study the remaining part of the chapter is divided into three parts: (1) History and description; (2) poetry;(3) important writers.

Part III. History and Description. The most important type of literary writing of the territorial period is the descriptive book that is very much like the modern book of travel. This form varies greatly in purpose and art,- a fact that can be surmised from the statement that they are as widely different as campaign documents and artistic books concerning life on the frontier. In general it may be said of them that they are in a direct line of succession from the older books and journals of the period of exploration and discovery. To these older writings these later descriptions owe merely the debt of borrowed facts concerning the topography of the territory, its native inhabitants, and kindred matters. This material

is usually drawn from actual acquaintance with some phase of the life of the period after 1854.

These accounts of Kansas grew out of the nation-wide interest in the struggling territory. So intense was the feeling in other parts of the nation that any reasonably readable story of Kansas found a ready public. As the time was opportune for enlarging upon journalistic work, the regular Kansas correspondents of the large eastern papers and the English journals wrote their impressions and observations for publication in permanent form.

Whether these books were of the nature of a mere lively story of an adventure as a sympathetic or neutral observer, or more largely devoted to the making of a detailed annal of the occurrence of the time with emphasis on the political and social features of frontier life, containing life of the personal element, depends upon the purpose or interest of the author.

Of the score or more such works, several stand out because of their finish and human interest. One of the best of these,"The War in Kansas" by George Douglas Brewerton, correspondent of the New York Herald, is especially noteworthy. His book is an interesting picture of early Kansas

seen from the viewpoint of a liberal newspaper man. It is full of touches that bring out the plains life. An early ball in Lawrence, Christmas and New Year's in a dugout, are described with a sympathy and kindly humor that suggest Irving's interesting sketckes of the English country life that contrasts so strongly with the rude frontier.

Their frequent dialogue is good,-being often in dialect that adds a touch of reality to the characterization of Irish, German, negroe, Yankee, and other racial types that rubbed shoulders here.

Another readable story of the frontier of 1856 is that of the Englishman, T. H. Gladstone. It is one of the sanest estimates of the status of affairs in Kansas, and one of the clearest descriptions of the frontiersmen, the Indians, Border Ruffians, and others that were dramatis personae in the Kansas War.

To the same year belongs "Kansas": Its Interior and Exterior Life", by Sara T. Robinson, wife of the first governor of the state. This is unusually important in the history of the literature of Kansas because of its merit, and by reason of the fact that its author remained a Kansan. This is probably the first book of prose, produced by a native, that has any pretense to literary quality.

In the same year another Kansan, William A. Philipps, published "The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and her Allies" as a campaign document for his friend, John C. Fremont. But its avowed purpose makes it necessarily too partizan to rank high as pure literature.

In addition to the above named distinction, the simple directness, creditable ability in accurate description, and occasional pleasing word-painting, besides a kindly regard for humanity, and the expression of the faith that caused Kansans to stay in the "God-forsaken country", make Mrs. Robinson's book worthy of special notice. Its popularity has been deservedly considerable.[1]

To the history writing of the time belong Henry Harvey's "History of the Shawnee Indians", 1855, John H. Gihon's "Geary and Kansas", 1857, a complete history of the territory to July, 1857, and W. P. Tomlinson's "Kansas in 1858". The greatest value of these is their abundance of fact concerning the events of the time. As history becomes literature only at its best, it is not to be expected that there is much of the quality in this, that is found in Parkman or Motley. Moreover, since the activity of the Kansas of 1854-60 has been given expression in forms with much more claim to literary grace, a mere mention

1. It has passed through ten editions.

of these works will suffice.[1]

But incidentally, the last named work has an importance of value to the student of literary history in the state. It contains numerous examples of the old songs discussed in a later part of this chapter. It is possibly the earliest book to print Kansas ballads, and may be one of the earliest to print middle western ballads.

Part IV. Poetry. Besides the native verse of the period that will be discussed in the subsequent pages, there was a great amount written about Kansas over the entire country. Whittier was the most active, and his poems are best known. In fact his "Marais du Cygne" and "Burial of Barbour" are as well known as the poems of Kansans. Lowell, Bryant, Longfellow, Emerson, and Holmes all wrote lyrics for the cause in Kansas. And in response to a prize offered by the Emigrant Aid Society for the best poem on Kansas, eighty-eight manuscripts were received. Lucy Larcom's "Call to Kansas", a facsimile of which is printed in the State Historical Collections, was adjudged the best.

As early as 1855 there appeared in Boston a volume of songs entitled, "Lays of the Emigrants as

1. For a rather complete list of writings during the territorial period see Bibliography.

Sung by Parties for Kansas on the Days of their Departure from Boston".

But of much greater importance for the history of literature, is the beginning of native poetry. Heretofore writers on the literature of the state have not noted any composition previous to the volume called "Osseo, the Specter Chieftain", published by Evender Kennedy in 1867. And although these earlier poems are much slighter, on the other hand they are worth more.

Of greater importance are the forms of popular poetry that have their beginning thus early. The distinctive song or ballad of western life that is seen to best advantage in the cowboy song, as found in Lomax, already has a beginning. It is not in the form of a cowboy song, but it is born out of the life of the time just as this later song. Similar to " The Little Old Log Shanty on the Claim" that Lomax includes as an example of a less frequent type of popular poetry are the border ballads and " Song of Montgomery's Men ".

But these are too imitative and inartistic to be classed as real poetry. However, in the work of Richard Realf, who was writing here as early as 1856, there is verse of finish and real beauty.

(1). Ballads. Unfortunately but few of the early songs and poems have been preserved. It is likely that there are more existing that have not yet been found,

Yet those that have been handed down in old books and papers indicate that there was a considerable number of such compositions during the territorial period. Some of the best examples I have found are included in "Kansas in 1858" by W. P. Tomlinson. But a stanza is printed at a place, in most cases; as it is used as a heading for a chapter. Obviously several of these stanzas belong to the same song, but when placed together do not seem to be complete. As it has generally been stated that Kennedy's "Osseo, the Specter Chieftain", published in 1867 was the first native Kansas poetry, considerable interest attaches to these earlier poems.

Probably two stanzas that bear merely the title "Border Song", that refer to the expelling of a pro-slavery leader from his stronghold at Fort Hamilton, and the determination of the settlers to hold their homes, are among the earliest.

"The terror of the country 'round
Has fled his robber hold,
And in his log-built fortress now
Are none but freemen bold.

The brave man faces dangers feared,
'Tis only cowards fly:
Upon the soil our homes are reared
We'll live or guarding die".

Certainly as early is the quatrain entitled "Lawrence":

Mid strife, tumult and danger,
And half a nation's scorn;
Pride of our north-land freemen-
O, Lawrence, thou wert born.

A more complete song is that of the free-lance Montgomery. Its unequal merit indicates a plurality of hands in its making. The first stanza is much more regular and finished than the rest.

Song of Montgomery's Men.

(Air: Banks of the Rio Grande)

One morning bright, by early light,
Word ran from youth to age,
That Brocket then, with all his men,
Was on the Little Osage.

Cho.:

O, the Little Osage,
The Little Osage,
We'll fight the foe, where'er they go,
Upon the Little Osage.

Montgomery heard full soon the word
And came, the foe to engage,
And they took flight, without a fight,
From the Little Osage.

Every man of Montgomery's band
Shall live on history's page,
And Montgomery's name have deathless fame,
Upon the Little Osage.

The Fort Scott band tried to command,
But found birds hard to cage,
When Cannon was about, who would dig out,
When taken from Little Osage.

Pro-slavery men of every den,
Now fear Montgomery's rage,
Who would not cease 'till he made peace
Upon the Little Osage.

To free our land from a tyrant's band,
Our sires did once engage,
And liberty does Montgomery
Preserve on Little Osage.

A vigorous freestate ballad celebrates the visit of Governor Denver to Fort Scott, June 13, 1858. It is one of the best of the early songs, barring the fact of its partizan nature.

Now set the flags a-flying,
And beat the steady drum,
For joy, to Southern Kansas,
The governor has come!
He cowed the Fort Scott ruffians,
He's set the people free,
And all their brave defenders
He's treated clemently.

A somewhat later border song that may have been begun during the border war certainly was not finished until later when peace had been made. It, too, is incomplete.

Each town along the border
Responded to the call,
But in grim looking ruffians
West Point surpassed them all.

The warfare of the border
Long waged, at last did cease,
And all the fair land over
Waved the white wings of peace.

It is to be hoped that a great many more of these old songs will be found to be preserved as examples of interesting and somewhat unique kind of popular poetry. It seems fair to assert that there is probably no other

popular poetry of the freestate type outside Kansas. Homesteading poems, cowboy songs, are not more common to Kansas than to other parts of the West. But certainly no poetry of the nature of that quoted above is to be found, unless it be the Kansas conflict from the Missouri standpoint.

(2). Other Early Poetry. The earliest parody, probably, is a very excellent one.[1] The martial spirit of Hohenlinden, with an exact reproduction of its verse form, is used most effectively to ridicule an attempt of General Harney to take Captain Montgomery prisoner. It is too lengthy to quote entire, but a good idea of it can be had from the last three stanzas.

'Tis night; but scarce the dial runs
Ere Campbell cried: " Ths war's begun!
Mount! mount, dragoons! ere morrow's sun
We'll slay the red Montgomery.

The contest deepens. Lo the braves
Rush early to the verge of graves.
Ware, Colby; all thy warrants wave,
And charge each empty domicile.

Few- none- are caught, where many meet;
Disgrace shall be their winding-sheet;
And every boy that walks the street
Will hoot this federal diddle-dee.

The author was William Hutchinson, an early settler and abolitionist who later became a Republican. He sent the poem to the Lawrence Republican where it was published, during December, 1860.[1]

1. See author's statement in Kan., Hist. Col., Vol. VI, p. 404.

An earlier poem, published at Lawrence, December 17, 1856, has a great historical interest, nor is it without claim to literary merit. Though it it not quite so well finished as we should like, the spirit of its lines is thereby none the less vigorous and sincere. Not only does it have a very decided interest in connection with the struggling freestate colony in Kansas, but its author is John Edwin Cook, who was one of the associates of John Brown, and one of the men who died with him. Being a college man and a student of law, he possessed considerable culture, and was inclined to do little pieces of verse upon occasion. When a letter came from New England admonishing the settlers not to come back, though the outlook was especially dark for the Lawrence people who were threatened by the Border Ruffians, the spirit of the settlement was given expression by Cook's poem, "We'll not Go Back".[1]

All of its five stanzas are strong, but the last is probably the best.

> Here, on Kansas wide-spread plains,
> We shall dwell through weal and woe;
> Keep it free from slavery's stain,
> Till life's fountains cease to flow.
> Leave it! never! nevermore,
> While the blue sky bends above,
> Woods and plains, and valleys o'er,
> Are our home-the home we love.

1. Quoted by Richard Hinton in "John Brown and his Men", p. 468.

For real poetic quality a poem from a territorial paper for the same year,[1] whose author I have not found, is quite the best. This poem and "The Defense of Lawrence" by Realf, written the same year, are the first poems to mention the prairies. This is an interesting fact since it marks the beginning of that phraseology describing the things of the plains that is so distinctive of the later Kansas poetry. The last stanza is:

> Then, when all of those toils have been ended
> That gladdened your own chosen hearth,
> And ashes with ashes are blended,
> And earth again mingled with earth;
> Then hearts your loved image shall treasure,
> And hallow the place of your rest,
> While viewing with soul-thrilling pleasure,
> The homes that ye formed in the West.

These examples of early poetry are sufficient to show that the period was not altogether barren. And though a part of it is clearly adaptation, it is not without value, and is certainly far above the recorded poetry of the pioneer days of some of the older states.

Part V. Important Writers.

Richard Realf. It is somewhat difficult to say just where Richard Realf does belong in a classification of American writers. Yet his interest in Kansas, that colored all his subsequent life, his short

1. Quoted in Kan. Hist. Col., Vol. VI, p. 390.

residence here, and especially the poetry he wrote while in the state, give Kansas a right to at least a large share of his writing. He was born in England where his boyish verses, published at the age of seventeen under the title "Guesses at the Beautiful", attracted the attention and patronage of Lady Byron, Miss Mitford, Mrs. Jameson and others. Because of an intrigue with a woman older than himself he came to America to live down his past.

He reached New York at the age of twenty-one. After sixteen months in the Five Points Mission he came to Kansas. Here he learned to know Brown, and later was associated with him in his efforts to liberate the slaves. In the so-called legislative proceedings at Tabor, Iowa, and in the 'convention' at Chatham, Canada, where a document was drafted for the provisional government of the territory the promoters would take from the slave-holders, Realf was made 'secretary of state'. He became doubtful about Brown's plans, and after a short visit to England, went to the South to investigate slave conditions. He did not rejoin Brown, but at the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the Union army, and served with distinction as a staff officer in one of the southern divisions. After the war he was a resident of various eastern cities, including New York and Pittsburg. In the latter he spent

five years at newspaper work. Later he went to California to escape the fury of the shrewish wife. Being pursued thither, disappointed and poor, he took his own life.

The life of Realf is one of enigma. Only the hypothesis that the insanity that was in his family was a taint in his life explains the strange combination of moral lapse and high purpose, of loyalty to a cause, and sudden changes from one allegiance to another. He was at various times a convert to the Roman Catholic faith, a lecturer for a Shaker community, and an applicant for membership in the Oneida community. Moreover, he left a wife when he went to war, but failed to return to her. Going to Pittsburg he married the woman who made him despair of life. To escape her he passed from public notice for a period, marrying a third woman without having a divorce from either of the other two. Besides the avenging fury who pursued him to his death, he was survived by both the other wives, the latest having several small children.

Despite his vagrancy and immorality his poems of love, aspiration and friendship seem to be an expression of sentiment that is as abiding as his life was unstable. The love lyric is a characteristic form of his. One of the tenderest and most ideal of these is An Old Man's Idyl. More sensuous, even to the degree that the pantings of the

stricken heart are almost audible, are the sonnets "Passion" and "In Peril". Incidentally it should be noted that the sonnet is a frequent form, particularly in the love poems. The rhyme scheme is constantly varied, nor is there any division made of the octave from the sestet.

He had a soul as sensitive as Shelley's, yet his failure to follow Brown to Harper's Ferry seems to indicate that even though similarly fired by dreams of human freedom from tyranny, he had better judgment. But it is natural that his love for freedom would soon cause him to be attracted by the struggle in Kansas. He preceded his coming to the territory by seven vigorous anti-slavery poems sent from New York. These, as well as some "political skits of purely local importance", are not included in the only collection of his poems yet published. "While in Kansas he wrote at least twenty-five of his more notable lyrics".[1] Soon after his arrival, October, 1856, he wrote the spirited descriptive poem, "The Defense of Lawrence", called forth by the attack of a large body of pro-slavery men from Missouri. Its vigor, local touch, and lyric quality can be seen in the last stanza:

1. Poems by Richard Realf, Introduction XL, Richard Hinton, ed. N. Y., Funk and Wagnalls, 1898.

Beneath the everlasting stars
We bended childlike knees,
And thanked God for the shining stars
Of his large victories:
And some who lingered, said they heard
Such wondrous music pass
As though a seraph's voice had stirred
The pulses of the grass.

Another poem that was the result of his residence in the state is " Kansas", the first of that long series of poems of tribute to the state. The expression of love for Kansas, that will be treated more at length later, is found early in both prose and poetry. But though this is reminiscent in expletives and meter of the lyric in "Lalla Rookh" that begins, "There's a bower of roses by Bendemere's stream", it is one of the most artistic of its kind until a much later period.

A kind of verse that Realf did with distinction is the war poem, or martial lyric. Apocalypse, one of the earliest Northern war lyrics, was written when Private Arthur Ladd of the Sixth Massachusetts was killed in Baltimore April 19, 1861. This is included by Professor Matthews in Patriotic Poems. The next poem, published in the Chicago Tribune in the fall of 1862, was a war lyric, My Sword Song. The stirring martial tone of this shows Realf at his best in this type. It was a manuscript copy of this poem and of Realf's "Vates" that

were in the vest-pocket of General Lytle, the author of "I am Dying, Egypt, Dying" when he fell at Chickamauga, and were dyed in the soldier's blood. Besides some sonnets to Lincoln, other notable war poems are "A Soldier's Psalm of Women", and "Io Triumphe" celebrating the surrender at Appomattox and the successful conclusion of the war.

"Liberty and Charity" is the best example of the poems that are at once a plea for human liberty and a voice of the love of the beautiful found in Shelley. The semblance may be seen in the following poem.

> Let liberty run onward with the years,
> And circle with the seasons; let her break
> The tyrant's harshness, the oppressor's spears;
> Bring ripened recompenses that shall make
> Supreme amends for sorrow's long arrears;
> Drop holy benisons on heart's that ache;
> Put clearer radiance into human eyes,
> And set the glad earth singing to the skies.

When one reads this it does not seem strange that he was one of the associates of John Brown when the plan to free the slaves was being formulated.

Whatever may be said of the value of the rest of the verse of Realf, it seems safe to assert that American poetry is certainly richer for the beautiful lyric "Indirection". The delicate symbolism of the poem shows the artistic gift of the poet, and reveals his deep and tender feeling. The note of sorrow for the unattained

that is noticeable here is given a full and touching exression in "My Slain". Of the many miscellaneous lyrics of tenderness or power, limitation of space prevents mention.

The lyrical ability of this poet is nowhere more evident than in his lighter poem, "Sunbeam and I" that Professor Matthews places in his collection of "American Familiar Verse",-that verse that "has ever to avoid breadth of humor on one side and depth of feeling on the other". Note the playfulness in which there is not altogether a lack of seriousness in these stanzas:

Sunbeam and I.

We own no houses, no lots, no lands,
No dainty viands for us to spread;
By sweat of our brows and toil of our hands
We earn the pittance that buys us bread.
And yet we live in a nobler state-
Sunbeam and I-than the millionaires
Who dine off silvern and golden plate,
With liveried lacqueys behind their chairs.

We have no riches in bonds and stocks,
No bank books show our balance to draw;
Yet we carry a safe key that unlocks
More treasures than Croesus ever saw.
We wear no velvets or satins fine,
We dress in a very homely way;
But O, what luminous lusters shine
About Sunbeam's gowns and my hodden gray.

No harp, no dulcimer, no guitar
Breaks into singing at Sunbeam's touch;
But do not think that our evenings are
Without their music; there is none such
In concert halls where the lyric air
In palpitant billows swims and swoons;
Our lives are as psalms, and our foreheads wear
The calms of the hearts of perfect Junes.

Sunbeam's hair will be streaked with gray,
And Time will furrow my darling's brow;
But never can Time's hand take away
The tender halo that clasps it now.
So we dwell in wonderful opulence,
With nothing to hurt us, nor upbraid;
And my life trembles with reverence
And Sunbeam's spirit is not afraid.

Of Realf's prose I have seen only a few letters. His friend and editor says that his letters during the war were splendid examples of epistolary finish. His editorial work and hack writing must have been considerable, but as no collection of it has ever been made, it is ineffective. His "Battle Flashes", a reminiscent lecture on the war is said to have been brilliant. Besides this he did much public lecturing on moral and ethical subjects both before and after the war.

Though his life was in many respects one of hardship and disappointment, the hopefulness and optomism of his message to mankind is never lacking. He does not complain. And only when he came to die did he say of himself that this was "a great soul killed by cruel wrong".

John Brown.

All through the conflict, up and down
Marched Uncle Tom and Old John Brown,
One ghost, one form ideal,
And which was false and which was true,
And which was mightier of the two,
The wisest sibyl never knew,
For both alike were real.

One of the earliest prose writers of the state to whom Kansas has an entire right, is John Brown of Ossawattomie. And though there are few things that he prepared for print, since he had a dislike for writing, a few striking things besides his letters deserve notice. Heretofore his writing has been noted only as a biographical detail, yet as it is not without value as literature, it should find a place in the literary history of the state.

One of the most curious of his compositions is entitled "Sambo's Mistakes". It was contributed to a small Abolitionist paper called "The Ramshorn", apparently for the purpose of teaching the aspiring freedmen some "Poor Richard" wisdom. Its likeness to the keen helpful sayings of Poor Richard was first pointed out by Brown's friend, T. F. Sanborn in his "Life and Letters of John Brown", published in 1885. This is worthy of notice since Brown advised, in one of the last letters he wrote, that his daughters be taught Poor Richard as a part of their education. The same simple, forceful phrase is used in both,

but"Sambo's Mistakes" is entirely satirical, though none the less kindly for that quality. Sambo states the mistakes he made and the unfortunate consequences to himself, when he tried to imitate the manners of extravagant people, failed to assert his rights "from principle", cultivated expensive habits, and neglected to read good books. In addition to the satire that distinguishes these essays from Poor Richard's sayings, the fault of an unvarying phrasing at the beginning and end of successive paragraphs is quite noticeable. Franklin had made too careful a study of the structure of Addison not to discover that such a practice was bad form. Moreover, there is never any epigram in these essays. The resemblance of sentence structure in the two writers is, however, quite close. This series of essays contains only three numbers, probably because of Brown's aversion to writing,- a dislike that was so strong that he tried to make everything that came from his pen as brief as possible.

Another characteristic piece of writing was prepared after a campaign for funds in New England for the equipment of his "Minute Men" in Kansas. It is entitled "Old Brown's Farewell to Plymouth Rocks, Bunker Hill Monuments, Turner Oaks, and Uncle Tom's Cabin". His disappointment at not getting the help he expected in the

face of the hardships of himself and family is told with feeling. There is no other connection between the title and the thought of the essay than the indirect reference thus made to the cradles of liberty that seem to fail to be longer significant in this later crisis. Whether this has been published or not, I have not been able to discover. Other miscellaneous writing that shows his plain convincing style are the "Constitution" of the Chatham 'convention' and "John Brown's Parallels". The former is the provisional government document that he and his associates drew up for the government of slave territory. Besides its literary value,- for the preamble is especially well written,- it is interesting as a revelation of the man,- the modern Puritanical champion of human rights. The latter is a vindication of the taking of life by freestate men under Brown, by showing analogous cases of similar deeds by their opponents, with no provocation. It is remarkably terse and pointed.

John Brown took little part in discussion concerning slavery. The most of the speaking he did was in the interest of raising funds for his work. After attending some Abolition meetings in Boston, in 1859, he characterized them by saying, "Talk! talk! talk! that will never set the slaves free!"[1] Of these numerous speeches, which

1. F. B. Sanborn, "Life and Letters of John Brown".

were delivered before eastern legislatures and public gatherings, only brief notes of one remain, in the form of a kind of outline. But when he pleaded his cause before the court that had tried him, explaining why sentence should not be passed, he uttered one of the imperishable things of all languages. " This (Lincoln's Gettysburg speech) and one one other American speech ", says Emerson, " that of John Brown to the court that tried him, and a part of Kossuth's speech at Birmingham can alone be compared with each other, and with no other".[1] So discriminating a scholar as William Howard Furness wrote to a friend, " Has anything like it been said in this land or age, so brave, wise, considerate all around".[2]

Like Lincoln, a master of those fountains of simple and noble speech,- Bunyan and the English Bible,- besides Plutarch's Lives and Franklin's writings, when moved by a powerful emotion in behalf of a cause to which he saw his life forfeit, but which he felt was to receive the last necessary impetus by this forfeit, he became eloquent.

1. At funeral services for Lincoln at Concord, April 19, 1865. Quoted by Oswald Garrison Villard, John Brown; a Biography Fifty Years After.

2. Letter of W. H. Furness to J. M. McKim, November 3, 1859. In J. M. McKim papers, Cornell University Library. Quoted by O. G. Villard, John Brown..

The probable effect of the death of Brown in the anti-slavery movement was perceived by others besides Brown himself. E. C. Stedman, in the poem "John Brown of Ossawattomie" wrote:

> ...each drop from Old Brown's life-veins, like the red gore of the dragon,
> May spring up avengeful fury, hissing through your slave-worn lands!
> And Old Brown
> Ossawattomie Brown
> May trouble you worse than ever when you've nailed his coffin down.

His letters yet remain. Brown was an extensive letter-writer. For the most part they are taken up with petty matters of business or home affairs. But through them all is Brown the teacher, the friend of the oppressed, the tender husband and father, the martyr to the cause of right as he learned from God whose instrument for a great work he believed himself to be. A few of them, however, stand out as striking utterances when he seemed to be moved somewhat as he was when he made his last defense. The kindliness of his humanity is seen in his reply to his kinsman Humphrey who had written to espress his sorrow for his relative's "insanity and madness!" Others that deserve particular mention are his last letters to his family, an earlier under the date of September 29, 1846, enjoining his wife to stand by him in the cause of humanity, closing, "and let our motto still be action,--action,--as we have

but one life to live", a feeling meesage to his friend, F. B. Sanborn in which the prophetic vein, that seems touched at times with fire, is marked; and the one to his old teacher while waiting his execution.

As an example of his writing and an indication of his purpose, no better brief quotation can be found than that he penned the day of his death and handed to one of his guards. "I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty nation will never be purged away but with blood. I had, as I now think vainly, flattered myself that without much bloodshed it might be done!"

The few imperishable things Brown said or wrote are those that were inspired by a profound emotion when he seemed to speak with the strength and prophetic power of the old prophets. They are among the literary masterpieces of the state and the nation. And while John Brown of Ossawattomie is primarily the apostle of freedom for the American slaves, he has no mean place among the American writers.

Chapter IV.

The Transition Period (1860-1870)

The great national struggle that marks a break in the literary history of the whole country, makes even a greater divide in the writing of Kansas. When the state was admitted into the Union in 1860, the border warfare ceased, and the drama that had been staged here no longer existed as an incentive to literary effort. Consequently, with the passing of the slavery-freestate struggle the most fruitful source of literary effort passed.. The war correspondents went to report the progress of the Civil War or to fight in the ranks; Richard Realf, the only poet of note in the state likewise left to become a soldier. The time for oratory, too, had gone by, and even the newspapers could only wait the arbitrament of the sword to settle the question that had been engaging their attention.

From the foregoing one reason for the dearth of literature during this period is apparent. The older parts of our country where authors who had attained to distinction still wrote, were not without writers even tho few new ones came into notice during the war; but Kansas did not have writers. Those Kansans, such as Mrs. Robinson and William Phillips, who had written in the preceding period, either had done so as an occasional pursuit, or continued to write only for magazines in similar

occasional pieces. If there were talented writers among the great number of newcomers, the opportunity was not presented to call out their gifts, for the time had come to maintain, against all invaders, the position that had been established as the only possible one for the state, and to try to win for homes the hitherto unconquered prairie.

A further reason for the literary dearth of the period under discussion is not so apparent, but is probably no less important. Not only was there a lack of opportunity to turn from the material pursuits, but the material out of which to create literature was largely lacking. It has already been pointed out that the topics which had received attention earlier were no longer opportune. And so, unless there had been among these earlier settlers a few writers who could in some way have had leisure and freedom from hardship, under the conditions, not even good prose could have been produced. As for other than native writers, they found abundant material at home, either in the war or in the events of the reconstruction. Thus Kansas was left alone to work out her own literary destiny.

What is true of the possibility of the production of prose under such difficulties, is doubly true of poetry. The problem of the creation of an imaginative

language in a country where much of the natural scenery of the poetry up to this time is lacking, is put in a concise manner by one of the most appreciative and discriminating critics that Kansas has yet produced. He says:

" It would be impossible for those of us who have lived on these broad prairies for a score or more of years so to express ourselves in imaginative language as to conceal the fact that the plains to a certain degree mean to us what the sea means to the coast dwellers. And perhaps the very barrenness of our metaphors might disclose our abode. This idea brings home to us the fact that our work of creation is very hard because nature furnishes us so little material. We must create the material as well as the finished product".[1] How Kansas has set about to meet this difficulty will be discussed in connection with the beginning of an attempt to create a new literature.

Although the writing of this period is meager, it is of sufficient bulk and interest to deserve some notice. Its principal kinds are histories and stories of campaigns or of adventure,- the natural aftermath of the preceding period,- occasional and popular poetry and imaginative verse.

1. Thomas E. Dewey, Poetry in Song, pp. 76-7.

I. Histories and Miscellany. Among the best of the first class of writing is "The Narrative of a Plain Unvarnished Tale ", published in 1860. It is a spirited narrative of the kidnaping of the author, Dr. John Doy in the latter part of the territorial period, and of his imprisonment in Missouri for undue activity in behalf of the freestate cause. In large part it is a tribute to his wife, through whose pluck he was rescued, and to other Kansas women. He says: "To the honor of the Kansas mothers, wives and daughters be it said, that to them as much as to the men, the freedom of their country is due".

Of the same general kind is the story by Fanny Hunter, the second edition of which appeared in 1864. The full title of the book, first published in 1859, is Western Border Life; or What Fanny Hunter Saw and Heard in Kansas and Missouri. What distinguishes it to a degree from like narratives is the fact that there is a concentration of the events of the territory about the fortunes of the story-teller and the family in which she was a teacher. In this respect the novel is more nearly realized than in any other work up to this time.

To show more nearly how this story approaches the novel in form, and how justly it is called the first Kansas novel,[1] a brief account of its plan and scope will be given.

1. See Mae Reardon's Glance at the Kansas Novel.

In what is presumably the narrative of the personal experience of an abolitionist sympathizer while a teacher in the home of a Border Ruffian, Jack Catlett, and later as a settler in Kansas, the author tells the story of the later part of the Kansas struggle of the territorial period. But all matter concerning this struggle that does not affect herself or the family in which she lives is excluded. And so there is a definite group of characters around whom a story, not unlike a historical novel, is built. Then, too, there is a love element in the book.

What chiefly hinders this story from being a novel in the critical sense of the term, is its too great literalness and apparent truth to fact. As a result the love element is kept too much in the background,-being merely an incident to the main story. The historical importance of the book is probably of more significance, however, than its intrinsic merit warrants. Because it is the beginning of a long series of works that use the material of this far-famed struggle as a quarry, and the consequent step it takes toward the freeing of the artistic impulse in work of this kind, it has greatest importance.

The remainder of the books of this class contain nothing of great significance. The Lawrence raid, the campaign against Sterling Price during the Rebellion, and a few of the usual descriptions of the country are some of

the themes.[1] Among this miscellaneous group should be mentioned the "Life and Letters of Captain John Brown", by Richard D. Webb, one of the earliest biographies of Brown.

II. Popular and Occasional Poetry. As yet there has been no attempt to make a complete collection of such poetry, that is preserved for the most part in the old papers of the time. Occasionally a historian or an annalist has reprinted some of these as illustrative material in connection with his work, but the rest are not easily accessible.

Among the common forms of this kind of poetry at this time was the war song. The most famous of these, "John Brown's Body", is only indirectly Kansan, since it was composed by the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment. But its great popularity among her soldiers and its subject give Kansas a part claim to it. Besides this song the Kansas soldiers had a song of their own, composed by them in a manner similar to the popular composition that made most of the songs of the Rebellion. It is lively and wholly suggestive of popular composition in a soldier's camp.

Air: Happy Land of Canaan.

The Kansas volunteers are boys devoid of fears,
'Tis needless to recount their deeds of daring;
In 55 and '6 they gave the Rebels fits
And drove them from this happy land of Canaan.

1. See Bibliography.

Cho:
Oh, oh, oh, ah, ah, ah, ah!
The time of retribution is a-coming
For with shot and shell we'll give the Rebels--,
Or we'll drive them from this happy land of Canaan.

We now come to a form of poetry that is different from any yet noted. It is that popular poetry that belongs to this part of the West, but for the origin of which no particular place can be assigned with much certainty. A good example of this is "The Little Old Log Shanty on the Claim". Wattles includes it in his collection of Kansas poetry, and it is probable that similar writers in Nebraska and other states where it is widely known will do likewise. In each the claim to it is about equally good, for it has become a part of the life of people of various states.

This song is an adaptation of "The Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane".[1] Like many of the songs found in the territorial period and not a few cowboy songs that were doubtless in process of development as early as this, these songs are often not original, but are built about some popular air ready to hand. It does not follow that there is servile imitation of the original, but instead there is often a skillful reworking that owes to the original merely

1. For the probability of the claim of Nebraska to the song,"The Little Old Log Shanty on the Claim", and other matters of its history, the reader is referred to Louise Pound's "Pedigree of a Western Song" Mod. Lang. Notes, Jan. 1914

the general plan and the air. How many more compositions of the nature of this one will be found when the collection of popular poetry in Kansas and elsewhere is completed, remains a matter of conjecture. Yet there are others. The best example the author has found is a popular song in praise of country life found among the German-Russians of Ellis County.[1] It contains excellent poetry.

Concerning cowboy songs a word will be in place here. Though the cattle business did not fully develop in Kansas until somewhat later than this decade, it was beginning to assume proportions of considerable size. And the songs that have been got together by Professor Lomax probably date their beginning in some cases to this period.

The question as to which is the native state of many of these compositions resolves itself into a compromise for a joint ownership. For example, the Texas cowboy made long trips annually to the cattle markets of Kansas or followed her cattle trails to the far Northwest, singing and composing songs. Many of them mention Kansas, and it is thereby evident that some of them are at least indirectly the product of Kansas. Moreover, since poetry is easily learned, it is carried like the popular Scottish ballads to widely separated places where conditions conducive to its life are found.

1. Quoted in Kan. Hist. Col., II, p. 520.

The discussion of this form may be concluded with a quotation of one of the lullabies sung to keep the cattle from stampeding, when they are frightned or otherwise restless. The complete study of this interesting literary form will be left to a later chapter. In view of the propensity of all herds to stampede, it is likely that such a song would be included in the repertoire of every cowboy.

.....

I have circle-herded, trail-herded, night-herded,
and cross-herded, too,
But to keep you together that's what I can't do;
My horse is leg weary and I'm awful tired,
But if I let you get away I'm sure to get fired,-
Bunch up, little dogies, bunch up.

Hi-oo, hi-oo, oo-oo

.....

Oh, lay still, dogies, since you have laid down,
Stretch away out om the big open ground;
Snore loud, little dogies, and drown the wild sound
That will all go away when the day rolls round,-
Lay still, little dogies, lay still.
1

Hi-oo, hi-oo, oo-oo

III.First Volume of Verse. To Evender C. Kennedy belongs the honor of having produced the first volume of verse in the state. His "Osseo, the Specter Chieftain", a poem of eight cantos, appeared in 1867. In the preface the hope is expressed that the reception of the poem will be so favorable that a second edition may be brought out. But the second edition never appeared.

1. Lomax, "Cowboy Songs", p 324.

Its principal importance is that it marks the beginning of a deliberate attempt to write artistic verse. Its intrinsic value is little as may be expected from a subject of the kind in which successful treatment would be difficult for a master.

Summary. Literary effort was at a lower ebb during this period than in the preceding because all energy was directed to the prosecution of the war or to homemaking, and because there was no incentive to creative work in the conditions obtaining. The production of popular poetry was natural in a pioneer country, and this, with history and description of Kansas made up the bulk of the literary product. Of greatest historical importance is the appearance of the first volume of imaginative verse, and of the first novel in embryo. How the artistic impulse began to direct effort toward a native literature even before the struggle with the "Desert" had been completely won, is the subject of the following and the concluding chapter.

Chapter V.

Beginnings in the First Creative Period.

This chapter will complete the history of Kansas literature to about the year 1875. The first creative period is properly longer than five years, but since it is convenient to conclude this study with an account of the appearance of a group of writers who are among those that have done best work, rather than with a complete study that would extend well on toward the close of the century, this date has been chosen. And in view of the fact that the study will be concerned with only a part of the period, since it is desired that this work be confined within a reasonable compass, nothing more than a sketch of these five years will be made.

Before noting the new movements in literature it will be well to take a glance at the history of the chief events of the period. The population of the state was more than 165,000 in 1865, and this number was almost doubled by 1870. During the next decade the increase was more than 600,000. A growth of this kind can be explained only through the railroads. Their advertisement of the country began before the close of the War, even though the agricultural possibilities of the country had

been but imperfectly tested as yet. But the dreams of railroad men and early settlers had foundations put under them, so that by 1870 the future promise of the state began to be apparent.

More hardships were ahead, however, for so bad did conditions become because of the invasion of grasshoppers in 1874 that calls for help were sent out to other states. The people of Kansas were not daunted, and seemingly their faith was justified, for there followed a period of fifteen years of almost unbroken prosperity. How this ended in a period of loss and discouragement does not concern us now. Suffice it to say that just so soon as a measure of material prosperity came to the state, some of her prophets began to see visions. Thomas E. Dewey is a good later example of the embodiment of this prophetic insight into the artistic needs of the people who were having great material prosperity. In his "Poetry in Song" he has a chapter on the subject "Where there is no Vision the People Perish", in which he expresses more clearly than any of the earlier men did, the thing for which all were striving. But he is not the first who saw this need. To the men who were back of the Kansas Magazine, John J. Ingalls, James W. Steele, Henry King and some of the other newspaper men of the state belongs the tribute of seeing and attempting to give to others this

vision that emphasizes the intellectual and the aesthetic,- the spiritual,-as of equal value for the happiness and lasting prosperity of the people, when compared with the material.

It is a significant fact that in a state where the material necessities of life compelled people to forget the artistic and the beautiful, a movement to lead them back to the sources of the higher things in life began thus early in her history. In no small way does Kansas owe the degree of excellence to which she is attaining in matters of art, literature and culture in general to the impulse that came through the Kansas Magazine and the books of the men who had contributed to it.

It is not to be expected that a great measure of financial success would attend such a venture. The wonder is that it succeeded at all, since it is true that probably only a small percentage of the people in a civilization that had been almost exclusively material had any great appreciation of the aesthetic and the literary. Hence when the matter of the literary needs of the people came to the attention of some intelligent, practical minds, through the efforts of men who were gifted as writers and appreciative of art, they immediately conceived

the idea that the energy that had been turned so successfully to the making of a great material commonwealth, could be used in a similarly successful way in the making of a great literature.

It follows naturally that the problem of making a literature for Kansas was made a matter of cold common sense instead of one of imagination and aesthetic feeling. Too many would-be writers turned to the making of literature as a mason builds a wall or a carpenter erects a house. The workman, the material, and the thing to be made,-a poem, a novel, or a story,-were thought to be the sum of the requisites for success in writing. One is reminded by this belief of the New England merchant who has just retired from business at the age of ninety-seven after having accumulated a million dollars, with the conviction that his work is not yet done, but that he should write a national anthem that will be the long looked-for national hymn. In both cases the ambition is equally laudable and the chances for success equally good.

It has taken quite a long while for the people of the state to learn what a few saw long ago. How long it will be until there is a satisfactorily large percentage of the people of Kansas awake to her cultural

interests, depends to a large extent upon a knowledge of what she has done, that there may be a constant ideal before her talented people to make her great in letters as well as in agriculture, manufacture, and commerce. It is true that substantial progress has been and is being made, but it has been made through consistent effort of those who were willing to wait for results. "Out here on the plains", says Charles Moreau Harger,[1] "in the constructive period of a state's making, people do violate form; they hurry to results, or to what they think are results."

The natural faith of a Kansan in his ability to do things, because he has been accustomed to do things successfully in the face of most unusual circumstances,- the cause of his attitude toward creating literature,- is put thus by Kate Stephens:[2] "The Kansan has yet to learn the moral effect of time and aggregation-that a moon's cycle is not a millennium, a June wind fragrant with the wind of his white clover not all of his fair climate, and that a political colossus can not stand when it has no more substantial feet than the yellow clay that washes and swirls in the river that washes his great state. In reality his excess of faith hinders the way to conditions his idealism has ever been seeking".

1. Introductory essay in Thos. E. Dewey's "Poetry in Song".
2. American Thumb-Prints, p. 31.

This explanation accounts for much of the mediocre writing that has found its way into print in Kansas. That there has been a public for it is to be explained by the fact that the intense patriotism, and the lack of real standards of taste have made books produced in Kansas as welcome to her citizens as her sunlight and prosperity. In the face of this we should not forget the fact that Louis Howland points out when he says that in order to be good literature, western literature must be good as literature and not as western literature. A native pride is necessary, but a discriminating pride is imperative.

So much for the negative side of the question. Before discussing the writers that are foremost in this period, a word more should be said about the Kansas Magazine. Most of the score or more of attempts to run magazines in the state have failed, except in the case of a few devoted to things not strictly literary. No one of the literary magazines had a longer life than a few years, but the brilliant writers who have helped to make them and who, no doubt were made to a degree by them, suggest that it might be a good experiment to begin another Kansas magazine, even though it does not live more than a few years. Furthermore, it seems that the chances at present time for the success of such a venture are very much greater than

at any time heretofore. With this comment on the early magazines, the complete story of which belongs in a general discussion of Kansas magazines, we shall pass to the writers of the period.

There are numerous minor writers of this period neither better nor worse than their predecessors, including at least one novelist, Mrs. Anna Nelles, and at least two poets who published a volume of verse apiece. But neither Thomas Brower Peacock, nor W. Darwin Crabb wrote good poetry. The baldness of metaphor and lack of poetic imagination in general, make their verse defective.

But when we come to the names of John J. Ingalls and James W. Steele we reach the first of the writers of significance, if we omit Richard Realf. The whole story of the literary product of Ingalls belongs in part to a later time, but much of the most significant writing of Steele was contributed to the Kansas Magazine.

With the contributions of Ingalls to the new magazine, the literary essay of a highly artistic form appears in Kansas. "Blue Grass" is probably the best known of these essays, although "Catfish Aristocracy" was deservedly very popular. These essays attracted so much attention that it is said that Ingalls owed his seat in the Senate in no small part to the reputation they

brought him. In the former essay the part that grass plays in civilization is the theme. There is no dry sentence in it. But instead the colorful words, human touch, and happy phrase carry the reader along with an increasing interest in the relation of Blue Grass to the achievements of the race. "Eradicate it, substitute for it the scrawny herbage of impoverished barrens, and in a single generation man and beast would alike degenerate into a common decay". "Catfich Aristocracy" is a contrast between the man who lives in the low malarial sleepy regions and the Puritan type that won Kansas. The author's pictorial ability and facile use of words may be seen in the following description of the kind of place where "Shang", the catfish aristocrat dwells:

"Malarious brakes and jungles suddenly exhale from the black soil, in whose loathsome recesses the pools of pure rain change by some horrible alchemy into green ooze and bubbly slime, breeding reptiles that creep and fly, infecting earth and air with their venom, fatal alike to action and repose. Gigantic parasites smother and strangle the huge trunks they embrace, turning them into massive columns of verdure, changing into a crimson like that of blood when smitten by the frosts of October. Pendulous, leafless vines dismally sway from the lofty trees like gallows without their tenants".

These two essays alone would entitle their

author to a place that is noteworthy in Kansas letters. But when one includes the rest of them, his brilliant orations and his poem "Opportunity", which for popularity probably ranks with Miss Esther Clark's "Call of Kansas", his right to one of the permanent places among the writers of the state is rather certain.

The other important contributor to the Kansas Magazine was James W. Steele. His principal form was the sketch. His volume "Sons of the Border" contains principally the things that had been printed in the magazine. These five sketches are unique in American letters. The subjects are chosen to show the characteristics of the frontier life,-especially as found in the frontier people. The likeness of Steele's sketches to some of the short-stories of Bret Harte has been suggested. But the analogy is rather far-fetched. So far as I can see there is no resemblance except in the somewhat similar life found in both,-a fact that likely accounts for their seeming likeness.

The short-story form is suggested at times, but at no time is a typical short-story plot worked out. In the usual form of the sketches there is a carefully worked out setting that makes the atmosphere of the piece. Thus in "Chuck" the site of the former ranch and store that an enterprising pioneer had established on one of the great

trails is now marked by only the last vestiges of civilization and the lonely mound that is made by a grave. How this spot blossomed at the touch of the family that settled there is shown in striking contrast to its present desolation. The end of the story tells of the raid of the Indians that left the settlement as it is found at the opening. On this background, while the ranch was flourishing, is placed a group of characters, chief among whom is "Chuck", the settler's youngest daughter, who gives the title to the story.

"Chuck" and "Jornando del Muerto" are the best of the sketches. The latter is the story of the Enoch Arden of the frontier. "Woman under Difficulties" is a sympathetic portrait of the pioneer woman, and a tribute to her womanliness. Heretofore there had been but infrequent mention of "the daughters of the wilderness" in all the literature of the Kansas plains. In this respect the work of Steele is distinctive.

There is a delightful vein of refined humor running through all these sketches. In "Coyotes" it is continuous and typical. But with this humor that plays about the story of these inveterate thieves is the accurate account of a careful observer concerning their life habits.

With this notice of the beginnings of real literature this study will be closed. As the object of the sketch has been merely to show the history of the origin and development of writing in the state to the point where permanent literary forms had made their appearance, it is possible to close here with no more account of the writers who helped to make the first Kansas magazine, or contributed in other ways to the literature of the first part of the creative period.

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