BISMARCK GROVE, LAWRENCE, KANSAS
1878-1900

by

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Submitted to the Department of
History and the Faculty of the
Graduate School of the University
of Kansas in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts.

Instructor in charge

~~September~~ OCTOBER, 1968

For the department

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PREFACE

Located on the north bank of the Kansas River, about two miles northeast of Lawrence, Kansas, is the Will Hayden-Eugene Nunemaker farm. To the casual observer there is not much to distinguish it from other farms along the Kansas Valley. It is true that the huge red barn with the green roof is of rather unusual design but it would possibly not cause too much wonderment. Grain bins on a small rise, a depression in the middle of the alfalfa field, corn growing east of the typical looking farm house, cattle feeding pens next to the railroad track and a few elms at the entrance to the farm from Lyon Street, comprise its main features. But to those who know, this is not just a farm. It is Bismarck Grove — the scene of innumerable picnics and parties, church encampments and gatherings; the location of some of the greatest state fairs in Kansas history and of temperance meetings to which thousands came to count demon rum out of the state and put Kansas on the map as the first state to have constitutional prohibition; the place where Old Settlers reminisced in the shade of its venerable trees during the Twenty-Fifth and Thirtieth Anniversary celebrations of the settlement of Kansas; the locality where shouts and military commands echoed through the trees during sessions of drill by the State Militia and by the many military companies which demonstrated exhibitions of their drills.

The Grove has been the scene of many varied activities — of prayer meetings at 5:00 in the morning, of horse racing and gambling, of liquored men and women dancing and fighting, of buffalo and deer grazing peacefully, of tents covering the ground like a city and so many people on the grounds that it was hard to move about.

As should be apparent, Bismarck attracted people of all types to its different events. One week could be devoted to evangelism, another to causing doubts about Christianity; one day to celebrate emancipation and another to close the gates to Negroes.

INTRODUCTION

In 1829 the Delaware Indians were assigned by the Federal Government, a tract of land in northeast Kansas on the north side of the Kansas River. This area was called the Delaware Reserve. Treaties concluded by the Secretary of Interior with the Delaware nation of Indians on May 30, 1860, and July 2, 1861, turned some of this land back to the United States Government. Part of this land was then deeded to railway companies as part payment for the building of western railways. In 1864, a few miles to the northeast of the townsite of Lawrence, within the Delaware Reserve lived Chief Sarcoxie of the Turtle Band. Between his home and the river was a large body of timber, oak, walnut and elm which was referred to as the Delaware Woods.[1]

In late 1864 tracks were being laid for the first railroad to come to Lawrence. As the railroad was being built west from Wyandotte, its route would take it through this Kaw Valley timber. There was great enthusiasm as the first train arrived at the Lawrence station at noon, November 26, 1864.[2] Some of the Kaw Valley land adjoining the railroad right-of-way was granted to the railroad. This railroad in 1864 was called the Union Pacific Railroad Company, Eastern Division. It had been chartered as the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad Company. In 1869 the name was changed to that of the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company. In January, 1880, the railroad was incorporated as the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

Though most of the fine valley land was later sold by the railroad, a tract of land comprising about 240 acres was kept by the Company. A patent from the United States Government conveyed this land to the railroad on June 5, 1868.[3] A well and a water tank, built close to the tracks, made this a frequent watering stop for the engines. In 1867 temporary machine shops were built on the south part of the property. Lawrence, a city attempting to recover from the Quantrill raid of four years before, hoped to secure permanent location of the machine shops at this point. Many other "cities" along the line were also anxious for this "plum," as it would provide jobs for many hundreds of employees, and it was believed, would assure the permanence and growth of the town. It was not until October of 1870 that it was announced that permanent location of the manufacturing and repair shops of the Kansas Pacific Railroad was to be at the original temporary location. The City of Lawrence on December 6, 1870, agreed to give the railroad $100,000 in bonds to induce them to stay and make it their "permanent" location. There was great happiness in Lawrence at these developments, and the price of real estate in North Lawrence advanced 100 per cent shortly after the news was announced.[4]

Work in the vicinity of the machine shops began almost at once. Forty acres on the south side of the tracks were fenced in and the little office east of the shops marked "Bismarck" was moved down near the shop area.[5]

It is not known who named this area "Bismarck" or as it was later known, "Bismarck Grove". The preceding events occurred during the period of the Franco-Prussian War and Bismarck, the Chancellor of

Prussia, was held in high regard by the people of the Lawrence community. Another theory is a story told about its name. It asserts that as workmen were building the track west of Junction City, Kansas, a certain buffalo kept bothering the workmen. He kept his distance but by his bold and annoying actions someone called him "Old Bismarck". Finally, he was killed and his head brought back to the company owned land near Lawrence. This buffalo's name was then given to the Company's land.[6] Legend though it may be, it is undoubtedly true that the original name honors the Prussian chancellor, who was hailed as "the greatest man on the (World's) stage today" by a Lawrence paper in 1870.[7]

The shops were built according to the agreement and many workers were employed. The stand of timber to the north of the shops was used as a picnic grounds by railroad employees and their families and by other townspeople who were allowed to enjoy its facilities. Organizations soon began using it as a place for retreat and celebration. The One Hundredth Anniversary of our country's Independence was celebrated in the Grove by the Odd Fellows of Excelsior lodge.[8] By the late 1870's it was becoming renowned as a pleasant gathering place.

Some time before 1878 the Bismarck shops were phased out and the work moved to Armstrong, now a part of Kansas City, Kansas. Though the City of Lawrence regretted this move, there was nothing in the contract saying they could not move once the "permanent" buildings were built. However, the Grove on the north part of the tracks brought more attention and business to Lawrence than the shops on the south side ever had.

CHAPTER I

TEMPERANCE MEETINGS

In September, 1878, large numbers of people got their first look at Bismarck Grove during the National Temperance Camp Meeting. It promised to be one of the biggest temperance meetings the West had ever had and the first large gathering in the Grove. The Temperance Society announced that railways throughout the country would give reduced rates and that many thousands from the East would attend the meetings. Temporary structures were quickly built in the Grove. Dining halls, barracks with "good linen" spread over straw for beds, and a tarpaulin and pine board roof over a "grandstand" seating 4,000 awaited the arrivals. The announcements of such huge crowds prompted the sale of privileges (the right to sell certain items on the grounds) at a very high price. These privileged stands included a photograph gallery, a baker's shop, candy factory, circular swings and shooting galleries. To add to this carnival atmosphere, there were cheap jewelry salesmen, lemonade criers and tobacco salesmen. Liquor was also sold on the ground to those who knew where or from whom to buy it. Considering the nature of the encampment there should have been a limited market for alcoholic beverages unless many drunkards came with the hope of ridding themselves of the habit.[1]

On the first day of September the excursion trains began arriving and discharging their passengers at the southwestern corner of the Grove.

A circular drive through the trees led them northeast past the Dicker and Morton Houses, with their table room for 300-400 patrons. On further were the barracks, and then on just past the center of the Grove was the grandstand. To the left of the grandstand were numerous tents for sleeping accommodations. At the southeast corner of the Grove were the privilege stands and booths.[2]

Though it was billed as a "Temperance meeting," politics and religion were inseparable features of the activities. The first day's program was to be a prayer meeting, followed by an address by D. P. Mitchell, the Greenback candidate for Governor. The incumbent Governor of Kansas, George T. Anthony, was to speak in the afternoon with the Republican nominee for Governor, John P. St. John, speaking at the evening session.[3]

About 8,000 persons were present to hear these speakers, as well as Ely Smith, who devoted his attention to the subject of temperance literature, and to James St. Clair, editor of the Temperance Rural, who said his speech was for drunkards alone. As most everyone stayed and listened to the talk, one wonders about the audience or more likely the introductory statement of the address. His reference to the sidewalks of Lawrence and Kansas City, "crying for bread as the drunkard trod upon them," prompted many to come forward and at the close of the service to sign the pledge that they would totally abstain from the use of alcoholic beverages.[4] A constant feature of many addresses was the terrible stories told of how drunkards acted toward their children. Besides hoping to reform such men, it was believed that one of the objectives of the meeting was to teach children about the evil effects

of drunkenness. For that purpose, one day was set aside especially for them, and about a thousand attended. They came from Kansas City, Leavenworth, Atchison, St. Joseph, Topeka, Olathe, Ottawa, Lawrence and other places. The Superintendent of the Kansas City schools had written St. John that students enrolled in his schools would not be marked absent or receive any demerit if they came to "Children's Day" at the Grove.[5] The "gathering" of children took place at 3:00 in the afternoon when a Major Reed from Kansas City, St. John, E. B. Reynolds and others addressed them. Several children gave prepared speeches. General singing concluded the lengthy exercises.[6]

During one meeting the host city was attacked by an exhorter, the Reverend J. W. Clock. He said that governments have a law for the punishment of those who disturb the dead and one against those who would bring yellow fever into town. He said he knew that he could smell whiskey all over Lawrence. Though not a citizen of the town, he was ashamed of the condition of things and hoped that before long the traffic would be driven from the community.[7]

The next day Elder Fisher, a former Lawrence resident who had moved to Omaha, contradicted Reverend Clock's critical remarks. He agreed that whiskey was sold, but not to the extent claimed by Fisher.[8]

The Masonic and Good Templar Orders were in charge of the program for Friday. The Grand Master of the Free Masons and the Grand Commander of the Templars had requested all members to appear in uniform. The program was divided between the two Orders — the Templars having charge of the morning session and the Masons of the one in the afternoon. Luther Benson, of Indianapolis, made the greatest temperance speech of

the morning. His speech touched everyone who heard him — some in sympathy and others in admiration. His book, Fifteen Years in Hell, telling the story of his life, was sold on the grounds. At the close of the Masonic program at 2:15, the Orders formed in procession and marched to the Bismarck depot. There they entrained for the Kaw Valley Fair grounds at Lawrence where they were honored guests at the fair.[9]

A light rain on Saturday afternoon interfered with the activities, sending some to their tents while others left the grounds. At 3:00 the arrival of the Craig Rifles from Kansas City was announced by the playing of a band and almost everyone turned out to see them. Their military appearance in neat gray uniforms and with bright rifles thrilled many hearts.[10]

A Leavenworth Times reporter was one of the many that took the hour and a half train ride to Bismarck Sunday morning for the last session. He reported the sky clear when leaving Leavenworth, but by the time they reached Bismarck it was raining in torrents. The rain storm lasted until 4:00. People then ventured from their various shelters and the program began. At least 6,000 listened to the eight speakers. Possibly 10,000 would have come except for the weather. One of the most interesting features of the meeting was the singing of Ira D. Sankey's great revival hymn, "The Ninety and Nine," sung by Howard Phillips. He had a very strong bass voice and the song brought tears to many.[11]

On a whole, the first large gathering in Bismarck Grove was a success. A permanent State Temperance Organization was formed and also a ladies' Temperance Union. There was, however, much unfavorable criticism

directed at the management for the flaming announcements of the many thousands that would come because of the attractive speakers and the cheap railroad rates. The speakers were present but cheap rates were not provided except within the state and a feeling of bitterness was expressed by those who had purchased privileges and made preparations for larger attendance. Probably an aggregate attendance of fifty thousand was present during the eight-day "week." However, the beauty and adaptability of the grounds for large gatherings was fully demonstrated and arrangements were made for next year's meeting to be held at the Grove.[12]

Possibly the greatest camp-meeting in Kansas history was held in the Grove during the last two weeks of August, in 1879. Much had happened for the cause of prohibition since the successful meeting of the previous year. St. John, the Republican candidate for Governor and an outspoken advocate for prohibition, had won election. The State legislature, by this time, had proposed a constitutional amendment to be voted on in the next fall, outlawing the sale of alcoholic beverages. Thousands gathered at Bismarck Grove during this meeting to provide the momentum for pushing the temperance movement to victory at the polls.

Much had been done by the Kansas Pacific Railroad to make the Grove more attractive. Fountains had been put in, walks and drives laid out, gas lights had been installed on the grounds and a great tabernacle, which seated 5,000, had been built.[13] D. Sheldon, the manager of the Grove and his workmen were ready to put up hundreds of tents for those wishing to camp on the grounds.[14]

Several cornet bands were to be on hand to furnish music, and two large pianos and two large organs had been placed in the tabernacle. So that local jealousies might be avoided a "Bismarck Choral Union" was improvised, composed of all those on the grounds who wished to sing in an organized group.[15]

Several newspapers had reporters on hand to represent them at this much advertised meeting. Their tents were located on "Newspaper row." There were many tents devoted to special purposes. Besides the hundreds in which families could stay, there were tents for the use of the Good Templars, for the headquarters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and a large circular one as a general rendezvous for temperance workers. At first there were also tents devoted to the interests of "the fat woman" and other natural curiosities, but these were later removed.[16] For these two weeks the Grove would be in reality a city. Police would patrol the grounds day and night to take care of any disturbance, and a post office was established close to the tabernacle.[17]

The list of speakers included the most notable names in the national temperance movement. Leading the list was Francis Murphy, a native-born Irishman who was returning from a successful temperance campaign in San Francisco, where seven weeks of speaking in the Opera House had brought thousands of "signers." The very popular Governor St. John shared the leadership of the meeting. He was the symbol of what temperance people could do with their votes. Most of the middle-western states were represented among the speakers with a few coming from the east coast.[18]

Governor St. John opened the camp-meeting for which thousands had awaited with crusader's zeal. His address of welcome was well received and rounds of applause greeted his statement of belief that the prohibition amendment would pass overwhelmingly. The several hundred who had gathered for the opening session also heard two new hymns sung — one dedicated to St. John and the other to Murphy. Mike Lanagan also thrilled the audience with a short talk. He was one of the very first converts to the temperance cause under the efforts of Murphy, and was the first regular evangelist sent out by him. He was also the originator of the blue ribbon as a temperance badge.[19]

Francis Murphy, sometimes called a reformer, sometimes an apostle, led the second day's service in the Good Templar's Home. The program consisted of songs, prayers and short addresses in which both men and women participated. Mottoes on the walls such as, "Our Field-the-World," "Rescue the Perishing," "Constitutional Prohibition," identified temperance undisputedly as a religious-legal movement.[20]

The Peabody Cornet band played the next morning as people gathered. At 11:00 a large and beautiful United States flag was run up the staff above the tabernacle. There it floated on the breeze while the band played, making an inspiring scene.[21] Following the usual introductory exercises — music and prayer — Murphy made an announcement that appealed to the vast majority of people. He said that he had been grieved at the shows and exhibitions on the grounds and was glad to announce that their immediate removal had been promised. This was greeted with storms of applause. Since this was "Ladies' Day" the Women's Christian Temperance Union had charge of the program. The

afternoon session was devoted to women speakers discoursing on the temperance problem.[22]

The climax to which the program's first three days had been the prelude came on Sunday. Starting at 5:00 in the morning and lasting until late into the night, some 12,000 people came to "whale" whiskey. Those who came at 5:00 probably found vacant seats, but many were disappointed at the regular morning meeting when all seats and aisles were filled and they were forced to stand outside. As the speakers came upon the platform the old patriotic song, "Marching On," was rendered, followed by the hymn, "All Hail the Power of Jesus Name." Murphy proudly introduced Governor St. John by saying that in no other state of the union had a man, wearing the badge of total abstinence, ever been elected to the highest state office. The Governor was received with a perfect storm of applause; he launched into his address using as his text, "We hold these truths to be self-evident."[23]

At 2:30 came the much looked-forward-to-event when Murphy told the audience the story of his life. Reporters were at a loss to describe it. One said, "Why attempt a description of an indescribable speech! In wit, humor, pathos, descriptive power and eloquence it was a model . . . the very best temperance speech I have ever heard." There were many exclamations of "Amen!" "Thank God!" and "God bless Francis Murphy!" heard during the delivery, and at the close of the address.[24]

A "love feast" was also held during the afternoon, at which voluntary five-minute speeches were given. Now and then, a speaker would touch the hearts so that a hymn would burst forth. Speeches and hymns came thick and fast as the people enjoyed the feeling of God's power in their presence.[25]

Peter B. Groat, the general passenger agent of the railroad, and one of those chiefly responsible for developing Bismarck as a resort and meeting place, spoke to the mass audience in the evening. He announced himself in full accord with the purpose of the meeting and promised to do all in his power to make it a great success.[26]

A Reverend Johnson, a Negro from Mississippi, took a few minutes to thank Kansas for providing Negroes with an outlet from the South. He had been in Kansas for a few days making arrangements concerning the move.[27]

Eli Johnson gave the main evening lecture, entitled "What They Drink and How They Make It," during which he demonstrated that liquor was manufactured from drugs. The long Sunday services closed with a beautiful and touching solo, "O, Where is My Boy Tonight?"[28]

A crowd of at least 15,000 had gathered by the middle of the second week. A reporter said that some portions of the grounds were so densely occupied as to cause discomfort. One of the special features at Wednesday's meeting was the presentation of three Indian chiefs brought from their reservations in Indian territory to speak. Captain King, Chief of the Ottawas, Jim Charley, Chief of the Peorias, and Bogus Charley, Chief of the Modocs, all gave touching testimonies to the temperance movement.[29]

The August heat and dust from thousands milling in the Grove became very oppressive as the week went on. Some of the tents became almost unbearable. Whenever the wind did blow and create a breeze, a cloud of dust would generally be found in its wake, so that with the coolness of the stirred air would come the discomfort of the dust.

Tents began to assume the familiar army tinge from use and dust. The dust was especially deep at the Grove entrance.[30]

A reporter painted a word picture of the scene at the Grove depot one morning when the train was late. It was the day after "Military Day" and some of the companies were returning home. He described several stacks of guns on one side, a crowd of nearly 1,000 people all around, singing parties everywhere, lovers promenading, military officers flitting around, and everybody wilting with heat and dust and stumbling over lunch baskets. They kept a constant lookout for pickpockets and often there was heard the fretful words, "Oh I do wish the train would come."[31]

Trains that took people home also brought more to the grounds and attendance figures for the meeting climbed until the peak was reached on the last Sunday when between 20,000-25,000 were on the grounds. It was a tremendous outpouring of the population of the state. The crowd was undoubtedly the largest ever on the grounds, and by noon the Grove seemed alive with humanity. At all times the tabernacle was crowded to suffocation, even when there were no meetings. Overflow meetings were held in various parts of the Grove where people stood patiently listening to the speakers. Murphy gave the main address in the tabernacle, but because of the large audience only a fraction of the crowd was able to hear him.[32]

A "Children's Day," in which the major portion of children came from Kansas City and Leavenworth, closed out the meeting. The fact that Lawrence did not turn out her children more numerously was the subject of considerable comment, as the cities mentioned (including

Topeka) did so well. It was thought by some that the success of the meeting, as a whole, was due more to work by cities miles away, than by Lawrence.[33] But the encampment had been a great success. All agreed that much good had been done for the cause of temperance and Christianity.[34] The twelve-day meeting had brought between 75,000-100,000 people on the grounds; an average daily attendance of about 7,000. It was thought that about 5,000 had signed pledges at this memorable meeting in beautiful Bismarck. As one said, "Memories of the meeting will live as long as those who participated in its various services live. Reluctantly, I take my farewell of Bismarck Grove."[35]

This was it — the last temperance camp-meeting before the people went to the polls on the second Tuesday in October, 1880, to vote on the prohibition amendment. It would be a great victory for temperance, and Kansas would lead the way for other states to follow. The camp-meeting followed a familiar pattern with excursion trains bringing in crowds, though not in the amazing numbers of the year before; numerous speeches were made attacking intemperance -- many by the ladies; the usual religious connection was made with morning prayer meetings sometimes lasting over an hour; and for the third consecutive year the leader of the meeting was Governor John St. John.

The tabernacle was crowded — seats, aisles, and platform — while a large circle stood around the outside to listen to St. John on the first Sunday afternoon. He spoke of the opposition he had created and the contemptuous treatment he had received for engaging in temperance work; that he had been warned that he would dig his political grave if

he continued. This was ironic to him, for he remembered when it was not beneath the dignity of a governor of Kansas to get drunk. He added that if he were "buried" he wanted the banner of prohibition wrapped around him. He thought the license system only put life in the liquor traffic in the west and that people had about outgrown the idea that the licensing of any sort of evil ever suppressed it. He drew a parallel between the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment and that of prohibition, and spoke earnestly of the necessity of legislation to enforce the amendment when carried.[36] J. B. Finch of Lincoln, Nebraska, followed St. John with a speech described as a "rouser." Finch was an emotional speaker and he "laid it on" those who would oppose the amendment. After he was through he was met just outside the tabernacle by ex-Governor Charles Robinson (whom everyone called Governor) and an animated discussion took place. People poured out of the tabernacle and a crowd larger than could hear either speaker gathered. Finch offered Robinson a chance to air his views from the platform, an invitation which the latter declined. Robinson was in "enemy territory" with his views and the Topeka Capital reported him gliding quietly away after his sideshow encounter.[37] Robinson, however, wrote a letter to the management stating that he had been personally attacked in speeches and he wished to reply in kind. The management arranged for a debate between Finch and Robinson to be held the next Sunday afternoon and the daily papers played this up so much during the week that the people looked forward to a warm time.[38]

It came to be a maxim that temperance meetings brought rain, and during the early part of the week it came down "in buckets." Water

stood all over the ground three inches deep and many of the tents were completely flooded. The Capital reported Amanda Way, one of the temperance workers, was seemingly quite happy as she waded around in the mud picking up wet sticks for her morning fire. The writer also reported that Finch waded out of his tent looking like a drowned kitten.[39] The Kansas City Journal reporter stated that a residence in Bismarck had a tendency to make people amiable — instead of grumbling and growling over the weather they cheerily commented upon the brightening effect of the showers. This reporter believed that the two-day rains and the inconveniences it caused would have broken up any other kind of meeting, but instead of being disheartened, "the campers laugh and joke and make the best of their drenchings." Innumerable witticisms were made concerning the ability of temperance people to endure cold water.[40]

It certainly had no effect on the Thursday night meeting which the Lawrence Journal called the most enthusiastic ever held at Bismarck Grove.[41] Several speeches were made, the main ones by St. John, George W. Bain of Kentucky and Mrs. L. Youmans of Canada. A crowd of some 4,000 was present at what one said was "glory let loose." The Kansas City Journal reporter agreed that the enthusiasm and enjoyment were unbounded. The singing by a Negro quartette (members of the Original Fisk Jubilee singers) was of a nature to arouse and enthuse the audience to the highest pitch.[42] George Bain, the first speaker, was acknowledged as one of the greatest temperance orators in the United States. His hour-long speech was listened to with "breathless interest" by his audience: It was constantly interrupted by its long, continued applause.

The Capital reporter insisted that Bain had to be heard to be appreciated — his eloquence could not be described.[43] The Kansas City Journal claimed that Bain's audience thought as he thought, saw only that which he bade it to see; wept or smiled, was fearful or exultant, just as he directed it to be.[44]

He was followed by a lady who was always referred to as "Mrs. Youmans of Canada." She was described as an earnest, intelligent lady and a fluent extemporaneous speaker who weighed at least 350 pounds. Her friendly allusions to the American Government so aroused the fraternal feelings of the audience that when she took her seat Finch proposed three cheers for her Queen. Three cheers were then given for President Rutherford Hayes, for St. John, the Fisk singers and then the whole vast audience joined the Negroes in singing "John Brown's Body."[45]

The Kansas City Journal reporter did not want his readers to get the impression that the meeting was given over entirely to "jollification." To him there was never a set of people in more deadly earnest. His conclusion was that they meant business.[46]

Some of the ladies who occupied the speaker's stand during the week were: Mrs. Mary E. Griffith of Leavenworth who spoke on "The Dangerous Partnership," meaning the partnership between the liquor traffic and the nation, its effect politically and socially and the necessity of separating them.[47] Mrs. Ellen Foster, a lawyer, was called upon to give her views on the legality of prohibition laws.[48] The most famous of them all, Miss Francis Willard, President of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, was introduced by Governor St. John.

Her address was described as half lecture — half sermon. She pled for an earnest soul, for Christianity, for everything good and noble. She held the audience under her control and when she had finished a murmer swept through the tabernacle which, near the reporters' table, resolved itself into such comments as, "That was grand!" "A noble woman," "A magnificent speech."[49]

Speeches were made discussing temperance from a Biblical standpoint and what they meant by "wine" in the Bible.[50] Songs were sung such as "We Have Wandered," "Don't go out Tonight My Darling," and "Where is my Wandering Boy Tonight";[51] but some thought all this too much sentiment. J. B. Finch spoke of the necessity of hard work before the primaries, saying that this would do more good than all the talking at Bismarck.[52] A. B. Campbell of Manhattan agreed that there had been too much talk and too little action; that if the amendment carried it would be by reason of the work done in country school houses, not by the talking in cities. He believed everyone ought to take a certain territory and work it. He warned that temperance workers must be prepared for defeat in the fall. This was a political question and would require the severest labor and a hand-to-hand fight to carry it.[53] The Kansas City Journal reported that although the rain poured down, the work went on quietly and persistently. "Could the saloon men of Kansas witness this utter ignoring of the pelting storm and the grumbling of thunder, they might consider the signs ominous."[54]

The bad weather made attendance smaller than it otherwise would have been. Although it was raining the last Sunday morning and not "promising fair" for the day, by 4:00 there were 10,000 on the grounds.

The people had been "built up" to expect something more than ordinary, and in consequence long before the appointed hour of the Robinson-Finch debate, the tabernacle was packed. On the outside there were 2,000 people listening in perfect silence. General John H. Rice of Fort Scott introduced Robinson. The Capital reported Robinson ill at ease and as he began it was with difficulty that he could collect his thoughts and frame them into words.[55] He denied that he was paid by the whiskey ring to make speeches and to take the position on the amendment that he did. He spoke of his own record for temperance and of the practical temperance of his life and said that this ought to ensure freedom for him from the attacks of the temperance people. He was against prohibition because he thought it could not be enforced. He thought the exceptions in the amendment would make the liquor traffic free and he believed the local option law to be the best preventive of drunkeness.[56]

Finch began by expressing regret that he should have to speak against the ex-governor and then proceeded to tear down every position taken by his opponent. He answered the remarks to the satisfaction of the audience and when he finished his argument, calls for St. John brought him to the front. He made a short speech in which he spoke of Robinson's record in scathing terms.[57] The Commonwealth judged the speech injudicious and more fit for a stump harangue than Sunday exercises.[58] The Capital quoted the remark of one who heard the discussions: "When Finch and St. John got through with him there was not a piece left of Robinson big enough to choke a dog."[59]

The most intense excitement was reported and the following resolution was adopted by a rising vote with but five persons opposed:

"We the people of Kansas assembled at Bismarck Grove, having listened to ex-governor Robinson and John Finch . . . our faith in the wisdom and efficiency of our contemplated prohibitory experiment has been materially strengthened."[60]

The following morning Mrs. Youmans addressed the assembly. The title of her subject was "Haman's License." Her speech traced the similarities between Haman's life and the liquor traffic. Haman believed that he had the right to murder legally since he had paid 10,000 talents of silver into the King's treasury. Queen Esther, in her purity and earnestness was a lesson for the women; Mordecai, an example to the men as one who never bowed his head to Haman.[61]

When Bain was introduced for a farewell statement, he was received with tremendous applause, cheers and waving of ladies' handkerchiefs. General Rice then came forward and spoke of the sadness of parting with all the noble workers who had come to help, and of the assuredness of victory, if the women would pray and the men would vote as they had resolved. He declared the meeting closed.[62]

The heat was oppressive, even in the Grove which was usually cool and pleasant, as the annual temperance meeting opened in the middle of August, 1881.[63] The temperance believers gathered at Bismarck in a different frame of mind than in past years. The amendment had passed the previous fall but there were problems with its enforcement. The cities of Atchison, Topeka, and Leavenworth were mentioned as officially putting themselves in opposition to the law. The theme of the encampment came to be that the law was a good one and the principle involved was

correct. The task of temperance believers was to strengthen public sentiment in favor of its enforcement.

At the first meeting a call was made for five-minute speeches to explain the condition of things as to the enforcement of the law in the different parts of the state. Amanda Way of Linn County said, "We have had no work to do only to 'hold the fort'. There is no Liquor sold openly in the county." J. H. Clark of Newton said the saloon keepers were at work on the sly and threatened open work. "We tell them to do it. We are ready for them. Our sheriff has nothing to do and has gone to work selling ice cream for a living." Reverend D. C. Milner of Ottawa said that 100 citizens had placed $10 each in the bank for a fund to be drawn upon for prosecutions. Albert Griffin of Manhattan said they were raising a fund for the same purpose. In a similar strain the spirited talk went on for two hours, representing the determination of the people to sustain the law everywhere.[64]

The enthusiasm of this first meeting and others, was equal to those of former camp-meetings but the crowds were not present. However, the 1881 meeting was the most unusual and hectic of the four held in the Grove. New controversial personalities were on the scene. The Commonwealth reporter got into a feud with the encampment in general and John Finch in particular. Hundreds of workmen swarmed the grounds filling the day with sounds of hammer and saw as they built dining halls, fences, and other improvements for the coming fair. Most of the meetings had to be held in the main exhibition hall as the tabernacle's seats were being changed in preparation for C. E. Leslie's

Jubilee. Moreover, the last meeting could not be held at all for the thousands of young singers swarming the grounds.

John St. John was again present as he had been for each of the previous encampments. As he called the first afternoon meeting to order in the exhibition hall the cheering of the audience gave evidence that the Governor had lost little of his power as a leader in the cause of temperance. His line of thought was a reply to the assertion that the liquor law was a hindrance to the prosperity of the state. He showed that in many respects the state had never been as prosperous. The law, however, had in one instance caused a decrease in population and that was in the penitentiary. He thought Kansas could stand the loss.[65]

General Sam F. Cary of Ohio was a newcomer to Bismarck. He was past middle age but was described as one of the best orators at the encampment. One of his speeches did not give much encouragement or satisfaction to the prohibitionists at Bismarck. He "took the ground" that it was useless to seek the suppression of the liquor traffic by legislation until public sentiment reached a point where it would sustain and support such legislation. "Law is the embodiment of public sentiment and will not enforce itself." He said he would vote against a prohibitory law for Ohio if he were a member of the state legislature.[66]

John Sobieski, a burly native of Poland, was another speaker that had not been to the Grove before. He characterized the argument against the liquor law that foreigners wanted to emigrate to a land of beer and whiskey as foolish. As for himself he was bitterly opposed to the liquor traffic and wished to punish them severely.[67]

The Topeka Commonwealth sent a young reporter named J. D. Hutchins to write reports of the encampment's proceedings.[68] Since the Lawrence papers, the Journal and the Tribune, would report little except for a schedule of the days' meetings, the Commonwealth and the Capital were eagerly bought by the temperance people. Many who read the Commonwealth's accounts were enraged by the way the speakers were caricatured; many did not recognize some of the speeches described. The following is the Commonwealth's account of General Cary's speech which was mentioned earlier:

> (Cary) made a circus of himself generally. He ran from one side of the platform to the other — jumping, kicking and swinging his arms. After performing a war dance in front of the Commonwealth reporter and shrieking something about whiskey-editors he shook his fist in the face of this reporter and wanted to bet him one hundred dollars, then amid great applause rushed to the other side of the platform, scaring a poor deaf woman till she dodged almost out of her chair. This kind of thing he kept up for almost two hours, playing the clown to the entire edification of the audience — some seventy-five to one hundred persons.[69]

His account of John Sobieski's speech is as follows:

> Sobieski announced he was going to speak on drunkeness in high places. He told stories of the terrible things he had seen in the Army. Then followed a fanatical howl. How he had sworn never to vote for a man that would taste strong drink, and would treat a man who would import liquor as a pirate, and hang him and the man who sold it he would put in the penitentiary for fifteen years for the first offense and hang him for the second. Then he pitched into the people who said that the foreign element was opposed to prohibition and called them pimps and other pet names. This ridiculous wind-sucker seems to think he represents the foreign element in the United States.[70]

With the meeting but half over Hutchins was calling Finch a "miserable lying pettifogger," "a miserable demagogue" and "a dirty puppy."[71] Letters to the Commonwealth refuted the paper's reports.

The writers were concerned with setting the "record straight." One wrote: "A reader of the Commonwealth would suppose that only a handful of persons were in attendance and that the speakers were crude, unlettered, and even silly people, fanatical and unpractical. Never a greater mistake made." The long letter continued refuting Hutchin's statements point-by-point.[72] A resolution was introduced at one of the temperance meetings by Reverend George Winterbourne of Grantville to dispense with the services of the Commonwealth reporter. Reverend J. H. Clark opposed the resolution on the grounds that his abuse would create sympathy for the temperance cause and do it "more good than hurt." Professor George M. Stearns of Washburn College, Topeka, read from the Commonwealth a letter signed by five leaders of the encampment in which the reporter was severely censured. The resolution was withdrawn.[73]

The temperance people were genuinely concerned why their cause was caricatured by many newspapers. The idea seemed to be that they did so because they were paid; that the support of the liquor interests was worth more to them than that of the temperance element.[74]

Some of the many resolutions passed by the meeting "heaped fuel on the fire." One declared it a burning disgrace that the capital city should range itself on the side of lawlessness and rebellion. If Topeka continued its attitude the capital should be removed. Another resolution was that the people of temperance would use their influence with their representatives in Congress as well as with the State government, to prevent the voting of money for improvements in the interest of any city in the state whose government was found in rebellion

on the prohibitory law.[75] The Commonwealth reacted bitterly to these "Bismarck threats"[76] and even the Lawrence Journal, which refused to report anything but the "bare bones," published an editorial opposing the idea of revenge. It stated whatever can be done ought to be done to enforce the law, but to cut off funds for the capital at Topeka, the penitentiary at Leavenworth, and the University at Lawrence — as a retaliation for the acts of bad men — was like burning your house to rid it of rats.[77]

Phillip Phillips and his son, James, entertained the people with their devotional songs.[78] The Leavenworth Standard reported many an eye had been dimmed with tears by the earnest strains.[79] A local Negro chorus of 100 voices newly organized for the encampment by Nelson O. Stevens also provided music. Most of the young people came from Reverend Pinckney's Negro Congregational Church on Kentucky Street.[80]

Some of the prominent out-of-state speakers not already mentioned were: Doctor R. H. Ball of Washington, D. C., who spoke of the temperance cause in that city (his voice was weak and the noise of the hammering workmen interfered severely with his addresses); Mrs. Viola Lunsford of Ohio who spoke on strengthening the public sentiment in favor of enforcing the law and held up to scorn all anti-prohibitionists;[82] and Colonel Thomas Hyatt, President of Pennsylvania Military College, who made himself hoarse in his efforts to be heard.[83]

The annoyance caused by the carpenters was tolerated as good-naturedly as possible. However, on Sunday morning when the workmen began work as usual, the thousands present for the services were astounded.

Efforts were made by the officers of the Temperance Union and the Superintendent of the Grove to get them to stop work, but they absolutely refused. Telegrams were sent to the Superintendent of the Union Pacific Railraod asking for orders to stop the work. The reply was slow and the people became more indignant and demanded the proper observance of the Sabbath. Groups of citizens went to Lawrence and swore out warrants for the arrest of the principal contractors, which were placed in the sheriff's hands. About noon the telegram came ordering the contractors to stop work. When the announcement came, the crowd rose and sang the "Doxology" with the zeal of a revival meeting. The remainder of the day passed off without incident, but those in attendance felt keenly the insult and the desecration of the Sabbath.[84]

The temperance people were almost as upset by the final day's proceedings. Only a small number remained for the last sessions and they were "hustled out" of the tabernacle and over to the main hall. The tabernacle needed some more work before the practice session of the Jubilee to be held that evening. The main hall was divided up into apartments by the hanging of screens and was a poor place for a meeting. Loads of straw had been dumped in one area and the singers, who were coming in by the hundreds, enjoyed themselves filling "ticks" and making themselves comfortable.[85] It was tramp, tramp, tramp, above and below throughout the building — people marching in at all doors, the noise of hammers resounding, the hum of voices — this was the state of things when John Sobieski took the stand to make a speech. He began by referring to the case of Demosthenes practicing amid the tumult of the waves on the seashore to prepare himself to speak amid tumultuous

people. He spoke on and the streams of jubilee people kept pouring in. After about half an hour the noise subsided and he was able to finish.[86]

At the close of Sobieski's speech it was evidently in vain for anyone else to attempt to speak to the restless crowd with singers coming and going as they pleased. Reverend D. C. Milner addressed a few parting words to the assembly saying they would not attempt to carry out the program for the evening session because the confusion was too great. He did not blame the singers or Professor Leslie. He closed the meeting by telling the temperance people to work at home, organize in every county, and keep at it, "for we are on God's side and God is on our side."[87]

A resolution was passed before Sobieski spoke recommending another place of meeting for the next year's encampment.[88] Professor Stearns expressed a hope that this action would not be final and that the committee might secure such assurances as would justify using Bismarck again.[89] Despite his statement the next year's encampment was held elsewhere, and a one-day temperance rally in 1883 was the last held at Bismarck Grove. The temperance movement which had put Bismarck on the map as a synonym for temperance and morality, by 1881 was being overshadowed by other meetings. Bismarck, however, was not through with the problem of temperance, as many deputies on duty there in the 1890's — during picnics and excursions — had trouble enforcing the laws espoused by the temperance movement.

The Bismarck camp-meetings were major factors in the Kansas prohibition movement. Edna Tutt Frederickson, in her dissertation on

John St. John, claimed that the 1878 meeting did much to bring about the desire in Kansas for prohibition and that the movement was enhanced by the number of outside workers who remained in the state after the Bismarck convention was over.[90] Her comment on the 1879 meeting was that although it was not originally designed to inaugurate the campaign for the amendment, it actually did so.[91] Clara Francis gave the 1879 meeting the credit for pushing the temperance movement into victory at the polls. She believed that it provided the needed impetus for the work of encouraging temperance sentiment in the state. A church encampment (Chautauqua) followed the meeting and many temperance speakers remained to speak there and to later fill dates in small towns and outlying districts of the state.[92] Although many encampments and meetings were later held in the tabernacle at Bismarck, the small rise of ground on which the tabernacle stood was, from the early 1880's on, referred to as "Prohibition Ridge."

CHAPTER II

THE 1881 MUSICAL JUBILEE

Professor C. E. Leslie of Chicago was a teacher of music, a composer and a publisher of song books. In the summer of 1880 he served as the musical director of the Bismarck Chautauqua and his wife, "Allie," was the organist. Sometime after his stay at Bismarck he conceived the idea of a Kansas State Musical Jubilee to be held in the Grove in the summer of 1881. Although many skeptics believed the project visionary, it turned out to be the grandest exhibition of music in the history of Kansas. It was so acclaimed by numerous Kansas newspapers, which gave it quite favorable publicity.

The project, first of all, was a masterpiece of planning. Leslie, with his wife and twenty-eight assistants, created the six thousand-member chorus in fourteen weeks. The work of organizing auxiliary choruses was begun at Salina, on the first day of May, where a chorus of over two hundred was immediately formed. The plan was to hold in each town a musical convention for one week with three sessions a day. The morning lesson was for beginners to teach the theory and practice of note-reading; the afternoon lesson emphasized a more advanced teaching and the evening session was devoted to voice culture, musical elocution and the practice and rendition of the choruses to be used at the concerts of the jubilee. Six choruses were organized each

week, and at the close of the week's convention, a conductor visited each town once a week.

The culmination of this intense activity was to be a two day program featuring four concerts, in which all the choruses were brought together at the Bismarck Tabernacle. Seventy-three towns or cities were visited and over ten thousand pupils were enrolled. The largest organization was in Lawrence, whose chorus numbered six hundred and thirty. Leslie declared that more towns in the state requested instruction than they were able to fit into the schedule.[1]

While this activity across the state was proceeding, special preparation had to be made at Bismarck for the participants and the audience. To accommodate the singers the tabernacle seats were removed and amphitheater tiers extending into the eaves were built. The audience seats, including the regular tabernacle seats, were placed in the area just north of the building among the fine old trees, and where there were gaps among the trees, great tarpaulins were used as sunshades. The north end of the tabernacle was torn away to enable the two groups to hear and/or see each other to better advantage.[2] Fifteen electric lights were placed on the grounds — six of them in the tabernacle. These were new electric arc lights and were not completely successful.[3]

One reporter described the impressive sight as the thousands of young singers trooped into the grounds from all directions. He compared the countless disorderly bands roaming the grounds, to the barbarian hordes that swept upon Rome, spreading terror and dismay before them, and leaving destruction and sorrow in their track.[4] The way they made

raids on the eating houses and refreshment stands confirmed him in his observation.[5]

At the rehearsal in the evening, the singers filled the tabernacle. There was a large audience to witness the event, but the singers outnumbered them. The chorus was balanced about as follows: 1,200 tenors, 1,800 sopranos, 1,600 altos and 1,400 basses.[6] The electric lights were lit and made a beautiful sight — for about ten minutes — when they went out suddenly, leaving all in the dark. Lanterns were brought which provided only dim light to the structure. During the interval of darkness Leslie started familiar old hymns, which the vast assemblage joined in singing, always applauding themselves boisterously at the close of each chorus. As soon as sufficient light was provided Leslie began to drill his class. The rehearsal itself changed some skeptics from believing the enterprise would be a failure to predicting that it would be a grand success.[7] Besides the chorus, seven soloists, most with opera and concert reputations, were headline attractions. The leading soloist was Mademoiselle Marie Litta, who had toured the West the year before. Miss Julia Mantey, a violinist, who had accompanied her on the tour, was also present.[8]

On the first day of the Jubilee, Bismarck once again presented the familiar scene of thousands of people milling about the grounds. The main avenues leading up to the tabernacle were lined with refreshment stands and "catch-penny" booths. The Leavenworth Times reporter related that as far as he could see, down through the long avenues of trees were tents of every description. The Rosedale and Wamego bands were on hand to discourse music among the campers until time for the concert.[9]

There was a last rehearsal that morning in preparation for the main concert to begin at 2:00 P.M. Promptly at that time the chorus, which had been formed into ranks in the west part of the Grove, commenced to file into the huge pavilion. Nearly every important town in the state was represented by a chorus, the members of which marched to their positions carrying elaborate silk banners with the number and name of each organization.[10]

Approximately 15,000 were assembled in the seats outside the tabernacle, when the program was called to order by S. J. Churchill, president of the Lawrence Chorus, who introduced Dudley C. Haskell, a member of Congress from the Lawrence area. In a fifteen minute address he gave a cordial welcome to the singers and audience.[11] C. E. Leslie, tall, erect and full-bearded, then came forth and the afternoon concert opened with the chorus of 6,000 voices singing "Let the Hills and Vales Resound." There was not sufficient room inside the building for all the singers and some were obliged to take seats outside. The ladies wore their best "bib and tucker" — long skirts, tight fitting waists, and overskirts: some wore bustles. The gentlemen wore their best — whatever they wore to church.[12] The Topeka Capital reported that it was the largest number of singers ever gathered together in the state, and their singing showed the result of careful drill.[13]

Each of the four concerts were divided into two parts of ten musical numbers each. The chorus sang only three of each ten numbers. The featured soloists, pianists and Miss Mantey, the violinist, provided the other entertainment. Marie Litta and George H. Broderick were favorites of the crowd.[14]

Singing in the open air diminished the power and effect of some of the singing, but from all reports Mademoiselle Litta was not affected. Her voice, the Lawrence Tribune reported, was so clear and pure that it could be distinctly heard by the remotest listener.[15] At the evening concert Broderick was the first artist to perform. He had scarcely begun his solo, "Honor and Arms," when the electric lights, to the infinite disgust of everyone, went out and left the thousands sitting in darkness. He took a position near a lantern and began again, singing it through, but circumstances were against him and he failed to do himself justice.

Julia Mantey followed with her violin and did well although the lights were repeatedly flashing up and going out, leaving her in the dark about half the time.[16] Her performance, as well as a great many others' during the evening was not distinctly heard by a great many attentive and appreciative persons, who were disturbed by the talking and laughing that was kept up by "hairbrained young people and jabbering old women" who would neither listen nor let others do so. The Tribune reported one silly, young couple who stood upon a bench in a conspicuous place and kept up a lively conversation under the impression that the attention they were attracting was in admiration of their conversational powers.[17]

The weather was very warm as the crowd gathered for the evening performance. The electric lights were a novelty, turning the dark shades into light. At 8:00 every tier of seats from the stage to the roof of the tabernacle was full of singers. Also, there was a larger number in the audience than at the afternoon performance. An observer

standing upon the singers' platform could see nothing but faces in every direction. The concert in the evening was an improvement over the afternoon session. The selections were better and the singers seemed to enter more fully into the spirit of the open air jubilee. The soloists were often encored so much so that the last three numbers on the program were omitted on account of the lateness of the hour.[18]

At the close of the performance most of the audience rushed to the railroad cars for return trips to Topeka, Kansas City and elsewhere. There was, however, no train available for Leavenworth. By some mix-up the train did not arrive until 2:00 A.M. Some four hundred people waited almost four hours and it began to rain after midnight. When the train arrived not enough cars were available, and many stood up all the way, arriving very tired and mad in Leavenworth at 5:00 in the morning. Not many returned for the day's concert.[19]

The rain in the night and next morning did not stop the rush to the Grove. A Kansas City Times reporter described the second day's scene:

> The immense throng of people surge to and fro about the grove, the bands play, the bells ring, the peanut and lemonade peddlers push themselves about, loudly crying their wares, and mixed with the strains of melody from the concerts rises the shrill whistle of the "merry-go-round."[20]

The Kansas City Times reporter also stated that a moderate estimate placed 15,000-20,000 on the grounds, while the Leavenworth Times reporter put attendance at 25,000-30,000.[21] The Tribune agreed that the audience was large, but also restless and not too well pleased with the major part of the afternoon performance, which it termed the

poorest of the four. The paper had no complaint with the chorus, which it thought sang well, but believed that the soloists should have sung more popular tunes which the "common people" of unrefined taste would appreciate.[22]

After the audience was dismissed from the afternoon performance, the singers remained in the tabernacle for some time and enjoyed an impromptu musical and social. Remarks were made to the group by some of the trainers — including a "Professor Buntly" — Leslie's first assistant and the instructor of the Lawrence chorus. At this time a resolution was read from the Bismarck chorus expressing appreciation for the valuable services of Leslie and his co-workers. It extended the warmest thanks for their developing the musical interests in Kansas.[23]

The last evening's concert was delayed thirty minutes to accommodate the people arriving on special trains from Kansas City and Leavenworth. The audience was larger than at any previous concert and the entertainment was better than any before. All the artists acquitted themselves well, and were requested to repeat their performance. Some of the artists besides those already mentioned were Charles Knoor, the tenor, Emma Mabella, an alto, and Emil Liebling, whose piano solos were "executed in a masterly manner."[24] The Tribune, which was so upset over the failure of the lights the night before, was happy to note that they burned constantly and kept up a beautiful light during the whole evening.[25]

After the concert was over the singers gathered in groups at the depot and sang numerous old melodies while waiting for the trains.

The Topeka Capital reported that every train load that pulled out was filled with the voice of song.[26] There was, however, tragedy to mar the otherwise perfect evening. A team of horses, attached to a baggage wagon used in hauling trunks to the depot, became frightened just inside the Grove's gates. They ran out through the gate throwing off the driver and badly bruising him. The horses then dashed violently across the depot platform, through the waiting crowd and collided with the engine. A woman and a little boy were struck by the horses and knocked under the train that had just stopped. The lady, from Ottawa, was badly hurt, and it was not known if she would live. The boy, about five years old, a son of James Cheatwood of Fairmount, in Leavenworth County, was badly cut about the head. It was reported that he died about two hours following the accident.[27]

Newspapers on the whole, were very enthusiastic about the Jubilee. The Leavenworth Times wrote that it was safe to say that nothing had ever been rendered in the West, equal in magnitude and musical grandeur.[28] The Kansas City Times called it an eminent success in every respect.[29] The Lawrence Journal wrote that it must rank among the great musical eras of the time. Continuing in this vein, the Journal related that public sentiment in the past, which had "made light" of the proposed musical scheme, was now enthusiastic over the success of the enterprise. It had been a surprise. Leslie was quoted as saying, "They thought they had a monkey and found they had an elephant."[30]

There were, of course, objectionable features. One drawback pointed out by the Topeka Capital was the cone-shaped tabernacle in

which the chorus sang. The volume of music rolled up into the space above, was there absorbed, and the effect of so many singers was diminished.[31] One newspaper writer related that it resembled too much the placing of a fellow in a barrel and allowing his voice to escape at the bung-hole.[32] This, along with the all too open space for the soloists, and the unprotected area for the accommodation of the audience was acknowledged by the Journal. It contended, however, that Kansas was still a young country and they could not yet have the music halls of Boston or Cincinnati, hence, they must necessarily expect some of the inconveniences attendant upon their far western location.[33]

Of Leslie's work there was not a word of condemnation. There was nothing but the highest praise for doing what many thought impossible. Many reporters marveled that he could control the vast chorus so perfectly. The Cawker City Journal related that when Leslie gave the signal for the assemblage to rise, with scarcely a sound all seemed to be upon their feet at once.[34] The Tribune, in describing his direction, declared that he seemed to be playing upon an immense human organ, as he led the singing solely by the motions of his hands, each motion producing a distinct sound.[35] To the Lawrence Journal, controlling 6,000 singers with a baton was one thing, to have it so arranged that they should be seated at the right time and at the right place was another thing. This the writer said was generalship. Training his classes in various points all over the State, he brought them together at last, like companies for a regiment, and the drill of the squad was the drill of the regiment.[36] There were frequent comments that no

other man could have worked the scheme as successfully as Leslie had done.

Concerning benefits of the Jubilee, Clifford Nowlin, a Kansas music teacher, stated that the result was the improvement of choral singing throughout the state; in Sunday schools, churches and other gatherings.[37] Also, during the Bismarck Jubilee, a State Musical Association was formed and officers and directors selected. Its objectives were to hold a festival or musical jubilee yearly. It was agreed that the individual choruses would meet in their respective towns for the purpose of organizing into permanent musical societies. Many of these certainly met and continued the musical and social relationships which were begun in preparation for the united chorus at Bismarck.[38] Although Lindsborg's Bethany Oratoria Society may have found its inspiration elsewhere, it was organized by the Reverend and Mrs. Carl A. Swenson in the fall of 1881 — after the Bismarck Jubilee.[39]

CHAPTER III

OLD SETTLERS' MEETINGS

Leavenworth and Topeka, sister cities of Lawrence to the northeast and west, both agreed that although Bismarck Grove had had many immense gatherings for the 1879 season, none would be as important or have as much interest attached to it as the Old Settlers' meeting.[1] This was in celebration of the twenty-fifth year since Kansas was opened to settlement and many of the Old Settlers would be called upon to give their experiences in helping to make a state.

Preparation for the two-day meeting on September 14 and 15 included invitations to the many notable personages that helped the anti-slave faction in Kansas in its struggle with the pro-slave element. Some, such as Amos Lawrence, for whom the city of Lawrence was named, sent letters of regret. William M. Evarts, John Sherman, and the poet, John G. Whittier, did the same. However, many important notables, among them Edward E. Hale, General John Pope and Walt Whitman, replied that they would attend and address the assembly.[2]

The weather was beautiful as the people began making their way to the Grove on the first day. There undoubtedly was an air of excitement in anticipation of hearing some of the distinguished visitors and of meeting old-time friends who had come to Bismarck for this special occasion. The hotels had been full to overflowing the night before and the Ludington House had rented out all its billiard tables for berths.

It was reported also that there was scarcely a house in the city that was not entertaining one or more friends who had come for the quarter-centennial observance.[3]

Early in the morning the city's bells began to ring and for nearly an hour the chimes of the bells mingled with the hoarse roar of "Old Sacramento," the historical twelve-pound, brass cannon, originally captured in the Mexican War by Colonel Alexander Doniphan's Missouri Volunteers. The cannon figured prominently in the early history of Kansas, as it was brought to Franklin, a pro-slavery town three miles southeast of Lawrence, by Missourians in 1856. It was soon captured by Free State forces and was used by that side with good effect during the remainder of the Kansas struggle. "Old Sacramento" was not destined to attend the reunion, however, for on the twenty-first round it imitated the wonderful "one-hoss shay," by going entirely to pieces at once.[4]

Lawrence streets assumed the appearance of a gala day. Nearly all business houses and many private residences were decorated with flags, banners, streamers, green branches, in fact anything and everything that could be used for decoration. The streets were thronged with pedestrians, horsemen, parties in hacks, carriages and buggies, all turned in the direction of Bismarck Grove.[5]

By 10:00 a large crowd had assembled at the Grove and it kept pouring in. Just west of the tabernacle was a long table upon which was placed several books for the registration of names of those attending.[6]

At 11:00 Joseph and Forrest Savage, Leonard Wooster and Samuel Kimball, all of whom were members of the first band of Lawrence, took

the platform and made the aisles echo with music. Before they had finished, the Topeka band arrived upon the grounds, and after playing a lively air in the Grove, took a position upon the platform as the official band for the day.[7]

The center of activity in the Grove was the tabernacle, with its wooden benches which seated between 4,000-5,000. The speaker's stand at one end was crowded with notables of the day. They included Ex-Governor Charles Robinson, Colonel John W. Forney, George A. Crawford, Walt Whitman, Judge John P. Usher, Colonel Cyrus K. Holliday and many others whose faces, forms and records were familiar to Kansans. The large orchestra of ladies and gentlemen filled the entire east portion of the stand and behind it was the Topeka band. The right end of the stand was crowded with men who had long figured in Kansas Affairs, and with distinguished visitors from out of state. Directly in front of the stand was the reporter's table crowded with forty to fifty representatives of the Kansas and Missouri Press. Then came the packed seats and crowded aisles, while hundreds gathered in knots of a score or more just outside the tabernacle. Around the tabernacle was a city of tents with scores of people moving here and there among them. A little to the south of the tents was a little city made up of booths, dining halls, refreshment stands, and a post office. The path leading to the depot, one-half mile from the tabernacle, was filled with people coming and going. In the center of the Grove was the lake with its fountains continually throwing glistening streams of water high in the air. And over all was thrown the shade of the grand old Bismarck elms.[8]

Reverend Richard Cordley of Emporia, pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church in Lawrence — from 1857 to 1877, opened the exercises with an eloquent and impressive prayer. He was followed by Colonel James Blood, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, who read the list of officers and the long list of people who were honored, by being made vice-presidents. Ex-Governor Charles Robinson then took the stand as President of the meeting. He opened his address by thanking the committee for placing him in a position which he regarded as the crowning honor of his life. He went on to set the theme for the meeting by describing an aspect of the early struggle in Kansas. In it he quoted from speeches during the debate of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and from both northern and southern newspapers to show that each side regarded the contest in Kansas as the "death struggle" that would make all America either slave or free. Mayor Usher of Lawrence, Abraham Lincoln's former Secretary of Interior, followed Robinson. He read a lengthy address upon the legislation which preceded the early history of Kansas. Just before the assembly was dismissed for dinner a telegram was read from General John Pope, stating that he would arrive on the morrow but would not make an address, so he wished his name withdrawn from the program. It was agreed by the assembly that they would "surrender on the General's terms."[9]

The afternoon session was opened by Cyrus K. Holliday, one of the founders of Topeka, with an address full of wit, humor and pathos. He closed by saying that while this quarter-centennial was presided over by old settlers, the next one could be run by the new ones, the

present old settlers having then joined the still larger party on the other shore, where the reunion would be everlasting.[10]

John St. John, the Kansas Governor, was then introduced and began his remarks by saying he did not know if he could be called an old settler, but he was present twenty-seven years ago. The only difference between himself and the other old settlers was that they stayed and he did not. The Governor said that he would not attempt to tell of the early days of Kansas but would leave the task to those on the ground at the time, "the grandest body of men known to history, who had taken the once despised American desert, taken as was the rejected stone that became the corner of the temple, and made it the keystone of the Union."[11]

As the meeting continued it was apparent that this was not so much a gathering of old settlers as it was of free state men. A large oil portrait of James H. Lane, an old "Free Stater" who had passed on, was hung just back of the center of the platform in a place of honor. It attracted great attention from the old settlers who were personally familiar with him, and from strangers who knew him by reputation only.[12]

At regular intervals throughout the afternoon, the old Topeka cannon was fired. The immense tabernacle was packed to its utmost capacity, while many who cared little for the speaking, rambled through the Grove.[13]

The applause which greeted Colonel John Forney as he took the stand was loud, long, deep and earnest. In 1857 he was the Democratic candidate for the Pennsylvania Senate seat and was defeated by Simon Cameron. He then left President James Buchanan and the Democratic Party

because of the "Lecompton Constitution controversy." He was Secretary of the United States Senate from 1861-1868 and at the time of the observance was one of the most influential editors in the country. His speech was lengthy, very able and interesting. He began by saying that if he had been commanded to choose but one spot upon which to best illustrate human development under the influence of absolute liberty, he could find no place so well adapted to the purpose as Kansas. He was very pleased at what had transpired in Kansas over the past twenty-five years. He said that he did not intend to revive old issues, but he believed that it was the doctrine of popular sovereignty that gave liberty to Kansas and Nebraska, and he believed that the Democrats that followed Douglas and fought President Buchanan deserved to be remembered with honor on this occasion. He closed by mentioning that his state, Pennsylvania, had taken a part in Kansas early history, not only by sending the Delaware Indians, but also three early Territorial Governors — Andrew H. Reeder, John W. Geary and Robert J. Walker. Following Forney's address, the remainder of the afternoon's program was cancelled, due to the lateness of the hour.[14]

At 7:30 an even larger crowd than was present for the afternoon meeting, filled the tabernacle to hear the "old boys" of '54 and '55 describe the scenes and relate the incidents of those days. The first speaker of the evening was George W. Brown, editor of the old Lawrence Herald of Freedom. He read a vision of Kansas published twenty-five years before of what it would be like in 1900, and showed how fast his prediction was coming true. In it he had predicted through-trains from New York to San Francisco in three days, at an average speed of sixty

miles an hour, an eating establishment named Oread House atop Mount Oread, beautiful homes far to the south of the present Lawrence and the destruction of the old woods of the Delaware to make way for the superb residences of the present citizens.[15]

Miss Zella Neill, Lawrence's noted soprano, then sang the beautiful solo, "With Verdure Clad," which was received with perfectly deafening applause. The audience would not be stilled until she appeared and sang it again.[16]

James F. Legate of Leavenworth then gave a minute and somewhat lengthy history of Kansas' early settlement, including many particulars of the Wakarusa War. He paid especial tribute to the memory of Lane. He said Lane came here as near a pro-slavery man as any man could be to come from a northern state and that it was only when he became convinced that the three great products of slave labor could not be successfully raised here that he abandoned the idea and became a thorough Free State man.[17]

Following music by the band, Sam Wood was loudly called forth by the audience. His speech — witty, humorous and sarcastic — kept the vast assembly not only deeply interested, but in most excellent humor. He told about the excitement which was created when the New England Emigrant Aid Society first began sending men to Kansas and of the rumor that Eli Thayer was coming to Kansas with forty thousand men. He told how he was coming to Lawrence from Westport about this time and getting close to the Wakarusa River, he got out of his wagon, went to the side of the road, took an axe and blazed the side of a big tree on which he wrote: "Eli Thayer claims forty miles of which this tree is

the center." He said this caused an immense excitement among the pro-slavery men. He was in Lawrence at the time of the Quantrill Raid, and told how he got away, of his running through corn and tall grass and brush, of his swimming the river while the bushwackers were making a target of him. His remarks were not confined to the early days. He commented once, in reference to Colonel Forney's statement, about what Pennsylvania had done for Kansas, that Ohio men had done as much but had received less credit because Ohio men never wanted office — as could be readily proven by President Rutherford B. Hayes. When he sat down there were cries of "go on," from all parts of the house.[18]

William Hutchinson, one of the old time citizens and an active, influential man in Kansas early history, spoke briefly of the days when he was a Jayhawker, long before the word was coined. Judge Edward Barton of Clyde, Kansas, gave the last speech of the evening. It was after 10:00 when the meeting closed, and yet the crowd seemed disinclined to leave so long as there was anybody to speak.[19]

The first day was but a prelude to the tremendous events of the second. Business was suspended in Lawrence and most of her people were at the Grove. The Governor and the rest of the state officers were on the grounds. General Pope and many other military officers were present from Leavenworth.[20]

The weather, so important to a semi-open meeting of this nature, was a copy of the day before. Clear skies, the promise of a free barbecue dinner, and the names of Hale, Whitman, Julian and others proved a magnet to draw the crowds.[21] According to the Lawrence Daily Journal the crowd was estimated from 25,000-30,000. By 1:00 P.M. almost

1,200 vehicles had crossed the Massachusetts Street bridge. It was thought that probably 500 more passed over between that time and dark. Allowing six persons on the average, per vehicle, this would mean that nearly 10,000 persons went to the Grove from the south side of the river. Thousands more went by the stub train that darted back and forth from the station to the Grove, and thousands more went on foot. It was speculated that if the country north of the Kansas River did as well in proportion, there were twenty thousand present besides the railroad excursions.[22]

At an early hour the grounds had begun to swarm with people, and soon after 8:00 the tabernacle seats were filled. The meeting began with a continuation of the old settlers "love-feast" of the night before. Several speakers made short talks, mostly resumes of their part in the struggle of earlier days. Some were scheduled to speak, others were "called" out of the audience. One of the speakers was a Mrs. Lucy B. Armstrong of Wyandotte, who had come to Kansas in 1843. She spoke at some length upon the honorable part which the Wyandottes took in the struggle against slavery.[23]

George W. Julian of Indiana, the first scheduled "main" speaker for the morning was received with a volley of artillery and loud applause by the audience. The distinguished speaker began by expressing regret that he lacked the voice to address such a vast audience and that he could not get up and deliver an old-fashioned, off-hand speech. He acknowledged that a written paper did not satisfy a western audience. His speech concerned slavery and America. He said that it was not only the slave that had been set free, but the whole mind of the American

people. He went on to show how, fifty years previous, the whole country was almost unanimously in favor of slave labor, and what had brought about the great change in public opinion. In the midst of Julian's address the train bringing General Pope arrived, and the battery from Ft. Leavenworth fired a salute in his honor. The speech was suspended when General Pope entered the tabernacle where three rousing cheers were given in his honor. At the close of Julian's address the crowd was determined that Pope should address it. Pope stated that he esteemed it a great honor to have been invited to unite with the group on such an occasion. He had first come to Kansas as a simple soldier and had tramped all over the land. He was not present from 1854-1867, therefore he asked to be a silent listener to the history of the state as related by those who took an active part in it.[24]

It was announced that since but a small portion of those present could find room in the tabernacle, another stand would also be occupied to the west of the structure. In dismissing for dinner, Governor Robinson announced that the head of the table at the grand barbecue would be occupied by Hale, Pope and Forney.[25]

The barbecue proper took place just south of the lake where several long tables had been set up. There was a roasted ox, and some sheep and hogs. From these three carvers, under the supervision of Mayor T. H. Kennedy, carved and handed out meat to the thousands that came by. But to have gathered the whole vast throng about the tables would have been an impossibility, and for them to have filed past would have taken more time than the managers had set aside for dinner. It was well that many people had brought food, and hundreds of parties

were scattered all over the grounds, dining picnic-style. The dining halls also supplied food, but the Topeka Commonwealth seemed to think that it was pretty "hard fare." The Topeka Capital was inclined to agree. It commented that the oldest citizen they had seen at the reunion was the butter set up at one of the refreshment stands. "It was still strong and healthy."[26]

After dinner Judge James S. Emery opened the session with a short introduction of Edward Everett Hale. Emery said, "We look backward today. We looked forward twenty-five years ago." He continued on this theme with the illustration that all along the weary way the old settlers had turned their eyes backward toward the older states for hope and encouragement. The two Hales, the Sumners, the Thayers and the poets of New England, Seward and Greeley of the Empire State, Forney of the Keystone, Chase and Giddings of Ohio and Julian of Indiana — "these men and others had been their pillar of fire by night, and cloud by day." Just before the final introduction of Hale, Emery called for the singing of the "Marseillaise Hymn of America" — "Old John Brown."[27]

Hale, author of the story, The Man Without A Country, then came forward to a tumultuous greeting. He began by saying, "I know it is not me you want to hear, but the Old Bay State, who is the mother of half of you, the grand-mother, sister, cousin or aunt of the balance of you." Hale's address was termed a masterpiece by the Leavenworth Times. It was mainly concerned with the interaction Kansas and New England had upon each other. He spoke of the Emigrant Aid Society, organized by Eli Thayer, and its work in Kansas and other places. He claimed that the company placed $125,000 in the Kansas-Nebraska Territory of which

no subscriber ever received back one cent of investment. But they had their dividends. They came in a Kansas free — a nation free — in the homes of four million freed men, and in the virtual abolition of slavery in the world. He spoke without notes in a loud, clear voice and commanded the attention of the audience throughout his speech. At the conclusion of the address the old Lawrence band and audience once again joined in rendering "Old John Brown."[28]

At various times during the afternoon Governor Robinson would read letters of regret from those not able to attend. Jay Gould had been forced to make other arrangements; Amos Lawrence's health was not strong enough to bear the trip and John G. Whittier also did not feel he should make the journey.[29]

Walt Whitman was to have read a poem that afternoon, and loud calls for him by the audience were responded to by T. D. Thacher, who stated that Whitman had been physically unable to compose or deliver a poem. Whitman, with his long beard and gray hair, had attracted much attention on the platform the day before.[30]

It was announced in closing the afternoon session that the love-feast in the evening would consist of short speeches only. To the surprise of nearly everyone, the crowd in the Grove was scarcely reduced in numbers for the evening session and the seats in the tabernacle were all filled thirty minutes before it started.[31]

John Speer began the session by disputing the idea advanced by some speakers that the Democratic Governors, Reeder, Walker and Geary, or Stanton had assisted in making Kansas a Free State. Not many in the audience were willing to turn the last evening into a political debate

and it was more than intimated that Speer had given an Irishman a half dollar to call him out so he could get a chance to speak. He indignantly denied the accusation and was allowed to speak his mind.[32] All in all it was a long, happy evening. Several "five-minute" speeches were given — some stretched much longer than that. Sometime in the meeting Governor Robinson brought forward the man whom, he said, more than any other deserved the praise for making the occasion a great success, namely, Peter B. Groat of the Kansas Pacific Railway. Groat declined to make a speech, but his hearty reception showed how his labors for Bismarck were appreciated by the people.[33] It was recommended and adopted unanimously that the old settlers fully appreciated the enterprise of the Kansas Pacific Railway in building the Bismarck Tabernacle and that all future reunions of Old Settlers be held in Bismarck Grove. Resolutions were also adopted thanking the railroads for the reduced fare for the occasion. Finally, at 11:30 the session was brought to an end by the audience singing "The Sweet Bye and Bye" and the "Doxology."[34]

The metropolitan dailies showed great interest in the Old Settlers' meeting. W. A. Simpson sent two thousand words by telegraph to the Chicago Times, J. W. Gleed fifteen hundred to the Chicago Tribune, and a long dispatch was sent to the Globe-Democrat in St. Louis by a Colonel Forbes.[35]

Lawrence papers, in looking back at the meeting, had a sense of satisfaction that everything had gone over very well. It would be long remembered for the pleasure it afforded old friends to once more review the scenes of the trials and hardships of frontier life.[36]

John W. Forney, one of the participants, reviewed the meeting for the readers of his paper, the Philadelphia Progress. He said the two days given to the silver wedding of the old settlers were golden hours to him. Two observations were made by Forney, one was that the "Old Settlers" were rarely over fifty, showing that when they came to Kansas a quarter of a century before, they were generally from twenty to twenty-five years of age. The other was that New England was well represented at Bismarck Grove, and her importance in "saving Kansas to freedom" by her Emigration Society was acclaimed by the old settlers.[37]

During the intervening five years between the Twenty-Fifth and Thirtieth Reunion of the Old Settlers, Bismarck Grove had been transformed into a fair grounds par excellence and its Western National Fair was an event widely praised in Kansas. Believing that more would attend when there was the added attraction of a fair, the old settlers set the date of their reunion during the first two days of the week-long event.

The 1884 meeting was planned to be a copy of the very successful Twenty-Fifth Reunion, but the nationally known speakers did not turn out this time. William T. Sherman wrote that he had other appointments; Ulysses S. Grant said that because of an injury received the winter before, he could not travel and thus would not address the group; Amos Lawrence once again wrote that it had been his greatest hope and desire to see the "old settlers," but his strength was unequal to the task. He had set out for Kansas the spring before, taking his wife and doctor along so that he would be sure of reaching Kansas, but had to turn back because of weakness.[38]

The Thirtieth Reunion then turned out to be primarily a state function, with former governors as the principal speakers. Governor George W. Glick, ex-Governors Charles Robinson, Thomas Carney and James M. Harvey and two of the old Territorial Governors, Frederick P. Stanton and James W. Denver, were the chief honored guests. The Secretary of War did order a battery of United States artillery from Fort Leavenworth to be present and fire salutes in honor of the occasion, thus it was not entirely a "state" function.[39] The Reunion was slower getting started than the one in 1879 for it was not until 11:00 A.M. that the tabernacle bell rang for the old settlers to assemble. The great respect shown for ex-Governor Robinson was again apparent as he was unanimously elected chairman of the meeting. The Territorial Governors and Governor Glick were appointed as a committee of honor to escort Robinson to his chair. Deeply moved, Robinson stated briefly his sense of honor at being elected to such a position. Following an address of welcome by Lawrence's Mayor Justin D. Bowersock, the meeting adjourned to the large dining hall where a meal had been prepared for old settlers and their guests.[40]

The citizens of Lawrence had been encouraged to contribute provisions for the meal by being given dinner tickets on the receipt of contributions. Some brought the food to Ed Wood's Store in Lawrence, where it was taken to the Grove, while others took it directly to the dining hall.[41] The meal was a regular old-fashioned dinner with plenty of Boston brown bread and baked beans. The Tribune reporter stated that the prettiest girls in Lawrence were on hand to see that none of the guests were neglected. After eating, the people left the tables

to wander about the grounds, having a good time telling their experiences with one another.[42]

Governor Glick opened the afternoon exercises. He welcomed the visitors present on behalf of the people of Kansas. The first speaker other than the dignitaries was F. P. Baker, veteran editor of the Topeka Commonwealth, who delivered an able speech on the influence and power of the press in preserving a true history of events.[43] The speech was later published in its entirety in most area newspapers. Ex-Territorial Governor Frederick P. Stanton then addressed the audience estimated at 7,000, by describing events in Kansas during his term of office. It was reported that his speech was received with wild enthusiasm and at the close he was given "three cheers and a tiger."[44]

Another large audience assembled in the evening to attend the Old Settlers love-feast. One of the speakers was C. B. Lines of Wabaunsee County, who told of the circumstances which caused him to come to Kansas and of the privations endured by the settlers once they arrived here. He had come with the party that brought the "Beecher Bibles," which turned out to be Winchester Rifles. He said that the rifles were given as individual gifts and that the President of Yale College gave the first one. Beecher told the group which was collecting for the rifles that they could count on him for twenty-five. He then went to a prayer meeting at his church and told his congregation what he had done. He made it plain that he expected them to make the promise good, which request they complied with.[45]

The next morning ex-Governor Thomas Carney was the first speaker. Ex-Governor Robinson, in introducing each speaker, paid high compliments to them and told of their connection with the early history of Kansas. In introducing Carney, his successor, he told how in 1863 Kansas bonds could not be sold until endorsed personally by Governor Carney, and also that because of a donation of $5,000 in cash he was able to secure the State University to Lawrence. Most of Carney's address was devoted to paying a glowing tribute to the early settlers — "they who risked their lives for the sake of freedom." Charles H. Branscombe, the man who located the town site of Lawrence, was then introduced and spoke at some length of the early struggle against slavery.[46]

While waiting for speakers to come over from the city, a few extemporaneous speeches were made by old settlers. John Ritchie of Topeka spoke the longest. His speech referred principally to war incidents which he and his friends experienced in the early border wars. Colonel John A. Martin, the Republican candidate for Governor, was then introduced and gave an address. Following his speech ex-Governor Robinson announced that they would not reassemble until three o'clock, because they wished to give the old settlers "who had fallen from grace" a chance to see the races.[47]

At noon the Lawrence ladies served another of three excellent dinners to the old settlers and guests. The Topeka Commonwealth commented that much of the pleasure of the reunion was derived from the hospitable manner in which the Lawrence citizens treated their visitors.[48]

Promptly at three o'clock the old settlers came together and were addressed by ex-Territorial Governor Denver. He succeeded Stanton in 1858. He reviewed his administration, dwelling particularly upon his dealings with, and the action of the Free State legislature, which came into power for the first time during his administration.[49]

A short talk given by C. K. Holliday, was followed by ex-Governor Harvey, who, following the lead of other ex-Governors, reviewed the events of his administration. Two ex-Governors, Daniel Woodson — a Territorial Governor — and George T. Anthony, wrote letters of regret at not being able to attend. These two letters were read at the evening service which was presided over by Judge Emery of Lawrence.[50]

The attendance at the services was smaller than on the previous evening but still a good crowd was there to hear the love-feast speakers. David Wooster, then of Colorado, was one speaker. He had organized and led the first cornet band of Lawrence — the first band to ever play in Kansas. He and the survivors of the old band had played at the reunion five years before.[51]

With the end of the evening's reminiscences the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Old Settlers closed. It was stated that they should be and they were happy, as their efforts to make the occasion a successful and joyful one had succeeded. The next morning, although some stayed to take in more of the fair, nearly everyone left the Grove for their homes, taking with them many pleasant memories.[52]

CHAPTER IV

LIBERAL MEETINGS

The Bismarck Tabernacle, in almost constant use during the late summer and early fall of 1879, was the scene of one meeting that was entirely new for this part of the country. Its course was watched with close attention by both friend and foe and there was general surprise at the large number of eminent men and women who identified with the movement. They called themselves Liberals, by which they meant people who were broad-minded and not bound by orthodox forms of political and religious philosophies. The camp meeting was sponsored by the National Liberal League, an organization devoted to the complete separation of church and state. The League was very specific in its objectives and principles which were set forth in eight articles, all of which were prefaced by the words, "We demand that":

1. churches no longer be exempt from taxes.
2. employment of chaplains in Congress, army, prisons, and insane asylums be discontinued.
3. public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character be discontinued.
4. all religious services now sustained by the government be abolished — especially the use of the Bible in schools.
5. governors and the President not appoint certain days to be observed for religious festivals or fasts.

6. the judicial oath be abolished in favor of affirmation.
7. all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian morality" shall be abrogated and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights and impartial liberty.
8. in all the states no privilege or advantage be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion.[1]

Many people did believe the government should treat with perfect impartiality men of every religious belief or no religious belief, but most of the League's demands were regarded by conservative people as rather extreme.[2] To carry out these principles it was necessary to organize and gain "grass root" support. To do this it seemed necessary to most of the speakers to attack the church, to ridicule it and Christianity in general.

The meeting of liberals, or "Free Thinkers" as they were often called, received extensive news coverage in the area papers, some of which stationed representatives on the grounds. The papers were usually objective in reporting the meeting, although it was apparent that most reporters did not agree with the religious principles advocated by many of the speakers. The Topeka Capital censured the Topeka Blade when the latter referred to the meeting as a Free Love Affair attended by fanatics from different parts of the country.[3] The Capital's comment that "it was not necessary to agree with their religious ideas to do them justice in a paper," seemed to sum up the area's newspaper attitude.[4]

The Leavenworth Times' reporter stated that Bismarck was never more beautiful than that early fall morning when the meeting was scheduled

to open. Ex-Governor Robinson was chairman of the Committee of Arrangements and was seen everywhere endeavoring to organize the meeting.[5] By the middle of the afternoon an organizational meeting was held with a small attendance. A tall, dark eyed man named S. H. Walser of Lamar, Missouri, was chosen president. At the meeting it was decided to invite the Reverend William Gilbert, a leading Methodist minister in Topeka, to address the group at the Sunday afternoon meeting; he would be followed in reply by Professor William Denton, the geologist. The evening meeting was adjourned to the city where Professor Denton was giving a geological lecture. According to him the question was Genesis or Geology, one must be abandoned.[6] Reverend Gilbert had recently left Bismarck, having spent almost two weeks there in charge of a church encampment primarily devoted to discussing major problems in religion and in training church workers. Gilbert responded to the invitation by sending a telegram on Sunday morning stating that he was sick and could not come. This prompted some remarks by President Walser on the health of orthodox preachers being suddenly impaired by liberal events.[7] A later telegram was sent by the Liberals inviting him to speak on succeeding days.[8] No answer was received and Gilbert did not nor did any other Christian minister appear to debate the "issues." The field then was left to the Liberal speakers who were varied in their attitudes and beliefs toward Christianity except that they were all opposed to it in some degree.

One of the speakers, often scheduled to speak and also called upon frequently by the audience, was Professor Denton of Massachusetts. He was described as one of the finest orators of the day, with a

tremendous power of magnetism in glance and gesture.[9] He minced no words on his life's intention — to destroy Christianity.[10] To do this, he believed that the myths of Christianity should be exposed and the "truth" told. Children, he believed, were trained in the greatest absurdities about the Bible instead of the truth. All books outside of mathematics were full of errors. The Bible was no exception. Had it truly been God's Word He would have written it with His own fingers in unfading characters on indestructible tablets. Denton did believe there was a man named Jesus — born of woman like any other child, and spanked when He was naughty, just like any other child. The character of Jesus he admired. He thought he was a good man and that his words were full of wisdom, but he certainly was not God.[11]

Christianity, to Denton, was a religion of blood, and Jehovah, a blood diety. He stated, "The Bible is a blood book written by barbarous men for a barbarous and bloody age, and it is not fit for the present age." He mentioned a number of uses to which blood was put in the ancient mode of service. He commented on the popular hymns in use in Christian churches dealing with blood. This he thought would do well for cannibals but not for civilized people.[12]

He did believe that man had a spirit which survived death. This spirit at death was then allowed to proceed to a shining realm beyond, one more in harmony with the spirit.[13] In one of his addresses he quoted Walt Whitman:

> I know I am deathless and am not contained
> between my hat and my boots.
> This orbit of mine cannot be swept by a carpenter's
> compass;

I do not know what follows after the death of my body.
But I know well that whatever is really me shall live
just as much as before.
I suppose I am eligible to visit the stars in my time.[14]

Death then was described as a blessing when it came to the old, the maimed and the diseased as a joyous release from the hampering clay. He believed that all things were indestructible, that our memories, our love, and our aspirations were immortal. Also that we carried into the future life our vices as well as virtues; that we retained our individuality — we were neither angels nor devils — but ourselves. Death was also looked upon as a necessity. If there were no death the globe would soon be overrun with gray beards, and birth would cease for lack of space.[15] However, in discoursing upon his philosophy of death, Denton never answered the purpose of life on earth or how he was so assured that life "beyond" would be so glorious.

The president of the meeting, S. H. Walser, had some of the same beliefs but did not express himself so eloquently. He did not believe in the inspiration of the Bible. He thought it was a forgery and libel on the great creator of the infinite universe. He did not believe in hell and stated, "if you knock hell out of the Bible you knock hell out of religion." The reason people went to church and believed in religion was because they had nothing else presented to them to believe. They also had control of the government because they were organized and the liberals were not. He said "church-goers" founded their belief on fiction, while liberals founded theirs on facts. He, like Denton, expressed the belief that the mind exists and that it has the power to go on and on forever.[16]

There was a fair-sized number of Spiritualists present at the meeting, one of whom was a Mr. Seymour from Cloud County. He said that man was a progressive being. He himself was converted to Spiritualism after being raised a Methodist. Since then he had often communicated with the angel world. Great minds, he said, are not lost forever but still live and give their influence to the onward progression of mankind.[17]

The presence and location of numerous healing mediums and seers, on the grounds, was made known at the meetings, and patronage was solicited.[18] Several circles or seances were held each day. A Lawrence Journal representative reported being present when a large number of mediums gathered in a spiritual circle in the large assembly tent. Several spirits, he related, spoke through their mediums, including Thomas Paine, Bayard Taylor and a wild Indian. One spirit, which did not give its name, spoke directly to the press representative in verse and described the man's future labors as a reporter in the spirit land.[19]

Some of the liberals were incredulous of the phenomena of spiritualism — O. A. Phelps of Kansas City was one. He was a materialist, a person who considered the facts of the universe to be sufficiently explained by the existence and nature of matter. According to him the world was never created, because it was just as easy to conceive a self-created universe as a self existent creator of the universe. It was impossible, he stated, to conceive a creator, because the creator would be part of the creation. When you say God made the universe you do not know any more of its origin than you did

before. Phelps was also very "high" on education. To him civilization was the result of education. If people had a higher education they would have greater freedom of thought; every improvement in society was the work of education.[20]

One very educated and famous gentleman from Indiana was present as a guest of ex-Governor Robinson. George W. Julian was the vice-presidential candidate on the Free Soil ticket in 1852. He came not only to address the Liberals but also the Old Settlers Reunion, which followed.[21] The audience was disappointed in him, as he made no effort at oratory, but read a paper detailing the drift of his own mind from rigid orthodoxy to Liberalism. A Sunday attendance of about 7,000 was present as he told that where he was brought up, religion was not so much a struggle for heaven as it was a means to escape hell; the dominant sect being the old volcanic Methodists. After reading a number of religious books he became greatly interested in Unitarianism. The more he read, the more troubled he became in his theological views. He could not understand the miracles and other parts of the scriptures. Finally, he became convinced that he must put aside all superstition and join those who demanded perfect freedom of thought. His reason compelled him to believe that the divine origin of the Bible was impossible and he finally became convinced that the only sure salvation was that of personal duty and endeavor.[22]

Another liberal speaker who addressed the old settlers was G. W. Brown of Galesburg, Illinois, editor of the first newspaper in Kansas. He hoped that this campmeeting of all liberal sects would end in a movement that would "stem the tide" of ecclesiastical encroachment

upon the rights of freemen and overcome the church element. This he thought could be done if they worked together, because the church's numbers "are made up almost entirely of women and children."[23]

There were several other speakers who had particular points to make, such as William Coleman of Leavenworth, who was concerned about the Biblical account of the world being created in six days. Geology, he claimed, had completely gained the victory and exploded the Bible account.[24] W. E. Copeland of Omaha criticized the Bible because it "authorized slavery, polygamy, and the subjection of woman to man." To him the Biblical plan of salvation was one of the greatest absurdities of the age.[25]

B. T. Ward of Irving, Kansas, drew a picture of the terrors of the Christian faith. He was able to bridge over hell by becoming a Universalist. He was skeptical of the Biblical account of Jesus — "Because He raised a man from the dead was no reason to believe everything He said."[26] Doctor William Perkins of Cincinnati, believed that knowledge was power and neither heaven nor hell could prevail against it. The great glory of the liberal cause, to him, was that they were studying facts. He was upset because of the way Robert Ingersoll was treated. "Bob Ingersoll is one of the kindest and most loving men in the world," he avowed. He was concerned that his children and grand-children might be stamped down by the same Biblical bigotry.[27]

It had been hoped that Ingersoll himself would have been one of the speakers. It was a great disappointment when he did not come. Robinson attempted to ease the dissatisfaction by promising to have him on the grounds the next year "even if he had become president."[28]

The Kansas Liberal League was organized in the final meeting with Governor Robinson elected as president. He declined the nomination, excusing himself upon the ground that he could not give his time to the necessary business. The audience's unanimous wish prevailed, however, and he was conducted to the platform by a committee of ladies and gentlemen. W. H. T. Wakefield was elected secretary and Caroline Doster the treasurer. The motto, "Freedom, Fellowship and Character," was adopted.[29] After much discussion it was decided to recommend to the National Liberal League, which was preparing to meet in Cincinnati, that it not inaugurate any political action in regards to nominating a president or vice-president. A Mr. Holsonan was appointed as a delegate and empowered to cast the five votes of the League. The meeting adjourned with three cheers for Liberalism.[30]

It was certainly a successful meeting in many ways. In attendance it was about the same as the church encampment that preceeded it.[31] Financially, even without a gate fee, the Liberals were able to pay all their obligations.[32] It was regarded as an orderly meeting, with no disturbance or confusion. It was also reported that no liquor, beer or cigars were used during the session.[33] The newspaper relations were excellent and one of the several resolutions passed by the Liberals was their hearty thanks to the press of Kansas for their kind notices of the meeting, both in advance as well as during the session.[34]

A reporter for The Bismarck Messenger, a four sheet paper consisting of fourteen columns of advertising, and two of news, reported the opening session of the 1880 Liberal meeting. He reported: the

grounds almost deserted on opening day, but at 2:00 when the bell was rung, about thirty people gathered in the tabernacle. Professor O. A. Phelps of Kansas City spoke to the group on his philosophy of religion. This reporter did not think Phelps as radical in his remarks as last year when he, by his extreme views, was dubbed "the wickedest man in the West." After Phelps was through, a gentleman whose name the reporter was not able to learn, arose and said he was well acquainted with his satanic majesty, the devil. He then sang a song entitled, "The Devil is Dead." Unfortunately, the newspaper representative did not preserve the words of the song.[35]

Enlarging their scope from the previous year, when they specifically invited Reverend Gilbert of Topeka to "debate" in their meetings, an invitation was given to all ministers of Evangelical churches to participate. It was promised that the time would be equally divided with them.[36] The question of holding evening sessions was discussed. It was said that a great many would come at night, who would be ashamed to be seen in the day time. Evening sessions were decided upon.[37]

The first Sunday session was opened by J. A. Remsburg of Atchison, who read his paper on the "Four Great Infidels of America," Washington, Franklin, Jefferson and Lincoln. He described Washington as only nominally a Christian believer, as a man who never said a word in favor of the Christian religion. The story of him with the hatchet had about as much historical authority as the one about him praying at Valley Forge. Franklin was represented as a confirmed deist, as one who believed in the creator of the universe but denied the divinity of Christ. Jefferson, he said, was a scoffer of Christians, one who could

not believe in the suspension of the laws of nature, nor in the mystical birth of the Saviour. Lincoln, he related, declared that the Bible was not the book of God and that Jesus was an illegitimate child. He gave Lincoln's wife's testimony that Lincoln had no hope in the future life and no faith in the Christian religion.[38]

Following Remsburg's paper, ten-minute speeches were made, one by ex-Governor Robinson, who was a leading figure of last year's meeting. This year, however, he did not take as active a part. One wonders if this had anything to do with his statement that he would have Ingersoll on the grounds this year "even if he became president."[39] Robinson was not re-elected as president of the Kansas Liberal League, for the coming year. Replacing him was Alfred Taylor of Johnson County who, in his short speech, dwelt upon the importance of Liberals popularizing their cause; and not make excuses for it. He saw the necessity of organization and believed that regular Liberal exercises should be held by every community of Liberals. He thoroughly denounced the Christian religion, saying that it was damning America.[40]

At this point Reverend Miles Grant, a preacher from Boston, requested permission to ask a question. Permission was granted and he asked, "By what law shall we try the Christian religion, the Bible and its author?" Judge Arnold Krekel of Kansas City said, "By human reason." Robinson stated, "By God's law written on the heart of every man." Continuing on this line of reasoning, when he was able to make his remarks, Grant believed no charge could be brought against the "God of the Bible" that could not be brought against the "God of Nature"; pestilence comes and sweeps all mankind, and the God of the Bible can

do no worse. He made one exception and that was the doctrine of eternal torment, which he did not believe the Bible taught. He said he heard a man say, "I hate the Christian religion." He said he loved it. He had tried it for thirty years and had found pleasure and happiness with Jesus and the Bible. If you cannot accept Jesus and the Bible, he went on, you cannot say, as many of you do, that He was a good man, for a good man will never attempt to deceive anyone, but you make him a hypocrite and a scoundrel. What fault will you find, he concluded, with a man who does all the good he can in every case and in every circumstance.[41]

Mrs. M. H. Parry of Beloit, Wisconsin, the featured Materialist speaker for the encampment, believed in the reign of universal law. Her lecture was entitled, "Mental Enfranchisement," which she believed could come about only through the Liberal idea of religion. According to her, as long as humanity claimed a divine ruler, it could never be free, but was bound to perpetual enslavement. Also if parents wished to bring up their children free, they should not teach them to be a Methodist, Presbyterian, infidel or atheist — put good books in their hands and teach them morality! Let their minds be free and you would have no fallen to raise, no lost to rescue. Liberalism, according to her, was far ahead of the church in morals and was beckoning to the sluggish church to follow.[42]

At intervals during the long Sunday meeting, the ten-member City Star Band of Valley Falls furnished music.[43] Another change from the cycle of speeches were the exercises of the Lawrence Unitarian Sunday School under the charge of Sarah A. Brown. She first gave a

history of its organization and progress. The church had been without a minister and the building needed repair, when a few earnest persons worked together and fitted it up for holding meetings. The exercises were an example of the manner in which the school was conducted: first, a song; second, responsive readings; third, sentiments given in concert — first by the entire school, then by one or more individuals. The first sentiment, or general truth, was the Golden Rule. Three sentiments were given and then twelve "foundation stones." Some of the "stones" were Thankfulness, Honesty, Unaffectedness, Temperance and Self-Control. Each of these was accompanied by an appropriate maxim such as, "Better is he that ruleth his own spirit than he that taketh a city," and "Whatever is over estimated must at some time be taken back." A song, "We will follow the Golden Rule," and a recitation closed the Sunday School.[44]

A Unitarian pastor from Chicago, a Reverend Jones, was engaged by the management to represent the Unitarian philosophy during the week. He opened his comments somewhat like Reverend Grant by saying that he was a minister, and not ashamed of it. He, however, came to the meetings to sympathize and not to differ. He urged caution by warning Liberals not to use such cutting rhetoric against those who differed from them. He regretted if their coming together was not for the better, especially if the danger arose from their own bigotry. What he objected to was, for example, judging the Hindu civilization by its defects. He believed the church was doing a work which it was the duty of the Liberals to acknowledge. He pointed out that the Liberals were the inherents of the church they abused, and the more culture the less the tendency to hurl invectives at their foes.[45]

Reverend Jones was listened to respectfully as was a Mrs. Combs, who claimed to be a liberal spiritualist. She said she came to defend spiritualism. She was getting used to being called a humbug, but spiritualists had much more to offer than did the materialists, who took you to the gates of heaven and then left you there. Spiritualists passed in and brought back news from beyond. She asked the atheists present, and others who were searching after truth, to make a candid investigation of spiritualism, such as they would to any science.[46]

Some dissatisfaction was expressed with the arrangements which did not give spiritualists an equal share of the platform. The chairman of the committee of speakers admitted that they had failed to engage a spiritualist speaker for the encampment.[47] However, during the week Sam N. Wood, a well known "old settler," showed up. He said he had just returned to his home in the western part of the state and found that his wife had gone to Lawrence, and there learned that she was at Bismarck Grove. He occupied the platform for an evening service in the interest of "modern spiritualism." He claimed that the Bible and spiritualism were teaching the same great truths of immorality. The Bible taught that God was a spirit. It also taught the materialization of spirits. If spiritualism were taken out of the Bible there would be nothing left worth saving. He believed that the greatest spiritual seance — the greatest manifestation of spirit power the world ever saw — was the day of Pentecost. He thought it only a matter of time before the church would understand these things. Meanwhile, he said to Professor Phelps, from the platform, "Remember that flies are easier caught with sugar

than vinegar. Let us try sugar for awhile." Following the services a number of seances were held in different parts of the Grove.[48]

The last Sunday meeting was unusual, even for the Liberals. Four newspapers had their representatives on the scene to recount "the action."

It was described as a gala day for the Freethinkers with approximately a thousand present, according to one report, and thousands present according to another. The brass band was reported as especially good, as it rendered only secular tunes for this Sabbath such as "My Grandfather's Clock," "Baby Mine," and "Yankee Doodle."[49]

Although several speeches were given both before and after dinner, the reporters slighted these, to concentrate on just two events that took place; one was the Coffin affair and the other the Phelps speech.

The Coffin affair went back to the previous Friday evening when Colonel W. G. Coffin of Leavenworth, upset at the insults and taunts thrown at the Bible, rose in his seat from the audience and challenged some of their assertions. This dumbfounded the Liberals, for a moment. In the torrent of words that followed, someone — evidently not by the authority of the management — told him if he came back to discuss the question they would pay his expenses. In response to this, on Sunday morning, following one of the talks, Colonel Coffin rose in his seat and announced that he was ready to talk. The chairman, G. W. Brown, said that he could not be heard as the program was made out and could not be interrupted. At this, a scene of confusion followed and everything seemed lively for a time. Coffin became very excited and so did

Brown. Brown called Coffin "a puppy" and a fanatic. Coffin, not to be outdone, called the chairman a "knock-kneed monkey." The Kansas City Times reported that prospects for a row were good when the meeting was hurriedly adjourned.[50]

The reporters universally agreed that the "low-point" of the afternoon was the two-hour "lecture" on the "Scheme of Redemption," by O. A. Phelps. The Lawrence Tribune reported the following:

> On the platform was a ranting, red-headed imbecile pounding the air and prancing around on the platform as if he had got into a bumble bee's next. This lunatic . . . has succeeded in his efforts for fame in gaining the disgust of every sane person within hearing of his demoniac voice. His rantings and blasphemies were horrible and had he got his deserts he would have been hooted from the grove. We failed to find an infidel, liberal or spiritualist or any one else who approved his course.
>
> . . . (he) calls himself a professor . . . red hair, red eyes and a particularly red nose . . . hails from Kansas City in general and according to his own statement, when questioned by your reporter, Hell's Half Acre in particular.[51]

His speech was described as "basely rough and ungentlemanly" and "especially outrageous and demoralizing." The Freethinkers, believing the speech all too liberal, presented a resolution at its close which stated: "Resolved, that we the liberals repudiate O. A. Phelps as a liberal and have no sympathy with the matter and manner of his utterances." Because of the large number of people present who were not liberals, the chairman did not want a vote taken for fear the resolution would fail. The resolution was thus withdrawn. This, with the Coffin trouble of the forenoon, served to make a lively and very "liberal" observance of Sunday.[52]

With the close of the encampment the next day, and Sunday's proceedings fresh in their minds, the area newspapers summarized the

meeting. The Topeka Capital believed that taken as a whole it was the most disgraceful and disorderly gathering ever held at Bismarck Grove. In addition, for every convert it made to liberalism, ten were made for Christianity.[53] The Lawrence Tribune agreed that Christianity lost nothing by such gatherings, for they stirred up the dormant Christian and the backslider and hurried them back into the "fold." The Tribune also believed that the best way Christians could "make souls" for their Saviour was to keep O. A. Phelps in the lecture field, if the public would tolerate it.[54] Mrs. Parry, on the other hand, was looked upon as a very fair speaker with many good qualities. It was deplored that she could not have been engaged in a more noble cause than the attempted overthrow of Christianity.

The audiences were described as "with a few exceptions . . . the most depraved looking crown mortal man ever saw,"[55] and "the most motley and utterly God-forsaken looking set of people that man ever set eyes upon."[56] W. H. T. Wakefield, an officer of the Kansas Liberal League, was upset at the Capital referring to the meeting as a disorderly one. To him no more respectable and orderly crowd had occupied the grounds all year, and the few roughs present were all orthodox Christians; it was from them came the only noise and profanity. The paper, however, refused to back down from its representative's judgment.[57]

The 1880 Liberal meeting was remembered, as are so many controversial gatherings, more for its excesses than for its fair policy of scheduling Christians on the platform to participate in the program. There was no expression of regret in the Lawrence papers of 1881 when

the Liberals chose to have their annual meeting at Forest Park in Ottawa.

The 1880 meeting was the last to be given area-wide newspaper publicity. The next year's meeting, held inside the city of Ottawa at Forest Park, was practically ignored by the two Ottawa papers and unreported by any other. The 1882 annual meeting returned to Bismarck Grove. If they hoped for better "press" in Lawrence they were somewhat gratified since the Lawrence Daily Journal did place a reporter on the grounds. This was the only paper to be represented, however, and no other paper gave any indication that such a meeting took place. From the Journal's account the week's assembly was dignified and "refreshingly free from the bitter and sweeping denunciations of the existing order of thought of two years before."[58]

The following sects were represented at the 1882 meeting: Rev. D. Cheyney — Universalism; D. C. G. Castleman — Spiritualism; Sarah A. Brown — Unitarianism; W. W. Fraser — Materialism; Alfred Taylor — Social Science; Annie L. Diggs — Free Religion.[59]

The meeting seemed to be composed of a series of lectures more on the line of the Chautaqua — in which the audience was instructed in the Liberal thought — instead of the "shouting-speaker" so prevalent two years before. It was stated, by Mrs. M. P. Krekle of Kansas City, that Liberalism was not satisfied to rest with merely tearing down and quarreling with the superstitions and religious dogmas of the times. They also aimed to do reformatory and educational work.[60]

Following this line of thought, Mrs. A. S. Diggs of Lawrence taught a class in religious history. The subject was the lives of the four great religious leaders — Christ, Buddha, Confucius and Mohammed. David Eccles of Kansas City, presented a paper on "The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer." D. C. G. Castleman delivered an address on the "Principles and Practice of Competition." Hudson Tuttle lectured on "The Religious Nature of Man." His wife also lectured, her title being "Food For the Hungry." This was one of the very few addresses in which the reporter mentioned more than the title. The "hungry people" were those who longed to do and be something better than they were. This want, she said, could not be satisfied without a hope of a continuation of life after death. C. B. Hoffman delivered an analysis of "The Philosophy of Spiritualism" and the known scientific laws upon which it was based.[61]

The Journal's account of the encampment gave the impression of a rather small number of people earnestly seeking to educate and strengthen the beliefs of the members of the group. There was a determination to make Liberalism constructive as well as destructive in its tendency. Except for a Reverend Swartz, a former Methodist minister, who related his experience away from orthodoxy, the Christian church was not attacked as much as it was ignored.[62]

With the close of the meeting the Liberals never again used the confines of the grove. They held their next annual meeting at Valley Falls, Kansas. Forest Park, in Ottawa, was the scene for most, if not all, of the Liberal meetings in the 1890's.

CHAPTER V

THE BISMARCK CHAUTAUQUA

The first Chautauqua, or what would be called the Chautauqua, was founded on the shores of a lake by that name, in western New York state. It was begun in 1874 by Bishop John H. Vincent and Lewis Miller of the Methodist Church. It opened as a Sunday School institute. The two-weeks' session was devoted to lectures, sermons, teacher training courses, devotional meetings, conferences and illustrative exercises. Some called it a "camp-meeting," but Vincent, writing about the movement, was explicit in denying this, except that most of those present lived in tents.[1] He was attempting to explain that these were not "evangelistic" services such as the words "camp-meeting" signified.

In 1878, four years after the original assembly, Bishop Vincent came to Topeka as head of the Sunday School work of the Methodist Church. Wherever he went he told of the success of the Chautauqua. After a speech, before the Kansas State Sunday School Association in Emporia, the people became so enthusiastic that plans were formed for a summer gathering, patterned after the "mother" Chautauqua.[2]

The Inter-State Sunday School Assembly or "Church Encampment" as it was named, was organized in 1878 by Reverend J. E. Gilbert, then pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church in Topeka.[3] The first announcement of the forthcoming meeting was a small note in the Topeka Commonwealth, which stated that an undenominational inter-state school

would assemble at Bismarck Grove in late August and continue for ten days. It would be a rare religious, intellectual, social and musical treat.[4]

This was followed a few days later with a personal note signed by Gilbert, attempting to explain the program, which was entirely new to Kansas — in fact to any state outside of New York. He first made it clear that it was not a camp-meeting; and that "no part of the exercises will partake of the sensational character." He explained that there would be outstanding lecturers, courses of study taught and two concerts given. He closed with: "It remains to be seen whether the Christian people of Kansas will appreciate such a meeting and patronize it in such numbers as to justify the heavy outlay of money on the part of the managers. We believe they will."[5]

The encampment's first day was a successful "send off" for the new enterprise. The National Temperance Meeting had closed the day before and some of the speakers were happy to stay and speak to the thousands that came in on "Children's Day."

Gilbert opened the exercises with brief devotions. Governor St. John was introduced, followed by George W. Bain. Both gave short temperance lectures to the crowd of over 5,000. At the close of Bain's talk "the pledge" was given to about 500 children.[6]

Much of the attendance came by train for the one day, with children getting a reduced rate to travel and, in some cases at least, free passes. Ten car loads came from Leavenworth, twenty from Kansas City and a big train from Topeka brought almost all the Sunday Schools of that city.[7]

Reverend Gilbert was successful in bringing to the encampment a quality staff, many of them from the East. One lecturer, Reverend J. S. Ostrander of New York City, was extremely successful in attracting the audience's attention by his use of visual aids. In his lecture, "Bible Manners and Customs," he used sixteen assistants dressed in Oriental costumes, representing different countries mentioned in the Bible. He explained that many passages of scripture could be understood only by a knowledge of the customs. Among the scenes depicted were: "Women Grinding at the Mill," "The Shepherd," "Oriental Greetings," "Dinner With Invited Guests," and an "Oriental Wedding Procession." At the close of his first lecture on this topic one newspaper reported that his appreciative audience would gladly have listened and looked for an hour longer; over 2,000 were present later in the week for a repeat performance.[8] "The Jewish Tabernacle" was the title of a similar talk. Ostrander, dressed as a high priest, explained the spiritual significance of the tabernacle by using a small replica. He also explained the spiritual significance of the Levite costumes worn by five men who assisted him.[9]

Jennie B. Murrill of the New York Normal University, who was highly complimented for her lectures on juvenile Sunday School work, was another of the "full-time" staff members.[10] Several area ministers served "part-time" or gave one or two talks. Among these were A. B. Jetmore of Topeka, who lectured on "Church and State"; W. M. Page of Leavenworth, who discussed "The Minister in the Prayer Meeting"; and Reverend Gilbert, who lectured on "Genesis and Science."[11] It was this lecture, in which he gave the opinion that the teaching of the

Scriptures were in advance of science, that prompted the Liberals at their encampment to ask him to debate the point.

Reverend D. Gochenour of Ellis gave an address entitled "The Sabbath" in which he appealed for the sacredness of Sunday — that it be made a delight as the Bible enjoined.[12] An example of the type of observance for which he was asking may be found in an article written in the Topeka Blade. It described the arrival of a group of Topekans at the Grove on Sunday morning.

> It was so quiet that men were of the opinion the meeting was gone. The sacred stillness which pervaded the surroundings seemed, for the first time to arrest the Topekans with the impression that it was the Sabbath. Once within the enclosure, here and there through the Grove, could be seen ladies and gentlemen sitting and calmly reposing on the rustic seats, enjoying the delightful morning. Nearing the tabernacle the crowd stopped at a tent where the sign reads: "Register your names and get a program." All did and followed the printed regulations which are as follows: "The day will be kept sacred. No trains will stop at the grounds. (This was not observed.) The gates will be open to admit people as follows: 7:30-8:30 A.M.; 10:30-11:00 A.M.; 1:00-2:00 P.M.; 6:00-7:00 P.M. They will be closed during the day to secure the services from interruption. All on the grounds will be required to attend the morning and afternoon sermon, or retire outside the gates."[13]

The Capital's reporter believed that there were between 3,000-4,000 on the grounds this particular Sunday. He was impressed by the order preserved during the day. He was reminded strongly of some New England village by the manner in which people came from their tents in answer to the bell, with their Bibles and hymn books.[14] It was a "Union Sunday School" they attended, or as Gilbert called it, "a Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, and Methodist class meeting," the four principal churches represented at the encampment.[15]

The management encountered some problems by people who believed that too great a prominence was given to Methodists in the conduct of the encampment. When this was discussed and Gilbert showed that every effort had been made to engage persons of several denominations to take part in the exercises, the affair was settled amicably. A number of those present expressed perfect satisfaction with the attention shown to the different denominations to which they belonged.[16]

The Capital stated that the assembly could not have been less denominational.[17] Many newspapers were lavish in their praise of and their wishes for success of the enterprise. The Tribune wrote that "Nothing has ever taken place at Bismarck of such thrilling interest and such great utility, especially to church and Sunday School workers. It is Chautauqua transferred to your own doors."[18] Good crowds did come, although the Journal noted attendance was not large from the immediate vicinity. A good number came on special trains for the one day or in some cases for just the evening service.[19] Topeka papers advertised, "Bismarck by moonlight tonight. The train leaves at 5:30, and will return after the entertainment is concluded."[20] A near-tragedy occurred for one Topeka family who took advantage of the evening ride down the banks of the Kaw. As the crowd was leaving Bismarck late at night, the twelve-year-old son of Attorney-General Willard Davis ran against the barbed-wire on the grounds, and cut a deep gash under the chin, and another under the ear, injuring himself severely. When picked up it was thought he would bleed to death. Doctor W. H. Early, of North Topeka, was there and dressed the wound and the boy was brought home, at 1:30 in the morning. It was later reported that the management of the

Grove was taking steps to "remedy the evil."[21] This is the last report found of any reference to barbed wire on the grounds for the next twenty years.

On the final day of the assembly a "Church Encampment Association" was formed for the purpose of having an assembly each year. Persons were asked to pledge ten dollars to join the association, so that the organization would be able to finance the enterprise. This met with an immediate response from thirty-six persons. A committee was appointed to solicit a similar reaction from others.[22] The meeting closed with many sharing the feelings of regret with the Commonwealth reporter "that the pleasant associations and happy days here must come to an end."[23] Seventeen states were registered as being represented on the grounds. The Capital expressed the hope that once people more thoroughly understood the plan and realized that Chautauqua "was here" there would be a triple attendance next year.[24]

Bismarck Grove in the summer of 1880 was a much different place than the previous summer, when Chautauqua was organized in Kansas. Finely made walks and drives ran in every direction, a large number of evergreens had been set out, which kept a force of men with a water wagon working most of the night during the "dry spell," and the lake was being enlarged daily with the constant addition of water from the "big well." "Dolly" Graeber, the well-known and respected "Riverman" of Lawrence, was cleaning out the weeds from the lake and putting his boats on the water. Landing docks were built just before the encampment began.[25]

Another item which was different was a charge for admission to the Encampment, a fee of ten cents for one day or fifty cents for the eight-day meeting. This caused some dissatisfaction, enough so that D. Sheldon, the permanent manager of the grounds was defended by one paper which explained that he had nothing to do with this arrangement. The managers of the encampment instituted the fee to provide funds for the meeting.[26]

The Assembly was again led by Reverend J. E. Gilbert, with the program similar to the previous year. There was, however, an almost completely new faculty at the "summer college." Twenty-one "full-fledged" instructors, many from eastern states, taught the course of study, at the completion of which a diploma was given the person passing the required examination.

Two of the best known teachers were Dr. D. S. Gregory, president of Lake Forest Seminary in Illinois, and William Blackburn, professor of History in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of Chicago.[27] In charge of the music was Professor C. E. Leslie, his wife, and some of his assistants from Chicago. Leslie did such outstanding work in leading the congregational singing, teaching music classes and singing in the "Chicago Choir," that he and his staff were asked to perform during the temperance encampment which followed.[28]

One state of affairs which had not changed in the past year was the management's interpretation of how the Sabbath was to be observed. The 1880 regulations on what were allowed were more strict than the year before. Taking note of an article in the Commonwealth that an excursion train would come from Topeka to the exercises the

next Sunday, a group of fourteen men including six Topeka pastors, protested this act of what they deemed "a desecration of the Lord's Day."[29] This they had published in the paper, besides requesting the railroad company to withdraw the train. They drew a response from a workingman who wrote to the paper with a question it would seem hard for the clergy to answer. He said clergymen, who can at any time enjoy outdoor amusements, should not condemn as Sabbath-breaking those who have no other time available. "When a man works ten to fifteen hours a day, six days a week, does he not have a right to spend Sunday on a health-giving excursion?!"[30]

The Union Pacific did not "run" the train. The Commonwealth reporter on the grounds felt it "just" to note that many of the workers and members of the encampment regretted the action taken by the management.[31]

Prior to Sunday the meetings were poorly attended, this being blamed on the intense heat, but at an early hour that morning the short trains from Lawrence and the hacks and carriages brought the people over in large numbers. At the same time the farmers began to arrive in wagons and on foot. It was especially noticeable to the Capital reporter that although some 3,000 were present, the sacredness of the day was strictly observed. Even along "newspaper row," a row of tents housing the newspaper reporters, the press representatives sat and wrote in silence.[32]

On the final day of the "summer college" several affairs received attention. The examination was given to those applying for graduation certificates. It consisted of two parts of twenty questions

each. The following are some of the questions: "Give six qualifications needed by a Sunday School teacher"; "Give five reasons for Sunday School organization"; "What events are associated with the following dates: 2848, 1075, 4004 and 104?"; "Give eight evidences of the Divine origin of the Bible." The examination lasted so long that the 11:00 A.M. lecture was cancelled.[33] E. W. Schaffer, a medical doctor from Kansas City, was elected president for the next encampment, replacing Gilbert. In making financial plans, pledges of five dollars were asked for, with one dollar being asked in advance.[34] Concerning finances, one reporter mentioned that if the "Powers that be" had allowed excursion trains, the gate fees would have yielded a good sum.[35] A greater attendance would probably have been the result, a factor which the Lawrence Journal believed "would have made the encampment a complete success."[36]

The encampment opened at Bismarck for the third, and last time, in early July, 1881. Lawrence and Topeka papers did their best in "booming" the coming event. The Tribune explained that the assembly's lecture course was one which would cost any Lyceum thousands of dollars to secure.[37] The Capital assured its readers that every promise of the management would be fulfilled and every person announced on the program would positively be "on hand."[38] Some readers might well doubt the authenticity of the latter statement, for the faculty was staffed by outstanding men who surpassed in prestige those of previous encampments. Reverend E. G. Robinson, president of Brown University, Dr. Howard Crosby, chancellor of University of New York, Doctor Robert A. Young, president of Vanderbilt University, and Dr. B. T. Vincent, brother of

one of Chautauqua's founders, headlined the staff. Dr. James Marvin, Doctor Richard Cordley and A. O. Van Lennep, a native of Smyrna in Asia Minor, were the other more outstanding speakers.[39]

Van Lennep's addresses were very similar to Doctor Ostrander's of two years before. He dressed in Oriental costume and lectured on eastern habits and customs, using articles to illustrate Bible passages. He set up a museum in the art hall and displayed his collection of household goods, books and papers, costumes of Biblical people and specimens of birds and grasses.[40] Doctor Crosby served as the "Bible authority" for the assembly. In one of his lectures, "Prophecy and its Key," he showed that the portion of scripture devoted to prophecy was one of the more important parts. With chalk and blackboard he gave his audience clearer ideas of Biblical prophecies.[41] Reverend Robinson, president of one of the leading Baptist schools in the country, won wide praise for his lectures, "A Special Danger in Popular Christianity," and "The Person of Christ, an Argument Against Modern Skepticism."[42]

The Grove was in "perfect order," with stands erected for refreshments, drives kept free from dust by sprinkling, and a new dining hall. The Commonwealth reporter wrote how pleasant it was in the morning to walk down the long avenues in the cool shade and to see scattered everywhere in the Grove men and women with their notebooks and Bibles, busily engaged in studying the day's lessons, or writing up notes taken on the previous day.[43] The Journal reporter was impressed by the grounds' beautiful appearance at night, with its white tents in rows, soft, green grass, gigantic elms and the soft moonlight giving the place a bewitching air.[44] This fascinating view appealed to many

viewers, including a large number of young people from the Lawrence Presbyterian Church, who attended an evening meeting. After it was over they did not leave the grounds in a hurry, but strolled around. In the meantime the gate-keeper had locked the gate and gone to sleep. When they arrived at the locked gate and discovered their predicament they attempted to wake the keeper. It was a long while before they could persuade him to get up, and when he did so he was in "no enviable frame of mind and berated the young folk soundly for troubling him."[45]

Although the setting was beautiful and the speakers "magnificent," the people did not attend in great numbers. The highest attendance figure for a meeting was 2,000, and most estimates were far lower. J. Clock, a Capital representative, counted exactly ninety-nine persons in the tabernacle during one morning exercise.[46] The two Lawrence papers and two Topeka papers each attempted to diagnose the problem. The Commonwealth noted that nearly all in attendance were either from the neighboring country or had come from a distance. The people of Lawrence seemingly did not take much interest in the meetings. "Is it the suffocating heat and dusty roads or is it possible that Lawrence people do not desire or appreciate religious instruction."[47] The Journal admitted that attendance was very light from Lawrence; that the lecturers were good and deserved better audiences.[48] The Tribune took the position that Lawrence people were not sufficiently awake to the intellectual feast available at the Grove. It also sounded a warning: "Lawrence will be derelict to her well-earned reputation, if she should fail to honor the distinguished speakers now at Bismarck with a full hearing."[49] J. Clock, the Capital reporter who spent so much time at

Bismarck meetings believed the enterprise too expensive for Kansas at this time. "We are as yet too poor to be able to drop everything and spend ten days and nights at Sunday School, and foot all the bills." He believed the admission fee was another reason for low attendance.[50]

To raise money for the meeting a Presbyterian and Congregational union service was held in the Plymouth Congregational Church. Doctor Crosby preached at the Sunday morning service, after which a collection was taken for the benefit of the encampment.[51] Excursions were again not allowed at the Sunday exercises, a fact the Journal decried since it could not see the difference between this and selling ice cream, lemonade, candy and newspapers on the ground.[52] Attendance at this and other meetings caused a great many to be discouraged, but most were in favor of holding one more assembly before giving it up entirely.[53] Doctor Schauffler was again elected president and the new board of directors fixed the next meeting to be held sometime in July at Bismarck Grove.[54]

Sometime in the following months, probably hoping a change in location would boost attendance, plans were made for the meeting to be held in Hartzells Park (now Garfield), Topeka. The park was primitive in accommodations in comparison to Bismarck and the assembly did not pay expenses.[55] In 1883, with a citizen of Ottawa as its president, the encampment was moved to Forest Park, inside the city of Ottawa along the banks of the Marais des Cygnes River. Here it found a home. It was a financial success in 1883 for the first time and went on to gain wide fame as the "Ottawa Chautauqua."[56] Much has been written about the successes of the Ottawa meetings, but only a mention has been given

by writers to the formative early years when Chautauqua came to Kansas at Bismarck Grove.

CHAPTER VI

THE WESTERN NATIONAL FAIRS 1880-1888

The successful series of meetings at Bismarck in 1879 stimulated the thinking of several individuals. If up to 100,000 people could find means and time to attend a temperance encampment during its sessions, and if over 25,000 could be gathered into Bismarck Grove on a single day of the grand Old Settlers Reunion, could not enough people be induced to attend an agricultural fair at the same site with profitable results?[1] As early as September it was reported that the Kansas Pacific Railroad was so well pleased with the results of their Bismarck business that they had decided to make extensive and costly improvements over the winter. They intended to make Bismarck to the West what Long Branch and Saratoga were to the East.[2] When a Leavenworth Times reporter asked Peter B. Groat, the Kansas Pacific official in charge of operations in this area, why Bismarck Grove was selected as a pleasure resort, he gave the following answer:

> We go to Chautauqua, to Lake Michigan — well everywhere, for pleasure; we forget, or have not been taught that we have lakes of our own, groves as shady, and nooks as interesting as can be found anywhere in the East. Why should we spend large sums of money going to large, over-done fashionable watering places, when we can gather 80,000-100,000 people together on Kansas soil at one-fiftieth the expense, and in one week have better than we could enjoy at Long Beach in a whole season. Everybody wants recreation — got to have it. Some can't afford a season at seashore. Why not then enjoy our own pleasure resort?[3]

Taking all this into account, the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce took the initiative in asking the railway on what terms the Grove could be secured for the purpose of a fair. Kansas Pacific replied that they would offer it free of rent not only for 1880 but for subsequent years if the fair were made a permanent institution.[4] As a result of the negotiations, articles of incorporation were filed with the Secretary of State in late November, with the name, "Western National Fair Association." Its purpose was to hold annual fairs for the "encouragement of agriculture, horticulture, mechanics and fine arts; the improvement of the breed of domestic animals, and the promotion of the general industrial interests of the community." The fair was to be held at Bismarck and the length of the Association was to be ten years. There were to be fifteen directors, four from Douglas County and eleven from other separate counties. Capital stock was to be $15,000 divided into 300 shares of $50 each.[5]

The fair began with a "boom" and great hopes of success, since it had an ideal location and was backed by the Kansas Pacific Railroad. The Kansas City Times declared Jay Gould to be the especial patron of the fair and that since there was room for two big fairs in the area, including the Missouri Valley Fair at Kansas City, they would gladly assist it.[6] Gould was quoted in the Lawrence Home Journal, giving his views on the coming fair. He mentioned that Bismarck was the central point for all the thriving young cities of eastern Kansas and was accessible by rail from every section of the western country. He believed the idea a sound one and that it would be much more than a state fair.[7] Colonel John W. Forney was quoted by another paper as

giving his support to the venture. He believed the location could not be better since it was a charming grove adjoining Lawrence, and in a central location between Leavenworth, Topeka and Kansas City. The importance of the railroads was brought out by Forney. They were prepared to assist the project in every possible way by making collections for display, by bringing to bear their immense advertising machinery, and by affording low rates of transportation.[8]

Throughout the spring and summer of 1880, and right up to opening day, the Grove was the scene of building activity, which involved hundreds of men. About fifty thousand dollars were expended on the building of permanent buildings and thousands more on the grounds.[9] A description of the grounds shows it divided into three sections: the west, what was known as Bismarck Grove proper, comprising about forty acres; the east section, also about forty acres, being devoted to the race track, stables, cattle stalls and various buildings; and the north section, encompassing twenty-seven acres, which was devoted to those who wished to camp on the grounds. This section also contained a picturesque lake, but the main lake was in Bismarck Grove proper, where pleasure boats, owned by "Dolly" Graeber of Lawrence, had been placed.[10] Work on the grounds was extensive. New graveled walks had been laid out; shrubbery and flower beds set out; a tight, eight-foot-high fence of dressed plank cedar posts built all around the grounds; huge, ornamental fountains set in front of the main buildings; and the trees had been trimmed.[11]

The only major, permanent building in the Grove before 1880 was the tabernacle, which was located in the northern-middle part of the

grounds at the east edge of the thick timber. Completed in August of 1879, it was 115 feet in diameter with the dome 50 feet high.[12] Immediately to the east was erected the Main Exhibition Hall, a two-story building, said to be modeled after the most attractive building of the 1876 Centennial, held in Philadelphia.[13] It contained four wings — 164 feet in length from north to south and 136 feet from east to west. Each wing was 60 feet wide.[14] The race track to the east of the Main building was underdrained and "topped off" with black topsoil. It was fenced on both sides and definitely one of the finest tracks in the west.[15] The grandstand, seating over 5,000 with about a third of the seats covered by a roof, was located at the northwest side of the track. To the east of the grandstand were located the cattle stalls and pens for the show animals. At the south side of the race track, two stables containing 104 double stalls were erected for the "speed" horses. A shed 28 feet by 100 feet was built to the south-east of the stables, for the exhibition of carriages. Power Hall, to the southwest of the stables, 180 feet in length and 50 feet in width, was used for the exhibition of machinery. The County Display Building, later called Agricultural Hall, was built to the west of the race track and almost due south of the tabernacle. The Art Hall was located at some distance northwest of the tabernacle. It was 70 feet in length and 40 feet in width.[16] A stone building located at the south side of the grounds near Power Hall housed the machinery for the water works. From this well a main pipe ran for a short distance north, then divided into two sections. One led to the Grove, the other led to and made the circuit of the stables and stalls where the stock was kept. Several

hydrants were placed in the Grove. A steam pump was set up to furnish power for the various fountains on the lakes and grounds.[17] One fountain was put in the center of the main building and a band-stand built above it.[18] Numerous smaller buildings were also placed on the grounds, including a telegraph office, a secretary's office and an office for the press members.[19]

The Leavenworth Times, two weeks before the fair opened, gave several reasons why Bismarck was advertised throughout the country. It was beautiful, accessible from all parts of the state, and seemed to be a more congenial gathering spot than any other. It had become the fashion that a gathering of any size had to be at Bismarck. It was no wonder, according to the Times, that almost every newspaper in the state had called attention to the coming Western National Fair.[20]

The Atchison Daily Champion reported over thirty thousand entries being made for the fair, counting railroad and county exhibits.[21] The Topeka Capital described the Bismarck depot platform ". . . the longest one west of St. Louis . . ." literally covered with boxes awaiting transportation to the exhibition buildings prior to opening day.[22] The Leavenworth Times declared that the Bismarck "boom" threatened to override all other "booms" because there were thousands of people on the grounds before the fair officially opened.[23]

The fair did not disappoint its numerous backers. The weather was good and some of the greatest crowds ever gathered in the state converged at Bismarck. The District Court in Leavenworth adjourned, county offices closed, and foundries were shut down so all of Leavenworth could go to the fair.[24] It was an exciting time at Topeka one morning

as many people were left behind when the train, loaded to the outside step, pulled out for Bismarck. To accommodate this number the railroad brought five coal cars onto the track, laid boards across them, and they filled this "special" with passengers who had been left behind. Many were forced to stand on this train.[25] This was not an isolated case, as the capacity of the railroads was often over-taxed.[26] Of course Lawrence "turned out," as did those for miles around. Attendance figures for the week obtained from Topeka, Leavenworth and Lawrence papers were: First day 5,000-10,000; Second day 20,000-25,000; Third day 40,000-45,000; Fourth day 30,000; Fifth day 10,000-15,000.[27]

Horse racing, band contests, side-shows, county displays, the showing of cattle, horses, swine, and poultry all helped make it a magnificent success. One event that did not "come off", however, was the most talked about "non-event" of the week. Over a thousand militia were on hand in eight companies to compete for the $500 prize offered to the best drilled company. Six of the companies were attached to the First Regiment of the state. Paola Rifles and the Metropolitan Guards of Leavenworth were independent companies. Just before the drill was to take place, Colonel H. A. Lewis of the First Regiment demanded that the Paola Rifles join the Regiment or give up their guns which were owned by the state. The Rifles refused and surrendered their weapons. The Metropolitans, who owned their rifles, offered to loan them to Paola for the drill, whereupon Colonel Lewis ordered his companies from the field. Since, according to the rules, at least five teams must compete, there was no drill exhibition.[28] The newspapers were full of

charges and counter-charges concerning the issue, but the Atchison Champion gave the best summary:

> There is something up with the Kansas Militia. If we had a navy as well as an army the state would go crazy. Wrath is painted on the sky at Bismarck Grove. Colonel Lewis . . . disarmed the Paola Rifles, marched his own troops off, and broke up the show, in order it is said, to prevent the Paola Rifles from winning the prize. The bulletins which reach us from the field are so covered with blood and dirt that it is impossible to make out the whole story.[29]

At the close of the fair it was universally agreed, as the Topeka Commonwealth stated, "with words of the highest praise," that the first fair was a definite success.[30] One factor especially commented upon was the extreme good order which prevailed. Much credit for this was given to the temperance people of Lawrence who prevented the sale of a liquor privilege, although the managers were reportedly offered $5,000 for one.[31]

About $20,000 was expended in 1881 in improvements and additions to the buildings and grounds.[32] A covered platform 200 feet long was erected at the depot, an engine installed to provide electric lights on the ground, two dining halls built, and the race track area improved.[33] The track itself was graded, rolled and re-graded until it had a smooth, firm surface. In the center of the grandstand a judges' stand and a reporters' stand was built. It was 12 feet by 11 feet, and three stories high (35 feet). A track, fenced on both sides, was built inside the racing track so stock could be shown without interfering with the races. At the center of this track or show ring, a judges' stand and a band-stand were erected. It was 22 feet by 22 feet, and three stories high.[34]

In place of the single entrance into the Grove, the fence was set back and two gates substituted, one for the entrance and the other for exit. Between 150-200 men were working on the grounds in August, and the Topeka Capital reported the noise of the hammer almost a constant roar.[35]

In 1881, almost twelve thousand dollars was offered in prize money for winning entries in the livestock division; purses for the speed ring amounted to ten thousand. Besides this, there was one event for which the winner would receive $10,000; this was a twenty-mile equestrian race between Cricket Still of Beloit, Kansas, and Nell Archer of Sedalia, Missouri.[36] Each girl would have eight horses and would change mounts "pony express" style. This was the major event of the fair, and papers as far south as Winfield, Kansas, gave space for the "build-up."[37] Miss Still was fifteen years of age, a blonde with bright, grey eyes. She was born on the Delaware reservation between Lawrence and Leavenworth, and had ridden alone when only four. She was five feet, one inch tall and weighed one hundred pounds. Miss Archer was sixteen and somewhat larger than the Kansas girl. Although both girls were experienced riders neither had raced before.[38] The girls practiced for weeks before the race, and during fair week they "worked-out" at sunrise each morning. Popular judgment seemed to be that Still was the better rider, while Archer had the better horses.[39] Since the race was set for Friday, the next to the last day of the fair, tension ran high during the week.

The fair progressed about like the year before except that attendance was not nearly so large. Twenty to twenty-five thousand for one day of the week was the peak.[40] Missouri and Illinois, besides

Kansas, had large representatives in the show cattle line. Ten counties competed for the best county display, won the year before by Riley.[41] "Pools," or gambling odds, on the races were sold every night at the Eldridge House by Charles T. Sloper of Chicago. Pools sold during the week $85 to $100 in favor of Miss Archer.[42]

A balloon ascension, once a day and usually at noon, was a big event throughout the week. The Kansas City Star, in describing an ascension, reported the aerial ship as rising to the height of 1,800 feet, and after sailing through space for one mile, gently returning to earth.[43] Every ascension was the occasion for the people of Bismarck to be made aware of the merits of "Dandelion Tonic," a medicine manufactured by George Leis of Lawrence. The moment the aeronaut, Professor Dan Headley or Professor Brayton, reached the proper altitude, a basket of "flyers" was spilled out and came fluttering down, which suggested that Leis had started an emissary on a trip to the stars in search of a place to paste his advertisements. The advertisements already occupied almost every available space on the fair grounds.[44]

One unwise decision cost the fair management much good will and many potential fair goers. Early in the week it was reported, though hardly believed by some, that beer and whiskey were being sold under the grandstand. When the report turned out to be true, a petition was begun among exhibitors and fair goers, requesting the management to have it stopped. It continued, despite all efforts, and some exhibitors probably went through with their threat to withdraw from the fair. The permit to sell liquor was sold by the fair management for $1,000 to H. H. Ludington of Lawrence. The Douglas County Temperance Association, and

other aroused people of Lawrence not only denounced it by the spoken word, but also issued circulars displayed everywhere telling "lovers of law and sobriety" to stay away.[45] They did, by the thousands. Never again was a beer privilege sold for the Bismarck Fair, but it was a costly lesson.

Twelve thousand people were "on hand" for the Still-Archer race. However, heavy showers the night before had made the track so dangerous that the race was postponed until the next day.[46] The Leavenworth Times reported a heart-broken wail of profanity went rippling through the grandstand at the announcement that the great race was called off. The crowd, many of whom had come especially for the race, was immensely disgusted, but bore the disappointment as good humoredly as possible. The management announced that Saturday's admission would be half-price because of the postponement.[47]

The race was held Saturday morning with both girls wearing jockey caps and riding habits of black velvet. On a half-mile track, forty laps were necessary for the twenty-mile race. Miss Still made her changes opposite the grandstand — Miss Archer at the quarter pole. In the excitement the girls' managers did not keep a correct count of the laps. The Still girl made a change of horses with but one-quarter of a mile to go, when leading by several yards. During the change the Archer girl crossed the finish line the winner, but no one in the crowd realized it. After twenty-one and one-half miles, Still thought she had won, and the audience was tumultuous. She went to her tent while Archer, bearing bravely the defeat, walked with friends. In the judges' stand and reporters' stand there was a different scene. All of the

reporters had kept a careful record of the race and believed that Archer had won; yet the enthusiasm was such as to stagger their belief. The judges were also agreed that Archer was the winner, but there was a "hitch" with the time keepers, which prevented the decision for some time; then again it was hard to get up and announce a decision so unquestionably different from what was so evidently the belief of the crowd. The time of the race was forty-six minutes and the decision given in favor of Archer. When the news was taken to Still, the Kansas girl came near fainting, and for an hour was kept in her tent.[48] Friends later raised $50 for a purse to compensate her for not taking the race.[49] The crowd, and especially Still's father, was highly displeased.[50] The 1881 fair closed with thousands of disgruntled people leaving the gates. The fair was not a failure and yet it had not been the success that had been hoped for.[51]

Rivalry between the Bismarck Fair of 1882 and the State Fair of Topeka began early in the summer, when it was found that a "scounderly dog" had been covering show bills of the Western National Fair with State Fair bills. This prompted an announcement in large black print in a Lawrence paper headlined, "No Foolishness!"

> To Bill posters of the Western National Fair Association:
> If you catch any man in the employ of the State Fair Association, or anyone else, mutilating, defacing or covering any bills of our Fair, whale him out of his boots and draw on the Western National Fair Association for damages.[52]

No further comment was made on this matter but the Topeka papers, while praising the beautiful fair grounds and some aspects of the fair, constantly made disparaging comparisons in favor of "their" fair.

Besides the usual activities planned, two special attractions were scheduled; one was a G.A.R. reunion, something that was not so unusual, but the second, a regatta race on the Kaw River, was entirely new for this area of the country. Frank E. Holmes, the champion single oarsman of the United States for 1883 and Captain of the Pawtucket rowing crew of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was engaged by the management to superintend the regatta.[53] He surveyed the course which was "laid out" above the dam at Lawrence. A "grandstand" and judges' stand were erected.[54] Besides the Pawtucket crew, teams were on hand from St. Louis, Missouri; Detroit and Hillsdale, Michigan; and Burlington, Iowa. Ice houses on the north bank of the river were placed at the crew's disposal, for use as boat houses.[55] Great interest was shown in Lawrence at this novel attraction, and the river banks were lined with eight to ten thousand people on the day of the race. Several races were held before the main event, including a tub race, a swimming race, a double scull race, and then a single scull exhibition by Champion Holmes. The four-oared race was won by the Centennials of Detroit, in thirteen minutes and forty-one seconds for the mile. The first regatta held west of the Mississippi River was considered a great success.[56]

Grand Army of the Republic tents were set up in the woods north of the Art Hall. The guns of "Battery F.," Second United States Artillery, stationed at Leavenworth, were on hand for the occasion. The "G.A.R. Campfire" held in the tabernacle was well attended with songs and stories, interspersed with music by the Rosedale band and a drum corp. The occasion was a lively one.[57] Major Theodore Wiseman of Lawrence gave entertaining reminiscences of the "march through Georgia,"

and Sherman's final encounter with Johnston's army in North Carolina, when a separation of Union forces almost resulted in serious disaster.[58]

Two newspapers were published at Bismarck in 1882. The Re-Union Banner was a regular monthly published daily during the soldiers' reunion.[59] The Bismarck Fair Daily, the official paper of the Fair Association, was distributed free. It served somewhat as the "program" for the fair.[60]

A fairly constant 15,000-25,000 people were present throughout the week, a much better attendance "over all" than during the beer controversy of the preceding year. Several comments were made on the beautiful display of oil and water color paintings in the art hall. The Kansas City Star believed the display worth $25,000.[61] The Topeka Capital found a valuable piece of information in the educational exhibit. It explained that "A kingdom is a kingdom governed by a king."[62]

The agricultural implements attracted a good deal of attention, especially the traction engines, or tractors, which had steam up all the time. By agreement among the "engineers" a regular parade of the grounds was made.[63] The grounds were kept free from dust by the night and day use of ten sprinkling wagons, a fact widely advertised.[64] The track, "never in better condition," was as usual, the great source of attraction, seats from ground to roof usually one dense mass of human beings.[65] Fifteen babies were entered in the baby show, presided over by Judge M. L. Hacker, who, "after making his will," announced Holland Wheeler's "offspring" the lucky one.[66] Games of chance thronged the vicinity of the race track and "lurked" all over the grounds. Some

people had to borrow money to get home.[67] At the close of the fair it was believed that the Association would clear itself from debt following a large deficit the year before.[68]

For awhile in the summer of 1883, it looked as though the 1882 exposition was to be the last of the Western National Fairs. The directors met in June and decided not to have a fair because of the railroad's announced rate of two cents per mile on passenger traffic instead of the one-cent fare charged in the past.[69] Two weeks later the committee met and resolved that if the railroads would lower their rate to one and one-half cents per mile and the city of Lawrence raise $1,000 to help with expenses, a fair would be held.[70] Arrangements were made, but the fair seemed to suffer from the lack of early preparation.

The Lawrence Journal admitted the fair "had much to contend with in overcoming obstacles."[71] One impediment was the Kansas City Star, which had given good coverage to the proceedings in the past, gave no report whatsoever of the fair. Except for the notice that the Union Pacific ran two trains daily from Kansas City to Bismarck during fair week, readers of the paper would not have known the fair had taken place.[72] The Topeka paper's position has been noted before. Only Leavenworth stood staunchly by and described the fair in positive terms along with the Lawrence papers.

The novelty attraction was the performances of Louis Armaindo, the "Champion bicyclist of the world." Miss Armaindo was a twenty-two year old black-eyed, brunette, French-Canadian. She had recently won a six-day distance contest in Chicago, in which she raced W. J. Morgan,

"Champion of Canada," and W. M. Woodside, "Champion of Ireland," for twelve hours a day, at the end of which she had ridden 843 miles — beating Morgan by 23 miles and Woodside by 123.[73] At Bismarck, her five-mile race with a Mr. Eck for a purse of $300 attracted much attention. It was not much of a race (won by Armaindo), and according to the Leavenworth Times, would not have attracted any notice at all "had it not been for the scanty attire worn by Miss Armaindo."[74]

The horse stalls were full and the speed ring was the chief attraction, with races both morning and evening. Captain W. S. Tough from Leavenworth, a later owner of the Grove, temporarily lost the services of his horse, called "Duster": the horse burst a blood vessel during a race. It was not considered serious and a later report stated that he would be ready for work in a few days.[75]

Twenty thousand people were present for the "peak" day of attendance, including among their numbers Governor Glick.[76] The last day, however, was raw and disagreeable, with few people on the grounds. Still, word was given out that the Association had sufficient funds to pay all premiums and debts.[77] A week later it was testified that they had done so.[78] Even so, the fair was quite a "come down" from the three previous ones.

A great recovery was made by the fair in 1884. This year being the thirtieth anniversary of the settlement of Kansas, the Old Settlers held their reunion at the Grove during fair week. This helped draw visitors and build attendance figures, but the management did not depend upon this alone. Children were admitted free of charge the first day,

a day when attendance usually was light.[79] Two oxen were barbecued and served free to the crowd.[80] Novelty races such as the "Roman race" where men rode two horses at the same time standing on their backs were widely advertised.[81] The police force kept the grounds "swept clean" of bad characters. The way this latter item was done would have been a show in itself. Sheriff S. H. Carmean initiated one to three "roundups" a night, when his posse was formed in a skirmish line at one end of the ground and at a given signal a raid was made to the other side, sweeping up any inhabitant who did not have a ticket or was unable to give a satisfactory account of his or her presence. One night the force expelled thirty-five people.[82]

The fair brought back memories of the original one in 1880, with its tremendous crowds. One day's attendance was estimated at 30,000 by the Leavenworth Times.[83] Sleeping accommodations were all taken on the grounds and many had to go to Lawrence where beds rented for one dollar per night.[84]

A band of Nez Perces Indians was a feature of the fair. While they were on "display" a much larger party of Indians visited the grounds. They were from Haskell, the new Indian school at Lawrence. They seemed to have been considerably astonished at what they saw and were regarded as curiosities themselves by the women and children.[85] The games of chance were well patronized, being constantly surrounded by an eager crowd of boys who were intent on spending their money until it was all gone. In one instance a colored bootblack named Fox, won a watch on the wheel-of-fortune, which at first the proprietor did not want to give up, and for a few minutes a small row seemed imminent. The

sympathy of the crowd was all in the boy's favor. A few knives were drawn and one cane broken, but order was restored and Fox became the proud possessor of a fine gold (?) watch.[86]

The stables must have been well filled with race horses if Captain Tough's line of horses was typical of the number brought. He had present five stallions, two pacers, eight trotters, and several brood mares.[87] Fifty additional stalls had been built in 1882, in addition to the one hundred and four double stalls built in 1880.[88] The races were reported as fairly good — as good as could be expected with the premiums offered. The Lawrence Herald-Tribune believed it a far better policy to offer small premiums and pay them promptly than to give large premiums, and have either a deficit or a depleted treasury.[89] This policy, different from the first two years, along with the large attendance throughout the week, accounted for the fair being a definite financial success.[90]

It rained hard on the first day of the Sixth Annual Fair of 1885 and caused much discouragement. The second day of the fair opened cool and muddy.[91] There was no need for a sprinkler in 1885. Things began to stir on the second afternoon with about five thousand on the grounds.[92] During the fair year there was some attempt to do away with swindling devices. For a novelty feature a horse was given away to the one guessing closest his correct weight. Twenty thousand were there on Thursday and if a big crowd came on Friday (Lawrence Day) the fair might "make it" financially.[93] There was heavy rain Thursday night, lowering skies and muddy grounds on Friday — the crowds stayed home.[94]

During the two "good" days people had plenty to do. Agricultural Hall and the Main Exhibition building were full of products on display. Machinery Hall and the surrounding grounds were packed with implements. The racing stables were crowded and the Topeka Commonwealth stated that there were more entries for the races than at any Kansas fair in any year.[95] It later reported at least 10,000 people seated in the enlarged grandstand and fully half that many more occupying the standing room for the Thursday afternoon races. The same blackboards used by church encampments were used by the pool sellers to chalk up the place of each horse and the amount of money brought into the pool.[96]

It was announced before the fair that wheels of fortune and other swindling devices would be banned at this fair, and some were "fired" from the Grove by authorities; yet there were numerous records of them doing a lively business at the end of the week.[97]

When they weighed the $175 prize horse they found that twenty people had guessed his exact weight. It was decided to give each person a 1/20 share of the horse. It is not known what ultimately happened to the animal but some men were buying up shares.[98]

The Leavenworth Times in 1885, and again in 1886, refused to advertise the fairs. Its complaint was that although Bismarck was truly beautiful and the only place for a state fair, the management was corrupt, dishonest, and would not pay its debts. Apparently a Times bill was not paid at the end of the 1884 season. The Times contented itself with calling the 1885 Fair a "six-day failure" but in 1886 it was called "The Bismarck Fizzle."[99]

To these very negative comments must be added the glowing reports of the Lawrence Journal and the Topeka Commonwealth. The Kansas City Star, as usual, gave little attention to the fair. The Lawrence paper, as it had for years, urged its people to sustain and patronize the fair. It reminded its readers that Lawrence had lost the Chautauqua because the proper appreciation was not shown and they should be careful to lose nothing more by their indifference.[100]

The buildings had been repainted, trees trimmed, and lawns placed in splendid condition for the Seventh Annual Fair.[101] Three hundred and fifty Haskell Indians were admitted free the first day. They gave exhibitions of their skill in "arrow sports."[102] For a small sum many fair-goers viewed some "veterans" of these sports. A. S. Fargo was on the grounds with his troupe of Western Indians, which included a son of "Sitting Bull" and an Apache, "Rain-in-the-Face," who had recently been in Geronimo's "band."[103]

The weather was fair and crowds were good. If the Topeka Commonwealth can be believed, the people of Kansas City and Leavenworth still knew Bismarck fairs were held in September. On one day Leavenworth sent eighteen coach-loads of passengers, and Kansas City sixteen. The paper's reporter estimated at least 20,000 present on this day with 15,000 watching the races.[104] As people moved about in the main buildings, they were entertained by string bands which were playing almost constantly.[105]

For the first time the management was successful in enforcing regulations forbidding "games of chance." Some which were smuggled in under various pretexts were promptly ejected. Along the same line, 130

cases of beer, which passed the gates under the mild name of Phoenix, were seized by police.[106]

When the fair closed, the Lawrence Journal expressed the hope the fair would continue in the future. Although the Journal declared the fair a financial success,[107] later reports of premiums not yet paid gave indications of trouble.[108] The Atchison Champion probably summed up the true condition by proclaiming the fair "a financial failure."[109]

The Eighth Fair featured some unusual events: Nellie Burke's equestrian exhibition, a record time on the track, and the prohibition of pool selling on races. Although the Kansas City Star reported the forbiddance of gambling did not seem to detract in the least from attendance,[110] the highest number mentioned as present on any day was 10,000.[111]

This lack of audience did not keep "Patsy Clinker" from trotting the fastest time ever made in Kansas with a 2:14½ mile.[112] The Bismarck record had been set the year before when "Tommy Lynn" had a 2:20 time.[113]

A novel feature of the fair was a stove offered to the couple who would be married on the grounds. The Lawrence Journal questioned if any couple had the strength to be married during such a hot spell and there was no report of a couple doing so.[114]

The Haskell Indians, a constant feature of the fair in some capacity since the school's founding in 1884, had an exhibit on the grounds. It consisted of art drawings, pottery, clothing, lace work,

shoes, farm products and two farm wagons. In their booth were thirteen students from five to seventeen years of age making shoes.[115]

Nellie Burke's twenty grayhounds, twenty-five race horses, chariots, light wagons and lady drivers, put on several exhibitions which the crowd enjoyed. The half-mile dash by six of her horses without riders was an exciting one, and the sagacity displayed by the horses impressed the viewers. The same type of race involving hounds was nearly a farce, as the dogs engaged in a free-for-all fight and only two finished the course.[116]

The feelings of the management regarding the fair could be summed up in the following story related by the Lawrence Journal. A lady from southern Kansas visited the Grove and remarked to one of the officers of the Fair Association that she had heard of Bismarck Fairs for years. She commented that if the people of the state knew what a beautiful place it was, the fair would not want for patrons. She thought Lawrence and Douglas County particularly favored in having such a delightful resort. "Your fair is largely attended, is it not?" The officer reportedly murmured something incoherently as he turned away and wiped a tear from his eye.[117]

It was ironic that the Topeka Capital would write the following concerning the coming 1888 fair. The fair was described as being just as historical as Lawrence and the Grove:

> Year after year it has been held and has attracted. Even when other fair meetings in the state were disastrous, because of the failure of crops, bad seasons, etc, "The Bismarck Fair" has been held and has never been a failure. Its success of course, has been greater at some times than

> at others, but on the whole the average outcome has been such as to have made this particular fair famed in the state, and with but few rivals in the west.[118]

This, however, was the last year of the "historic fair." There was no indication that this was to be, in the advance build-up or in the preparations, but many would look back at "Democratic Day" as the "last straw" of a fair struggling financially. In an effort to promote attendance, political "days" were designated in which different political clubs held meetings in the tabernacle.

The Republican day was a success, with some 20,000 on the grounds, as Governor John A. Martin waved the "bloody flag." "Kansas is as she has always been, loyal to the Republican Party. I want to appeal to my old comrades to stand by the flag now as they did during the dark days of the Civil War!" Cries came from every part of the audience, "We will! We will!" Martin concluded, "Vote for me, Harrison and Protection." His address was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic applause.[119]

The day set aside for the meeting of the State League of Democratic Clubs was a day of gloom not only for the Democrats and the fair management, which had given $200 to them in advance to help secure a good attendance, but also to those in charge of lunch stands and dining halls, who had "layed in" a large supply of food for the expected crowd. The speakers, except for one, were present. The time advertised for the speaking to begin was 10:00, but it was 11:45 before anyone "brave enough" could call the meeting to order and invite a speaker to address an audience of fifty-seven hearers — twenty-five Democrats, twenty Republicans, five ladies and seven children.[120]

The fair, of course, continued with Kate Baker's female cornet band supplying the music. They serenaded the Press Club, where Arthur Capper was "doing" the fair for the Topeka Capital. The boys did not know how to return the compliment, as the girls did not smoke, until someone suggested gum.[121] In another incident one of the press "boys," I. W. Pack of the Kansas Home Journal, received a severe shock to his nerves one day when he was suddenly confronted by a woman with a drawn revolver. He was not the party she was looking for, and as she disappeared in the crowd, Pack breathed considerably easier.[122]

The "wheel-of-fortune" and other gambling devices successfully kept from the grounds the past two years, were back in considerable numbers. In an effort to rid the Grove of them in one sweep, Sheriff Alex Love fired his revolver one day at 4:00 P.M., and immediately seventeen deputies, each of whom "by chance" was near one of the twenty-six "fakiers" seized hold of the operator and his layout and marched him to one of the wagons drawn up in readiness.[123] They paid fines totaling $200, and the last day of the Western National Fair was free from gambling devices.[124]

The possible causes for the fair not opening in 1889 were numerous. For years the Association was operating on shaky financial grounds, in which one or two rainy days during fair week could mean disaster. The "Democratic Day" in 1888 was a disaster. It is thought the Union Pacific Railroad helped make up the deficit on bad years, and when they withdrew financial support, the fairs ended.[125] There were accusations of mismanagement and dishonest dealings which alienated

exhibitors and patrons. Competition with Kansas City, which was concerned that the Bismarck fair not over-shadow their own, and with the Topeka State Fair, tended to "wear it down." It is questionable if Lawrence gave the fair the support it deserved. Bismarck, however, was at the northeast edge of Lawrence, separated from most of Lawrence's population by the Kansas River. Many people of Lawrence tended to think of the Grove as "over there." It is possible that Lawrence came to take the fair for granted. Several reports, many in Lawrence papers, expressed the opinion that Lawrence merchants did not do all they could do to have exhibits or displays at the fairs.[126] Absentee ownership also played a part. The Union Pacific offices were located at Kansas City and not only were they at some distance from the Grove, but their main responsibility was to run a railroad. These were some of the leading factors in bringing to a halt the Western National Fairs after nine consecutive years.

CHAPTER VII

BISMARCK ANIMALS

From its earliest days there were many wild and domestic animals kept at the Grove. In 1880 the Bismarck Zoological Garden was started with the introduction of three buffalo and two antelope to the park.[1] Nine more buffalo were soon added to make a small herd.[2] They, along with the deer, were main attractions for visitors to the Grove. During the picnic and fair seasons of the 1880's they were penned in an area close to the center of the park. There is no report of their injuring anyone, although two men became very frightened one night when walking close to the buffalo area. Hearing the buffalo, the men thought they were loose and after them. They were relieved but embarrassed upon discovering their mistake.[3] In May of 1891, there occurred a terrific fight between "Byrd S.," a five-year old bull, who challenged "Old One-Eye" for leadership of the herd. The combatants could not be separated by men on horseback and the morning-long fight ended with the death of "Byrd S." The University of Kansas secured his head and hide for exhibition in its Natural History Museum.[4] In 1893 the remaining buffalo were de-horned to prevent a reoccurrence of the fight.[5] In 1895, in an effort to build up the herd, which was not increasing in captivity, two large buffalo recently captured near the Black Hills region were placed in the Grove.[6] Despite this addition, by 1898, there were but five

buffalo left.[7] These animals were moved to a public park in Denver, Colorado, in the summer of 1899.[8]

The deer increased quickly in number until in 1891 sixty-four deer were reported inside the fence.[9] Some apparently were tame, for a child stopped a Methodist preaching service momentarily by driving a deer down the aisles of the tabernacle. The deer had to leave.[10] In November of 1893, when the deer population reached ninety, several were slaughtered because there was not room enough for such a large herd.[11] Another killing took place in 1894, but not after this date because of a natural decline in numbers.[12] In 1897 there were twenty-two,[13] in 1899, seventeen.[14] In October of that year they left the Grove through the rotten, wooden fence. Leaving the area where they had been protected for almost twenty years, made them fair game for the public. Two were shot half a mile north of the Grove.[15]

Swans were reported on the Bismarck lakes in the early 1880's, but no reference is made to them after this.[16] The two antelope must have been young when put in the grounds because eighteen years later they were still grazing on the blue-grass. At this time they were "ready to cash in their papers any day."[17] Pea fowls (peacocks) placed in the Grove in the early 1880's survived until 1896, when their numbers were greatly reduced by a disease.[18] The rest were removed by the railroad company that winter.[19] A report of two ostrich, purchased from a circus in 1889, is the only mention of these animals.[20] The same is true of the mountain grizzly bear added to the collection in 1891.[21]

The Grove was definitely not a place for dogs because of the young deer and buffalo and none were allowed on the premises, even on a chain. Orders were given by the management in 1884 to shoot all dogs found on the grounds.[22] When A. L. Smith, lodge keeper at Bismarck in 1891, did this to John Patterson's dog, which had supposedly killed a pet deer, he was arrested on a charge of malicious shooting.[23] Smith was fined $10 and costs.[24] A week later the report was made that in the future dogs were prohibited from "looking into the Grove."[25]

Beginning in 1891 the Union Pacific officials put Jersey cows in the Grove to be milked by the custodians. The milk was then placed on the morning and evening trains to be used by the officials and their families in Kansas City.[26] Over fifty people depended on this supply in 1892.[27] This continued with an increasing number of cows at the Bismarck Dairy, until it took six hours a day in 1898 to milk the cows.[28]

A curiosity to many people were the cattalos, a hybrid between the buffalo and cattle, which came on the scene in 1892. They were described as having a "preponderance of the buffalo both in color and make up."[29] It is not known if they were milked or butchered for beef, but very likely the latter. There was some question of their ability to produce milk and butter: only one was reported in the cattle herd in 1896.[30]

In the middle of the 1890's hogs were placed in the enclosure and ran loose over the Grove. They were penned up during the few encampments and sometimes during scheduled picnics.[31] The only reference to cats in the Grove was in 1894, when they were keeping an encampment awake at night. These "half dozen Thomas cats were . . . sent to the

country."[32] It was mentioned in 1892 that a class in natural history was soon to be formed to study the birds in and near the vicinity of Bismarck. As an example of the numbers present, it had been discovered that there were no less than six varieties of black birds in the reservation.[33] A report five years later stated that a full chapter could be written on the birds of the Grove. The Grove was a sanctuary, and hunters were not allowed to disturb them at any season of the year.[34]

The race track was built in 1880, and for the next fifteen years horses were usually stabled at the Grove through the spring and summer — in training for the fall racing season. In July of 1885, sixty horses were in training.[35] In March of 1891, there were thirty.[36] The first record of horses pasturing in the Grove was in 1899, when a Professor Donald of Bismarck, who had forty head on pasture there, shipped a carload to Chicago.[37] The first spring (1900) that Captain W. S. Tough owned the Grove, he turned it into a holding area for horses bound for South Africa and service with the British Army in the Boer War.[38]

When picnickers from Vermont School were refused entrance into Bismarck Grove in June of 1900 because it was occupied with wild horses, an era of history came to an end.[39] For almost a generation the Grove had been shared with the animals, but after 1900 the animals had the park to themselves.

CHAPTER VIII

BISMARCK GROVE IN THE DECADE OF THE 1890'S

The 1890's were not booming years for Bismarck, but rather a period of gradual decline with a burst of activity close to the end of the decade. The period was one of activity, however, with some events taking place that were not previously "on the scene." One of these was the 1890 National Guard Encampment. The railroad gave the use of the Grove, and Lawrence businessmen provided the money to pay for the Militia's rations.[1]

The Grove was "put in shape" for the first time in two years. The station depot re-opened for business, telephone connections were made, and electric lights put up. The old fence around the race track was removed and the grandstand braced up while the buffalo were chased from the Grove proper and penned up. People were also busy preparing their eating stands and amusement areas.[2]

Large crowds were expected to watch the Militia units which came from Olathe, Kansas City, Fort Scott, Topeka, Lawrence, Howard City, Burlingame and Emporia, to perform their drills.[3] The main attraction, however, was the famous Seventh Cavalry, which would train with the State Militia. The Seventh had spent fourteen years in Indian warfare in Dakota and Montana, from 1873 to 1887, when they were then transferred to Fort Riley, Kansas. In 1876 five companies of this Regiment rode with George Custer to their doom into the valley of the

Little Big Horn. Six troops of forty-five men each rode five days to reach Bismarck; accompanied by a battery of artillery. They camped on the east part of the grounds with the Militia assigned the western half.[4] To many visitors the tented area, when viewed from a distance, was a reminder of war times from over twenty years ago.

There were between eight to ten thousand spectators on the grounds to witness the cavalry dress parade and the battalion drill. The blasts of the bugle and the tap of the drum regulated the maneuvers. The different companies had only this one occasion during the year when they were drilled together. They made an imposing sight as they moved forward, backward, and turned.[5] One inhabitant of the Grove did not take kindly to the proceedings. The sound of the drum aroused the ire of the old buffalo bull which attempted to batter down the fence which enclosed the herd. The keeper quieted him by firing birdshot into his hide.[6]

School was dismissed at noon so the children could see the famous cavalry. The University of Kansas also gave a half-day holiday. After the dress parade of the National Guards, and a concert by the Fort Riley Band, the people began to hustle for something to eat. Part of them were successful, but those who brought lunches were envied. In a short time, the eating houses and lunch stands were eaten out of all they had.[7]

The most spectacular show of the week was the "storming of the fort," a sham battle which took place inside the race track area. The fort was defended by the First Regiment Infantry, one section of the regular artillery, and the Lawrence Cyclones, an entertainment group

which expended $500 worth of fireworks during the process of bombardment. At a few minutes past eight o'clock, the occasional crack of blank rifle shots from the skirmish line indicated that the storming of the fort was about to commence. Soon the sound of rifle fire was general along the line of the attacking forces, answered by the defenders of the fort. Then the artillery turned loose, and amid the din the Cyclones commenced their display of fireworks. Every time a particularly bright colored bomb would go off high in the air, the multitude of delighted spectators would give a long drawn-out cry of "Oh-h-h-h." The fort was finally taken and its final destruction was represented by a great many rockets being fired simultaneously. One guardsman was injured in the "battle" by tripping and striking the back of his head with his sword.[8]

At the close of the entertainment about seventy-five militia, seeking more action, took possession of the merry-go-round, and ignored the owner's entreaties. Three of the "ring leaders" were arrested and put in the guard house. The same evening a large number of soldiers evaded the sentinels and went over to Lawrence.

It seemed hard for the militia to become accustomed to army discipline and also to camp food. The regular issue was beef, beans, bacon, bread and coffee, with cabbage once-in-awhile.[9] Some of the soldiers supplemented their rations from local sources. This prompted the tongue-in-cheek report from a resident near the Grove.

> The roar of cannon and the report of muskets during the sham battles at Bismarck Grove, was the cause perhaps of several dozen chickens and quite a number of young pigs leaving their roosts and pens around the Grove. No traces of the fowls and pigs can be found.[10]

Except for this clandestine activity performed by some of the soldiers, the encampment was considered a success. The Lawrence Journal issued a friendly, "good-bye call," "Come again, Regulars, State Guards, and all the rest, and bring all your folks."[11] They did not, however, come back, except for a few Regular units camped over-night in the Grove in 1891.[12]

Another series of meetings which used the confines of the Grove for the first time in the 1890's were the encampments of the Kansas Gospel Union. It was an offspring of the Young Men's Christian Association. It was organized in the early 1890's with the purpose of training missionaries for service in foreign lands. It held its first encampment at Bismarck in 1892 when over 200 Bible students pitched their tents near the old art hall in the western portion of the Grove. The ten-day meeting held sessions in the tabernacle during fair weather and in the art hall during storms. The tabernacle was not considered safe during a windstorm and the roof leaked.[13]

Reportedly the teachers who conducted the meeting had national reputations. Three "Doctors" were present: A Dr. Carter who had spent twenty-five years in China as a missionary; a Dr. Drake who gave one address on "How to read and understand the Bible"; and a Dr. Schofield, who gave missionary addresses. Also present was A. J. Nathan, the "converted Jew," who led the Salvation Army in Lawrence some five years earlier.[14]

The heat was oppressive during this July meeting, and not many Lawrence citizens came to hear the sermons. However, the General

Secretary, George Fisher, told the Journal reporter that in hunting for a meeting place he failed to find one as beautiful and spacious as Bismarck.[15]

For four consecutive years the encampments were held here. Little preparation was done in cleaning up the grounds for the 1893 meeting which was held in the middle of June. Broken limbs had fallen all over the shady part of the Grove and several old trees had fallen which should have been removed.[16] Missionaries such as F. A. Stevens, who had just returned from eight years in China, spoke to the seventy-five young ministers in the school. It was reported that about one-third of them hoped to be in Africa as missionaries before another winter, if the means could be secured to get them there.[17]

The third encampment held its meetings in the east dining hall. Seats were brought over the river from Lawrence. During the meeting, attendance was small, even though tickets were free to all who wished to attend, except for tramps and "undesirables."[18] When exactly one visitor showed up from the city for one service, it was rationalized that ministers and church people in Lawrence did not know of the meeting. Notices of the encampment, however, were published in the local paper. The largest crowd (about 300) heard F. C. Horton, editor of the "Gospel Message." His message was followed by one from Nathan, the "converted Jew."[19]

For the final meeting in 1895, a large tent was erected on "Prohibition Ridge," thus named for the work on constitutional prohibition which had originated there almost twenty years before.[20] A

Journal reporter mentioned that Bismarck Grove never looked neater than this particular early August morning when the clean tabernacle and tents glowed with rare beauty, and away to the east where once stood the large wooden tabernacle, over two dozen Jersey cows fed on the bluegrass. The seats and tables scattered over the Grove were brought together for the students to study Biblical literature beneath the tabernacle tent.[21]

Heat and mosquitoes from the lakes in the enclosure were blamed for the poor Lawrence attendance. There was also a considerable "falling off" of the noted leaders who in the past instructed the students. T. C. Horton of St. Paul, Minnesota, conducted nearly all the meetings. The average attendance for the school was about seventy-five.[22]

One of the reasons for low attendance, outside of the ones already mentioned, was a lack of cheap transportation. The street railway company did not run cars after the first two years of meetings. Also, this was a serious type of meeting, one that appealed to the "mission-minded," and it was not sponsored by any local church which felt obligated to give it support. Poor Lawrence attendance was a theme that undoubtedly persuaded the managers to look elsewhere for an encampment site in 1896.

Some events of the 1890's were recapitulations of the 1880's. The Emancipation celebrations were in this category. Emancipation meetings were held at Bismarck in the 1880's, but the largest ones were in the 1890's. The date celebrated pre-dated Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation by thirty years. The Negroes observed August 1, 1833, the day the British freed slaves in the West Indies.[23] Sometimes the

celebration featured speakers; other years, picnics, games, and dancing formed the chief entertainment.

Emancipation Day in 1890 was well organized, with speakers such as Colonel D. R. Anthony and the poet, Eugene F. Ware, secured to address the crowd. The crowd, swelled by excursion trains from Kansas City and Leavenworth, numbered close to ten thousand. Such a large crowd seeking a day's entertainment provided problems for the speakers. The audience listened attentively enough to Ware recite his poem, "John Brown," but when Anthony arose to speak, the noise and confusion had become so great that he refused to proceed until quiet was restored. After this had been partially accomplished, he gave an address on emancipation and the future of the colored race. He was followed by ex-Governor Robinson and Colonel H. M. Greene. The Lawrence Journal-Tribune believed it an outrage to invite men to speak and then to keep up such an uproar that they could not be heard.[24]

The next year's meeting was described as an orderly one with great interest shown in the speeches. A gathering of some four thousand colored people was reported at Bismarck and in the vicinity. Brass bands, dancing and baseball games were enjoyed by the crowd.[25]

The celebration did not "come off" in 1893 when it was held at Eudora instead of Bismarck. The reason given by the Journal for Bismarck not being used was that the Union Pacific required "put-up" money. Some discrimination seemed to have been involved here as it was reported that "white folks" were permitted to use the Grove free of charge.[26]

There were accounts of liquor and beer being smuggled in during two celebrations. In 1895 the sale of liquor was blamed on the Kansas City

crowd. No apparent disturbance resulted from the iliegal drink, but many members of the crowd were reported very gay along in the evening.[27] Similarly, no "damage" to the crowd apparently resulted from the ten cases of beer hidden north of the art hall in 1897.[28]

The last Emancipation observance to be held in the grounds was in 1899 when speeches were given from the porch of the old art hall. Over a thousand people were on the grounds in the late evening when President W. H. Councill of the A. & M. College for Negroes at Normal, Alabama, addressed the crowd. This celebration was reportedly different from almost all of the others, as the crowd was nearly all made up of young people.[29] This meeting brought to a close the most faithfully celebrated date at Bismarck during its existence as a resort.

There were few references to tramps and vagrants close to Bismarck prior to the late 1880's. During the 1890's, however, these "undesirables" caused considerable trouble for those holding meetings in the Grove. Beginning in 1888, reports of tramps and fugitives in the Bismarck Grove vicinity were common. Bismarck, being just outside the city limits, was not under the jurisdiction of city police. The report was made in 1889 that the hoodlums of North Lawrence, in the Bismarck Grove vicinity, were causing the Union Pacific officials much annoyance by stealing signal lamps from the switches and "shooting craps" by their light. This same report said the woods near Bismarck were full of tramps and hoodlums.[30] In the 1890's the Bismarck area was one of the most dangerous places in the county after dark. "Beware of Bismarck after 7:00 P.M.!" was the warning heeded by most Lawrence

citizens.[31] The railroad depot at the gate entrance provided a convenient meeting place for tramps "on the road." In 1893 it was reported that twenty-one of the most unsightly human beings that ever held an audience met there one evening.[32]

In the summer of 1892 the average number of tramps reported to pass the Grove each day was ten.[33] By the summer of 1895 one report mentioned thirty-five tramps "going by" in one day of the week.[34] Despite the constant warnings in the 1890's to avoid Bismarck after dark because of robbers, it was still the most convenient road for those walking from Lawrence to the farming area northeast of the river. In 1894, two young men returning to the country from Lawrence found themselves near the Grove gates surrounded by twenty men and boys "of all shades of color." Instead of running, the men fired the contents of their revolvers at them. No dead bodies were found the next morning but there were plenty of tracks![35]

These reports convinced many that Bismarck definitely was a dangerous area and only the foolhardy would visit it for night meetings. During the 1890's, the number of deputy sheriffs needed for security of meetings inside the Grove was generally increased. This "dangerous location" was another strike against the continued use of the Grove as an entertainment center.

Picnics in the Grove and excursions to it from neighboring cities continued unabated throughout the 1890's. The first big picnic of the decade was in August of 1890, when a large number of farmers held a "Grand Alliance Celebration" at the Grove. In the forenoon a

procession moved through the streets of Lawrence. It was between three and four miles long, with over 800 vehicles in the parade, many of which were decorated with mottoes.[36] Several brass bands provided stirring music. When the procession arrived at the Grove, it was met by thousands who had come in on trains, and others who were not in the parade. An estimated five to ten thousand people enjoyed a big picnic and then filled the tabernacle to overflowing for the afternoon speeches.[37]

W. Wilkins, a member of the Knights of Labor, led off the afternoon, speaking of the injustice practiced upon the farmers by trusts and monopolies. The remedy, Wilkins said, lay in the people's hands. Speakers for the afternoon included P. P. Elder of Princeton, B. H. Clover of Cambridge and A. F. Allen of Vinland, the Farmers Alliance candidate for Congress. The most famous speaker at the Grove this day, however, was the "Patrick Henry in Petticoats," Mary E. Lease. She was described as a fluent and vigorous speaker. She spoke of Senator John James Ingalls as "John Jackall Ingalls," and was bitter against both the Republican and Democratic parties. She claimed that poverty was the greatest cause of drunkenness and that if only the Prohibitionists would join with the People's party in removing the curse of poverty, then the cause of temperance could be more successfully promoted. The only good law, she stated, that the Republicans had given in the last twenty-five years was the Homestead Act, and then they gave the land to the railroads.[38]

It was a big meeting, with the Leavenworth and Kansas City papers giving notice. The Kansas City Star called it the greatest farmer demonstration in Douglas County.[39]

A similar demonstration took place in 1891 with a much smaller attendance. John Willits made the principal speech. Mrs. Lease and Senator William A. Peffer came to Lawrence in the afternoon and spoke to a crowd.[40]

In June of 1892 the seventh annual union picnic of fifty Sunday Schools in Douglas County was held. The old tabernacle was well filled during the forenoon while short addresses were made by Elder Yarger, Elder Goudy and others, but in the afternoon the younger ones preferred a romp among the shades of the old elms to listening to the distinguished "divines." Bands were on hand and the two thousand people enjoyed the instrumental music.[41]

The Journal gave a good descriptive account of another union picnic, this time of the Sunday Schools in Lawrence in 1896. It reported many children and young people, and many of the older folks as well, going to Bismarck to take part. The mule-drawn street cars were running and all the equipment of the line was loaded down in transporting the crowd. The Grove had been secured through the efforts of a Mr. Ross, and although the railroad officials were reluctant to let it be used, it was cleaned up as much as possible. The Haskell band was present to provide music. Big dinners were spread in almost every part of the Grove, and most of the crowd did not come home until after supper.[42]

The most exciting picnics at Bismarck were usually provided by Negro picnickers from Kansas City. An example of this is given by the

Journal's account of an 1895 railroad porter's picnic. The seven deputy sheriffs on duty at Bismarck were driven from the grounds by the excursionists who had been drinking liquor. Two deputies had their revolvers taken from them. Another, when cornered between the buffalo and the crowd, chose the former as the safest. Soon the Kansas City people began settling their own disputes. One woman threshed her husband, another seriously cut her unfaithful lover in the back, and one woman's corset saved her from being disemboweled by a knife thrust. Two men who had quarreled got behind trees for a shooting match, and for a few minutes bullets from their revolvers were thick, striking several members of the party. It seemed to be the desire of the crowd to let the fights go on, whether between men or women. A ring was quickly formed, and they fought out the difficulty without interference. All the injured were taken back to Kansas City and no arrests were made.[43]

The Modern Woodsmen, an insurance group, held a "log-rolling" at Bismarck in 1895 and again in 1899. From four to five thousand were present at the first meeting. Excursion trains brought in most of the crowd. One of the novel features of the gathering was the absence of all colored persons in the Grove. A stranger was placed at the gates with instructions to admit none but "pale faces." This resulted in no little indignation among the colored people of Lawrence and is the only known report of "out and out" discrimination because of color.[44] There was no mention of this at the 1899 meeting.

To celebrate the Seventh Anniversary of the Fraternal Aid Society, an Insurance Order founded in Lawrence in 1890, a grand picnic was held in the Grove in October of 1897. It was announced that there would be no charge for admission and all the exercises were free, including the races and the football game between the University of Kansas and Haskell. A small charge was made for those who wished to dance in the art hall or ride the merry-go-round. Because some picnics had been ruined by hoodlums taking over, the announcement was made that a strict guard would be kept at the gate to prevent objectionable characters from gaining admittance.[45] The picnic was a complete success in every way. Possibly 5,000 were on the grounds to hear speeches, one by Senator W. A. Harris, and to witness Haskell defeat Kansas 6-0. The University was considerably chagrined at the outcome.[46]

In 1897 the annual picnic of the Kansas City Swedish Association took place at Bismarck. A big excursion train came on the Union Pacific road and were joined by a large number of Lawrence people. The day was spent in the usual picnic fashion with ball games, races and a prize waltz contest. County officials had been assured that there would be no attempt by the group to violate the prohibitory law. However, in the afternoon when Deputy Sheriff Myers went to the Grove he gained the information from some of the Lawrence "rounders," who had gotten into the Grove, that there were liquor refreshments. He at once got hold of the manager of the picnic and told him to take the beer off the grounds, and a wagon load of it was hauled back to the train.[47]

In June of 1899 Bismarck was the scene of the tenth annual meeting of the Kansas Turnverein Society, a German organization devoted to gymnastics. Crowds came from several cities and some of the bands and "turning" teams went to the Grove as early as 8:00 in the morning. Marshall's Military Band from Topeka, and Bell's Band furnished music throughout the day.[48] During intervals in the band music, "Die Watch um Rhine" could be heard coming from different groups, who sung of the Fatherland. Strict order prevailed at the Grove as there were six deputies to keep order and to keep out all who did not belong to the organization. At the southeast corner of the Grove several "bad boys" gained an entrance, only to be shown to the gates and the street cars.[49]

The turning work was as follows: horizontal, bar parallel, side horse, and long horse. All contestants getting thirty points in this work received a diploma; the three highest received a laurel wreath. Field work was divided into two groups: First — high jump, hop, skip and jump, running, and climbing the rope; Second — running broad high jump, broad jump, putting sixteen pound shot, and pole vault. All turners receiving thirty-two points on these events received a diploma, and the three highest each a wreath. The most attractive drills were reportedly the ones performed by young ladies of various Turner classes, clad in well-fitting, blue bloomer suits, who went gracefully through difficult evolutions.[50]

A few days after the Turnverein left the Grove, a fateful meeting concerning the future of Bismarck took place. The Ministerial

Alliance of Lawrence met and passed a resolution signed by the pastors of fifteen churches. The resolution read:

> Whereas, it is the duty of every good and patriotic citizen to aid the proper officers in maintaining the laws of the city and state, whereas picnics with large quantities of intoxicating liquors, and baseball games and other such unlawful assemblies have been permitted to be held in our beautiful Bismarck Grove on the Sabbath Day.
>
> Whereas, the peace and quiet of many of our citizens have been disturbed by these unlawful assemblies and the conduct of their members on the street and walks, shouting, swearing, and singing during church services and late at night. Therefore be it resolved.
>
> First: That we regard the Sabbath as God's day and we are commanded to keep it holy.
>
> Second: That we ministers of Lawrence do earnestly protest against such violations of the law of God and of the State of Kansas.
>
> Third: That we call upon the officers of both city and county to protect our people from such disturbance by preventing all such unlawful assemblies.[51]

A week later, an announcement in a local paper mentioned that railroad expressmen and families of Kansas City were coming to the Grove on Sunday for a picnic. Among the activities listed in which they would participate was a ball game. The Minister's Alliance then held a meeting and appointed a committee of three to call upon the county officers. Reverend J. B. Gibson, chairman of the committee, informed County Attorney William B. Brownell and Sheriff John C. Moore that they would be expected to prevent any violation of the Sunday law of the state.

It was explained to the committee that the baseball game to be played was purely an amateur one, such as played every Sunday in the Grove by town boys. It was also pointed out that this was the same group that had come to the Grove for many years and no word of complaint had been heard before.[52]

The Journal wrote a "biting" comment on the editorial page against the three Lawrence ministers. It quoted the proprietors of Bismarck Grove, at this time owned by the Kaw Valley Fair Association, as saying that if this opposition was continued, they would cut down every tree in the beautiful Grove and turn it into a farm. The paper said they would be justified in doing it. Ball playing on Sunday, according to the editorial, was an activity that went on all over Lawrence.[53]

The expressmen, although much annoyed at the ministers' stand, concluded to come anyway and "call off" any events objected to by the ministers and people of Lawrence, who did not like to see these gatherings at the Grove.[54] The Lawrence Weekly World, however, headlined its account of the picnic with the words: "Didn't Heed the Protests." It explained that a good crowd was present despite the rain, and they enjoyed a wheel-barrow race, ladies race, fat man's race and five innings of base-ball.[55] The Journal, in its version, expressly pointed out that the people of Lawrence who went to Bismarck made more noise and were more disorderly generally than the visitors.[56] This well advertised dispute was one of the factors leading to the close of the entertainment center later in the year.

The Western National Fairs were attractions at Bismarck for all but the last year of the 1880's. The decade of the 1890's featured fairs also, but not with the same degree of fame. Three fairs were held, all of them local in nature, with the first one started by the initiative of one man. A. E. Ashbrook, a gentleman from Kansas City,

came to Lawrence in June of 1894 with an idea, and a citizens' meeting was called to discuss it. He proposed to have a fair at Bismarck in the fall. It was his proposition to fix up the Grove, meet all the expenses of running a fair, and pay the speed ring purses. He asked only that the Lawrence people raise enough money to pay the catalogue premiums on displays of about two thousand dollars. Several citizens spoke favorably on having a fair, and it was so voted unanimously. Ashbrook then leased the Grove with an option to lease it again if the fair was successful.[57]

Work on the buildings and grounds commenced shortly. Four teams and six men scraped and leveled until, from a solid sodded place, the track was brought back to its former splendid shape; a canvas covered grandstand was erected. The underbrush was cleared away, the grass cut, and the park was cleaned up until it presented as pretty a picture as in the great "fair" days of the past. Some of the old buildings were torn down and/or reconstructed for "fair" use. The stock pens and sheds were moved nearer the entrance gates so that it was not necessary to walk the entire length of the grounds to see everything.[58]

The fair was held the last week of September. The Haskell Indian Military Battalion camped on the grounds and drilled for the crowd. Lawrence schools were dismissed for one day. Political days were held, one day set aside for each of the four main political groups — Republican, Democrat, Prohibitionist and Populist — to meet. Bicycle races were well entered and attended. One report stated that there was a bigger crowd for the bicycle races than for any of the horse races. It was not too comfortable in the stands some days, no

matter which race was watched, for the wind kept blowing dust from the track into the grandstand and covered everyone there with dirt. Seven to ten thousand people were present on "Republican Day" when J. R. Burton spoke. It was reportedly the biggest Republican meeting of the year for Douglas County.[59]

The biggest group of "kickers" at the fair were the bicyclists, who complained that during their races, the track was not in shape, the horses were not kept off the track, and other arrangements were not made as promised.[60]

It is not known whether Ashbrook made money on the enterprise. He, however, did not again attempt a fair at Bismarck.

During the middle 1890's fairs were held in Lawrence under the sponsorship of the Kaw Valley Fair Association. In 1897 it held a successful fair at the "Driving park" in south Lawrence.[61] This success encouraged the Association to consider buying Bismarck Grove from the new owners of the Union Pacific Railroad, which was sold in late fall of 1897.[62] The deal was made in July of 1898, and notices were sent to all stockholders notifying them of its purchase. The Grove would have to pay its way and the directors seemed assured that it would. It was believed that a new era of history had begun and not only would annual fairs be held there, but other permanent meetings and encampments would hold forth at Bismarck.[63] The Lawrence Journal believed the second era began when 150 expressmen and their wives came up from Kansas City "to re-open the Grove anew and dedicate it under another civilization." The admission fee brought the Association $125.[64]

Later in the week an announcement was published that the Grove would now be open for all persons. It had been several years since it was open to the general public, and a good number took advantage of this to see the Grove.[65] A caretaker was employed by the Association and under his direction the weeds were cut, track scraped, and the work of putting the buildings in repair begun.[66] Street cars in Lawrence began carrying signs saying that Bismarck was open to the public, that cars made regular trips to the Grove on Sunday, and that picnic cars could be secured for any occasion. Reports were made of hundreds of picnickers going to the Grove during August.[67] The Journal wrote an article expressing some of the nostalgia which people in the area had for the famous Grove.

> It sounds like old, old times to hear people talking about going to Bismarck Grove and about the Bismarck Fair. Lawrence people had come to look back upon Bismarck days as of the long lost past, and now that everyone is talking and thinking Bismarck, it seems to the old residents as though their youth is being renewed. The hope that the beautiful resort would some time be opened to the public has long been in the minds of those who have spent so many pleasant days there years ago, but it was only a hope and few thought it would be realized. But when the Grove was opened, Lawrence people were quick to take advantage of the opportunities offered them. From noon until far into the night, pleasure and picnic parties may be seen going Bismarck-ward. Next to the new electric street car line, the opening of Bismarck is the best thing Lawrence has had in a long, long time.[68]

The comment on the new electric street car line was pertinent to Bismarck for it could now be reached much faster than by the cars pulled on a track by mules. The paper explained that "before," the Grove had been too far away.[69]

The belief was expressed that at the Kaw Valley Fair, to be held in September, the old fair grounds would seem like a "cemetery on

resurrection day." It should have been said, "like a cemetery on the day of a burial," for they had "bad luck" on opening day. The skies promised rain, rain, rain. The air was cold and rain came in torrents.[70] On the second day it "cleared-off" and with the Journal "booming" the fair as much as possible, several thousand attended, most on the last two days. There was not enough money taken in to pay expenses, certainly none to help pay for the Grove.[71] A note published in the Journal by A. C. Griesa, secretary of the Association, explained the organization's position. He expressed the belief that all who attended the fair had a good time, and for this the Association was pleased. However, if the management had to dig into its own pockets and do the work besides, in order to pay premiums and bills, "there would not be glory enough to go around, and institutions of this character would be short lived."[72]

A fair was held in the fall of 1899, at which good attendance was reported, with the 1,500-seat "grandstand" full, and people standing two and three deep along the fence, watching races. The races, however, were about the only item mentioned because it turned out to be races and little else.[73] Dissatisfaction with the "race-fair" was expressed and it seemed apparent the Association was concerned about Bismarck's future.[74] It was suggested that the trees be chopped into firewood and the ground sold for farmland. This, it was thought, would net nearly $3,000 for the wood, and the land could be sold for $100 an acre.[75] During the winter of 1899-1900, one of the many old buildings, in which there were several hundred feet of good lumber, was moved to Lawrence. The comment was made that this was the beginning of the sale of all the buildings unless the Grove was sold in a body.[76]

In the spring of 1900 this was accomplished when Captain W. S. Tough of Kansas City bought the grounds for $10,000. He was well acquainted with the Grove, having raced his horses there numerous times during the 1880's. He planned to use Bismarck as a supply station for his horse and mule market in Kansas City.[77]

For almost two years the Kaw Valley Fair Association owned the Grove, but was not able to make a success of it financially. The natural beauty of the Grove appealed to the public but the deteriorating buildings recalled a time in the past. It was mentioned in late summer of 1899 that picnics there were losing their novelty and were not as numerous as before.[78] The Association's idea of using it as a public park and recreation center was a fine one, but not economically feasible.

EPILOGUE

In April of 1892, a storm caused some destruction in the Grove. Tree limbs were blown down and some of the buildings suffered damage. The Lawrence Journal's Bismarck-area correspondent, in writing about the Grove's condition, asked the following significant questions: "What will become of old Bismarck in the future? Will she be remembered for the grand work she managed many years ago? Or must she go down to rise no more forever?" It is hoped by this writer that the preceding pages help to answer the second question — asked over three-quarters of a century ago. Bismarck was an important factor in early Kansas history and although it did "go down," its memory is thrilling to many today; to older persons who remember being at the Grove; to those whose parents described the scenes; and to the author of this paper who enjoyed learning about "beautiful Bismarck Grove."

BACKNOTES

BACKNOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1]Kansas (Lawrence) Tribune, January 7, 1864. Hereafter cited simply as Tribune.

[2]Tribune, November 27, 1864.

[3]Bismarck Grove abstract — in possession of William Hayden, one of the present owners.

[4]Daily Republican Journal (Lawrence), October 28, December 7, 1870. Hereafter cited simply as Journal. Tribune, December 7, 1870.

[5]Journal, September 4, 5, 1878.

[6]Story related by Eugene Nunemaker, one of the Grove's present owners.

[7]Journal, October 21, 1870.

[8]Journal, July 6, 1876.

CHAPTER I
TEMPERANCE MEETINGS

[1]Journal, September 3, 1878. The management auctioned the "privilege" to sell items at the Grove to the highest bidder.

[2]Journal, September 3, 1878.

[3]Journal, September 1, 1878.

[4]Journal, September 3, 1878.

[5]Journal, September 4, 5, 1878.

[6]Journal, September 6, 1878.

[7]Journal, September 4, 1878.

[8]Journal, September 5, 1878.

[9]Journal, September 7, 1878; Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1878.

[10]Journal, September 8, 1878.

[11]Journal, September 10, 1878; Leavenworth Times, September 10, 1878.

[12]Journal, September 8, 10, 1878.

[13]Topeka Commonwealth, August 19, 1879. Hereafter cited simply as Commonwealth. Clara Francis, Kansas Historical Collections, Volume 15, p. 221.

[14]Journal, August 12, 1879.

[15]Journal, August 12, 1879; Leavenworth Times, August 26, 1879.

[16]Journal, August 17, 1879.

[17]Leavenworth Times, August 16, 20, 1879.

[18]Journal, August 14, 16, 1879; Leavenworth Times, August 15, 1879; Francis, Collections, Vol. 15, p. 221.

[19]Leavenworth Times, August 15, 1879; Journal, August 16, 1879.

[20]Leavenworth Times, August 16, 1879.

[21]Leavenworth Times, August 16, 1879; Journal, August 16, 1879.

[22]Journal, August 16, 1879.

[23]Leavenworth Times, August 19, 1879.

[24]Journal, August 19, 1879.

[25]Leavenworth Times, August 19, 1879.

[26]Leavenworth Times, August 19, 1879.

[27]Leavenworth Times, August 19, 1879.

[28]Journal, August 21, 22, 1879; Leavenworth Times, August 21, 1879.

[29]Leavenworth Times, August 22, 1879.

[30]Leavenworth Times, August 22, 1879.

[31]Journal, August 26, 1879; Leavenworth Times, August 26, 1879.

[32]Leavenworth Times, August 27, 1879.

[33]Journal, August 26, 1879; Leavenworth Times, August 27, 1879; Francis, Collections, Vol. 15, p. 222.

[34]Leavenworth Times, August 27, 1879.

[35]Leavenworth Times, August 27, 1879.

[36]Topeka Capital, August 24, 1880. Hereafter cited simply as Capital. Commonwealth, August 24, 1880; Kansas City Journal, August 24, 1880.

[37]Journal, August 24, 1880; Capital, August 25, 1880.

[38]Journal, August 26, 28, 1880; Capital, August 28, 1880.

[39]Capital, August 27, 1880.

[40]Kansas City Journal, August 26, 27, 1880; Commonwealth, August 26, 1880.

[41]Journal, August 27, 1880.

[42]Kansas City Journal, August 28, 1880.

[43]Capital, August 28, 1880.

[44]Kansas City Journal, August 28, 1880.

[45]Journal, August 27, 1880; Commonwealth, August 27, 1880; Kansas City Journal, August 25, 28, 1880.

[46]Kansas City Journal, August 28, 1880.

[47]Commonwealth, August 24, 1880.

[48]Commonwealth, August 31, 1880.

[49]Commonwealth, August 31, 1880.

[50]Journal, August 21, 1880; Commonwealth, August 24, 1880.

[51]Capital, August 24, 1880; Commonwealth, August 24, 31, 1880.

[52]Commonwealth, August 24, 1880.

[53]Commonwealth, August 24, 26, 1880.

[54]Kansas City Journal, August 29, 1880.

[55]Capital, August 30, 1880.

[56]Capital, August 30, 1880; Commonwealth, August 31, 1880; Journal, August 31, 1880.

[57]Leavenworth Times, August 16, 1879; Journal, August 16, 1879.

[58]Commonwealth, August 31, 1880.

[59]Capital, August 30, 1880; Commonwealth, August 31, 1880; Journal, August 31, 1880.

[60]Capital, August 30, 1880; Commonwealth, August 31, 1880; Journal, August 31, 1880.

[61]Tribune, August 30, 1880; Commonwealth, August 31, 1880.

[62]Commonwealth, August 31, 1880.

[63]Kansas City Times, August 11, 1831.

[64]Capital, August 12, 1881.

[65]Capital, August 12, 1881; Commonwealth, August 12, 1881; Journal, August 12, 1881.

[66]Leavenworth Standard, August 16, 17, 1881. Hereafter cited simply as Standard. Capital, August 17, 1881.

[67]Capital, August 12, 1881; Standard, August 18, 1881.

[68]Standard, August 12, 1881.

[69]Commonwealth, August 16, 1881.

[70]Commonwealth, August 17, 1881.

[71]Commonwealth, August 17, 1881.

[72]Commonwealth, August 17, 1881.

[73]Capital, August 18, 1881.

[74]Kansas City Times, August 17, 1881.

[75]Kansas City Times, August 13, 1881; Capital, August 15, 1881.

[76]Commonwealth, August 14, 1881.

[77]Journal, August 14, 1881.

[78]Kansas City Times, August 11, 1831.

[79]Standard, August 16, 1881.

[80]Journal, August 16, 1881; Tribune, August 16, 1881.

[81]Standard, August 14, 1881; Capital, August 16, 1881.

[82]Journal, August 16, 1881; Standard, August 16, 1881.

[83]Standard, August 16, 1881.

[84]Capital, August 16, 1881; Commonwealth, August 16, 1881.

[85]Standard, August 19, 1881; Capital, August 18, 1881; Commonwealth, August 19, 1881.

[86]Capital, August 18, 1881.

[87]Capital, August 18, 1881.

[88]Journal, August 18, 1881; Capital, August 18, 1881; Commonwealth, August 19, 1881.

[89]Capital, August 18, 1881.

[90]Frederickson, John P. St. John, p. 70.

[91]Frederickson, John P. St. John, p. 96.

[92]Francis, "The Coming of Prohibition to Kansas," p. 222.

CHAPTER II
THE 1881 MUSICAL JUBILEE

[1]Leslie, Kansas State Musical Jubilee. Preface. This small (3 X 5 inch) pamphlet was put together by Leslie and his assistants; Nowlin, "Kansas State Musical Jubilee," Kansas Magazine 1946, p. 1, 7, 8; Lawrence Journal, August 21, 1881.

[2]Commonwealth, July 29, August 6, 1881; Nowlin, "Musical Jubilee," p. 18.

[3]Commonwealth, August 7, 1881.

[4]Journal, August 18, 1881; Tribune, August 18, 1881.

[5]Tribune, August 18, 1881.

[6]Journal, August 20, 1881.

[7]Tribune, August 18, 1881.

[8]Journal, August 18, 1881.

[9]Leavenworth Times, August 20, 1881; Ellis County (Hays) Star, September 1, 1881.

[10]Ellis County Star, September 1, 1881; Journal, August 19, 1881; Kansas City Times, August 19, 1881; Nowlin, "Musical Jubilee," p. 17.

[11]Journal, August 19, 1881; Leavenworth Times, August 19, 1881; Nowlin, "Musical Jubilee," p. 18.

[12]Journal, August 19, 1881; Leavenworth Times, August 19, 1881; Nowlin, "Musical Jubilee," p. 19; Tribune, August 19, 1881.

[13]Capital, August 19, 1881.

[14]Tribune, August 19, 20, 1881; Journal, August 19, 1881.

[15]Tribune, August 19, 1881.

[16]Tribune, August 19, 1881.

[17]Tribune, August 19, 1881.

[18]Tribune, August 19, 1881; Journal, August 19, 1881.

[19]Leavenworth Times, August 20, 1881.

[20]Kansas City Times, August 20, 1881.

[21]Kansas City Times, August 20, 1881; Leavenworth Times, August 20, 1881.

[22]Tribune, August 20, 1881.

[23]Kansas City Times, August 20, 1881; Journal, August 21, 1881.

[24]Kansas City Times, August 20, 1881; Tribune, August 20, 1881.

[25]Tribune, August 20, 1881.

[26]Capital, August 20, 1881.

[27]Ellis County Star, September 1, 1881; Kansas City Times, August 20, 1881.

[28]Leavenworth Times, August 20, 1881.

[29]Kansas City Times, August 19, 1881.

[30]Journal, August 20, 21, 1881.

[31]Capital, August 19, 1881.

[32]The Home Journal (Lawrence), September 1, 1881.

[33]Journal, August 21, 1881.

[34]Cawker City Journal, August 24, 1881.

[35]Tribune, August 19, 1881.

[36]Journal, August 21, 1881.

[37]Nowlin, "Musical Jubilee," pp. 19-20.

[38]Journal, August 21, 1881.

[39]Early History of North Lawrence, p. 28.

CHAPTER III
OLD SETTLERS' MEETINGS

[1]Leavenworth Times, September 13, 1879; Topeka Commonwealth, September 14, 1879.

[2]Journal, September 17, 1879.

[3]Journal, September 16, 1879.

[4]Tribune, September 15, 1879.

[5]Tribune, September 15, 1879.

[6]Tribune, September 15, 1879.

[7]Tribune, September 15, 1879.

[8]Lawrence Evening Standard, September 16, 1879.

[9]Tribune, September 15, 1879.

[10]Leavenworth Times, September 16, 1879; Tribune, September 16, 1879.

[11]Tribune, September 16, 1879.

[12]Leavenworth Times, September 16, 1879; Lawrence Evening Standard, September 16, 1879.

[13]Tribune, September 16, 1879.

[14]Journal, September 18, 1879; Commonwealth, September 16, 1879; Tribune, September 16, 1879.

[15]Tribune, September 16, 1879; Journal, September 16, 1879.

[16]Tribune, September 16, 1879; Journal, September 16, 1879.

[17]Tribune, September 16, 1879; Journal, September 16, 1879.

[18]Tribune, September 16, 1879; Journal, September 16, 1879.

[19]Tribune, September 16, 1879; Journal, September 16, 1879.

[20]Leavenworth Times, September 17, 1879; Atchison Daily Patriot, September 17, 1879.

[21]Leavenworth Times, September 17, 1879.

[22]Journal, September 17, 1879. The "stub train" was composed of an engine and two or three cars. The toll bridge across the river was free on this day and the amount of revenue "lost" by the company amounted to over $600.

[23]Tribune, September 17, 1879; Journal, September 17, 1879.

[24]Tribune, September 16, 1879; Journal, September 17, 1879.

[25]Commonwealth, September 17, 1879; Journal, September 17, 1879; Tribune, September 16, 1879.

[26]Journal, September 17, 1879; Commonwealth, September 17, 1879; Capital, September 16, 1879.

[27]Journal, September 16, 17, 1879; Tribune, September 17, 1879.

[28]Journal, September 17, 1879; Tribune, September 17, 1879; Leavenworth Times, September 17, 1879.

[29]Journal, September 17, 1879.

[30]Journal, September 17, 1879; Tribune, September 17, 1879; Commonwealth, September 16, 1879.

[31]Tribune, September 17, 1879.

[32]Tribune, September 17, 1879.

[33]Tribune, September 17, 1879.

[34]Tribune, September 17, 1879; Journal, September 18, 1879.

[35]Journal, September 18, 1879.

[36]Tribune, September 18, 1879.

[37]Philadelphia Progress, October 4, 1879.

[38]Tribune, September 3, 1884; Journal, September 4, 1884.

[39]Journal, August 19, 1884; Leavenworth Times, September 3, 1884.

[40]Tribune, September 2, 1884; Commonwealth, September 3, 1884.

[41]Journal, September 2, 1884.

[42]Tribune, September 2, 1884.

[43]Tribune, September 2, 1884.

[44]Tribune, September 2, 1884; Journal, September 3, 1884.

[45]Tribune, September 3, 1884.

[46]Tribune, September 3, 1884; (Lawrence) Western Home Journal, September 4, 1884.

[47]Tribune, September 3, 1884.

[48]Western Home Journal, September 4, 1884; Commonwealth, September 5, 1884.

[49]Tribune, September 4, 1884.

[50]Tribune, September 4, 1884. Emery explained that Governor Robinson and his guests, being extremely tired, had retired to Robinson's home, which was about three miles north of the Grove.

[51]Tribune, September 4, 1884.

[52]Tribune, September 3, 1884; Western Home Journal, September 11, 1884.

CHAPTER IV
LIBERAL MEETING

[1]Capital, September 10, 1879.

[2]Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1879.

[3]Topeka Blade, September 8, 1879. Hereafter cited simply as Blade.

[4]Capital, September 9, 11, 1879.

[5]Leavenworth Times, September 6, 1879.

[6]Leavenworth Times, September 6, 1879.

[7]Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1879.

[8]Leavenworth Times, September 9, 1879.

[9]Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1879.

[10]Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1879; Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879.

[11]Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879; Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1879.

[12]Journal, September 9, 1879; Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879.

[13]Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879; Leavenworth Times, September 11, 1879.

[14]Commonwealth, September 12, 1879.

[15]Commonwealth, September 12, 1879; Leavenworth Times, September 9, 1879. The Leavenworth paper believed that 7,000 were present to hear Denton and Julian; the Commonwealth thought there were at least 6,000.

[16]Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879.

[17]Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879.

[18]Leavenworth Times, September 9, 1879.

[19]Journal, September 9, 1879; Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879.

[20]Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1879; Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879.

[21]Commonwealth, September 6, 1879.

[22]Leavenworth Times, September 9, 1879; Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879.

[23]Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1879; Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879.

[24]Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879.

[25]Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879.

[26]Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879; Journal, September 7, 1879.

[27]Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879.

[28]Leavenworth Times, September 9, 1879.

[29]Commonwealth, September 11, 1879; Leavenworth Times, September 10, 1879.

[30]Leavenworth Times, September 10, 11, 1879; Western Home Journal, September 11, 1879; Journal, September 10, 1879.

[31]Commonwealth, September 9, 1879.

[32]Commonwealth, September 12, 1879.

[33]Leavenworth Times, September 11, 1879.

[34]Commonwealth, September 11, 1879.

[35]The Bismarck Messenger, September 3, 1880. This paper was published by the Lawrence Journal.

[36]Journal, September 1, 1880.

[37]Journal, September 5, 1880.

[38]Journal, September 5, 1880.

[39]Leavenworth Times, September 10, 1879.

[40]Kansas City Daily Times, September 6, 1880.

[41]Kansas City Times, September 6, 1880; Journal, September 5, 1880.

[42]Kansas City Times, September 6, 1880; Journal, September 5, 1880.

[43]Kansas City Times, September 6, 1880.

[44]Journal, September 7, 1880.

[45]Journal, September 5, 7, 1880.

[46]Journal, September 5, 7, 1880.

[47]Journal, September 7, 1880.

[48]Journal, September 7, 1880; Capital, September 7, 1880.

[49]Capital, September 7, 1880; Tribune, September 6, 1880; Kansas City Times, September 7, 1880.

[50]Kansas City Times, September 6, 1880; Tribune, September 6, 1880.

[51]Tribune, September 6, 1880.

[52]Kansas City Times, September 7, 1880; Tribune, September 6, 1880; Capital, September 7, 1880.

[53]Capital, September 7, 1880.

[54]Tribune, September 6, 1880.

[55]Capital, September 7, 1880.

[56]Tribune, September 6, 1880.

[57]Capital, September 8, 1880.

[58]Journal, September 2, 1882.

[59]Journal, August 30, 1882.

[60]Journal, September 5, 1882.

[61]Journal, September 3, 5, 1882.

[62]Journal, September 5, 1882.

CHAPTER V
THE BISMARCK CHAUTAUQUA

[1]Horner, Strike the Tents, p. 35; Vincent, The Chautauqua Movement, p. 16.

[2]Franklin, "That Was Chautauqua," p. 41.

[3]Vincent, Chautauqua, p. 292.

[4]Commonwealth, August 5, 1879.

[5]Commonwealth, August 16, 1879.

[6]Commonwealth, August 27, 1879; Journal, August 27, 1879; Tribune, August 27, 1879.

[7]Tribune, August 27, 1879; Capital, August 28, 1879.

[8]Leavenworth Times, August 29, 1879; Journal, August 30, 1879; Tribune, August 30, 1879.

[9]Capital, September 3, 1879; Tribune, September 2, 1879.

[10]Tribune, August 29, 30, September 2, 1879.

[11]Tribune, September 2, 1879.

[12]Tribune, September 2, 1879.

[13]Blade, September 1, 1879.

[14]Capital, September 1, 1879.

[15]Tribune, September 2, 1879.

[16]Capital, September 4, 5, 1879.

[17]Capital, September 5, 1879.

[18]Capital, September 5, 1879; Commonwealth, September 2, 1879; Tribune, August 29, 1879.

[19]Journal, September 5, 1879.

[20]Capital, August 30, 1879; Commonwealth, September 2, 1879.

[21]Commonwealth, September 3, 4, 1879.

[22]Capital, September 4, 1879; Commonwealth, September 4, 1879.

[23]Commonwealth, September 4, 1879.

[24]Capital, September 5, 1879.

[25]Journal, August 10, 11, 14, 1880; Capital, August 13, 1880.

[26]Journal, August 10, 1880; Capital, August 16, 1880.

[27]Journal, August 11, 1879; Capital, August 13, 16, 1880.

[28]Tribune, August 11, 1880; Capital, August 17, 1880.

[29]Commonwealth, August 14, 1880.

[30]Commonwealth, August 15, 1880.

[31]Commonwealth, August 17, 1880.

[32]Capital, August 16, 1880.

[33]Journal, August 20, 1880.

[34]Capital, August 18, 1880.

[35]Capital, August 11, 1880.

[36]Journal, August 20, 1880.

[37]Tribune, July 2, 1881.

[38]Capital, July 6, 1881.

[39]Journal, July 7, 9, 10, 12, 1881; Commonwealth, July 13, 1881.

[40]Journal, July 7, 9, 13, 1881.

[41]Journal, July 12, 1881.

[42]Capital, July 12, 1881; Journal, July 10, 1881.

[43]Commonwealth, July 10, 1881.

[44]Journal, July 8, 1881.

[45]Journal, July 10, 1881.

[46]Capital, July 12, 1881; Commonwealth, July 10, 1881; Journal, July 17, 1881.

[47]Commonwealth, July 9, 1881.

[48]Journal, July 9, 1881.

[49]Tribune, July 9, 1881.

[50]Capital, July 12, 1881.

[51]Journal, July 10, 1881.

[52]Journal, July 17, 1881.

[53]Commonwealth, July 13, 1881.

[54]Journal, July 14, 1881.

[55]Journal, July 2, 1882; Capital, July 20, 1882.

[56]Ottawa Republican, July 1, 2, 1882.

CHAPTER VI
THE WESTERN NATIONAL FAIRS 1880-1888

[1]Journal, December 11, 1879.

[2]Tribune, September 22, 1879.

[3]Leavenworth Times, August 13, 1879.

[4]Journal, December 11, 1879.

[5]The Home Journal (Lawrence), December 4, 1879.

[6]Journal, December 11, 1879.

[7]The Home Journal, December 4, 1879; Lawrence Democratic Standard, December 4, 1879.

[8]Journal, February 12, 1880.

[9]Leavenworth Times, August 21, 24, 1880; First Annual Fair Premium List of the W.N.F.A. 1880.

[10]Leavenworth Times, August 24, 1880; Tribune, August 10, 1880.

[11]Leavenworth Times, August 24, 1880; Kansas City Times, September 12, 1880; Journal, August 1, 1880.

[12]Leavenworth Times, August 13, 1879.

[13]Commonwealth, September 5, 1880.

[14]Tribune, July 26, 1880; Leavenworth Times, August 24, 1880.

[15]Kansas City Times, September 12, 1880; Leavenworth Times, August 24, 1880.

[16]Journal, August 1, 1880; Tribune, July 26, 1880; Leavenworth Times, August 24, 1880.

[17]Leavenworth Times, August 24, 1880.

[18]Kansas City Times, September 12, 1880.

[19]Tribune, July 26, 1880; Commonwealth, September 14, 1880.

[20]Leavenworth Times, August 24, 1880.

[21]Atchison Daily Champion, September 14, 1880. Hereafter cited simply as Champion.

[22]Capital, September 9, 1880.

[23]Leavenworth Times, September 14, 1880.

[24]Leavenworth Times, September 15, 1880.

[25]Capital, September 16, 1880; Commonwealth, September 17, 1880.

[26]Leavenworth Times, September 17, 1880; Commonwealth, September 16, 1880.

[27]Journal, September 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 1880; Leavenworth Times, September 16, 18, 1880; Commonwealth, September 17, 1880.

[28]Leavenworth Times, September 16, 17, 1880; Commonwealth, September 18, 19, 1880.

[29]Champion, September 18, 1880.

[30]Commonwealth, September 19, 1880.

[31]Commonwealth, September 19, 1880; Capital, September 18, 1880.

[32]Journal, August 14, 1881; The Plaindealer (Garnett), August 14, 1881.

[33]Journal, August 4, 1881; Capital, August 25, 1881.

[34]Capital, August 25, 1881; Journal, May 24, August 17, 1881; Commonwealth, August 25, September 6, 1881; Kansas City Star, September 6, 1881. Hereafter cited simply as Star.

[35]Capital, August 19, 25, 1881.

[36]Journal, August 14, 1881.

[37]Winfield Courier, September 1, 1881.

[38]Winfield Courier, September 1, 1881; Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1881.

[39]Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1881.

[40]Journal, September 9, 10, 1881.

[41]Lawrence Democratic Standard, September 7, 1881.

[42]Commonwealth, September 7, 1881; Leavenworth Times, September 9, 1881.

[43]Star, September 8, 1881.

[44]Capital, September 8, 9, 1881; Leavenworth Times, September 8, 1881.

[45]Capital, September 7, 8, 1881; Leavenworth Times, September 8, 1881; Star, September 8, 1881.

[46]Star, September 10, 1881; Commonwealth, September 10, 1881.

[47]Leavenworth Times, September 10, 1881; Star, September 10, 1881; Commonwealth, September 10, 1881.

[48]Journal, September 11, 1881; Leavenworth Times, September 11, 1881.

[49]Star, September 12, 1881.

[50]Journal, September 11, 1881.

[51]Journal, September 11, 1881; Capital, September 10, 1881.

[52]Journal, August 31, 1882; Home Journal, August 31, 1881.

[53]Star, August 26, 1882; Journal, September 1, 1882.

[54]Journal, September 1, 1882.

[55]Journal, September 1, 17, 1882.

[56]Commonwealth, September 20, 1882; Journal, September 20, 1882; Capital, September 20, 1882; Leavenworth Times, September 21, 1882; Star, September 21, 1882.

[57]Capital, September 20, 1882; Star, September 21, 1882; Commonwealth, September 21, 1882.

[58]Capital, September 23, 1882.

[59]The Re-Union Banner, September 21, 1882.

[60]The Bismarck Fair Daily, September 20, 1882.

[61]Star, September 21, 1882; Bismarck Fair Daily, September 20, 1882; Capital, September 20, 1882.

[62]Capital, September 21, 1882.

[63]Capital, September 21, 1882.

[64]Leavenworth Times, September 19, 1882.

[65]Tribune, September 22, 1882; Commonwealth, September 22, 1882.

[66]Leavenworth Times, September 21, 1882.

[67]Capital, September 20, 1882; Commonwealth, September 23, 1882.

[68]Capital, September 24, 1882.

[69]Journal, June 27, 1883.

[70]Journal, July 15, 1883.

[71]Journal, September 9, 1883.

[72]Star, August 27, 1883.

[73]Commonwealth, September 2, 1883; Journal, August 31, 1883.

[74]Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1883; Journal, September 7, 1883.

[75]Leavenworth Times, September 6, 9, 1883.

[76]Leavenworth Times, September 6, 7, 1883.

[77]Leavenworth Times, September 9, 1883.

[78]Leavenworth Times, September 18, 1883.

[79]Journal, August 30, 1884.

[80]Tribune, September 2, 1884; Journal, September 3, 1884.

[81]Commonwealth, September 5, 1884; Journal, September 5, 1884.

[82]Leavenworth Times, September 6, 1884.

[83]Leavenworth Times, September 4, 1884. The Commonwealth of September 5, 1884, estimated the next day's attendance at 25,000.

[84]Leavenworth Times, September 3, 1884.

[85]Tribune, September 4, 1884; Leavenworth Times, September 4, 1884.

[86]Tribune, September 6, 1884.

[87]Leavenworth Times, September 2, 1884.

[88]Tribune, August 22, 1882.

[89]Tribune, September 6, 1884.

[90]Leavenworth Times, September 7, 1884; Journal, September 7, 1884.

[91]Tribune, September 8, 1885; Journal, September 8, 1885.

[92]Commonwealth, September 10, 1885; Tribune, September 10, 1885.

[93]Commonwealth, September 11, 1885; Journal, September 11, 1885; Tribune, September 11, 1885.

[94]Commonwealth, September 12, 1885.

[95]Commonwealth, September 9, 1885.

[96]Commonwealth, September 11, 1885.

[97]Journal, August 26, September 11, 1885; Tribune, September 10, 1885.

[98]Journal, September 12, 1885.

[99]Leavenworth Times, September 11, 1886.

[100]Journal, September 10, 1886.

[101]Journal, September 8, 1886.

[102]Commonwealth, September 7, 1886.

[103]Journal, September 8, 1886.

[104]Commonwealth, September 10, 1886.

[105]Commonwealth, September 9, 1886.

[106]Commonwealth, September 8, 11, 1886.

[107]Journal, September 12, 1886.

[108]Journal, September 25, 1886.

[109]Champion, September 25, 1886.

[110]Star, September 8, 1887.

[111]Commonwealth, September 9, 1887.

[112]Leavenworth Times, September 8, 1887; Star, September 9, 1887.

[113]Commonwealth, September 11, 1886.

[114]Journal, August 24, 1887.

[115]Commonwealth, September 8, 1887.

[116]Journal, August 31, 1887; Commonwealth, September 8, 10, 1887.

[117]Journal, September 4, 1887.

[118]Capital, August 8, 1888.

[119]Commonwealth, September 7, 1888.

[120]Journal, September 5, 1888; Commonwealth, September 5, 6, 1888.

[121]Commonwealth, September 5, 6, 1888.

[122]Commonwealth, September 6, 1888.

[123]Journal, September 5, 6, 1888; Commonwealth, September 6, 1888.

[124]Journal, September 8, 1888; Commonwealth, September 8, 1888.

[125]Leavenworth Times, September 14, 1885.

[126]Journal, September 8, 10, 1885; August 15, September 10, 1886; August 31, September 6, 1887; Commonwealth, September 12, 1885; September 6, 1887; Tribune, September 9, 1885.

CHAPTER VII
BISMARCK ANIMALS

[1]Journal, August 5, 1880.

[2]Journal, October 31, 1898.

[3]Journal, August 20, 1887.

[4]Journal, May 11, 1891.

[5]Journal, June 7, 1893.

[6]Journal, May 15, 1895.

[7]Journal, October 31, 1898.

[8]Journal, October 26, 1939; Huey Taylor, John Robinson, and John Morgan, all Lawrence residents, described the loading of the animals as a tough job. They had to be roped and pulled aboard the stock cars.

[9]Journal, September 17, 1891.

[10]Capital, August 2, 1881.

[11]Journal, November 29, 1893.

[12]Journal, November 5, 1893.

[13]Journal, April 27, 1897.

[14]Journal, July 7, 1899.

[15]Journal, October 31, 1899.

[16]Tribune, July 15, 1881.

[17]Journal, March 3, 1898.

[18]Journal, August 19, 1896.

[19]Journal, December 16, 1896.

[20]Journal, August 21, 1889.

[21]Journal, March 24, 1891.

[22]Tribune, September 2, 1884.

[23]Journal, June 30, 1891.

[24]Lawrence Daily Record, July 2, 1891. Hereafter cited simply as Record.

[25]Journal, July 9, 1891.

[26]Journal, October 8, 1891.

[27]Journal, July 20, 1892.

[28]Journal, June 2, 1898.

[29]Journal, February 8, 1895.

[30]Journal, February 26, 1896.

[31]Journal, July 18, 25, 1894.

[32]Journal, July 27, 1894.

[33]Journal, May 16, 1892.

[34]Journal, May 18, 1897.

[35]Journal, July 28, 1885.

[36]Journal, March 18, 1891.

[37]Journal, July 31, 1899.

[38]Journal, July 10, 1900.

[39]Journal, June 7, 1900.

CHAPTER VIII
BISMARCK GROVE IN THE DECADE OF THE 1890'S

[1]Lawrence Journal-Tribune, September 3, 1890. The papers which are cited simply as Journal and Tribune, formed one paper in 1890. During this year it will be cited simply as Journal-Tribune.

[2]Journal-Tribune, September 29, 1890; Record, September 29, 1890.

[3]Journal-Tribune, October 2, 1890.

[4]Record, October 1, 1890; Journal-Tribune, October 2, 1890.

[5]Record, October 2, 1890; Journal-Tribune, October 3, 1890.

[6]Record, October 2, 1890.

[7]Journal-Tribune, October 2, 3, 1890; Record, October 2, 1890.

[8]Record, October 3, 4, 1890.

[9]Record, October 4, 1890.

[10]Record, October 7, 1890.

[11]Journal-Tribune, October 7, 1890.

[12]Journal-Tribune, September 22, 1891.

[13]Journal, July 20, 1892; July 24, 1894.

[14]Journal, July 21, 27, 1892.

[15]Journal, July 29, 1892.

[16]Journal, May 16, June 7, 13, 1893.

[17]Journal, June 19, 28, 1893.

[18]Journal, July 25, 27, 1894.

[19]Journal, July 27, 30, 1894.

[20]Journal, August 13, 1895.

[21]Journal, August 13, 1895.

[22]Journal, August 17, 22, 1895.

[23]Journal, August 6, 1896; September 5, 1899.

[24]Journal-Tribune, July 31, 1890; August 1, 1890.

[25]Journal, August 1, 3, 1891.

[26]Journal, August 4, 1893.

[27]Journal, August 2, 1895.

[28]Journal, August 3, 1897.

[29]Journal, August 2, 1899.

[30]Journal, July 27, 1889.

[31]Journal, March 9, 1892.

[32]Journal, October 25, 1893.

[33]Journal, July 11, 1892.

[34]Journal, July 23, 1895.

[35]Journal, August 28, 1894.

[36]Journal-Tribune, August 12, 1890; Star, August 12, 1890.

[37]Journal-Tribune, August 12, 1890; Leavenworth Times, August 13, 1890.

[38]Journal-Tribune, August 11, 13, 1890.

[39]Star, August 12, 1890.

[40]Journal, September 12, 1891.

[41]Journal, June 15, 1892.

[42]Journal, July 23, 24, 1896.

[43]Journal, June 28, 1895.

[44]Journal, September 2, 3, 1895.

[45]Journal, October 13, 1897.

[46]Journal, October 14, 15, 1897.

[47]Journal, May 31, 1897.

[48]Journal, June 26, 1899.

[49]Journal, June 26, 1899; Lawrence Weekly World, June 29, 1899. Hereafter cited simply as World.

[50]Journal, June 26, 1899; World, June 29, 1899.

[51]World, June 29, 1899.

[52]Journal, July 12, 1899.

[53]Journal, July 13, 1899.

[54]Journal, July 13, 1899.

[55]World, July 20, 1899.

[56]Journal, July 17, 1899. W. H. Morgan, a resident of the Bismarck Grove area, remembers the story of three ministers (possibly the committee) going to the Grove on a Sunday and attempting to prevent a game from being played. They were ignored by the crowd.

[57]Journal, June 19, 23, 1894.

[58]Journal, August 14; September 15, 19, 1894.

[59]Journal, September 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 1894.

[60]Journal, September 29, 1890.

[61]Journal, July 26, 1898.

[62]Journal, November 1, 1897.

[63]Journal, July 15, 16, 1898.

[64]Journal, July 19, 1898.

[65]Journal, July 23, 25, 1898.

[66]Journal, July 20, 25, 1898.

[67]Journal, August 9, 11, 17, 29, 1898.

[68]Journal, August 30, 1898.

[69]Journal, August 31, 1898.

[70]Journal, September 12, 1898.

[71]Journal, September 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 1898.

[72]Journal, September 19, 1898.

[73]Journal, September 14, 15, 16, 1899.

[74]Journal, September 28, November 15, 1899.

[75]Journal, November 15, 1899.

[76]Journal, January 17, March 20, 1900.

[77]Journal, April 18, 1900.

[78]Journal, July 31, 1899.

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Lawrence Interviews

Althaus, Carl	1504 Crescent Road
Ewing, A. B.	703 North Third
Hayden, Will H.	Rural Route 4
Heck, Alfred	Rural Route 4
Hibner, S. H.	645 North Ninth
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Lyons, Ida	1012 Rhode Island
Morgan, W. H.	Rural Route 3
Nunemaker, Eugene	Rural Route 4
Palmateer, Donald	Rural Route 4
Rayl, Eugene S.	1129 Delaware
Robinson, John	13 Winona
Saile, Charles	2303 Alabama
Shanafelt, Dick	1024 Pennsylvania

Snow, Robert	860 Oak Street
Stuart, H. C.	2226 Tennessee
Taylor, Hugh	Rural Route 3
Wise, Charley A.	2323 Westdale Road