Figure 1: Gunn & Mitchell’s New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1865: Principal Meridian: Compiled From Original Field Notes.
Where is . . .? A map is an important tool we use to answer this most basic of questions. Today maps are ubiquitous and interwoven into our everyday lives. We can create maps to meet our individual needs using interactive Web mapping sites and then send, receive, and view them on portable electronic devices. Many vehicles are now equipped with navigation systems that display digital maps to aid drivers in finding their way. In nineteenth-century Kansas, maps were also present. Then as now maps were published for a variety of purposes and used by readers in a great many ways, including for administrative, educational, economic, travel, and military purposes.

The aim of this article is to examine a series of Kansas maps published between 1861 and 1866 by two men from different backgrounds who came to Kansas Territory amidst the political turmoil of Bleeding Kansas. Attention will be paid to the backgrounds of the mapmakers, Otis Berthoude Gunn and David T. Mitchell, their cartographic and surveying skills, and the maps they produced before their partnership began in 1861, including the maps of Kansas they independently published in 1859. The techniques used to create the original Gunn and Mitchell map and its subsequent editions will also be considered. The several editions of this map continue to be important in the study of Kansas and U.S. history for a number of reasons: they document the rapid growth of early Colorado and Kansas; they illustrate the chaotic land policy of the U.S. government at the time and comment upon the government’s relationship

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to Native Americans; and the maps also illustrate the rise of monochromatic lithography, a printing technique found throughout late-nineteenth-century publications. On a purely practical level, as well, the maps were no doubt successful tools, since the authors continued to update them through several editions.1

The Gunn and Mitchell maps have not been studied in any great detail. They are not included, for example, in Michael Heaston’s preliminary survey of Kansas pocket maps (often designated as sectional maps). Neither are the Gunn and Mitchell maps mentioned in Walter W. Ristow’s American Map and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century, which only summarizes the early years of American monochromatic lithographic map printing by focusing on the largest and most prolific publishing houses and the New York lithographic shops.2

The map Gunn produced in 1859, in addition to its accompanying field guide, has been more closely studied by historians interested in the role such materials played in the Kansas (now Colorado) “Pikes Peak” Gold Rush.3 However, studying such maps and guides solely as artifacts of the gold rush episode, and thereby removing them from their broader historical context, provides only a limited understanding of their role in history. Participants in the gold rush were not the only users of maps and guides like Gunn’s. In fact, the emphases of both Gunn’s and Mitchell’s 1859 maps, as well as the maps they produced together, are on the lands of Kansas east of the Sixth Principle Meridian; the maps showing the routes to the gold mines are always ancillary. Focusing almost exclusively on the “guidebooks,” historians such as Calvin W. Gower, Leroy R. Hafen, and William Wyckoff do not include the 1859 map of Kansas Territory by David T. Mitchell (figure 2) in their works, since it was issued without an accompanying field guide or text.4 Like Gunn’s map, Mitchell’s 1859 map was also intended to be sold to both immigrant land settlers and gold seekers. In the end it was the rush for land, not gold, that was the most important factor in understanding the demand for and evolution of Gunn and Mitchell’s series of maps.

Born in Mason County, Kentucky, April 8, 1832, David T. Mitchell was educated and entered the legal profession in that state. From information on Mitchell’s map we see that by 1859 he had settled in the town of Lecompton, Douglas County, Kansas Territory, where he promoted himself as a “U.S. surveyor and land agent.” The census of 1860 indicates that Mitchell, then twenty-nine, was working as a lawyer, and had an estimated $8,000 of real estate.5 In 1861 Kansas became a state, and in the fall of that year Mitchell was elected to represent Douglas County in the second Kansas state legislature. He was married May 12, 1862, to Amanda Garrett, and by 1866 Mitchell and his family had moved to Lawrence where he worked as a lawyer and served one term as county attorney. In 1870 he was among a group that incorporated the daily newspaper, the Democratic Standard, which he sold in 1875. In 1880 he moved with his family to a farm in Perry, where he resided until his death in 1897.6

After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854, before the land in these new territories could be sold to settlers, surveys were required to delineate boundaries in accordance with the methods established by the U.S. Public Land Survey. According to the November 8, 1855, Report of the Surveyor General of Kansas and Nebraska Territories, Mitchell was among the numerous surveyors contracted to conduct subdividing

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1. Otis B. Gunn and David T. Mitchell, Gunn & Mitchell’s New Map of Kansas: and the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1861: Compiled From Original Field Notes, map (Lecompton, K.T.: Gunn & Mitchell, 1861); printed Pittsburgh, Penn.: Wm. Schuchman’s.
of townships in Kansas Territory. Subsequent reports contain more detailed synopses of Mitchell’s work as a surveyor. This work paid him well, and must have given him an excellent knowledge of the lands he helped plot. Furthermore, it taught him what he needed to know in order to complete his own map in 1859 (figure 2).

Mitchell’s contemporary, Otis Berthoude Gunn, was born in October 1828 on a farm near Montague, Massachusetts, and was educated at Montague and Williston Seminary at East Hampton, Massachusetts. Upon completing his education in 1846, he taught school for about two years near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. He then worked his way up through the civil engineering ranks of various railroads: becoming a division engineer of the Wabash Railway in Indiana and later assistant engineer of the Lockport and Niagara Falls Railway. He was working in this capacity when he married Mary Helen Crosby in 1853. In 1856 or 1857, the Gunn family moved west and initially settled in Wyandotte (now Kansas City), Kansas Territory.

7. U.S. Senate, Executive Documents, Report of the Surveyor General of Kansas and Nebraska Territories, Nov. 8, 1855, 34th Cong., 1st and 2nd sess., serial 810, 312.
8. For each of his contracts Mitchell was paid a rate of $5 per mile; for his first two contracts he was paid a total of $1,434.63. U.S. House, Executive Documents, Annual Report of the Surveyor General of Kansas, Oct. 20, 1856, 34th Cong., 3d sess., serial 893, 538–39. Beginning April 1, 1856, he executed a third contract to conduct subdividing for which he was paid $1,375.37. U.S. House, Executive Documents, [Annual Report of the Surveyor General of Kansas Territory, Oct. 21, 1857, 35th Cong., 1st sess., serial 942, 282. The last time he appears in the Surveyor General’s Report is for a contract dated November 25, 1857. U.S. Senate, Executive Documents, [Annual Report of the Surveyor General of Kansas and Nebraska Territories], Oct. 1, 1858, 35th Cong., 2nd sess., serial 974, 293.

Otis Berthoude Gunn, pictured around 1852, was born in October 1828 near Montague, Massachusetts. He became first a teacher and later a civil engineer working with various railroads. He married Mary Helen Crosby in 1853, and in 1856 or 1857 the Gunn family moved west and initially settled in Wyandotte, Kansas Territory. Gunn worked, among other things, as a cartographer while in Kansas, publishing a map of Superior in 1858, his own map of the state in 1859, and a series of maps of Kansas with David T. Mitchell in 1861 through 1866.

No doubt Gunn was previously involved with producing maps and plans while working as civil engineer. However, the first map that can be attributed to him is an 1858 map of Superior, Kansas. Gunn, along with Major Frederick Hale, was also employed by Lucian J. Eastin, editor of the Leavenworth Weekly Herald, to produce its Map of the Gold Mines and Three Prominent Routes Leading Thereto. On March 1, 1859, Eastin published Gunn and Hale’s map as a part of his newspaper supplement Emigrants’ Guide to Pike’s Peak. An early newspaper reported Eastin was already “disposing of between fifteen and twenty thousand copies of the Guide . . . he added [another] ten thousand . . . swelling the whole edition to thirty thousand.” Gunn’s own map and field guide were then in the process of being printed, and in the fourth column of Eastin’s guide there is an advertisement for “Gunn’s New Map and Handbook of Kansas and the Gold Mines.” Gunn’s 1859 map and guidebook were well advertised in a variety of publications and sold for one dollar. He stated that “it was not the original design to publish a handbook in connection with the map, but increasing interest felt in Kansas in all parts of the union, by reason of the recent discoveries of gold at the base of the mountains, decided me to issue a few pages of descriptive and statistical matter, embodying a variety of useful information.”

Gunn was the first state senator elected to the Kansas legislature from Wyandotte County, holding office in 1861 and 1862. During the Civil War, he served on the staff of Governor Charles Robinson and also with the Fourth Kansas Volunteers. He went on to have a very distinguished career as a chief engineer and building superintendent with the Kansas Pacific, Union Pacific, Santa Fe, and Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroads and other entities. In addition to the field guide and maps of Kansas, Gunn contributed articles and books on political and economic issues of the day.

Both Mitchell’s and Gunn’s 1859 maps were derived from the surveys of the U.S. Public Land Survey then taking place in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The U.S. Public Land Survey, also known as the “rectangular survey” or the “township and range system,” stemmed from the Land Ordinance of 1785. By 1855 a well-practiced procedure was in use for

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11. Missouri Republican, February 27, 1859, quoted in Hafen, Pike’s Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859, 234.


establishing baselines and principle meridians, surveying range and township boundaries (in addition to standard parallels and guide meridians), and subdividing each township into sections. In Kansas and Nebraska, these procedures were initially guided by the Oregon Manual of 1851 and later by the 1855 Manual of Surveying Instructions. The exterior boundaries of neighboring Indian reservations were surveyed so they could be avoided “in the regular rectangular work.”

The Map Showing the Progress of the Public Surveys in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska to Accompany Annual Report of the Surveyor General (figure 3) provides an overview of the progress of this work. It was compiled from surveyors’ manuscript notes and maps and represents part of the source material from which both Gunn and Mitchell compiled their 1859 maps.

Mitchell’s (figure 2) and Gunn’s (figure 4) 1859 maps are similar in appearance and content. Each emphasizes eastern Kansas—both in presentation of the territory and in the typography of the title statement. Each also claims to be compiled from the field notes in the Surveyor General’s Office and has an ancillary map showing the Kansas routes to the gold mining regions. Each also shows the boundaries of Indian lands. They both contain about the same number of feature names.

Interestingly, road networks vary between the maps and place names do not always match. For example, the village of Blackjack in southeastern Douglas County is called “Wheatland” on Mitchell’s map. Ottawa City in central Franklin County does not appear at all on Gunn’s map. Overall, the road network on Gunn’s map appears more detailed and accurate. However, Mitchell’s ancillary map to and of the gold region is much more detailed than Gunn’s. Stylistically, Gunn also includes pictorial representations of forested areas along stream and river valleys.

Mitchell and Gunn used different lithographic houses for the printing of their 1859 maps. Mitchell chose the firm Middleton, Strobridge and Co. of Cincinnati and Gunn employed Schuchman’s of Pittsburgh, operated by William and George Schuchman. Both maps were printed during the period in which monochromatic lithography was the prevalent printing process in commercial cartography. Middleton, Strobridge and Co. (later known as Strobridge and Co.) had begun lithographic printing only a few years earlier, around 1855, when the company added W. R. Wallace and his press and stones. William and George Schuchman were active from 1850 to 1866 in Pittsburgh and did the printing for Gunn’s 1859 map as well as each of the Gunn and Mitchell maps through 1865 (figure 5). Little is known about many of the small printing houses that existed at this time. Schuchman’s does not even appear in Harry T. Peters’s voluminous work America on Stone, which chronicles American
lithography from its beginnings to its replacement by other printing methods. Peters generally neglected maps in his classification of lithographic material, as do most histories of American lithography that have instead focused on portraits, landscapes, cartoons, and chromolithography (especially Currier and Ives). Krebs and Brother of Pittsburgh, founded by Otto and Adolph Krebs in 1856, printed the 1866 edition of the Gunn and Mitchell map.

After publishing their own maps of Kansas in 1859, Gunn and Mitchell must have seen advantages in cooperating on the publication of a new map, the first edition of which was published in January 1861 (figure 6). The exact circumstances that brought these two individuals into collaboration are not known, but a comparison of the 1859 maps with the 1861 map gives rise to some general observations. First it is clear, based on the style, content, and the fact the same printer was used (though the place of publication changed from Wyandott [sic] City to Lecompton), that Gunn’s 1859 map was used as the basis for the 1861 map. Four new counties are shown west of the Sixth Principle Meridian, thus the partial change in subtitle: “embracing all the public survey up to the 6th Principle Meridian,” which conformed more closely to Mitchell’s 1859 map, subtitled in part “embracing all the public survey up to 1861.” Another addition is the

18. Harry T. Peters, America on Stone (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1931), 54; Last, The Color Explosion, 201. The Krebs brothers firm was active until 1901.
19. Gunn and Mitchell, Gunn & Mitchell’s New Map of Kansas: and the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1861.
Figure 5: Table of Gunn and Mitchell Maps of Kansas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Dimensions (H x W in cm. from neat lines)</th>
<th>Place of Publication</th>
<th>Printer</th>
<th>Notes based on Holdings</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Gunn, O. B.</td>
<td>Gunn’s New Map of Kansas and the Gold Mines Embracing all the Public Surveys up to the 6th Principal Meridian</td>
<td>1:600,000</td>
<td>65 x 72</td>
<td>Wyandott [sic], K.T.</td>
<td>Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman’s</td>
<td>Issued with handbook; Hand colored</td>
<td>Wichita State University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Gunn, O. B. and Mitchell, D. T.</td>
<td>Gunn &amp; Mitchell’s New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1861: Principal Meridian: Compiled From Original Field Notes</td>
<td>1:595,000</td>
<td>67 x 67</td>
<td>Lecompton, K.</td>
<td>Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman’s</td>
<td>Hand colored</td>
<td>Kansas Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862a</td>
<td>Gunn, O. B. and Mitchell, D. T.</td>
<td>Gunn &amp; Mitchell’s New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1862: Principal Meridian: Compiled From Original Field Notes</td>
<td>1:595,000</td>
<td>66 x 69</td>
<td>Lecompton, K.</td>
<td>Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman’s</td>
<td>Hand colored; only one pictorial vignette</td>
<td>David Rumsey Collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862b</td>
<td>Gunn, O. B. and Mitchell, D. T.</td>
<td>Gunn &amp; Mitchell’s New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1862: Principal Meridian: Compiled From Original Field Notes</td>
<td>1:595,000</td>
<td>66 x 69</td>
<td>Lecompton, K.</td>
<td>Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman’s</td>
<td>Hand colored; three pictorial vignettes</td>
<td>Kansas Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Gunn, O. B. and Mitchell, D. T.</td>
<td>Gunn &amp; Mitchell’s New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1864: Principal Meridian: Compiled From Original Field Notes</td>
<td>1:595,000</td>
<td>69 x 69</td>
<td>Lecompton, K.</td>
<td>Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman’s</td>
<td>Hand colored</td>
<td>Kansas Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Gunn, O. B. and Mitchell, D. T.</td>
<td>Gunn &amp; Mitchell’s New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1865: Principal Meridian: Compiled From Original Field Notes</td>
<td>1:595,000</td>
<td>67 x 69</td>
<td>Lecompton, K.</td>
<td>Pittsburgh: Wm. Schuchman’s</td>
<td>Hand colored</td>
<td>Kansas Historical Society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Gunn and Mitchell 1862 map (figure 7) reflects a number of geopolitical developments. First, Kansas had entered the Union as the thirty-fourth state the preceding year, on January 29, 1861. This is reflected in the place of publication listed on the map: “Lecompton, K.” instead of “Lecompton, K.T.” The 1862 edition, and subsequent editions, also began to reflect the chaotic and inconsistent nature of U.S. land policy. The obvious trend is toward an erosion of Indian land rights. On the 1862 map, we see the results of the sale of the Delaware Reserve to the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad. The map reflects that by this time the Sac and Fox Reserve and Trust lands had also been surveyed.

There is evidence that two separate printings of the 1862 map were made: one has only a single pictorial vignette occurring in the left margin (exemplified by a map held in the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection). The second (figure 7), the Kansas Historical Society example, has three vignettes occurring in the left margin and the area of Fort Riley is emphasized with diagonal fill lines. Although the Colorado Territory had been established on February 28, 1861, no update was made on either of the 1862 printings to the ancillary map of Routes from the Missouri River to the Kansas Gold Mines.

The next edition of the map was made in 1864 (figure 8). Amendments to this edition include changes in the locations of land offices and the addition of an advertisement to the map in lieu of one of the vignettes. It reads: “D. T. Mitchell, Attorney at Law and Land Agent. Lawrence, Kansas. Will attend to any business before the Courts of Kansas, Locate Lands buy and sell Lands on commission and pay Tax for non-residents on lands in any county in the State.”

The placement of the city of Ottawa in Franklin County is also different in this edition, and the Ottawa Indian Reserve is shown as surveyed.

The 1865 edition of Gunn and Mitchell’s map seems to regress from the 1864 edition (figure 1). The subtitle adds the phrase “principal meridian,” and previous

21. Otis B. Gunn and David T. Mitchell, Gunn & Mitchell’s New Map of Kansas: And the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1864: Compiled From Original Field Notes, map (Lecompton, K.: Gunn & Mitchell, 1864; printed Pittsburgh, Penn.: Wm. Schuchman’s).
updates, such as the new locations of U.S. Land Offices and the revisions made in Franklin County in the 1864 edition, are lost and revert back to the status of the 1862 edition.\(^22\)

The primary change in the 1866 edition is the modification of the place of publication from “Lecompton” to “Lawrence, Kan.” The printer has also changed to Krebs and Bros. In addition, all remaining Indian reservations, except for the Otoe Reserve in north central Kansas, which straddles the Kansas-Nebraska border, have been surveyed and filled with township and range lines. Also, the revisions within Franklin County that appeared on the 1864 edition, but were dropped from the 1865 edition, have been restored.\(^23\)

In summery, Otis B. Gunn and David T. Mitchell each created a map independently in 1859, then pooled their efforts to create a map first published in 1861. Several editions of this map were printed using the monochromatic lithographic process and the maps were then hand colored. All six editions of Gunn and Mitchell’s map include an ancillary map of Routes from the Missouri


\(^23\) Otis B. Gunn and David T. Mitchell, *Gunn & Mitchell’s New Map of Kansas: and the Gold Mines: Embracing all the Public Surveys up to 1866: Principal Meridian: Compiled From Original Field Notes*, map (Lawrence, Kan.: Gunn & Mitchell, 1866; printed Pittsburgh, Penn.: Krebs & Bros.).
River to the Kansas Gold Mines. However, this ancillary map was never updated and was secondary in importance to the primary map covering the eastern half of Kansas. The authors revised and reissued the map until the year 1866, long after the peak of the Colorado Gold Rush and the establishment of the Colorado Territory on February 28, 1861. These facts suggest that, although gold seekers were an important market for the 1859 maps, they were of decreasing importance to the authors for the 1861 map and subsequent editions. Based on the advertisements and emphasis on the lands that were becoming available for purchase in eastern Kansas, the primary purpose of the map appears to be promotional. The number of editions also suggests that the authors found this map worthy of republishing. Today these maps provide us with another window into Kansas’s past.