

# Lincoln College, Forerunner of Washburn Municipal University

## PART ONE: FOUNDING A PIONEER CONGREGATIONAL COLLEGE

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### PIONEER PROJECTS

After God had carried us safe to *New England*, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and settled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning*, and perpetuate it to Posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. . . .<sup>1</sup>

IN these words the Puritan chronicler expressed the great importance of education to the cause of religion, a matter which prompted the forefathers to carefully provide for a succession of able and learned ministers. They entertained great fear that without this "darkness must have soon covered the land, and gross darkness the people." . . . Wherefore a COLLEDGE . . . the best thing that ever New England thought upon!"<sup>2</sup>

In like manner their descendants, on a westward march across the continent, planted a chain of colleges, even before their settlements had attained maturity, so that the cause of religion and morality might not suffer. Again and again the missionaries on the border pointed out their dire need of help and despaired of a proper answer to their pleas, unless colleges near at hand could supply the deficiency.

In Kansas no one was more persistent in urging the need of "an educated and godly ministry"<sup>3</sup> than Lewis Bodwell, agent of the American Home Missionary Society in 1866 when he wrote: "Whole

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1. "New England's First Fruits: In Respect of the Colledge, and the Proceedings of Learning Therein," *Old South Leaflets*, v. 3, No. 51, p. 1. This is "the oldest extant document which, in type, clearly recognizes the existence of Harvard College." It was dated, Boston, 1642, and published in London the following year.

2. Cotton Mather, "The History of Harvard College," *ibid.*, v. 8, No. 184, p. 3 (quoted from his *Magnalia*, London, 1702).

3. Extract from a letter of Bodwell appended to *An Appeal to Congregational Churches in Behalf of Lincoln College*, written in 1865. Two years later (October 23, 1867) he wrote to "Dear Bro. [H. Q.] Butterfield" in more detail: "Our talked of school has entered upon its second year with good & growing patronage, & the doubling of our population has brought into a still stronger light our desperate need of more ministers. . . . All abroad over our prairies destitute of the ministry hundreds . . . must die to all spiritual life & power. . . . Only the rearing of an educated ministry for the millions who are to live and die with or without Xt upon these prairies could have forced us to this work. . . ." (Manuscript in Washburn Municipal University library.)

towns and counties, with hundreds and thousands of inhabitants, are destitute of needed preaching." A champion of Lincoln College aptly stated the parallel with Puritan days:

In less than twenty years from the landing on Plymouth Rock, our Puritan fathers conceived the noble purpose of establishing a Christian college. . . . They did not wait for colonies to develop; but into the very incipency of that development were cast the germs of Christian institutions, which have now become the glory of the land, and whose leaves even are for the healing of the nations.

Following the example of these pioneers of Christ's kingdom in this land, we have taken effective steps toward the establishment of a college in Kansas, whose pattern shall be like that shown us in New England, the "Mount" of our early and hallowed associations.<sup>4</sup>

In its early stages the project of a college for Kansas, to champion the Puritan way of life, was inseparably connected with the New England plan of winning that region for freedom. The towns to be planted by the New England Emigrant Aid Company were to encourage the church, the school and the college, and by their strategic distribution and desirability attract the Northern settler who would hold the land against all comers from the "slave power."

From the very beginning this was true of Lawrence, where on the first day of 1855 stakes were driven and stone was hauled to a prospective college site on Mt. Oread.<sup>5</sup> Somewhat later Topeka became an ardent rival of Lawrence for the site of the pioneer college. On December 25, 1856, a meeting of the citizenry was held at Lawrence to take the necessary steps.<sup>6</sup> Not long thereafter Amos A. Lawrence, Free-State champion in New England, transferred to Charles Robinson and S. C. Pomeroy, trustees, the two notes totaling \$10,000 which he had advanced Lawrence University of Appleton, Wis., thereby establishing a fund for higher education in Kansas.<sup>7</sup>

4. *An Appeal to Congregational Churches* . . . , cited above, being an appeal for financial aid, signed by the college trustees. Many denominational colleges, particularly in the Mississippi valley, were founded primarily to help solve the problem of ministerial training.

5. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 317. The work at Lawrence was under the direction of Charles Robinson, local agent of the Aid Company, and at the expense of that organization, but was terminated because of uncertainty of title.

6. Proceedings of meeting in Lawrence *Herald of Freedom*, January 3, 1857. It had immediate repercussions at Manhattan where a similar convention was held January 12, 1857, and resolutions adopted in favor of a state university immediately in a central location and denying the claim of the Lawrence meeting of being a mass convention of the people of Kansas. Concerning the Manhattan movement, see J. T. Willard, "Bluemont Central College, the Forerunner of Kansas State College," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 13 (1945), May, pp. 323-357.

7. Lawrence to Rev. E. Nute, dated Boston, February 11, 1857, in "Copies of Letters of Amos A. Lawrence About Kansas Affairs," p. 232, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.



## CONGREGATIONAL BEGINNINGS

Although settled somewhat later than Lawrence, Topeka also included a number who were imbued with the idea of founding in their midst a college dedicated to freedom. Among these none was more active in promoting a Congregational college than John Ritchie who, early in 1855, settled near Topeka. Harrison Hannahs, a founder of Lincoln College, has given us a good account of his introduction to this pioneer Congregationalist:

The men who first conceived the idea of founding a college in Topeka were all lay members of the Congregational Church. John Ritchey was the pioneer in the movement.

I arrived in Topeka on the 10th day of April, 1856, in company with a party of six free-state men. . . . The next day . . . I accepted an invitation from one of my traveling companions, W. H. Fitzpatrick, to take a walk with him out to the residence of his friend, John Ritchey, which was situated just outside the southern limits of the city. One of the Kansas zephyrs was blowing about 60 miles an hour, more or less, and Topeka real estate was very active. We waded . . . against the current, . . . until we finally reached Mr. Ritchey's palatial residence. It was a sod house about 12 by 18 feet, shingled with long prairie grass. The floor was covered with nature's axminster. The parlor, dining room, bed room and kitchen, all in one, not even a curtain to mark the divisions. . . . Mrs. Ritchey invited us to dine with them, and there, seated on the soft end of a nail keg for a dining chair, I partook of my first meal of corn dodger and bacon. . . .

After dinner, the wind having subsided, Mr. Ritchey took us out and showed us his claim of 80 acres, after which he invited us to accompany him to what was called the Davis claim, which is the present beautiful campus of Washburn College. Arriving there, he stretched out his hand and said: "Here is an ideal site for a college, . . . and I want you and other friends to join me in an effort to found a Christian college here."<sup>8</sup>

In the spring of 1857 as a great flood of emigrants, particularly from the Northern states, inundated eastern Kansas, the idea of a college dedicated to freedom moved the Congregationalists to action. At a meeting in Topeka, April 25-27, the "General Association of

8. Rome (N. Y.) *Daily Sentinel*, February 27, 1911, clipped in "Kansas Scrapbook," Biography H, v. 15, pp. 41-43. This article, quoting a speech of Hannahs at Washburn College, appeared shortly after his death in New York state.

John Ritchie was born in Uniontown, Ohio, in 1817, and when very young moved with his parents to Indiana, from where he emigrated to Kansas in the spring of 1855 and took a claim near the infant settlement of Topeka. A leading Free-State champion, he took an active part in the "troubles of 1856," and later was a member of the Leavenworth and Wyandotte constitutional conventions. A man of decided views, in 1860 he resisted arrest on the charge of having robbed the mails in 1856 and, in the altercation that followed, shot his opponent, Leonard Arms, a deputy United States marshal. Ritchie was freed by Justice Joseph C. Miller of Shawnee county, who termed the homicide "justifiable." During the Civil War Ritchie rose to the rank of captain of the Fifth Kansas cavalry and in the Indian troubles thereafter colonel of the Second Indian regiment. In all causes of a benevolent and humanitarian nature Ritchie was an outstanding leader—he was one of the chief builders of the First Congregational Church of Topeka, he was very active in the cause of temperance, and probably no one in Topeka did more to obtain a college for the city. His ideas for a college are said to have been derived from a visit to Knox College (Galesburg, Ill.), where he was greatly impressed by President Blanchard of that institution.

Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kansas" was formally reorganized and the following resolution adopted:

*Voted*, That a Committee of five be raised to obtain information in regard to the location of a College, under the patronage of this body, and, if they deem it expedient, to secure such a location.

Rev. Messrs. Bodwell, Parsons, and McCollom, and Brothers H. N. [M.] Simpson and Ritchie were appointed.<sup>9</sup>

Writing in retrospect many years later, Lewis Bodwell termed this incident the most impressive in the history of Washburn College, when on Saturday, April 25, 1857, a vote was taken "in a 'city' which had not a house of worship; in a small hired room, [by] seven ministers and three laymen, representing eight churches, and a reported constituency of eighty-five members, . . ." <sup>10</sup>

The general association granted its committee wide discretionary power in this matter, but, as a regular meeting of the parent Congregational body was not scheduled until a year and a half later, no action as to location was taken until the summer of 1858, when the following notice appeared in the *Lawrence Republican*:

The General Association of Kansas, at its meeting in Topeka, October, 1856 [April, 1857], appointed a Committee, with power, "if they deem it expedient, to secure a location" for a College. That Committee will meet at Topeka, August 15, 1858, until which time proposals will be heard from any individual or company, with reference to its location at any particular point. A definite statement of what can and will be done, and on what conditions, is requested. We would thus be able to act fully and finally at that time.

JOHN RITCHEY,  
Chairman of Committee.

TOPEKA, June 21, 1858.

Papers of the Territory please copy.<sup>11</sup>

*The Congregational Record* later asserted that because of the "remonstrance of friends" the matter of location was referred to the general association at its meeting at Manhattan in the fall of 1858.

On October 9 the special committee reported to the association that they had "received no proposal which, in liberality and in point

9. "Minutes" of the general association, 1857, bound with volumes 1 to 5 of *The Congregational Record*, Lawrence (henceforth cited *Cong. Record*), p. 6.

William A. McCollom, Congregational pastor at Manhattan succeeding Charles Blood and later at Wabaunsee and Council Grove, was for many years a storm center of church discipline. At an early date he was a trustee of Bluemont Central College.

10. Bodwell to "Dear Bro. Parker," then editor of *The Telephone*, Manhattan, written from Clifton Springs, N. Y., and published in the August, 1880, issue of that church paper. "You are writing up 'Washburn' and call on me for 'some scene of its early history; some tribute to its early workers; some grouping of its days of darkness; when it was only 'a thought and a prayer'; anything to impress its value upon our people. . . ."  
"[Concerning the above vote] Planning for Christ and the Church, they believed in the need of the Christian college. To them it *had* come by faith; and at the best time, even the Masters, it would come in fact. . . ."

11. The same issue of this paper (July 8, 1858) stated that initiatory steps had been taken for the establishment at Lawrence of "Lawrence University," under Presbyterian auspices, with C. E. Miner, M. D., president.



of geographical position, is more favorable than that made by the citizens of Topeka and vicinity," and proposed its adoption. It provided:

160 acres of land within a mile and a half of Topeka; 20 acres on Topeka town-site; 840 acres in the Territory, as an endowment; and a building, equal to 40 by 50 feet, and two stories high, of stone or brick, to be completed on or before Jan. 1, 1860.

J. RITCHEY, Chairman.<sup>12</sup>

The general association accepted this report and the recommendation of its committee, with the proviso that it would not be regarded as binding if the citizens of Topeka did not fulfill their pledge within the time specified. A committee, appointed to nominate a board of trustees, reported that a basis of organization was a preliminary necessity and submitted the following plan: The college was to be under the control of the general association or of a convention delegated by it and under the immediate direction of a president and board of trustees, the latter elected by the association. This board was to be empowered to locate the college at Topeka if the pledge of her citizens was fulfilled, otherwise to call a special meeting of the association *early in January, 1859*.<sup>13</sup> Wide additional powers were to be granted the trustees, including the holding of funds and property of the college,<sup>14</sup> the obtaining of donations, overseeing of buildings and grounds and general oversight of education and personnel. In the latter regard it was provided: "We recommend to the board, that they abandon the Western system of starvation salaries, and proceed at once to *offer and pay* liberal salaries to their professors—thus securing first-class men." Any charter of incorporation later adopted was to conform to this basis of organization. The report concluded by naming a board of 14 trustees.<sup>15</sup>

12. *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), January, pp. 13-16, a report entitled, "College."

13. Concerning this seeming anomaly of date, see Footnotes 17 and 19 below.

14. Numerous restrictions were to be placed on the trustees in matters of property:

"The 160 acres near Topeka, belonging to the college, shall never be sold; but, after selecting forty acres—in the centre, if possible—for college grounds, the remainder shall be laid out in lots of five or ten acres, and leased, and the proceeds applied to the increase of the library.

"The twenty acres on Topeka town-site shall not be sold for less than two hundred and fifty dollars an acre.

"The 840 acres in other parts of the Territory shall not be sold for less than fifteen dollars an acre. . . .

"The proceeds from these last two items of property shall constitute the endowment of a professorship, to be called 'the Topeka professorship.'

"The board shall not have power to incur a debt of over \$10,000 without a special vote of the Association."—*Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), January, pp. 14, 15.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 15. The original slate of trustees follows: For two years—Elihu Whithall, Nemaha county; G. C. Morse, Emporia; L. Bodwell, Topeka, and T. D. Thacher and R. Cordley, Lawrence. For four years—S. C. Pomeroy, Atchison; James Taylor, Leavenworth; C. E. Blood, Manhattan; H. D. Rice, Topeka, and H. M. Simpson, Lawrence. For six years—R. D. Parker, Leavenworth; Geo. S. Hillyer, Grasshopper Falls; Harrison Hannahs, Topeka, and M. C. Welch, Wabaunsee.

The general association adopted this report, with some amendments, and named Lewis Bodwell temporary chairman of the board of trustees.<sup>16</sup>

The extremely liberal proposal made by Topeka succeeded in obtaining the prospective location at that point, but a satisfactory fulfillment of the terms was infinitely more difficult. The Ritchie report contained a pledge by Topeka to acquire the needed land and erect a building thereon by January 1, 1860. This was accepted by the association, but with the proviso that if the pledge was not fulfilled the college board was to call a special meeting of the association *early in January, 1859*.<sup>17</sup> Apparently this latter provision was added to *compel* Topeka to acquire the land *immediately*, preliminary to obtaining a charter from the legislature,<sup>18</sup> or forfeit her rights to a rival town. In view of the depression then prevailing and the problems involved in the transfer of so much land—20 acres on the townsite, 160 acres to the west of Topeka and 840 acres in the territory, the three months remaining before the January, 1859, deadline was a very short period. Furthermore, at the start neither Lewis Bodwell as temporary chairman of the college trustees nor the people of Topeka seem to have realized the urgency of the matter.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, by early 1859 it was apparent that Topeka had failed to meet the requirements, but the temporary chairman of the trustees hesitated to act:

Being unwilling in mid-winter to call together, from so great distances, the persons named, unless assurances could be given of some business to transact, and, by an oversight, being in ignorance as to the duty of the board in regard to a special meeting, the chairman waited more than two months beyond the set time, for some action on the part of the citizens of Topeka.<sup>20</sup>

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 15.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 13 *et seq.*, entitled, "College." The words of this report follow:

"3. This [college] board shall be empowered to negotiate with the citizens of Topeka in regard to the property pledged by that place. If Topeka fulfills the pledge made, or does what the board shall deem an equivalent, they shall declare the college located at Topeka. If Topeka fails to fulfill her pledge, said board of trustees shall call a special meeting of the Association, at Topeka, on the first Wednesday in January, 1859."

18. Broadside in Washburn Municipal University library, entitled *Congregational College*, which bears no date, but apparently was issued in April, 1859. See Footnote 21 and adjacent text.

19. *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), April, pp. 35, 36, and July, pp. 44-47; *Topeka Tribune*, August 25, 1859. Concerning the deadline of January, 1859, Frank E. Melvin of the department of history, University of Kansas, who has made a study of the sectarian antecedents of that institution, writes that he suspects this "change was 'put over' by the Lawrence leaders to enable them to take advantage of the expected Topeka difficulties," and thereby promote a college at Lawrence. In view of the two months' extension granted Topeka, he doubts that it was so mistreated as to time, however.

20. *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), April, pp. 35, 36. "By a union of circumstances connected with the general pecuniary pressure, and unexpected local hindrances, up to this time no satisfactory assurances have been given of an ability to make good the proposals of last autumn." These words suggest the omission of important facts and remind one of the phraseology of Lewis Bodwell, who had been made temporary chairman of the college trustees in October, 1858.



In view of the emergency which had thus arisen, with still "no satisfactory assurances . . . of an ability [on the part of Topeka] to make good the proposals," Bodwell and S. Y. Lum, the latter moderator of the general association, obtained the united consent of a group of Congregational ministers meeting at Lawrence and then (April, 1859) issued a circular to the Congregational churches of Kansas formally charging Topeka with failure. This circular invited new proposals for a college location, to be submitted to the May meeting of the association at Lawrence.<sup>21</sup>

At about this time a Topeka paper announced the successful conclusion of negotiations for the purchase of land for the college:

The proposition made by the Congregational Association to locate their College here has been before the people of Topeka some months. We are happy to announce that the land and means are provided, and that nothing now remains but to formally accept the proposition and locate the Institution in our city. The 160 acres of land formerly belonging to Mr. Davis, has been purchased, and the College will be erected thereon, within one half mile of the city. The [Topeka] Association has donated twenty acres of the Town Site, and the materials for the erection of the edifice are already pledged.<sup>22</sup>

Despite this favorable announcement, doubt still exists whether Topeka had secured and *actually paid* for the land needed to fulfill her obligations. Harvey D. Rice, long identified with Washburn College and its predecessors, has left us a detailed story of how he borrowed \$2,000 in the East so that John Ritchie could pay for the Davis claim as a prospective college site at Topeka:

Col. John Ritchie was appointed chairman of a committee to secure the land at Topeka for the site. We wanted to get of George Davis, one-hundred and sixty acres where the college now stands, but could not then induce him to sell. We then tried to get the tract of land where the city of Potwin now stands, and a proposition to the Topeka Association to give the twenty acres where Bethany College now stands [Ninth and Polk streets] was voted to us on condition that the proposed college should be located near Topeka on the present Potwin site. This action was taken in the fall [of] 1858. Failing to get either site nothing further was done until April, 1859.

21. Broadside entitled, *Congregational College*, referred to above.

22. *Topeka Tribune*, April 21, 1859. A similar account in more detail appeared in this same paper on the following August 25, entitled, "The Congregational College." It pointed out that the most difficult requirement of all was to obtain 160 acres of land not over 1½ miles west of town. The owner of one such tract advanced his price \$1,000 when he learned that the college had been located in Topeka. Bodwell hesitated to accept an offer of a tract to the north as too munificent a gift. About April 1, 1859, the Davis claim was (allegedly) obtained. The amount required to secure the 840 acres in the territory and erect the necessary buildings was also on hand, according to this story, thereby meeting the required conditions, except that of time. H. D. Rice and John Ritchie concluded these negotiations. "Thus, early in April last, the citizens of Topeka were fully ready to make over the title to the lot [Davis claim], and give bonds for the faithful fulfillment of the contract, . . . when a circular was issued, . . . stating that Topeka had failed. . . . Not anticipating such action we were greatly surprised; but, with full confidence in the Association, we concluded to await its action in the matter. . . ." (The narrative of Rice, quoted below, is at variance with this account.)

In 1858, gold was discovered near Pike's Peak. . . . The following spring a number left us for the gold field. George Davis wanted to go and he came to Mr. Ritchie and offered to sell for cash in hand his land. Mr. Ritchie came immediately to me, and said the land we must secure, . . . said he had no ready money. . . . I was like Ritchie, without ready money. I told Mr. Ritchie that if he could get enough money to pay my expenses east, I would put my time against the money for expenses and go and hire the money. He agreed to this and executed the power of attorney for me to hire for him two thousand dollars and to mortgage his home of one hundred and sixty acres to secure the payment of it. I left Topeka in April. . . . On arriving in New York City, I went to Brooklyn in search of H. W. Beecher. . . . Upon arriving at his house, I learned that he was absent from the city. I then went to Hartford, Conn., . . . where I had lived ten years, previous to coming to Kansas, and . . . after about two weeks' effort I had the promise of one thousand dollars only. Being somewhat discouraged, Mr. Joseph Davenport suggested that I go with him and make Mrs. John Hooker a visit, . . . a sister of Henry Ward Beecher. We therefore called one pleasant afternoon in May and found at Mrs. Hooker's, Miss Catherine Beecher, Mrs. Stowe of Uncle Tom's Cabin fame, Mrs. Frances Gillett, and other ladies. . . .

When they learned of my business they became greatly interested in the enterprise. Immediately after that visit I received a line from John Hooker asking me to call at his office. . . . I gave him the minutes of the Association proposing to locate a Christian college in Kansas, and further explained the inducements offered for its location in Topeka, after consulting with Hon. Francis Gillett his partner in business. . . .

They concluded to furnish the other one thousand dollars and made me the agent of Gillett & Hooker. Jos. Davenport and John Whitman, to take their money to . . . loan to John Ritchie under written instructions which I still have. The draft for two thousand dollars I brought to Topeka, where I arrived the 10th of June [1859]. . . .<sup>23</sup>

### MONUMENTAL COLLEGE

While Rice was absent in the East the general association convened at Lawrence. The college committee confirmed the charge that "The people of Topeka *did fail* to fulfill their pledge within the time specified," and reopened the whole matter. The report mentioned the failure of Lewis Bodwell to convene the college trustees early in January, 1859, and the circular that was subsequently issued charging Topeka with default.<sup>24</sup>

23. *Reminiscences*, by H. D. Rice, pp. 9-11. (Read before the Congregational Pioneer Society of Topeka.) On the whole this story appears reliable, but the reader is referred to the account to appear in the concluding installment of this article, based on the minutes of the trustees of Lincoln College. Rice continued:

"On learning of this Lawrence proposition [Monumental College, already launched], I let Col. Ritchie have the money to pay for the Davis claim, so that we would be ready the next year to again bid for the location at Topeka, and have the site ready to deed. Col. Ritchie executed the mortgage and note in conformity with the instructions. . . . It took sixteen hundred dollars to pay Davis for the land."

24. "Minutes" of the general association, meeting at Plymouth church, Lawrence, May 26-28, 1859, in *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), July, pp. 44-47—a report entitled, "College." On September 14, 1859, Bodwell wrote to the American Home Missionary Society: "As



Lawrence, Topeka, Burlingame and Wabaunsee then submitted proposals, indicating that the problem of town rivalry, particularly between Lawrence and Topeka, was probably an important item in the whole matter. A resolution offered by C. B. Lines of Wabaunsee, "That it is inexpedient to locate the college at present," was thoroughly discussed, and it was decided by a majority vote to accept the Lawrence offer and thus place the college in "a large and prosperous town." A Lawrence paper remarked:

In the discussion relative to the location of their College, the question seemed to turn upon the propriety of placing a first-class College in a large and prosperous town. It was urged by some—by Mr. Lines, of Wabonsa, especially, in a very able and interesting speech—that large towns were destructive to the habits and morals of the students, and so insisted that the first College of Kansas should be put in a purely rural town. The convention finally, by almost an unanimous vote, located their Institution at this place.

. . .<sup>25</sup>

The offer of Lawrence appeared extremely liberal. According to one account it included the following:

An institution for religious education, called "Monumental College," designed to commemorate the triumph of Liberty over Slavery in Kansas, and to serve as a memorial of those who have assisted in achieving this victory, has been organized and located at Lawrence. The incorporators have obtained twenty acres of land adjoining the town site of Lawrence on the south. They have also obtained three hundred acres of land adjoining the college site, to be divided into lots, . . . and one-half of the appraised value . . . to belong to the college. The incorporators have also obtained . . . 1,220 acres of land, . . . 2,010 dollars, and 151 lots, situated in Lawrence, Topeka, Burlington, Delaware and other towns in Kansas. Gov. Robinson and Gen. Pomeroy, trustees of a fund called the "Lawrence Fund," and which amounts to thirteen thousand dollars, have signified their willingness to make over this fund to the "Monumental College," on condition that the Congregationalists have control of the institution. Mr. Lawrence himself expresses a desire that the fund should be placed at the disposal of the Congregational denomination.<sup>26</sup> The conditions on which the above donations (except the

to the right or wrong of my action I trust it will be enough to say that in a meeting of 12 ministers & 12 delegates, representing 10 of our ch'hs that action was endorsed by a vote of 22 to 1, & he [Harrison Hannahs] from Topeka."—"Bodwell Papers," MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society. Bodwell's course aroused opposition in his church in Topeka (see the writer's article, "Lewis Bodwell, Frontier Preacher," in v. 12 of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, p. 360).

H. D. Rice stated in his *Reminiscences* (p. 11): "Maj. Hannahs was the delegate of our Topeka church at the Association meeting, and strenuously opposed the opening of the college question, stating that Topeka had at that time an agent in the east to procure funds to purchase land for a site for the college, and while Topeka had failed in fulfilling its pledge, they were at work in good faith to do so, and he considered it neither just nor fair to open the question until they had, at least, heard from their agent. But his appeal was of no avail. The college was located at Lawrence on condition that Lawrence complied with its offer and it was called 'Monumental College.'"

25. Lawrence *Republican*, June 2, 1859.

26. This statement had a distinct "advertising value," but was plainly misrepresentation on the part of Simpson, as Amos Lawrence had not, by that date, committed himself so far. Mr. Lawrence entertained no prejudice against any group of real Christians that might control the new institution, but disliked to put himself in the ugly light of breaking

"Lawrence Fund,") have been obtained, are that the corporators commence improvements on the college site within six months, and expend twenty-five thousand dollars on the site within eighteen months. . . .

S. N. SIMPSON.<sup>27</sup>

The general association accepted the offer of Lawrence for Monumental College "on condition that the corporators of the college make good within three months the proposition which they have sent in—a board of trustees, to be chosen by this Association, being judges: Provided, That the trustees of the college shall make no improvement upon the proposed college site until they have \$25,000 in hand for that purpose."<sup>28</sup> In a statement to the press the moderator of the association (Lewis Bodwell) termed the offer "exceedingly liberal," including 170 acres of land adjoining the townsite, 1,200 acres in other parts of the territory, \$15,000 in money and 151 town lots in Lawrence and elsewhere.<sup>29</sup>

Before naming a board of trustees, a basis of organization was adopted, entitled, "Basis Adopted by the Association for Electing a Board of Trustees of Monumental College, and Defining Powers and Relations of Said Board." This instrument placed the projected college under the control of the association and under the immediate supervision of a board of trustees elected by that Congregational body. This board was granted the usual corporate powers, and was authorized to procure a liberal charter from the next legislature.<sup>30</sup>

As the agent of Monumental College, S. N. Simpson went East to obtain pledges of money and land and for a short time maintained a Boston office with the firm of Clapp, Fuller & Browne. The Boston

a prior promise. Under Congregational pressure he shifted chief responsibility for the disposition of his fund to his trustee, Charles Robinson. In October, 1859, Robinson and his colleague, Pomeroy, advised Mr. Lawrence that they agreed conditionally to abandon the Presbyterian college project in favor of the Congregational.—S. C. Pomeroy and C. Robinson to A. A. Lawrence, October 3, 1859, in photostats of letters collected by Frank E. Melvin. (The writer is much indebted to Dr. Melvin for his kind help in the involved subject of Monumental College.)

27. *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), July, pp. 45, 46.

28. *Ibid.* The three months' time granted to fulfill this offer seems quite as unreasonable as in the previous case at Topeka, but as a matter of fact a full year was given Lawrence.

29. *Lawrence Republican*, June 2, 1859. This list appears more correct than the one quoted above, signed by S. N. Simpson, and agrees with the account in the *Kansas Press*, Cottonwood Falls, of June 13, 1859. Lewis Bodwell added:

"The whole amount at the lowest estimate, is worth from \$40,000 to \$50,000, and some have estimated it at \$70,000. . . .

"The . . . whole sum was secured in little over three days. The paper on which the names of the donors are signed, makes a roll some eight feet long."

Peter McVicar termed the Lawrence subscription paper "the most formidable document ever presented to a Kansas assembly. . . . All other competitors, for the moment, were struck dumb with astonishment." Bodwell privately described the intense rivalry between towns which called forth such offers, as "astonishing, & when not contemptible is ridiculous."

30. The basis of organization is quoted in full in the *Cong. Record*, v. 1 (1859), July, pp. 46, 47. Congregational ministers were prominent on the board of trustees named at this time, which included Charles Robinson, a trustee of the Lawrence fund. Robert F. Beine of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society informs me that no specific charter was granted Monumental College by the Kansas legislature.



*Journal* praised the movement for a college in Kansas and pointed out the urgent need of prompt aid:

It is to be called "Monumental College," from the circumstance, we presume, that it is contemplated to bury beneath its walls the remains of those who fell while defending the cause of freedom in Kansas. It is to be located at Lawrence probably, where an eligible site has been offered. An act of incorporation has been obtained, under which an organization has been effected, comprising several of the best known men of the Territory. Building lots and subscriptions in building materials and money, amounting to \$4,000, have been devoted to the enterprise in Kansas. A citizen of Massachusetts has given securities for \$11,000, besides one hundred and fifty shares in the stock of the N. E. Emigrant Aid Company, on condition that \$20,000 additional shall be raised before the first of January, 1861. The receiving committee are Messrs. Ezra Farnsworth, Edward S. Tobey and John Field, of this city. The reference committee are Prof. Park, of Andover, Rev. F. D. Huntington, of Cambridge, and Rev. Charles Mason, of this city. The collecting agent is S. N. Simpson, at Clapp, Fuller & Browne's. . . . It will be seen that the contingencies under which the present subscriptions have been made, necessitate some promptitude on the part of those who purpose pecuniary aid. . . .<sup>31</sup>

The response to this campaign was not encouraging—apparently not sufficient money could be obtained within the limited time.<sup>32</sup> As had been foreseen by the proponents of a college at Topeka, such as Harvey D. Rice and John Ritchie, the Monumental College project soon entered an eclipse. Although he continued his efforts some months longer, by May, 1860, even Simpson spoke of it as a failure and was willing to give up any claim on the Amos Lawrence fund.<sup>33</sup> In short, the Monumental College episode was largely an attempt to induce the Congregationalists to abandon the idea of a college at Topeka for one at Lawrence inspired by local sectarian and personal motives. With the coöperation of the Rev. Richard Cordley, it was promoted by S. N. Simpson, his Sunday School superintendent, a typical early Kansas speculator in real estate.<sup>34</sup>

31. Copied in *Cong. Record*, v. 2 (1860), January, pp. 15-17, with the title, "Monumental College." Obviously it was based on data furnished by Simpson and for promotional purposes casts too favorable a light upon the college prospects. No act of incorporation had been passed, and the \$11,000 in securities with Emigrant Aid Company stock (Lawrence fund) was still in the control of the donor and his trustees.

32. From the start Monumental College competed with the Presbyterian Lawrence University, particularly for possession of the Lawrence fund. In midsummer of 1858 the initial steps were taken for the latter college, which was later chartered by the territorial legislature. Early in 1859 frequent meetings were held to complete organization and start the work of construction. Subsequently work was begun on a college building on Mt. Oread, Lawrence, and in August, 1859, the trustees, headed by Dr. C. E. Miner, announced that the Presbyterian Board of Education at Philadelphia had adopted the college and advanced limited funds for construction.

33. Rev. Charles Reynolds, Episcopal minister at Lawrence, to Amos A. Lawrence, May 31, 1860, in photostats of letters collected by Frank E. Melvin. The Episcopalians succeeded the Congregationalists as candidates for the Lawrence fund, but did not qualify for its award. In 1863 the fund played a large role in inducing the legislature to locate the state university at Lawrence.

34. Frank E. Melvin to the writer, dated June 28, 1947. He adds: "I knew and admired Dr. Cordley. . . . He doubtless was sincere but he was sectarian and he put across his objectives very determinedly without always being too particular how. Maybe

## DEPRESSION, DROUGHT AND WAR

The general association of the Congregational church convened at Topeka late in May, 1860, and appointed a committee to report on the college.<sup>35</sup> Early in August this committee met at Topeka, where a local paper remarked: "No place having made better offers for the college than Topeka, it was accordingly located here."<sup>36</sup> The terms of the offer resembled those of the previous occasion, including 160 acres of land (the George Davis claim, later termed the "permanent site") and a building for an academy.<sup>37</sup> By this time, however, a searing drought was adding its havoc to that caused by financial depression, and by 1861 civil war further darkened the picture.

Nevertheless, in May of that year the general association, in its meeting at Leavenworth, received an offer from Maj. H. W. Farnsworth of Topeka, the president of the board of trustees, which it voted "fair and just," and recommended that the trustees obtain a charter and "that the property already acquired be transferred to this incorporated body. . . ."<sup>38</sup> Depression and war seem to have proven insurmountable obstacles to the erection of a school building at this time.

*The Congregational Record* mourned the three tragic years that had followed the meeting of October, 1858, in Manhattan, when the college project was formally launched:

We had just originated a College—on a magnificent scale. That College would need an organ, and the Professors would constitute an able corps of writers. In two years the College would be in full blast, and there would be a demand for an enlargement of the *Record*. . . . Verily, we blew some large bubbles at that meeting. . . . We could not then foresee that three such years of trial were to settle upon our history. Kansas *had had* four years of turmoil, and we proudly believed she had received her share. . . .

Cordley was taken in by Simpson. Mr. Lawrence felt *he* was. *He* was glad when Simpson dropped the campaign for the college, soon after queering the bona fide Presbyterian effort, and went into a political campaign instead. . . . Later Simpson and Robinson fell out and Robinson told plenty which was evidently true about Simpson's chicanery. Indeed Mr. Lawrence ought to have been adequately warned by a letter of May 9, 1859, from Robinson telling him that the Congregationalists (i. e. Simpson) were working up a rival movement with dubious features."

35. *Cong. Record*, v. 2 (1860), July, p. 42. It was soon rumored that the college "has been permanently located in Topeka."—See the *Topeka Tribune*, June 2, 1860.

36. *Topeka State Record*, copied in *Lawrence Republican*, August 16, 1860.

37. Rice states in his *Reminiscences* (p. 11): "The spring of 1860, the Association met at Topeka. The college question again came up. Lawrence not having complied with its pledge, it was open for propositions. Topeka offered one hundred and sixty acres together with a building for the school, which was accepted by the Association, thus securing for Topeka the location. The college was known as the 'Topeka Institute.' The spring of 1861 found Kansas a State. . . . The Association called for a deed to the land. Col. Ritchie having gone into the army sent to me a power of attorney to execute with his wife a deed to the land. Mrs. Ritchie and myself executed the first deed to the college site where Washburn now stands. On account of the war nothing more was done until 1865."

38. *Cong. Record*, v. 3 (1861), July, p. 42.



Financial disaster followed on the heels of civil tumult, and famine completed the desolation. Few States have gone through the fire as Kansas has. It is no wonder her progress has fallen short of our expectations. . . .<sup>39</sup>

Despite hardship and uncertainty, when the general association met at Burlingame late in May, 1863, it resolved to take steps toward obtaining "a liberal endowment of lands and other property as a vested fund for the benefit of such educational institutions as the interest of the cause, in connection with our body may require."<sup>40</sup> By this means it was hoped to supply destitute fields with missionaries, "by raising up, so far as possible, young men from our own churches, and in part, or wholly, preparing them for the Gospel ministry." It was also resolved:

That it shall be discretionary with the Board of Trustees when to start an Academy of a high literary order and religious tone; to be located at or near Topeka; open to both sexes; and whose especial aim and object shall be to prepare young men for the Gospel ministry.

WHEREAS: State Colleges have been located at Manhattan and Lawrence, and largely endowed, which, if properly conducted, may meet the wants of the churches and the people of the State.

Resolved, That we will cordially co-operate in, and urge upon others, the work of building up these Colleges on a thoroughly un-sectarian and evangelical basis.<sup>41</sup>

During the years of conflict the Kansas border was plagued by guerrilla warfare, the raids of Quantrill and Price in particular casting a reign of fear over the entire region. From her sparse population Kansas contributed so many men to the armed forces that thousands of acres once fenced and tilled now became the prey of weeds and prairie fires.<sup>42</sup> The shortage of manpower affected the state of religion, inducing the Kansas agent of the American Home Missionary Society, Lewis Bodwell, to deplore the lack of a *trained* and *intelligent* ministry:

39. *Ibid.*, October, pp. 61, 62, entitled, "Three Years Old."

40. *Ibid.*, v. 5 (1863), July and August, p. 79, being the "Report of the Committee on Colleges," appended to the "minutes" of the general association. It was also voted to appoint a board of nine trustees, "to be composed of efficient men, in different parts of our State, to solicit and secure grants of land and other property, to be vested for the above specified purposes. . . ." The following board of trustees was named:

For one year—Rev. Peter McVicar, Rev. R. Cordley, Rev. S. D. Storrs.

For two years—Dr. E. Teft, Rev. J. D. Liggett, J. E. Platt.

For three years—H. D. Rice, H. D. Preston, R. M. Wright.

In the obtaining of an adequate endowment a denominational school was at a disadvantage, as compared to public institutions, which after the Morrill act of 1862 could under certain conditions obtain federal lands to aid in industrial and mechanical education.—*U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 12, pp. 503-505.

41. *Cong. Record*, v. 5 (1863), July and August, p. 79. In May, 1864, the general association, meeting at Grasshopper Falls, received merely a verbal report from its committee on education. McVicar, Cordley and Storrs were re-elected college trustees.

42. The records of the United States Adjutant General state (quoted in Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*, p. 416): "Under all calls, the quota of Kansas was 12,931; she furnished 20,151; the aggregate, reduced to a three-years standard, was 18,706."

At least seventeen organized counties of our state, each peopled by from 500 to 5400 of our brethren . . . are almost wholly destitute of the ministrations of a pure & intelligently taught gospel.<sup>43</sup>

#### INCORPORATION OF LINCOLN COLLEGE

Finally late in 1864 and early in 1865 "light began to dawn upon the nation. Sherman was marching triumphantly to the sea, while Grant was holding the siege at Richmond, thus rendering the victory of the Union army assured."<sup>44</sup> Now seemed to be the time to found a Christian college in Kansas, which would carry on in the West the precepts of the Pilgrim forefathers, provide a trained ministry close at hand and serve as a living memorial to the final victory of freedom. The committee on education of the general association later remarked (May, 1865):

Such, however, was the disrupted condition of our State and country, that the Trustees did not deem it advisable to move in the matter, until the commencement of the present year, when the prospect of a speedy and permanent peace, together with the consequent development of the State, impressed the conviction that the time had come for definite and earnest action in the direction marked out by the resolutions of the General Association [of 1863]. The unprecedented liberality of the public and christian mind at the East in the endowment of colleges, urged itself as an additional reason for making an immediate effort.

The first step, of course, was to investigate the legality of the Incorporation. But it was soon ascertained that no act of incorporation had ever been complied with, and that the title to the permanent site was conveyed to a body having no legal existence. After due consultation . . . it was thought best to organize at once, with the required number of corporators, adopt a corporate name, together with articles of association, and become a body corporate, with power to elect a Board of Trustees and submit the whole to the approval of the General Association at its present meeting.<sup>45</sup>

On January 25, 1865, a meeting of the incorporators of Lincoln College was held in the city of Topeka, and an instrument of in-

43. Annual report to the American Home Missionary Society, dated Geneva, Allen county, March 1, 1864, in "Bodwell Papers," MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society. He continued: "Much that is spoken of & gloried in, as the spread of evangelical religion, is in my opinion but little better than heathenism slightly civilized; & its services carried on with Scripture phraseology; but only in *exceptional cases* transforming the life, whatever it may do with the heart. Honesty, truthfulness, peacefulness, study of the word, & regard for the Sabbath; seldom long surviving the two or three weeks of a biennial or tri-ennial season of shouting, screaming, dancing & rolling on the floor; called a revival! I speak what I have seen of the most common form of pioneer 'evangelisation.'"

By September, 1865, the ministerial shortage was so great that the Congregationalists, meeting at Grasshopper Falls, offered encouragement to lay brothers of suitable qualifications to apply for licenses to preach.

44. McVicar's *An Historical Sketch of Washburn College, by the President* (Topeka, 1886), p. 5.

45. Minutes of the general association, meeting at Topeka, May 18-22, 1865.—*Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), June, pp. 8-12.



corporation drafted, entitled, "Articles of Association in the Incorporation of Lincoln College."<sup>46</sup> It was soon learned that if they were to transact business in a legal manner, without a formal act of incorporation from the legislature, they must meet the requirements set forth in "An act to enable the Trustees of Colleges, Academies, Universities and other Institutions, Societies and Companies, to become bodies corporate," approved February 9, 1859.<sup>47</sup> To comply with the law the incorporators delegated a committee to make application to Alfred I. Winans, probate judge of Shawnee county, who, on February 4, 1865, appointed Joshua Knowles, Joseph C. Miller and John Elliott appraisers. These men prepared a complete schedule of the property and other assets of the college, which totaled \$7,228. Judge Winans thereupon affixed his signature and official seal, February 6, 1865, with the assertion that this amount "is considered to be a sufficient sum for the commencement of the purpose of said parties applying."<sup>48</sup> The appraisers' list included property, cash and services "for the use and benefit of *Lincoln College*, to be located at Topeka, Kansas." The nature of these entries makes it clear that many items were really pledges, and the whole

46. "First Secretary's Book of Lincoln and Washburn College," pp. 5-7. This valuable record, which contains the minutes of the meetings of the college trustees, is deposited in the archives of Washburn Municipal University; hereafter it will be cited as the "First Secretary's Book." The writer looked in vain for contemporary accounts of the first meetings, but was defeated by a serious lack of newspaper coverage for Topeka at that time. The *Articles of Association in the Incorporation of Lincoln College* were printed separately, and were also published in the *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), July, pp. 23, 24, but since they appear with further remarks added at the meetings of February 6, 1865, they will be quoted below from the "First Secretary's Book."

47. *General Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 1859*, Ch. 36, pp. 305-327. Section 2 of this act provided that three appraisers submit to the probate judge a complete schedule of all the "goods, chattels, lands and tenements, choses in action, rights, credits and subscriptions as such applicants shall exhibit to said appraisers . . . and if the amount so found shall be equal to the sum required for the commencement of any such institution as said applicants desire, such probate judge shall give such applicants a certificate of the fact, and they shall enter it in a book of records . . . which, together with their corporate name, and the articles of association, they shall also cause to be recorded in the recorder's office of the county where such institution is or is intended to be located, and they shall thenceforward be a body corporate and politic, according to the provisions of this act. . . ."

48. The "First Secretary's Book," p. 9, contains the certification of Judge Winans. A marginal notation, repeated several times, states that the *Articles of Association* and accompanying documents were "Rec'd for Record February 6th 5 o'Clock P. M., 1865. Recorded in Vol. 9 Page 239 [and 240] G. B Holmes Register"—Holmes then being the Register of Deeds of Shawnee county.

In the library of Washburn Municipal University there is a manuscript booklet which reviews this procedure, entitled, "Steps in Law pertaining to Trustees of Lincoln Col.—Alias Lincoln College—Alias Washburn College." The *Articles of Association*, a circular prepared for general distribution, made no mention of these steps in the probate court.

In 1866, when Lincoln College applied for aid from the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West, the officials of that organization raised the question of the legality of incorporation, but after examining the *Articles of Association* along with the *Revised Statutes of Kansas*, they were entirely satisfied.

schedule was more a subscription list than a statement of fluid resources. Contributions included the following:

APPRAISER'S LIST—INITIAL DONATIONS TO LINCOLN COLLEGE

John Ritchie	
1/4 Sec. Land (Davis Claim) <sup>49</sup> .....	\$2,400
2 Lots, 25 x 75 feet, corner Kansas & 10th Av.....	200
Cash .....	400
Harvey D. Rice	
Cash and labor at cash price .....	1,000
Erastus Tefft	
80 acres Land—Auburn .....	200
In cash .....	250
C. F. Van Horne	
80 acres Land—Mission Creek .....	175
S. D. Bowker—Cash .....	100
E. W. Hyde, " .....	100
F. P. Baker, within one year cash.....	95
Douthitt & Greer	
40 acres of Land, Town 12—Range 15 .....	80
John Elliott—Labor .....	50
S. J. Crawford, Cash in 6 months .....	100
C. K. Gilchrist—Cash one & two years .....	90
F. L. Crane	
One Lot valued at Cash .....	100
D. H. Horne Cash .....	100
J. R. Swallow .....	100
Wychoff & Stringham	
In Painting &c. at Cash price .....	75
Theodore Mills Cash .....	50
W. E. Bowker " .....	50
Joseph & Nelson Ritchie	
in teaming at Cash price .....	100
[and 43 other contributions]	
[Total] .....	
	\$7,228 <sup>50</sup>

The complete preamble and articles of incorporation which were thus made effective read as follows:

49. The narrative of H. D. Rice, quoted above, makes it clear that \$1,600, from a sum of \$2,000 which he borrowed in the East in 1859, was used to buy the George Davis claim, Ritchie giving a mortgage on his farm for repayment of the loan. In the early years Ritchie seems to have acted as informal trustee of this "permanent site" of the college.

50. This schedule appears on pages 10, 11 and 12 of the "First Secretary's Book," and is signed by the appraisers, Joshua Knowles, Joseph C. Miller and John Elliott. This writer has added a title.



Articles of Association in the Incorporation of  
LINCOLN COLLEGE

We, the Undersigned, desirous of becoming a body corporate and politic, by the name and title of

"TRUSTEES OF LINCOLN COLLEGE,"

do associate ourselves together, for the purposes set forth in the Preamble and Articles of Association, adopted by us, at a meeting held in the City of Topeka on the 25th day of January 1865, and which read as follows—

PREAMBLE

Desiring to promote the diffusion of knowledge and the advancement of virtue and religion, we do associate ourselves together for the object and purposes herein certified— To wit: 51

ARTICLE 1ST.

To establish at, or near the City of Topeka, the Capital of Kansas, and secure the Incorporation of an institution of learning, of a high literary and religious character, to be named "LINCOLN COLLEGE," which shall commemorate the triumph of Liberty over Slavery in our nation, and serve as a memorial of those fallen in defence of their country

ARTICLE II.

To make said College an engine for the furtherance of those ideas of civil and religious liberty which actuated our Fathers in the Revolutionary struggle, and which are now achieving a signal victory in the triumph of free principles.

ARTICLE III.

To afford to all classes, without distinction of color, the advantages of a liberal education, thus fitting them for positions of responsibility and usefulness—

ARTICLE IV.

To aid deserving young men to obtain an education, such as shall fit them for the Gospel Ministry, thereby helping to supply the pressing demand for laborers in the States and Territories west of the Missouri River.

ARTICLE V.

To establish a number of free Scholarships that shall afford tuition free of charge, to indigent and meritorious young persons

ARTICLE VI

To raise by subscription or otherwise, such a sum of money as shall be sufficient to erect a suitable building for the Preparatory Department of the College, and to continue to solicit funds until an endowment of one hundred thousand dollars shall be secured.

ARTICLE VII

Be it further declared that it is the intent and purpose of this Association, that the Board of Trustees of said College, shall be so constituted at all times

51. The "Articles of Association in the Incorporation of Lincoln College," published in circular form and also in the *Congregational Record*, has a preamble of somewhat different wording than this text from the "First Secretary's Book," but the seven articles that follow are identical, with the exception of a few errors.

that its members shall be acceptable to the General Association of the Congregational Ministers and churches in Kansas.

We do hereby make an application to the Hon. Judge of Probate of Shawnee County, State of Kansas, to select three disinterested and judicious free holders of said County to appraise all moneys, lands, trusts, credits and subscriptions of said applicants according to Section 2 of an Act entitled "An Act to enable the Trustees of Colleges Academies Universities and other institutions Societies and Companies to become bodies corporate," approved February 9th 1859.

## Names

Harrison Hannahs  
Peter McVicar  
J. W. Fox  
H. D. Rice  
Ira H. Smith

Lewis Bodwell  
H. W. Farnsworth  
W. E. Bowker  
A. G. Bodwell<sup>52</sup>

[Here follow the records of the Probate Court summarized above.]

On February 6, 1865, the incorporators of Lincoln College met "pursuant to adjournment" and "accepted and adopted" the report of their committee on incorporation.<sup>53</sup> By-laws and other regulations were also adopted defining the qualifications and powers of the college trustees.<sup>54</sup> The first board of trustees was then elected to hold office until the first annual election in May, 1865. It was decided that the governor of the state and, when chosen, the president of the college should be members of this body, ex-officio. The regular members follow:

Rev. Peter McVicar  
Rev. S. D. Storrs  
Rev. J. D. Liggett  
Rev. Ira H. Smith  
Rev. R. Cordley  
Harrison Hannah Esq.

Col. J. Ritchie  
H. D. Rice Esq.  
W. E. Bowker Esq.  
Rev. J. W. Fox  
Maj. H. W. Farnsworth  
W. W. H. Lawrence Esq.

Ira H. Smith Secretary<sup>55</sup>

Immediately thereafter the first meeting of the college trustees was held, with Peter McVicar as chairman. Officers were elected, a building committee was chosen, and the Rev. Samuel D. Bowker

52. "First Secretary's Book," pp. 5-9; "Record Book" of the register of deeds of Shawnee county, v. 9, pp. 239, 240; also, for the seven "Articles" see *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), July, pp. 23, 24, and the separately published *Articles of Association in the Incorporation of Lincoln College*.

53. "First Secretary's Book," p. 13—the first meeting recorded in the "minutes." McVicar, Fox, Rice, W. E. Bowker and A. G. Bodwell were present.

54. The board of trustees was to consist of 12 persons, chosen by ballot, five of whom were to constitute a quorum to transact business. At all times five were to be resident free-holders of Shawnee county. The trustees were authorized to fill vacancies in their board and to possess all powers regularly conferred upon such officials by the third and fifth sections of the corporation law of 1859. Special meetings were to be announced in a Topeka paper at least ten days in advance.

55. *Ibid.* The slate published in the *Articles of Association* is similar, but places the governor of the state at the head of the list.



was made financial agent.<sup>56</sup> The building committee was instructed "to select a site for a preparatory school and contract for the building of a two-story house the cost of which shall not exceed seven thousand dollars."<sup>57</sup> Bowker was made agent of the trustees and empowered to raise funds in the East toward a college endowment, in accord with his proposal of January 20, 1865.<sup>58</sup> These arrangements were intended to take care of the more weighty business matters of the new college until the first annual meeting late in May of that year.

#### THE NAMING OF LINCOLN COLLEGE

Since the new college was designed as a memorial to the victory of freedom over slavery and was to be located where the first successful skirmishes had been carried out to stop the expansion of the "peculiar institution," it was regarded particularly fitting to adopt the name of "Lincoln College." A circular of 1866 pointed out:

The name chosen was selected out of respect and love for him who was then the Chief Magistrate of the nation, Abraham Lincoln. Among the reasons that led to the choice of that name were the following:

1. It was in connection with the discussion of those great public questions that grew out of the settlement of Kansas that Mr. Lincoln became known to the country.

2. It was understood that Kansas gave the largest popular majority for his re-election, in proportion to her population, of any State in the Union.

3. The name of President Lincoln was in the minds of the founders of the College, indissolubly connected with the perpetuity of the American Union and the triumph of Free Institutions, and as such appropriate for a College whose establishment was sought by those who would perpetuate civil and religious liberty.<sup>59</sup>

On his trip east as agent of the college trustees, Samuel D. Bowker called on President Lincoln, who cordially approved the proposed institution of learning. Bowker later wrote:

56. "First Secretary's Book," pp. 16, 17. McVicar was named president *pro tem*, Ira H. Smith, secretary; W. E. Bowker, treasurer, and H. D. Rice and H. W. Farnsworth, auditors. J. Ritchie, W. E. Bowker and Ira H. Smith were placed on the building committee.

57. *Ibid.*

58. He had offered to do this for a year if his expenses were paid, "and if I secure an endowment of \$20,000, then I shall be paid a salary of \$1,000 S. D. Bowker."

59. *Lincoln College, Incorporation and Name*, a broadside in the Washburn Municipal University library, written in 1866 to promote the endowment campaign. S. D. Bowker may have been the author. The content of this circular is further discussed in the section on college endowment.

On page 307 of Edward Stanwood's *A History of the Presidency* (Boston and New York, 1898), the table of returns for the election of 1864 lists Kansas as having cast 14,228 votes for Lincoln and only 3,871 for his opponent, George B. McClellan (the soldier vote was not counted). Kansas then cast over 78% of its total vote for Lincoln—a higher proportion than any other state, although Vermont with over 76% was a close competitor.

BOSTON, MASS.,  
May, 1865.

Dear Sir:

The suggestion has been made to the American People, that it would be well to found and endow a College, to be dedicated to the memory of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. I wish, therefore to call public attention to "Lincoln College," incorporated Feb. 6, 1865, and state to you that the success of this Institution was a matter of deep concern to President Lincoln, and that, *during the week of his re-inauguration, he expressed to me his cordial approval of its design and gave assurance of his prospective aid in its behalf.*<sup>60</sup>

The tragic death of Lincoln, which took place soon after the launching of the Kansas college, gave added point to the founding of an institution in his memory and promoted the campaign for its endowment. The following circular presented this theme in an effective manner:

### LINCOLN MONUMENTAL COLLEGE

A  
MONUMENT  
OF THE  
TRIUMPH

Dedicated to the Memory of  
ABRAHAM LINCOLN,  
President of the United States,  
From March 4th, 1861, to April 15th, 1865

OF  
FREEDOM  
OVER  
SLAVERY

This Institution has been incorporated at Topeka, the Capitol of Kansas, where a site of 160 acres of land has been donated and the first college building erected.

#### DESIGN

The design of the Institution is both patriotic and benevolent. At that point, in the very centre of the continent, where Slavery was first turned back, it is proposed to erect a MONUMENT that shall commemorate to all coming time, the Triumph of Freedom and serve as a standing memorial of those whose efforts have contributed to so glorious a result.

In carrying out this design the Trustees secured an act of incorporation, Feb. 6, 1865, and were afforded the assurance that President Lincoln took a deep interest in the success of the enterprise. By the sudden death of the great and good man whom the Nation mourns as its second Father, it be-

<sup>60</sup>. Broadside in Washburn Municipal University library, entitled, *On Lincoln College*. This document continued:

"Hon. John Sherman, of Ohio, Hon. Charles Sumner, of Mass., Hon. Horace Greeley, of New York, Maj. Gen. Howard, of Maine, Prof. C. D. Cleveland, of Philadelphia, Rev. W. H. Channing, of Washington, D. C., E. S. Tobey, Esq., of Boston, the U. S. Senators and Representatives from Kansas, and many others, fully endorse and commend the enterprise. . . .

S. D. BOWKER,

Agent for the Trustees of Lincoln College."  
A skeleton "Letter of Commendation" followed, which was used in other appeals for financial aid and will be referred to later.



came a monument to him whose name it had adopted. The object sought in the establishment of this College was the furtherance of those ideas of civil and religious liberty which actuated our Fathers in the Revolutionary conflict and which have now received a new baptism in the successful struggle for the maintenance of the government. . . .

What memorial more in accordance with the unostentatious character of him whom the Nation mourns than a MONUMENTAL COLLEGE, established to perpetuate the principles . . . in whose support he became a martyr? Situated near the heart of the continent it will stand sentinel evermore over the broad land whose union he consummated and whose future glory it will be that so unselfish a man twice received the highest gift at the hands of the American people.<sup>61</sup>

#### APPROVAL OF THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION

At the meeting of the "General Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches in Kansas," at Topeka, May 18-22, 1865, the committee on education presented an extended report which reviewed the early attempts to found a college, commented with favor upon the progress already made at Topeka, and gave detailed suggestions to promote the college in the future:

What is needed now is an endowment sufficient to support at least two efficient teachers to open a preparatory and scientific department. For such an endowment we must first look to our own State. . . . It will be useless to go abroad for funds, unless the churches and communities of Kansas shall have done their part.

Your committee, therefore, deem it very essential to the success of the enterprise, that the General Association at its present session, devise some measure or measures by which ten thousand dollars towards an endowment fund shall be secured at once in this State. . . .<sup>62</sup> This ten thousand dollar fund, together with the \$10,000 secured in Topeka by way of building and permanent grounds, will furnish a Kansas basis of \$20,000, on which basis as a proof of our own interest in the College, \$30,000 more can be raised at the East. To this end the Trustees have secured the services of Rev. S. D. Bowker to act as agent in soliciting funds at the East. . . . He has already . . . secured nearly \$5,000 in cash, and over three hundred valuable volumes as a nucleus for a College library.

61. Broadside in Washburn Municipal University library, probably written in the spring of 1865. The entire document may have been penned by S. D. Bowker—at least his "Letter of Commendation" serves as the conclusion, which is signed by the two senators from Kansas, Lane and Pomeroy, and the member of congress, Sidney Clarke; the governor of Kansas, S. J. Crawford, and the chief state officials; and men of national prominence, including Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner and John Sherman.

This circular pointed out that steps were being taken to set up scholarships in honor of the military and naval heroes of the war, and thereby "to have the names of all the distinguished Champions of Freedom thus recorded upon the tablet of history. It is the aim of the Trustees to SECURE what has been done for the establishment of Liberty, by planting an institution whose influence, . . . shall aid in the diffusion of knowledge, and wield its power for the promotion of public virtue. . . . May not its endowment by the American people well be a work of Christian patriotism?"

62. The report pointed out that \$2,000 of this sum was already pledged. To raise the balance it suggested cash subscriptions, notes of individuals and the disposal of scholarships at \$100 each.

The indications of general approval . . . abundantly show that brethren at the East are ready to respond heartily to our efforts here. . . . What they want to have is an assurance that the ministers and churches of this Association are *earnest* and *united* in the establishment of this institution. . . . The "Society for Promoting Collegiate and Theological Education at the West," . . . encourages us . . . that it will aid a college in Kansas, under the care of our body, whenever it shall exist as a College.

. . . 63

We believe that a new epoch is dawning upon Kansas. . . . The great railroad lines now penetrating our State, will doubtless induce a heavy immigration; and now is the time to bring to bear on this formative period, the moulding power of Christian institutions.

In no other way can we so effectually supply the constant and increasing demand for laborers in Christ's vineyard. . . .

Whence, then, is to come an educated ministry to supply this increasing demand, unless . . . at the very center of this vast region, an institution . . . shall send forth . . . young men prepared . . . to break to others the bread of life . . . a savor of life unto life, to all who may come under its influence?<sup>64</sup>

The general association adopted the report of its committee on education, approved the steps already taken for a college at Topeka, and took concrete steps to promote an endowment campaign for the college, both by Kansas churches and by those in other parts of the country. Its resolutions follow:

*Resolved*, That the interest of Christ's cause in the Trans-Missouri Valley, demands that we take efficient steps to establish one and but one College under our care, and that we cordially sympathize with the efforts now being made for the endowment of Lincoln College.

63. In the interest of an endowment the report urged that the association negotiate with this organization, which had recently been relieved of further assistance to Beloit, Wabash, and Marietta colleges.

The Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West was founded in 1843 in order to reduce the appeals from Western colleges to Eastern benefactors, and to systematize contributions. Theron Baldwin, member of the Yale band who had helped found Illinois College, was the first to conceive the idea, in which he was joined by President Edward Beecher of that institution. The society soon became very powerful among Western colleges of New York and New England background and was for some time supported by both New School Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Its endorsement became necessary for financial aid and was not given without careful examination, thereby discouraging speculative college projects. The list of Western colleges sponsored by the society became very impressive, including in the western Mississippi valley Grinnell (Iowa College), Washburn College in Kansas, Doane College in Nebraska, Carleton College in Minnesota, and Colorado College.—See James F. Willard and Colin B. Goodykoontz (eds.), *The Trans-Mississippi West* (Boulder, Colo., 1930), pp. 80-84, and Peter G. Mode, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity* (New York, 1923), pp. 60-65.

64. *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), June, pp. 8-12, entitled, "Report No. 1." In his annual report for 1865 ("Bodwell papers"), Lewis Bodwell wrote in a like tone and described the founding of Lincoln College: "To the Ch'hs & schools & seminaries of the east we have thus far been indebted for our laborers. Never in the past has the supply equalled the want. From the regions beyond us already come calls as urgent as our own, while the supply is no greater. . . . Our present wants, our future ones, & those of fields still farther west, prompt us to try & prepare a school in which as God from time to time shall furnish them; we may prepare men & women for the missionary work. . . . With a home pledge of nearly \$10,000, we begin this great work. . . . I enclose the articles of incorporation & the Appeal with which we shall appear before our friends, asking for their sake as well as ours that they will aid us in establishing the first Puritan college for free Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, & the great states along the eastern ranges of the Rocky mountains."



*Resolved*, That we recommend to the Trustees of Lincoln College, to appoint a suitable person, who shall, as soon as practicable, visit our churches in the State, in order to secure by cash subscriptions, notes and scholarships, the *ten thousand dollar* Endowment Fund suggested by the Committee on Education, and that this Association earnestly recommend that the churches respond liberally to the appeal.

*Resolved*, That our Messengers to the National Council, which convenes at Boston, be requested to present the claims of a College in Kansas, established for Christ and the Churches, to Rev. Ray Palmer, D. D., Chairman of the Committee, appointed by the National Council, "on Education for the Ministry," and also to Rev. Theron Baldwin, corresponding Secretary of the "Society for promoting collegiate and theological Education at the West," with a view to secure the approval and co-operation of these bodies in the efforts now being made in Kansas and at the East for the endowment of Lincoln College.<sup>65</sup>

#### COLLEGE ENDOWMENT

With the official backing of the general association of the Congregational Church of Kansas, the future of Lincoln College appeared more hopeful. As the champion of Puritan ideals of freedom in a period when men had witnessed a fresh baptism of these principles, the infant college might aspire to a worthy role, but its hopes of future usefulness rested on the mundane base of adequate financial support. Dedicated to Christian ideals and bearing the name of the Great Emancipator, the college might hope for many friends of influence and substance, but whether they would be generous enough to make the venture a permanent success was an open question.

In order to properly launch the program for endowment a number of circulars were issued from time to time, narrating in some detail the history and future plans of Lincoln College and appealing for financial aid. One of the first of these, entitled, *An Appeal to Congregational Churches in Behalf of Lincoln College*, was a circular apparently inspired or written in part by Samuel D. Bowker and Lewis Bodwell.<sup>66</sup> It reviewed the work of incorporation, the great need for "the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom" and for such a college in the West, described the progress already achieved and then made this appeal:

65. "Minutes" of the general association, May 20, 1865, *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), June, p. 3. The report of the committee to nominate trustees for the college was also adopted, recommending the re-election of the existing board. On May 22, 1865, the first annual meeting of the trustees of Lincoln College was held at Topeka, and, in accord "with the nominations received from the general Association," the incumbent trustees were re-elected: McVicar, Storrs, Liggitt and Smith for three years; Cordley, Hannahs, Ritchie and Rice for two years, and W. E. Bowker, Fox, Farnsworth and Lawrence for one year.—"First Secretary's Book," p. 22. No other business of importance was transacted.

66. In his annual report of March 1, 1865, to the American Home Missionary Society, Bodwell mentioned the *Appeal*, indicating that this was one of the first circulars of this nature.

And now, dear brethren, having done what we could, we look to you for encouragement and material aid, to enable us to consummate an undertaking commenced, as we trust, mainly for the honor of Christ's name and the advancement of his blessed kingdom. Donations of money or books can be sent to the agent, Rev. S. D. Bowker, No. 56 Court Street, Boston, Mass., or forwarded to Rev. Peter McVicar, President of the Board of Trustees, Topeka, Kansas.<sup>67</sup>

The circular was concluded with an "Extract From a Letter Written by Rev. Lewis Bodwell, Agent for the American Home Missionary Society, for Kansas," in which he again stressed his favorite theme of ministerial training.

A similar document of about the same date was entitled, *Lincoln College.—A Monument of the Triumph of Freedom in the United States*. It included a statement of the trustees (whose names appear at the end), a summary of the articles of incorporation, a more detailed explanation of the proposed plan for professorships and scholarships and an appeal for aid from the friends of freedom. Every gift of a thousand dollars "establishes a Scholarship that gives free tuition to some deserving person, as long as the College stands." The scholarships were to be named after heroes of the Civil War and the professorships after men like Chief Justice Chase and Charles Sumner who had been leaders in the struggle for emancipation.<sup>68</sup> The object was to render secure "the establishment of Liberty by planting an institution whose influence shall be untrammelled by any distinction of caste or party. Established on the corner stone of *Equal Rights to all men*, it will disseminate sound principles and thus help to build up, West of the Missouri, another New England." An appeal for financial aid followed, and the circular ended with the assertion that \$100,000 was needed toward a permanent endowment. Rev. S. D. Bowker had been named agent to solicit funds for both endowment and scholarships and was also authorized to accept donations of books, apparatus and other useful articles.<sup>69</sup>

A third endowment circular of 1865 has already been described,

67. This is followed by the list of college trustees, a quotation from the resolutions of the general association of 1865 and the "Letter of Commendation" in praise of the effort toward endowment. A copy of this broadside is the property of the Kansas State Historical Society.

68. These plans for professorships and scholarships were very much a vision of the future, unsupported by the necessary cash. When the college opened in January, 1866, the only scholarships were those which remitted the fees of soldiers or their children, the children of home missionaries, students studying for the ministry and other worthy indigent persons—provided these were of limited numbers. Endowed professorships were still a dream of years to come.

69. Contributions of money would be invested in United States bonds. "What is done for the College will thus be a loan to the Government, as well as a gift to a Christian enterprise." This circular was also published in a slightly different form, with the following heading: *An Appeal to the Public, By the Trustees of Lincoln College.*



*Lincoln Monumental College, a Monument of the Triumph of Freedom Over Slavery.* It included a "Recommendation" by the Kansas delegation in congress and the chief state executive officers, reading as follows:

RECOMMENDATION.

We, the undersigned, do certify that we regard the establishment of a College in the city of Topeka, Kansas, as an object deserving the countenance and support of all who desire the advancement of intelligence and the progress of free institutions West of the Missouri river. That such an institution is greatly needed at the present time, to forward the work begun by the Free-State men of Kansas, of disseminating right ideas of civil and religious liberty. That the complete organization and endowment of "Lincoln College," an institution located in the city of Topeka, would, in our judgment, meet this want. And that the Trustees of said College are men of such character and standing, that the public may have entire confidence in their representations, and safely rely upon their using the funds subscribed for the purposes for which they are solicited.<sup>70</sup>

In 1866 an additional endowment circular was issued, entitled, *Lincoln College—Incorporation and Name*, which gave the reasons for the adoption of the name of the war president and, under "Location," enumerated in detail the advantages claimed for Topeka, proof that a college situated there "can do more for the advancement of sound learning than any other college yet planted West of the Missouri river." The greatest need of the college was now "an endowment whose amplitude will warrant the employment of the most able teachers the country affords." Under "Design of the Founders" this circular pointed out that the rapid settlement of the states along the Missouri river had created a pronounced need for a "*Strong Protestant Centre of Education*" that would advance science and literature and "disseminate correct ideas of civil and religious liberty. Within the circle of 500 miles . . . no institution properly denominated a College can be found of the New England type. . . . They [the founders] would plant . . . 'A College which like Bowdoin, Harvard, Dartmouth and Yale promises to be a new centre of vigor, manhood, intelligence and truth.' " <sup>71</sup>

As financial agent of the college trustees, and of whom it was later said "the college owes, well nigh, its existence," Samuel D.

70. A broadside at the Washburn Municipal University library which is concluded with the "Letter of Commendation" already quoted. At the top of the title page are pencilled words of endorsement, not entirely legible, by "S. D. B."—Samuel D. Bowker.

In content these circulars often repeat one another—thus the "Recommendation" quoted above also appeared in the preceding circular.

71. A document also found at Washburn Municipal University. It charged "that Romanism, on the one hand, and German infidelity on the other, early acquired a wide spread influence in this [Missouri] valley."

Bowker was probably the chief author of these appeals.<sup>72</sup> At their first meeting the trustees had empowered him, as their agent, to obtain funds in the East toward an endowment. In May, 1865, he wrote from Boston that he had secured the "cordial approval" of President Lincoln, the Kansas delegation in congress and many others of national prominence, including John Sherman of Ohio, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Horace Greeley of New York.<sup>73</sup> When the general association met late in May, its special committee termed Bowker "peculiarly fitted in mind and heart for the work," and, although chiefly occupied with preparatory work, he had already "secured nearly \$5,000 in cash, and over three hundred valuable volumes as a nucleus for a college library."<sup>74</sup>

Bowker established a Boston office and remained in the East through the summer and early fall of 1865, achieving some success although the existence of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West greatly reduced his field of operation. He apparently attended the national council of Congregational churches held at Boston in June, where the following resolutions were adopted in behalf of Lincoln College:

WHEREAS,—Our brethren in Kansas are laying the foundations of a Congregational College, which shall—on the field of its early victory—be a monument of the triumph of Freedom over Slavery: a memorial of that Christian Emancipator whose name it bears: a center of congregational and Christian

72. Rev. Samuel D. Bowker was born at Blanchard, Maine, April 2, 1835. "From his third to his sixteenth year a resident of Munson, in 1851 he removed to Biddsford, where two years later and at the age of eighteen he became the subject of converting grace, . . . during the next year, at Phillips Academy in Andover, [he] entered upon the work of preparation for the ministry. After pursuing his theological studies at Bangor [Theological Seminary], from 1857 to 1860, in the autumn of the year last named, he was settled as pastor of the Congregational Church in Winthrop. Two years of labor here resulted in a failure of health, and . . . his resignation. Being partially restored by a few months rest, he . . . accepted a call to the Congregational Church of New Market, N. H. where he began his labors in March, 1863. Here during a revival in the winter of 1863-4, over exertion induced a hemorrhage of the lungs, . . . and in November 1864 he sought our state [Kansas] to recruit his broken health. . . ."

"Appointed as State Agent of the American Bible Society, he on further consideration declined the call and took upon his hands the labor to which he gave the undivided powers of his last days of life. Our college, then . . . enlisted his sympathies, and . . . fired anew his zeal. . . . Appointed as Agent of the Institution, during the year 1865 and while friends here whom his zeal had encouraged were erecting the College building, he was laboring at the East from Maine to Maryland, arousing attention and collecting a library for its use and funds for its endowment. . . ."—"Obituary," by Lewis Bodwell, from a funeral sermon delivered at the Congregational church, Topeka, February 9, 1868, quoted in *Kansas State Record*, March 4, 1868. (See further biographical remarks in the concluding installment of this article.)

73. Letter of Bowker "On Lincoln College," dated Boston, May, 1865, and quoted above.

74. "Report of Committee on Education," in the "minutes" of the general association, *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), June, pp. 3, 10, 11. The association recommended that the college trustees name a "suitable person" to visit the Kansas churches "to secure by cash subscriptions, notes and scholarships, the ten thousand dollar Endowment Fund suggested by the 'Committee on Education . . .'" and that an application be made to Theron Baldwin, secretary of the College society, for aid from that organization. The report of the committee on education had in fact stressed the importance of first obtaining that amount from the home churches which, with the Topeka subscription of some \$10,000, would make a total of approximately \$20,000 from Kansas, on which basis they could then hope for \$30,000 additional from the East.



influence and a source of ministerial supply for the Missouri Valley and the regions beyond.

RESOLVED, That we commend the enterprise to the confidence, sympathy and liberal support of all friends of New England principles and polity, of civil and religious liberty and of Home Evangelization.<sup>75</sup>

To these resolutions Bowker added an appeal for a Christian as against a secular education and termed "the financial and spiritual success" of the college a responsibility of "all our christian people."<sup>76</sup>

Late in August, 1865, the college trustees met in the office of the governor, made S. D. Bowker principal of the preparatory and scientific department and requested him "to return as early as practicable and attend to the organization of the school & the securing of an endowment of \$10,000 in Kansas."<sup>77</sup> On the following September 15 Bowker wrote to Lewis Bodwell from Northampton, Mass.:

I just drop you a line to say that Deac J. P. Williston of Northampton offers to give \$300 a year to pay the tuition in L. College of *children of Home Missionaries* of any evangelical denomination— If enough of this class are not found he will include *pious deserving persons preparing for ministers or teachers*. This amount would probably afford free tuition to some 10 or 12 in the Preparatory Dept.

I shall return to Kansas (D V) in five or six weeks— Have secured over \$2,000 the past week Excuse haste

Most Truly

S. D. BOWKER.<sup>78</sup>

After Bowker had returned from his Eastern campaign and was about to begin a similar effort in Kansas, it was announced that he had obtained a cash subscription in the East of \$11,000 and, in addition, a library and cabinet of minerals worth \$5,000.<sup>79</sup> However, a manuscript list of Eastern donations to Lincoln College for 1865 totaled only \$5,589.75 and named Williston as the largest con-

75. *Ibid.*, August, p. 39, being embodied in an article entitled, "A Christian College."

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40. Bowker's article, signed "S. D. B.," pointed out that "the local stream of benefactions will soon run dry unless sustained by contributions . . . from neighboring communities. Much . . . success . . . will depend upon this 'working together,' to establish it in public confidence. . . ."

"The object sought will be still more fully realized if, at the very beginning, devoted young men can be found who will by their presence and influence, in the institution, aid in establishing its religious character."

"Should not such be sought out and encouraged to enter upon a course . . . for the gospel ministry, or . . . other useful pursuits?" The article closed with a "Letter of Commendation," signed by prominent churchmen and educators.

77. "First Secretary's Book," p. 23. On October 1, 1865, Peter McVicar, president of the board of trustees announced: "The first term of this institution will commence on Wednesday, November 15th, 1865."

78. Letter in Washburn Municipal University library. With it is filed a letter of Williston's, April 19, 1869, paying \$64 tuition. In 1868 he gave \$578 to the College. The *Cong. Record* of September, 1865, p. 59, stated:

"Rev. S. D. Bowker, the agent of Lincoln College, is still laboring in Maine. His object is to raise in that state enough to endow a Payson professorship."

79. *Ibid.*, December, 1865, p. 97.

tributor, he having given \$419.<sup>80</sup> Apparently not all of this materialized, since in July, 1867, the accounts of the college treasurer, William E. Bowker, revealed the amount of cash received from the East toward the "1st Endowment fund" as \$5,079.63, against which must be charged the expense of raising of \$2,762.77, leaving a balance of only \$2,316.86 actually realized by Lincoln College.<sup>81</sup> In entire truth it could be concluded that the question of adequate finance was the *Number One* problem facing the infant college.

Although clearly intended by the general association to have come first, the endowment campaign in Kansas did not really get under way until late in 1865, after S. D. Bowker had completed his work in the East. It was announced in the December issue of *The Congregational Record*, "with a view of securing at once the amount recommended by the general association [\$10,000]."

His success at the East has been such as to impress the trustees with the belief that *now* is eminently a favorable time for prosecuting the effort. Mr. Bowker's report is as follows: Cash subscription \$11,000,<sup>82</sup> Library and Cabinet, \$5,000. Total, \$16,000. There are also pledges made sufficient to warrant the expectation that the amount will be raised to over \$20,000; and all this in less than one year . . . , the agent has confined himself to personal and private efforts. . . . Most of the churches there contribute only to colleges endorsed by the society for the purpose of promoting collegiate and theological education at the West.

The article pointed out the necessity of raising the ten thousand dollar endowment in Kansas if they were to convince Easterners of their serious intent and obtain aid from the College society. "This would open the way to the wealthy churches of New England; and the agent, Rev. Mr. Bowker, is sanguine that in two years ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS can be secured."

Bro. Bowker purposes to be at Atchison, December 3d; at Leavenworth [*sic*], December 10; at Wyandotte, December 17th; at Lawrence, December 24th. . . . Brethren, do not wait . . . make special efforts, and send

80. Manuscript at Washburn Municipal University. There were several contributions of \$250 each, several of \$200 each, 17 of \$100 each, and some 40 of smaller amounts.

The unreliability of the published financial statements is repeatedly illustrated by a simple comparison of one with another, or by referring them to documents such as the above. This is probably explained by the propaganda value of previous contributions in the obtaining of added donations, or the fact that some "hoped for" contributions did not actually materialize.

81. Manuscript at Washburn Municipal University, entitled, "A Report of the Committee on Finances" (of the college trustees), signed by S. D. Storrs, Topeka, July 4, 1867. They had examined the books of W. E. Bowker, and found no error, they giving "a correct understanding of the financial condition of Lincoln Coll. . . ." (However, the report to the general association, May, 1866, made the amount of Eastern gifts and pledges, obtained chiefly through Bowker's efforts, as \$7,880.—*Cong. Record*, v. 8 [1866], August, p. 39.)

William E. Bowker, an incorporator and trustee of Lincoln College, and its first treasurer, came to Kansas in 1855. He was a member of the territorial legislature, of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, and served as treasurer of Shawnee county. He died at Los Angeles, Cal., March 5, 1874.—Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*, p. 636.

82. In view of the records quoted above, this sum is obviously exaggerated.



on your contributions, so that we may be able to report the amount complete by the first of January.<sup>83</sup>

The next issue of the *Record* reported progress in the endowment campaign, with Grasshopper Falls pledging \$500, Atchison \$1,000 (excluding a like amount by Senator Pomeroy), and sizeable contributions at Leavenworth.<sup>84</sup> The work continued during the winter and spring months and when the general association met in May, 1866, a detailed report was rendered on Lincoln College. The Kansas contributions then amounted to \$8,160, with recent additions making a grand total of \$9,360—only \$640 short of the ten thousand dollar goal.<sup>85</sup> The report pointed out the importance of obtaining this amount as speedily as possible in order to promote the Eastern campaign, in particular the securing of aid from the College society.

An analysis of the "Kansas Endowment Fund," as it appeared in the records of the college treasurer, July 4, 1867, no doubt with added contributions made in the calendar year 1866-1867, revealed that of the total of \$9,382.97 then on the books, \$4,414.22 consisted of "Notes of Churches & individuals, all payable within nine years," and \$2,600 was listed as an "Unsecured pledge." However, cash in the amount of \$1,600 "from the Endowment fund" had been put into the college building.<sup>86</sup>

Immediately upon the opening of the college in January, 1866, the problem of paying the teachers became so urgent that the trustees soon thereafter authorized the college treasurer to sell the land and town lots belonging to the college, "except the permanent site of the College," and also to make application for \$2,000 from the College society to pay the teachers for the coming year.<sup>87</sup> The

83. *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), December, pp. 97, 98.

84. *Ibid.*, v. 7 (1866), January, p. 124. The circular *Lincoln College—Incorporation and Name* claimed that by February, 1866, a total of \$35,000 had been collected, in all forms, of which about \$20,000 came from Kansas.

85. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, pp. 37-41, appearing as "Report No. 4," entitled "Lincoln College." The subscriptions to the "Kansas Endowment Fund" included \$2,500 from the Leavenworth Congregational Church and Society, \$2,000 from the Atchison Congregational Church and Society (including \$1,000 from Senator Pomeroy), \$1,500 from the Lawrence Congregational Church and Society (including \$1,000 from Simpson Bros.), and \$275 from the Wyandotte Congregational Church and Society. Among the individual donations were \$1,000 from Senator Lane, a like amount from Judge Cooper of Wyandotte, and smaller sums from Hon. S. Clarke, Judge T. Ewing, M. P. Hillyer of Grasshopper Falls, Deacon Wm. Crosby and others. With the Eastern contributions the grand total of all donations to the college, including building, permanent site and a library of about 2,000 volumes, was placed at nearly \$30,000 in value.

86. "Report of the Committee on Finances," cited above.

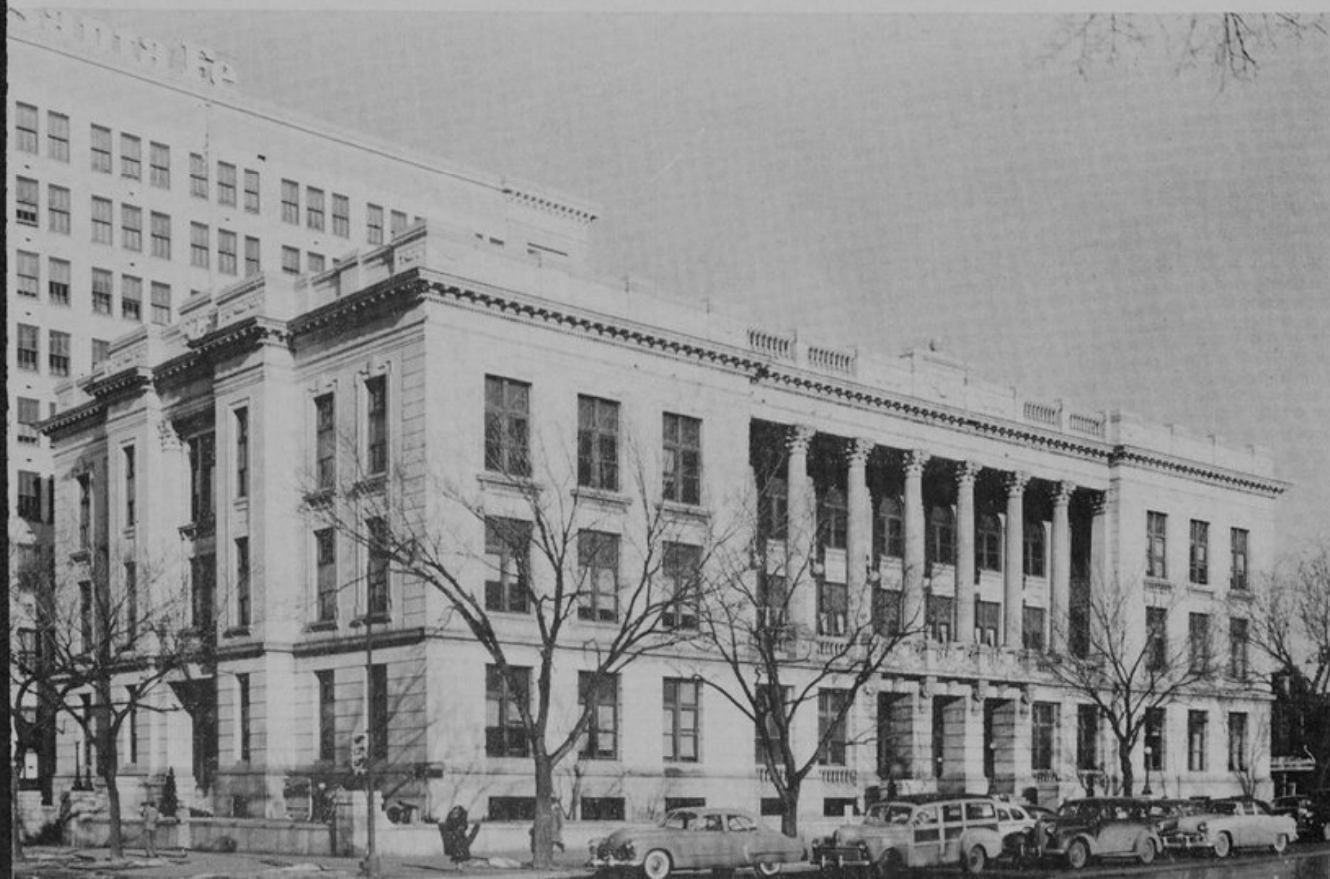
87. "Minutes" of the meeting of the trustees, February 13, 1866, "First Secretary's Book," pp. 24, 25. McVicar, Cordley, Ritchie, W. E. Bowker, Rice and Smith were present. The College society was asked to endorse the plan to raise a \$50,000 endowment during the year. Favorable action by that organization was taken some months thereafter, but it was considerably later before any cash actually arrived in Kansas. This and other financial matters will be treated in the concluding installment of this article.

The tendency of the Kansas Congregationalists to go ahead in the face of urgent financial problems reveals a typically frontier state of mind. On more than one occasion it was remarked that when a worthy goal was determined as a matter of "divine plan," no obstacle of a "temporal" nature should be permitted to stand in the way.



ABOVE, THE BUILDING ERECTED IN 1865 FOR LINCOLN COLLEGE (NOW WASHBURN MUNICIPAL UNIVERSITY), WHICH WAS LOCATED AT THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF TENTH AND JACKSON STREETS IN TOPEKA.

BELOW, THE SAME VIEW TODAY, SHOWING THE MEMORIAL BUILDING, WHICH HOUSES THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. THE GENERAL OFFICE BUILDING OF THE SANTA FE RAILROAD IS IN THE BACKGROUND.







A 1948 AIR VIEW OF WASHBURN UNIVERSITY, SINCE 1874 LOCATED ON ITS PRESENT CAMPUS IN SOUTHWEST TOPEKA  
The large four-story building in the lower right is Rice Hall, the first permanent building of the university.

\$100,000 endowment envisioned by the incorporators and held up as a goal in the articles of association was still a hope of the future. Despite notable success in the two endowment campaigns, many of the contributions had not been in the form of ready cash, the obtaining of which remained the most pressing problem facing Lincoln College.

#### CONSTRUCTION

Early in February, 1865, at the first meeting of the college trustees, a building committee had been chosen, composed of John Ritchie, W. E. Bowker and Ira H. Smith, and instructed "to select a site for a preparatory school and contract for the building of a two-story house the cost of which shall not exceed seven thousand dollars. . . ." <sup>88</sup> This was quite in accord with the sage advice of Amos A. Lawrence, a decade previous, that a preparatory school must precede a college, in order to obtain students properly qualified for higher instruction. <sup>89</sup>

The "Davis claim" had been ceded by John Ritchie to the college immediately after its incorporation as the most appropriate place for the "permanent site," but it was rather remote from the existing settlement of Topeka. The trustees now purchased lots on the northeast corner of Tenth and Jackson streets for \$400, where, on an eminence affording a fine view of the state house grounds and Topeka, they planned a temporary site for the academy and college-to-be. They intended to sell the building and grounds to the city as a school when college structures were erected on the permanent site. <sup>90</sup> The following narrative of May, 1865, is one of the best:

A preparatory building, fifty-four by thirty-two feet, two stories high, at a cost of \$8,000, including site and seats, is now being erected, and according to the stipulations of the contract, to be finished by the first of October next.

It is located on a beautiful spot facing the Capitol grounds, with a view of selling it to the city for a public school edifice, whenever the time shall come to erect the regular college building on the permanent site. Including the preparatory building and the permanent site, the citizens of Topeka will have given the sum of \$10,000, double the amount contemplated by the original condition of location. <sup>91</sup>

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

89. Lawrence to Dr. Charles Robinson, dated Boston, November 21, 1854, in "Copies of Letters of Amos A. Lawrence," p. 42.

90. Due to the unfortunate lack of Topeka newspapers for this time and the absence of any mention in the trustees' records, contemporary accounts are virtually impossible to find, compelling the present writer to piece together stray bits of information.

91. Report of the committee on education to the general association, cited above, in *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), June, p. 9. In July, 1865, *The Home Missionary*, New York (v. 38, p. 81), published an account of Lincoln College which mentioned the "substantial and elegant building for Preparatory and Scientific Departments, which is under contract now, to be completed by the first of next October."



By late summer of 1865 the work of construction was well advanced, as is apparent in the following accounts:

The preparatory building of this institution is progressing rapidly. It is now ready for the roof. It is to be completed by October. The design of the Trustees is to open the preparatory and scientific departments next fall. Steps are being taken to secure an experienced Academical teacher to act as Principal of these departments. Arrangements will also be made to furnish facilities to students from abroad to form boarding clubs with a view to reduce expenses. Circulars will be issued in due time.

COMMERCIAL COLLEGE—Messrs. Mills & Fowler . . . have made their Commercial College at Topeka one of the finest institutions of Kansas. . . . They are about to rent rooms in the Lincoln College Building; thus combining the benefits of both institutions to all the students in attendance.<sup>92</sup>

According to the *Reminiscences* of Harvey D. Rice, he was the contractor responsible for erection of the building. The narrative of this college trustee gives a vivid picture of the trials and tribulations which confronted the builders:

The trustees secured plans and specifications for a building fifty-four by thirty-two feet, two stories high, and advertised for sealed proposals to build the same, naming a day to meet and to open bids, and award contracts. The day named we met, but to our surprise there had not been a bid presented. Upon inquiry among the builders we were informed that we did not have money to pay for the building, and one builder informed me that we had nothing but a subscription book and it took money to put up buildings. Thus the contractors stopped us. I did not much like to be stopped in that way, and after carefully examining the plans and specifications I submitted a proposition to the trustees to put up the building for the estimated cost, which was \$7,000. My proposition was accepted. I went to work early in the spring of 1865 while United States soldiers were stationed at Topeka, some of whom, from the State of Maine and Massachusetts, I employed to dig trenches for a foundation of the building. The building was to be of stone, with inside work and roof of shingles to be of pine. I hauled with my own team the pine lumber from Atchinson [*sic*] and Leavenworth. In the fall the Kansas Pacific railroad was completed to Lawrence and I got the finishing lumber there. I did my hauling with one three yoke ox team and two two-horse teams. . . . The stone for the building were all drawn by my ox team. Native lumber was sawed on the Wakarusa, twelve miles south. With the aid of my two oldest boys and one man in addition to the hauling of material, I raised that year, four thousand bushels of corn. The building was completed on time to the satisfaction of the trustees, to whom it was delivered by me with all bills paid and receipted for.<sup>93</sup>

92. *Cong. Record*, v. 7 (1865), August, p. 45. The *Circular and Prospectus of Lincoln College—1865*, issued later that year, made a similar announcement as to the commercial college. Because of the absence of later references to it, however, the writer does not believe it located in the college building.

93. *Reminiscences*, quoted above, pp. 12, 13. "The school continued in the Academy building corner of Tenth and Jackson until 1872, when it was sold to the city of Topeka for \$15,000 in city bonds. . . . This together with other donations from the citizens of Topeka and elsewhere paid for the first building erected on the college site purchased in

The college building was completed late in 1865, but the opening of the new institution was delayed until the following January. A circular of 1866 described the structure as very beautiful:

An elegant stone edifice for the Preparatory Department was completed in the Autumn of 1865, at an expense, including furniture, of \$10,000. The building is located at the South East corner of Capitol Square, one of the most sightly positions in the city. Its rooms for recitation and general exercises will accommodate some 150 students; besides these it has rooms for Library and Cabinet. . . .<sup>94</sup>

A minister at Rochester (about four miles north of Topeka), who enjoyed a fine view of Topeka and Lincoln College, later wrote:

Looking from my window, I single out a neat and beautiful stone structure, the nucleus of what shall constitute the Lincoln College buildings. A glance at that may well call out thanksgiving to God; for there, we trust, numerous youths will fit themselves for important posts of usefulness.<sup>95</sup>

#### LINCOLN COLLEGE OPENS

With the construction of the college building proceeding so well, by late summer of 1865 the trustees made plans to open the preparatory and scientific departments in the fall of the year. At a meeting on August 29 they set the third Wednesday of November as the opening day. In the October *Congregational Record* Peter McVicar, as president of the board of trustees, formally announced the opening date as November 15, and sketched the plans for the college, many of which were still incomplete. His announcement follows:

#### LINCOLN COLLEGE

The first term of this institution will commence on Wednesday, November 15th, 1865.

Beside the College course proper there will be Preparatory, Scientific and Industrial Departments.

1859. The first sod on that land was turned in June, 1872. I spent that summer superintending the erection of that college building, which cost \$65,000 [Rice Hall]. . . .

After the academy building became the property of the city of Topeka, it was first known as the Washburn school and later the Jackson school. A photograph of this structure is shown facing p. 48. The site is now occupied by the Memorial building, which houses the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society.

94. *Lincoln College, Incorporation and Name.* In his *Historical Sketch* (op. cit., p. 6), Peter McVicar said the building was regarded as "one of the finest edifices in the city."

The following from the accounts of the college treasurer throws light on the cost of construction. It is copied from the "Report of the Committee on Finances," July 4, 1867, previously quoted:

#### Coll. Building

Amount put into the building by the people of Topeka in cash, labor, & proceeds from sale of real estate.....	\$4,109.24
Lots on which the building stands.....	400.00
Cash from the Endowment fund put into the building.....	1,600.00
Cash advanced by the Treas. W. E. Bowker Esq.....	1,355.77
Total cost of building and land.....	\$7,465.01

(\$2,955.77 was then due on the building to the endowment fund and to W. E. Bowker, toward which notes of Topekans were on hand to the amount of only \$1,000.)

95. The Rev. R. Paine in *The Home Missionary*, v. 39 (1866), November, pp. 161, 162. A description of the interior of the building will appear in the concluding installment of this article.



The design of the Preparatory Department is to fit the students for college.

It will be the object of the Scientific and Industrial Departments to prepare young men and women, as effectually as possible in a three year's course, for the earnest duties and practical relations of life.

These Departments, for the present, will be under the charge of Rev. S. D. Bowker, as Principal.

It is intended to form a Freshman class in the full collegiate course at once, and all who wish to pursue a course of study similar to that adopted in the best Eastern colleges, will be greatly benefitted by entering Lincoln College at the commencement of the first term.

Competent and able Professors will be secured as soon as their services are needed.

A cabinet of minerals has been obtained at the East for the college. A choice lot of philosophical instruments has been promised. A library of about two thousand volumes, one of the best collections in the State, will be accessible to all the students of the institution.

Several scholarships are endowed to educate, free of tuition, *soldiers* or the *children* of soldiers who have suffered or died in the war.

A sufficient sum has also been placed, by a benevolent individual at the East, at the disposal of the Trustees, to pay for three years the tuition of twelve or fifteen students, taking precedence in the following order: 1st, children of Home Missionaries of all evangelical denominations; 2d, students having the ministry in view; 3d, pious scholars studying to become teachers.

Persons desiring to be admitted to the collegiate or other departments, should present themselves for examination at the College building, Topeka, on Tuesday, the 14th of November, between the hours of 10 o'clock A. M. and 4 o'clock P. M.

By order of the Trustees.

P. McVICAR, President of the Board.

TOPEKA, October 1st, 1865.<sup>96</sup>

At a meeting of the college trustees, probably held late in October, 1865, the Rev. Horatio Q. Butterfield of Rockville, Conn., was appointed to the chair of professor of Greek and Latin languages and the Rev. George H. Collier of Wheaton, Ill., to that of professor of mathematics. The names of both men came before the trustees with very high recommendations as to character and competence in their several departments.<sup>97</sup> Samuel D. Bowker was already titular professor of English literature and history, as well as principal of the

96. This appeared as a full-page announcement on the back cover of the *Cong. Record* of October, 1865 (v. 7, No. 5); also on the back side of the front cover of the November issue (v. 7, No. 6).

97. *Ibid.*, v. 7 (1865), December, p. 109; "Report No. 4" on "Lincoln College," presented to the general association in May, 1866, and cited above. Since it is omitted from the "First Secretary's Book," the exact date of this meeting of the trustees is in doubt. The December, 1865, issue of the *Record* remarked: "THE COLLEGE BUILDING is now complete. The condition on which the Institution was located at Topeka, is fulfilled. The edifice, including site and furniture, costs over \$8,000. The permanent site is appraised at \$2,400."

Horatio Q. Butterfield did not formally accept the offer of the trustees until May 30, 1866, and was not in residence during the first two terms of this college year. His important role will be discussed in the concluding installment of this article.

preparatory department, but due to his activities as financial agent he was relieved of work as a teacher and, during the spring term of 1866, E. H. Hobart, formerly of the Baraboo Institute of Wisconsin, was made acting professor of natural science and principal of the preparatory and scientific departments.<sup>98</sup>

When the appointment of faculty members had been completed and other preparatory matters arranged, a *Circular and Prospectus of Lincoln College, 1865*, was issued which presented the entire list of college trustees and members of the faculty. The latter follow:

#### COLLEGE FACULTY

S. D. BOWKER—Professor of English Literature and History.

REV. H. Q. BUTTERFIELD—Professor of Greek and Latin Languages [arrived later].

G. H. COLLIER—Professor of Mathematics.

#### PREPARATORY DEPARTMENT

S. D. BOWKER—Principal of Preparatory Course.

G. H. COLLIER—Principal of Scientific Course.

MISS MINNIE V. OTIS—Teacher of French, Instrumental Music, Drawing and Painting.

L. H. PLATT—Teacher of Vocal Music.

N. T. TOWNSEND—Teacher of Penmanship.<sup>99</sup>

The *Circular and Prospectus* stated that the studies to be taught in the collegiate course would be identical with those "taught in the first Colleges of the East, such as Harvard and Yale," and listed those for the preparatory course.<sup>100</sup> Those to be admitted to the "Preparatory and Scientific Course should be familiar with Geography and the first principles of English Grammar and Arithmetic"; those planning to enter the four-year "Collegiate Course, will be examined in the studies taught in the Preparatory Department of this Institution." The trustees aimed to make the work of all depart-

98. "Report No. 4," entitled, "Lincoln College," cited above.

99. *Circular and Prospectus of Lincoln College, 1865*, hereafter cited as *Circular and Prospectus, 1865*. The college catalogue for 1865-1866, issued later, leaves blank the position of president, who was also to be "Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy."

"Prof. Collier has for nine years been a successful and leading instructor in Wheaton College, Illinois. Rev. Mr. Butterfield, but a few years since received the commendation from Edward Everett, of being a *finished classical scholar*, and Mr. Bowker has had several years experience as a successful teacher in the New England Institutions of Learning. . . . In addition . . . the trustees have secured . . . several competent instructors to assist in the Preparatory Course. Among these is Miss Minnie V. Otis, who has just completed a course of study at the celebrated Seminary for young ladies at Troy, N. Y., and who will give lessons in French, Music and Drawing."—*Circular and Prospectus, 1865*.

100. Other matters discussed by the *Circular and Prospectus* included the library, cabinet of minerals, calendar for the year, tuition fees and worship—subjects that will be treated in more detail in the concluding installment of this article. Tuition for the collegiate course was set at \$12 per term, the year 1866 being divided into three terms of approximately three months each, with the college closed during July and August. The fee for the preparatory and scientific course was fixed at \$6 per term. Special fees were charged for the study of French (\$6), instrumental music (\$15), use of piano (\$6), drawing (\$6), oil painting (\$13), and penmanship (\$3), to contribute to the support of the two instructors—Miss Otis and Mr. Townsend.



ments "thorough and effective." Consequently the "standard is far in advance of any other College this side of the Missouri river, and equal to that of any in the land. The Preparatory Course affords a thorough preparation to enter any college in the country."<sup>101</sup> After the college opened the topics discussed in the *Circular and Prospectus* were further amplified in the first college catalogue.<sup>102</sup>

In the *Circular and Prospectus* the date of opening of Lincoln College was postponed to January 3, 1866, a change probably necessitated by the many problems incident to the launching of such an institution on the border. Conditions not yet being ripe for the college proper, only the preparatory department began work at this time. Although mentioned in later accounts,<sup>103</sup> no adequate description has come down to us of this eventful day. Would the glowing promises made in founding the college be fulfilled in the days ahead? Dedicated to freedom and the principles of the Pilgrim forefathers, Lincoln College had been established primarily to serve the cause of religion by raising up a trained ministry in its behalf. In the words of the committee on education of the general association:

It is this *religious* feature which commends Lincoln College to the confidence, the prayers and the liberal support of all christian people. . . . The NAME of the Institution is peculiarly appropriate. . . . No less appropriate is the *location* of Lincoln College. . . . How fitting, then, that an institution, designed partly as a MEMORIAL to Abraham Lincoln and the triumph of freedom over slavery, should be located in the State of Kansas, midway between the Atlantic and the Pacific, at the very heart of the nation, now evermore consecrated to civil and religious liberty. . . . May it be "like a tree planted by the rivers of water," whose leaves even shall be "for the healing of the nations."<sup>104</sup>

101. *Ibid.*

102. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of LINCOLN COLLEGE, for the Winter and Spring Term of 1865-1866* (Topeka, 1866).

103. In his *Historical Sketch* (*op. cit.*, p. 6), Peter McVicar wrote: "The school, as an academic department, was opened in the new building January 3, 1866, under the charge of the late Rev. Samuel D. Bowker as principal, and Prof. Geo. H. Collier, now of Oregon State University, and Edward F. Hobart, Esq., of Las Vegas, New Mexico, as assistants."

104. *Cong. Record*, v. 8 (1866), August, pp. 37-41.

[Part Two, the Concluding Installment, Entitled "Later History and Change of Name," Will Appear in the May, 1950, Issue]