Atchison and the Central Branch Country, 1865-1874

GEORGE L. ANDERSON

WITH proper acknowledgment to Charles Dickens this paper might have been entitled A Tale of Two Cities—of Atchison seeking to become a great commercial center, and of Waterville representing the 15 towns and villages that were located on the Central Branch railroad through Atchison, Jackson, Nemaha, and Marshall counties. Or, with a bow toward Ed Howe, long-time editor of the Atchison Globe, The Story of a Country Town might have been selected for the title. Actually, the emphasis in this paper is not upon a single city or a particular town, but upon the relationships that developed between the city and the towns of the tributary area. A brief analysis of Atchison’s dreams and accomplishments and an even briefer account of the emergence of the Central Branch country will be followed by a somewhat more detailed discussion of the ties that came into existence between the would-be metropolis on the Missouri river and its hinterland to the westward.¹

Although Atchison was founded in 1854, its development as a commercial center did not begin until 1858. For a few years the young city experienced a rapid rate of growth. Its expanding trade rested upon the Missouri river and the freighting trails to the mining camps, the army posts, and the Indian reservations. Steamboats on the river and freighting wagons on the Plains were the symbols as well as the agencies of Atchison’s success as an entrepot of trade. In an age when steam-powered water transport brought

Prof. George LaVerne Anderson, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1960-1961, is chairman of the history department at the University of Kansas, Lawrence. A native of Kansas, he has a Ph. D. degree from the University of Illinois, Urbana, and is the author of General William J. Palmer—A Decade of Colorado Railroad Building, 1870-1889 (1936), and a number of historical papers.

This article is an expansion, plus footnotes, of his presidential address before the annual meeting of the State Historical Society in Topeka on October 17, 1961.

¹ The Atchison Daily Champion and the Waterville Telegraph were the principal sources of data for this paper. Although there were a number of changes in names, the Atchison Champion will be used uniformly in the footnotes. Because of the nature of this study almost every issue of the Champion and Telegraph contained relevant information. Thus, appearances to the contrary, the citations are selective rather than inclusive.
goods from the East, and the muscles of oxen and mules pulled the loaded wagons to the West, Atchison's location at the western apex of the bend in the Missouri river was considered a strategic one.2

The early period of growth was followed by four years of war. The body politic of Atchison was divided. Trade was demoralized. Leavenworth with its military post prospered, but Atchison declined and its citizens became disheartened.3 Almost simultaneously, an even more disruptive influence was making itself felt in the region beyond the Mississippi. Steam-powered transportation on land was replacing the older forms of carrying goods to the waiting markets.4

The significance of the railroad for Atchison was foreshadowed when the Hannibal and St. Joseph, which had reached its western terminus in 1859, completed a branch to Winthrop, just across the Missouri river from Atchison, in 1860.5 For several years after this development the residents of Atchison asserted that their city was the only one in Kansas that could be reached by rail.6 But the leaders of Atchison realized that a railroad to the west was required if their city was to reap the full benefit of its eastern connection. For this reason they were very much interested in the Pacific railway legislation of 1862 and 1864.7 It seemed quite reasonable to them that Atchison should be the eastern terminus of one

2. The issues of the Atchison Champion for January 1, 1869, January 1, 1871, and January 1, April 27, 1873, and of the Kansas Daily Commonwealth, Topeka, for November 27, December 5, 1872, contain a good deal of historical information. In more recent years the Atchison Daily Globe has published a number of anniversary and centennial editions. Among the most important are those published on July 16, 1894; December 8, 1927; July 11, 1929; September 17, 1938; September 17, 1940; October 19, 1952; and June 20, 1954. The fullest printed history is Sheffield Ingalls, A History of Atchison County, Kansas (Lawrence, 1916). Scholarly studies of the early history of Atchison include Peter Beckman, "The Overland Trade and Atchison's Beginnings," in Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial, University of Kansas Social Science Studies (Lawrence, 1954), pp. 148-164, and Walker D. Wyman, "Atchison, a Great Frontier Depot," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Topeka, v. 11 (August, 1942), pp. 297-308. Emphasis on the interior position of Atchison was almost a constant theme in the Atchison Champion. For example see the issues for August 17, December 6, 1865; February 13, 1866; August 28, 1868; January 1, 11, and December 11, 1869; and April 9, 1870.


4. The most scholarly and penetrating analysis of the impact of steam-powered land transportation has been made by James C. Malin. Under the title "The Communications Revolution," Professor Malin has discussed various facets of the question in several of his published works, including the following: The Grassland of North America: Preliminary to its History (Lawrence, 1947), pp. 169-172; The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854 (Lawrence, 1953), pp. 56-69; The Contriving Brain and the Skillful Hand in the United States (Lawrence, 1955), pp. 27, 28, and 84-198, but especially 153-191.


6. This claim was made by John A. Martin in his inaugural address as mayor of Atchison.—Atchison Champion, May 9, 1865.

7. For a summary of the legislative history of these laws see Russel, op. cit., pp. 294-322.
of the branches of the Pacific railroad.\(^8\) Moreover, the essential ingredients for the attempt to implement their dreams were at hand. The Atchison and Pike's Peak Railroad Company had been chartered.\(^9\) The Hannibal and St. Joseph Company, subject to the approval of the Kansas legislature, had been authorized to build 100 miles westward toward a connection with the main line of the Pacific railroad, and had been promised the usual subsidies of lands and bonds.\(^10\) Finally, the Kickapoo Indians had in their possession a broad expanse of fertile land which might, with proper management, be used to breathe new life into the plans for a railroad to the west.\(^11\)

In Washington, in Topeka, and in New York, Samuel C. Pomeroy, Luther C. Chalis, and Peter T. Abell, among others, labored to mold these diverse ingredients into a practicable project.\(^12\) The Kansas legislature was persuaded to delay its approval of a route running west from St. Joseph.\(^13\) The Kickapoo Indians were in-

8. This view is implicit in most of the discussions of Atchison as the “Great Railroad Centre” of the Missouri valley.—Hollis, op. cit., pp. 555, 559; Russel, op. cit., pp. 305, 317.

9. Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 1859 (Lawrence, 1859), p. 62. The act of incorporation was passed on February 11, 1859. The new company succeeded to the rights of the Atchison and Ft. Riley Railroad Company which had been incorporated on February 17, 1857, and it was required to begin construction within five years.

10. Sections 10 and 13 of the Pacific Railway Act of July 1, 1862.—United States Statutes at Large, v. 12, pp. 494-496. The portion of the act which was favorable to Atchison reads: “That the Hannibal and Saint Joseph . . . may extend its road from Saint Joseph via Atchison . . . for one hundred miles . . . said company may construct their road, with the consent of the Kansas legislature, on the most direct and practicable route west from Saint Joseph, Missouri . . .” Sen. John B. Henderson, of Missouri, was responsible for the insertion into the law of the phrases which permitted the company to build directly west from St. Joseph. He did not succeed in accomplishing a similar objective in 1864. Space does not permit extended comment on the controversy over the Henderson amendment. Suffice it to say that it played an important role in the political and economic life of Kansas for a number of years. Some contemporary material may be found in the Atchison Champion, November 25, 1866, and June 15 and 24, 1873; the Marshall County News, Marysville, June 24, 1873, and the Nemaha County Courier, Seneca, April 16, June 11, October 13, 1864.

11. In one of the many treaties negotiated by George W. Manyenny, the Kickapoo tribe had on May 15, 1854, at Washington, D. C., agreed to exchange their lands in Missouri for a comparable area in Kansas.—United States Statutes at Large, v. 10, pp. 1078-1081.

12. Benjamin F. Stringfellow, Samuel Dickson, John M. Price, and Thomas Murphy also played prominent parts. Most writers emphasize the role of Samuel C. Pomeroy, but there is a good deal of evidence that Luther C. Chalis was of greater importance in the initial stages of the Atchison and Pike’s Peak Railroad Company. Under the title “An Old Citizen Returned,” the Atchison Champion, on May 8, 1869, paid the following tribute to Chalis: “He was prominently and actively identified with many of the railroad enterprises of Atchison, and contributed very largely to the success of those that reached completion. He was the first President of the Atchison and Pike’s Peak (now the Central Branch, U. P.) Railroad Co.; negotiated the treaty with the Kickapoo Indians by which their splendid Reserve was purchased for the Company, and was influential in obtaining that favorable legislation from Congress which secured for our city this important Railroad.” In one of the reorganizations of the company, Chalis was left out and later sued for a substantial sum of money—Atchison Champion, October 3, November 6, 28, and 30, 1869. In assessing the role of Pomeroy it should be remembered that although he was the president and later a director of the Central Branch company, the president of the bridge company and the president of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, the Central Branch was not extended to Ft. Kearny or to Denver, the Missouri river was not bridged at Atchison until it had been bridged at Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Leavenworth, and the Atchison-Topeka segment of the Santa Fe line was not completed until Kansas City had engrossed the trade of the Southwest. For complimentary references to Senator Pomeroy see the Atchison Champion, August 11, 1865; January 28, 1868; and September 17, 1869. In a speech reported in the Champion on August 21, 1866, John J. Ingalls stated: “But without your [Pomeroy’s] special efforts, it is safe to say that the great Central Branch of the Pacific . . . would have remained forever the visionary and baffled project of a speculators dream.”

13. The 1863 session of the Kansas legislature refused to give its consent to a line directly west from St. Joseph.—Senate Journal for 1863 (Lawrence, 1863), pp. 266, 267, 286, and 299. The 1864 legislature did give its consent, but before the St. Joseph leaders
duced to sell a portion of their reservation to the railroad company. New sources of capital were discovered in New York. The Hannibal and St. Joseph was prevailed upon to assign its Pacific railway privileges and prospective subsidies to the Atchison and Pikes Peak. To harmonize name and objective the official title of the company was changed in late 1866 to the Central Branch of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. Thus the foundation of the Central Branch country was laid. A railroad beginning on the banks of an unbridged Missouri river would wind its way westward for exactly one hundred miles. Without a route fixed in advance it would find the fertile valleys and miss the county seats. Beginning as a mere gleam in the eyes of its founders and aiming for the Pacific by way of Ft. Kearny it would terminate in a corn field in the valley of the Little Blue.

One phase of the Pacific railway question, the rivalry of St. Louis and Chicago, seemed to the Atchison leaders to offer a particularly fine opportunity to advance the interests of their city. They could take advantage of their opportunity the permissive section was dropped out of the federal legislation.—House Journal for 1864 (Lawrence, 1864), pp. 83, 173, and 174; Senate Journal for 1864 (Lawrence, 1864), pp. 99 and 109; Congressional Globe, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 3420-3423. For a copy of the 1864 resolution and extended comments on the legislatures of 1863 and 1864 see the Kansas Chief, Troy, February 11, 1864. The best brief summary of the question with appropriate references to the debates in the federal congress is to be found in Russell, op. cit., p. 417.

14. The treaty was concluded at the Kickapoo agency on June 28, 1862. The text together with a number of amendments may be found in United States Statutes at Large, v. 13, pp. 623-630. Under the terms of the treaty the Central Branch company was permitted to buy 124,832 acres. The negotiation of the treaty is discussed in Paul W. Gates, Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890 (Ithaca, 1954), pp. 136-140.


16. The assignment was made by the board of directors of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Company on June 9, 1863, and was ratified by the stockholders on September 21, 1863.—Freedom’s Champion, Atchison, January 28, 1864, reprinting from the Topeka Tribune, a letter from B. F. Stringfellow. Benjamin Lean, member of congress from Missouri, asserted that the assignment was made without consideration.—Congressional Globe, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 3180. Russell, op. cit., p. 312; Gates, op. cit., p. 138; Atchison Champion, July 7, 1866.

17. Atchison Champion, December 27, 1866.

18. After a trip through the Central Branch country, Captain Green, traveling correspondent of the Lawrence Journal, wrote, “It [the Central Branch] runs as if it started out from Atchison to hunt good land and avoid county seats.”—Reprinted in Atchison Champion, October 26, 1869.

19. Franklin G. Adams in the Marshall County News, Marysville, February 15, 1873. The one hundred milepost was found to be in Sec. 22, T. 4 S., R. 6 E. The particular tract had been entered by David G. King. It passed through the hands of G. H. Hollenberg, William Osborn, and Ralph M. Pomeroy before becoming the property of the Central Branch company.

20. Perhaps the most important of Frank H. Hodder’s many significant scholarly contributions to American history in general and Kansas history in particular was the delineation of the relevance to the organization of Kansas territory of the Chicago-St. Louis rivalry. See especially his “The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act,” Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1913 (Madison, 1913), pp. 69-86, and “The Railroad Background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act,” The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 13 (June, 1925), pp. 9-22.

For appreciative analyses of Hodder’s work as well as for substantive additions to the study of the problem, the following articles by James C. Malin should be consulted: “Frank Heywood Hodder,” Kansas Historical Quarterly, v. 5 (May, 1936), pp. 115-121; “F. H. Hodder’s ‘Stephen A. Douglas,’” ibid., v. 8 (August, 1939), pp. 227-237; and “The Motives of Company of June 1866 in the Organization of Nebraska Territory: A Letter Dated December 17, 1853,” ibid., v. 19 (November, 1951), pp. 321-353. See, also, Wells, op. cit., and
thought that their location was a strategic one.\textsuperscript{21} They pointed out that very close to Atchison a straight line from Chicago to Santa Fe would intersect a straight line from St. Louis to Ft. Kearny.\textsuperscript{22} They convinced themselves that Atchison, and not St. Joseph or Kansas City, would be the junction point of railroads running from Chicago to the southwest and those running from St. Louis to the northwest. For them the Central Branch would be the main line to the Pacific and it would place the people of the Central Branch country in close touch with the markets of both St. Louis and Chicago.\textsuperscript{23} In their more fanciful moments, the leaders of Atchison could conjure up visions of the exotic products of China and Japan and the minerals, lumber, and livestock of the Far West competing for space in the Atchison freight yards with the grain and produce of the Central Branch country. But these dreams faded before the hard realities of life. It was Kansas City that got the bridge over the Missouri river in 1869. And it was Kansas City that became the principal junction point of the railroads from St. Louis and Chicago thus setting the stage for Ed Howe’s wry remark that Atchison, Leavenworth, and Lawrence had one thing in common—they had all been robbed by Kansas City.\textsuperscript{24}

It was quite natural that in its attempt to become the railroad center of the Missouri valley, Atchison should become involved in a struggle with Kansas City, Leavenworth, and St. Joseph.\textsuperscript{25} Atchison was the smallest of the competitors. Although the promoters of the rival cities minimized the chances as well as the advantages

Belcher, op. cit. Comparisons of the two cities and references to the contest between them appear frequently in the Atchison Champion. See especially the issues for August 25, September 5, 1867; February 10, April 9, October 20, December 11, 1869; January 4, 1870; January 10, April 7, September 2, October 13 and 22, 1871; and October 21, 1873.

21. A. W. Spaulding in a letter to the St. Louis Democrat from Atchison, reprinted in the Champion, March 19, 1872, labeled Atchison “the strategic field” where Chicago and St. Louis would do battle.

22. Atchison Champion, February 13, 1866. On this occasion it was asserted that a line from Chicago to Santa Fe would intersect a line from St. Louis to Denver at Atchison. On June 16, 1865, the Champion emphasized the importance of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe to Chicago, and on July 12, 1866, it pointed out the significance of the Central Branch to St. Louis.

23. Atchison Champion, February 13, 1866; July 22, 1870; and May 1, 1872. In commenting on an article in the Cincinnati Times, the Champion remarked on April 21, 1870, “This Road [the Central Branch] will be the great central highway across the continent.” The newspapers in the Central Branch towns shared this view. Thus the Irving Weekly Recorder asserted on December 17, 1869, “A connection with Ft. Kearny makes this the grand central route from the East to the Pacific.” On April 1, 1870, the Waterville Telegraph was even more expansive, “We at Waterville, hardly realize that we are situated on a branch, soon to be united with the main trunk of the great thoroughfare which is revolutionizing trade between the Atlantic states and Eastern Asia.”

24. Atchison Champion, May 18, 1869. Wells, op. cit., p. 560, cites the failure of Atchison “to secure the early construction of a bridge” as one reason why Atchison did not become the commercial center of the Missouri valley.

25. For a summary of this competition written from the Atchison point of view see “The Great Railroad Centre” in the Champion, December 8, 1870. For significant evaluations of the four Missouri river towns in 1863 and 1873, see “An Editor Looks at Early-Day Kansas: The Letters of Charles Monroe Chase,” Leda Barnes, editor, Kansas Historical Quarterly (Sumner and Atchison, 1960), pp. 113-151, and 267-301, especially pp. 115, 116-118, 148, 150, 270-276, and 297-301.
of the little city, the advocates of Atchison’s cause competed with a zeal that had its source in the certainty of ultimate victory. One of these advocates was John A. Martin, the perceptive and articulate editor of the *Champion*, and the principal theoretician of Atchison’s future. Martin disposed of Kansas City and St. Joseph by labeling them Missouri cities which should be denied the benefits of the commerce and resources of Kansas. As for Leavenworth, its early growth and prosperity had been in response to artificial and temporary factors which had ceased to be influential. But Martin was not content to resolve the contest in favor of Atchison by simple analysis of provincial and ephemeral considerations. Drawing upon his knowledge of science, geography, and history he cast his thought about cities into two general theories. One of these might be designated geographic predestination. In explaining his conviction that Atchison would outdistance Leavenworth and St. Joseph, Martin asserted, “The fact is that lines of commerce and travel are controlled by natural laws. Nature, in fashioning this beautiful and fertile land, in establishing the course of its streams, the altitude of its hills, and the windings of its valleys, destined Atchison to be the metropolis of the Missouri Valley and the ‘Great Railroad Centre of Kansas.’” In expounding his other theory which might be called automatic accretion, Martin declared, Man aggregates. So do the beasts of the field and forest; the birds and insects of the air, and the fishes of the sea. Community is the law of existence. [It is as] inevitable as gravitation. Bees swarm, buffalo move in multitude, men dwell in cities. The city must have a focus; some

26. There is a biography of Martin by James C. Malls in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 12 (New York, 1933), pp. 541-542. In the second installment of his historical sketch of Atchison published in the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, December 5, 1872, W. H. Rossington remarked, “Col. John A. Martin, one of the pioneer publishers in Kansas, with his *Champion*, has probably done more to blow wide the fame and name of Atchison, than any other man or influence in it.”

27. The fullest statement of this point was made by Martin in commenting on an article in the *Sewanee Courrier* which was reprinted in the *Champion* on January 3, 1872. Martin was not entirely satisfied with the reasons given by the *Courrier* for working in the interest of Atchison rather than St. Joseph. He thought the writer should have said, “Atchison is a Kansas town. It is identified with Kansas interests. It helps pay the taxes of Kansas. It is animated by Kansas ideas and devoted to the upbuilding of Kansas institutions. St. Joseph, on the contrary, is a Missouri town. It is identified with Missouri interests. It helps pay Missouri taxes. It has Missouri ideas, and is devoted to the upbuilding of Missouri.” See also, the *Champion* for June 23, 1867, and June 15, 24, 1873.


29. Atchison *Champion*, December 8, 1870. An earlier editorial entitled “A Public Park” in the *Champion* for September 10, 1870, contained an eloquent expression of the “inevitable destiny” theme. Similar ideas permeate the article “The Great Railroad Centre” which appeared on November 1, 1870. When David Martin was in charge of the *Champion*, an article in the *Holton News* which favored Atchison over Leavenworth stimulated him to write a long article on “Atchison and Her Position” in which he said that the railroad system of northern Kansas “naturally radiates from Atchison, because it is the most interior point on the Great River, in the State. The same natural causes which concentrated here the private freighting interests of the West, bring to us the Railroads of Kansas.”—*Champion*, December 11, 1869. See also, the issues for January 7 and April 11, 1871.
ocean harbor, oasis, river bend, mountain slope, or fertile area, affording peculiar advantages for access, egress, and accumulation. Nothing is fortuitous. ... We have [the] opportunity. The gods are favorable. A vast productive area, penetrated by railroads and inhabited by an energetic and intelligent population, surrounds us in every direction. If Atchison is not without a rival on the Kansas frontier within the next ten years, it will be from a wanton and stupid disregard of the conditions which are requisite to the growth of cities.80

Whatever may be the merits of Martin's theorizing, he did not let the people of Atchison forget that it was railroads that were needed if Atchison was to become the commercial metropolis of the Missouri valley. By 1872, as a result of the prodding of Martin, the lobbying and leading of such men as Peter T. Abell, George W. Glick, and John M. Price, and the stimulating impact of James F. Joy's dollars, Atchison had become the center of a modest network of railroads.81 On the east side of the Missouri river there were lines leading northward to St. Joseph and Chicago, and southward to Kansas City and St. Louis. On the west side there were lines leading through Leavenworth to Kansas City and St. Louis, and northward through Troy Junction to Falls City, Lincoln, and be-

80. Ibid., May 16, 1867. The quoted portions do not do justice to the lengthy editorial entitled "The Growth of Cities." On December 10, 1867, Martin brought his thinking about the growth of cities into sharper focus in an article entitled "Atchison—Her Needs and Necessities."

81. The Champion claimed that the network was composed of eight distinct lines. Needless to say the hopes, the fears, the railroads conventions, the bond elections, the details of construction and the opening day excursions over the completed lines were reported in great detail. Because this is not primarily a study of Atchison as a railroad center the references will be limited to those that describe the network. There is a brief summary of Atchison's railroad connections in D. E. Hawley, Atchison City Directory for 1878-1879 (Atchison, 1878), pp. 9, 11, 17, 19, 21, 23, 41,44. In The Gazetteer and Directory of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Rail Road and of the Missouri River From Kansas City, Missouri, to Omaha, Nebraska (Burch and Polk, Detroit, 1873), pp. 206, 207, reference is made to "eight distinct lines of Railroad." In view of the fact that the book contains sketches of Kansas City, Leavenworth, and St. Joseph, the following statement is interesting. "By common consent, Atchison is now spoken of by all intelligent people, and the press, as the great railroad center west and north of St. Louis. 80 to 100 freight and passenger trains arrive and depart daily."

For an exuberant exposition of Atchison's challenge to her rivals as well as an optimistic preview of her railroad network, see the article "A Bilked City" in the May 1, 1869, issue of the Champion. The following paragraph is a fair sample. "We [Atchison] shall have a railroad from Atchison to Topeka, and another from Atchison to Lawrence. We shall have a railroad to Nebraska City and another to Manhattan. We shall have a road, via Leavenworth way-station, to St. Louis, on the west side of the river. We have a direct line to Chicago and all Eastern cities. We shall have a connection ... with the Kansas Pacific Road at Topeka, thence pushing Southwest, to the Neosho Valley. In fact, Atchison, Topeka and Lawrence are the great Railroad Centres of Kansas, and always will be. They will build through lines, and air-lines, and country cut-offs, and branch roads, all around Leavenworth, threading all parts of the State and connecting with lines running to all parts of the Continent."

Other contemporary summaries may be found in The Atchison Champion, August 28, November 18, 1868; March 30, 1870; January 1, 1871; February 9, March 19, April 9, July 7, 1872; and August 1 and September 23, 1873; Holton Express, July 5, 1872; Water-ville Telegraph, April 7, 1871; and in Franklin G. Adams, The Homestead Guide: Describing the Great Homestead Region in Kansas and Nebraska (Water-ville, Kan., 1873), pp. 112-143. "Business and Railroads," November 18, 1868; "Aid to Railroads," December 31, 1869; "The Railroads and Our Trade," September 4, 1869; and "Atchison What Her Citizens Must Do," February 16, 1872, are examples of Martin's promotional efforts. The best historical account of the construction of Kansas railroads in print is A. Bower Sagers, "The Rails Go Westward," in John D. Bright, editor, Kansas: The First Century (New York, 1956), v. 1, pp. 221-254. On May 5, 1871, the Champion printed an account of the testimonial dinner that was given for Peter T. Abell.
yond.\textsuperscript{32} The Atchison-Topeka segment of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe had been completed. And there was the Central Branch, a one hundred mile “stump” road to Waterville.\textsuperscript{33} Although there were railroads radiating in every direction, Atchison was still a thousand feet away from having an effective railroad network. The Missouri river remained unbridged at Atchison. And because there was no bridge, freight and passengers had to be crossed over the ice in winter, and by ferryboat during the other seasons of the year, while Atchison’s rivals smugly reaped the benefits of their bridges.\textsuperscript{34}

While fashioning her bifurcated railroad network, Atchison had been challenged on many occasions by these rivals.\textsuperscript{35} St. Joseph intervened in Kansas politics to obtain aid for the St. Joseph and Denver City railroad in the fond expectation that it would divert much of the trade of the Central Branch country to St. Joseph, frustrate the extension of the Central Branch railroad, and tap northwestern Kansas far to the west of Waterville.\textsuperscript{36} Atchison responded by obtaining the completion of the Atchison and Nebraska line with the dual purpose of diverting trade from St. Joseph to Atchison at Troy, and of securing a connection with the main line of the Union

\textsuperscript{32} Joy was instrumental in securing the completion of the Atchison and Nebraska line. Atchison \textit{Champion}, August 20, 23, 25, 26, September 2, 2, 4, 30, October 21, November 24, 1870, and February 7, November 26, 1871. His financial participation was handled by the Exchange Bank of William Hetherington.—Cash journal, pp. 400, 414, 415, 440, 456, 457, 462, 465, 467, 473, 475, 476, 478-490, 491, 492, 496, 497, 505, 507, 514, 534, 544, 546, 547, 550, 558, and 569. 

\textsuperscript{33} This is the term used by Franklin G. Adams in his “History of Marshall County.” \textit{Marshall County News}, Marysville, February 8, 1871, and in the \textit{Waterville Telegraph}, March 8, 1872.

\textsuperscript{34} The Missouri river was bridged at Kansas City in 1869, at Leavenworth in 1872, and at St. Joseph in 1875. It was not bridged at Atchison until 1875. The \textit{Champion} on September 8, 1868, published a full account of P. T. Abee's speech in which he discussed the obstacles to securing a bridge at Atchison. Other lengthy discussions may be found in the issues for June 11, 1872; June 20, August 7, 27, and November 13, 1873. After the rival cities had their bridges the \textit{Champion} tried to make the best of a bad situation by emphasizing the speed and efficiency of the transfer (ferry) system.—See issues for November 29, December 28, and December 29, 1870; January 4, 1871; December 1 and 28, 1872; and June 15, August 18, 1873. On December 3, 1872, the \textit{Kansas Daily Commonwealth}, Topeka, commented, “The Atchison ferry boats are still rushing backward and forward through the ice, and Atchison like, will keep it up to the very last moment.”

\textsuperscript{35} See, “The Great Railroad Centre,” Atchison \textit{Champion}, December 8, 1870, and the article in the Atchison \textit{Patriot} entitled “Atchison” reprinted in the \textit{Waterville Telegraph}, June 6, 1873, for good discussions of this competition.

\textsuperscript{36} In January, 1866, the St. Joseph and Denver City railroad was made one of the four beneficiaries of the 500,000-acre federal grant to Kansas for internal improvements. There is some information on the legislative history of the act in Edwin C. Manning, “The Kansas State Senate of 1863 and 1864,” \textit{Kansas Historical Collections}, v. 9, pp. 359-675, but especially 373-375. For the disposition of the grant see Thomas LeDuc, “State Administration of the Land Grant to Kansas for Internal Improvements,” \textit{Kansas Historical Quarterly}, v. 26 (November, 1925), pp. 545-552. For the reaction to this grant in Atchison see the \textit{Champion}, January 25, 27, 30, February 7, 8, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 27, March 2, 4, 6, 8, and June 19, 1866. The grant of federal lands to the state of Kansas for the particular benefit of the St. Joseph and Denver City railroad was made on June 23, 1866.— \textit{United States Statutes at Large}, v. 14, pp. 210-212. The road was completed to Marysville in January, 1871, and to Haysville in late August, 1871.—\textit{Waterville Telegraph}, January 6, and September 1, 1871. For other discussions of the Atchison-St. Joseph rivalry see the \textit{Champion}, May 30, June 16 and 23, 1887; October 24, November 27, December 2, 1886; January 6, 1872; and June 23, 1873.
Pacific beyond Lincoln. Leavenworth projected several railroad lines into the Central Branch country, broke the connection of Atchison with Kansas City by tearing up several hundred feet of track, and attempted to divert the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe from Atchison to Leavenworth. Atchison retaliated by projecting a railroad through Oskaloosa to Lawrence with the intention of reaching St. Louis by way of Pleasant Hill, Mo., thus cutting off both Leavenworth and Kansas City.

The principal weapon of Kansas City in the contest was the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, or Kansas Pacific, as it was later called. The westward construction of this railroad disturbed the leaders of Atchison a great deal. Their response was to press for the immediate construction of the Atchison-Topeka segment of the railroad to Santa Fe. Their spokesman, John A. Martin, asserted in unqualified terms that this link was the most important of Atchison's railroad projects, and that it was the absolute prerequisite for Atchison's development as a railroad center. To the Atchison men it was this line that would perpetuate the earlier association with the commerce of the southwest; would circumvent Lawrence and Leavenworth as well as Kansas City; and would make Atchison a significant point on the route from Chicago to the Southwest. In addition to the long range menace, the Kansas Pacific threatened Atchison's control of the Central Branch country by providing points of departure for feeder lines northward from Topeka through Holton to Netawaka, from Manhattan up the valley of the Big Blue to Irving and Blue Rapids, and from Junction City northward to

37. On October 24, 1869, the Atchison Champion asserted that as a result of the junction at Troy, the Atchison and Nebraska would drain St. Joseph "like a beech." The connection with the Union Pacific was suggested by the Champion as early as May 4, 1869. See, also, the issues for July 20, 1867, and March 11, 1871.

38. Ibid., October 22, November 12 and 17, 1869; March 23, June 12 and 14, September 25, December 15, 20, 21, 23, 25, and 30, 1870; January 1, 5, 7, 8, and 14, February 18, June 30, July 12, 1871; and April 21, 1872. Waterville Telegraph, December 23, 1870; January 6, 13, 20, and August 25, 1871.

39. Atchison Champion, November 23, December 1, 1867; January 3, November 29, 1868; May 1 and 21, August 1, November 27, 1869; September 21, 1870; February 9, August 10 and 24, 1871; February 14, April 19, 1872. On June 7, 1867, the Champion mentioned a line to Lawrence by way of Oskaloosa and Valley Falls, and on March 8 and 13, 1868, it discussed the possibility of an Atchison, Tonganoxie and Southern railroad.

40. The Atchison Champion reported regularly on the progress of construction, commented on the vulnerability of the line to floods, and analyzed the impact upon Atchison of the shift from the Republican to the Smoky Hill route.—See issues for August 4 and 17, November 16, December 13, 1865; April 20, May 3, June 29, July 12, August 28, September 23, 1866; January 5, 1867; and April 28, 1870.

41. Ibid., May 2, 12, 17, July 20, 1867; May 11, October 10, 1869. On March 25, 1869, the line to Topeka was placed second in importance to the Central Branch.

42. Ibid., June 16, August 2, and 11, 1865; July 20, September 17, 1867; October 29, November 6, and 13, 1867. See, also, the reprint of an article in the Kansas Daily Commonwealth, Topeka, in the issue for March 30, 1872. On June 21, 1872, similar views were published in the Holton Express.
Waterville and northwestern into the valley of the Republican. Atchison met these flanking movements with proposals for branch lines from Effingham, Muscotah, or Netawaka, through Holton to St. Marys, Wamego, or Manhattan. But a more direct threat could not be countered effectively. An unbridged Missouri river made it likely that Atchison would become just another way station on the railroad from the Central Branch country to Kansas City.

Although their principal interest was focused on railroads, the leaders of Atchison realized that many more institutions and enterprises were needed if their city was to fulfill the destiny that they had selected for it. At first it was honor and profit enough to have warehouses to serve the caravans of freighters, but soon there came demands for a market house, a union depot, grain elevators, stockyards, and more wholesale firms. At first civic pride could be fulfilled by references to the levee, but later it was sidewalks, paved streets, luxurious hotels, and improved roads into the countryside that were wanted. At first reality matched vision when a few small shops and mills supplemented the exchange of goods and produce, but as time passed it was great flour mills, extensive packing plants, and factories to produce agricultural implements, milling machinery, and furniture that were wanted so badly that the city council attempted to match St. Joseph and Leavenworth by offering substantial subsidies to new industries. In the early years a private bank or two seemed adequate, but as business became more complex, pressure was generated for national banks, building and loan associations, savings banks, and insurance companies. In the field of

43. Atchison Champion, September 14, 1871; Marshall County News, Marysville, November 16, 1872; February 8, May 24, August 2 and 23, 1873; Waterville Telegraph, January 28, July 22, September 2, 9, and 25, December 2, 1870; May 26, June 23, August 15, 1871, and February 23, August 23, 1872.

44. On March 6, 1868, the Atchison Champion reprinted from the Hays City Advance an argument in favor of an Atchison, Hays City, and Santa Fe railroad. For other proposals see the Champion, April 23 and June 29, 1860; February 16, May 10, 14, and 17 (reprint from Holton Leader), June 2, 17, and 21, August 50, September 9, December 18 (reprint from the Louisville, Kan., Reporter), 1870; January 12, February 28, March 9, 15, 18, and 21, June 15, July 8, 1871, and May 2, 1872; Holton Express, April 26, 1872; and Waterville Telegraph, June 24, 1870, and March 17, 1871.

45. This paragraph is a condensation of ideas, suggestions, and promotional "puffs" that appeared in Champion advertisements, articles, and editorials. Inasmuch as several dozen issues are involved separate citations would be of little value.

46. Atchison Champion, October 27 and November 5, 1871. In the latter issue the Champion summarized the purposes of the bond issue: $5,000 each for a foundry, an agricultural implements factory, a hotel, a wooden factory, and a coal mine, and an additional $10,000 to be used as the mayor and council should decide. The bonds carried 7%—Ibid., November 10, 1871. One long-range result of the bond issue was the establishment of an iron foundry by John A. Seaton.—Ibid., March 24 and April 18, 1872. This plant was the forerunner of the Locomotive Finished Materials Company. The shift in emphasis from transportation to industry, from railroads to factories, was foreshadowed in a letter published in the May 2, 1872, issue of the Champion from R. K. Crum of Whiting. Crum stated that the great need of Atchison was not more railroads, but "diversified employment" and that Atchison should seek to become a great manufacturing center. Some attention had been paid earlier to the possibility of coal, oil, and gas development in the vicinity of Atchison.—See the Champion for May 14, 17, 24, and 31, June 7, August 15, September 30, November 11, 1865; and January 9, 1869.
journalism the Champion sought to become the voice of northern and northwestern Kansas and was challenged by the Free-Press, the Patriot, and the Globe. In matters cultural and educational, the growth of St. Benedict’s College, the construction of the new high school building, and the Corinthian Hall lectures and dramatic productions were hailed as harbingers of a richer fare. To complete the atmosphere of the emerging metropolis, John A. Martin, envisioning a city of 50,000, gave some thought to long-range urban planning. A section of modest homes and one of palatial estates, an industrial area, and parks because New York, London, and Dublin had parks, all of these were included in Martin’s blueprint for Atchison, the “Queen City” of the Missouri valley.

While Atchison dreamed and sought to obtain the essential elements of a great city, the Central Branch country came into existence. Small segment though it was of the grand scheme, this hinterland of fertile prairies and valleys was not to be despised. William F. Downs, general superintendent and land commissioner of the Central Branch Railroad Company, advertised it as an area 100 miles long and 40 miles wide. Ordinarily the “Great Homestead Region” extending for another 100 miles westward from Marshall county was included in the tributary area. The early descriptions of this domain were liberally sprinkled with superlatives. Thus an Eastern traveler through the Central Branch country was moved to use the following phrases in his descriptive account, “And such a country! A climate full of health and strength; an air bright, balmy, and pure; a soil whose richness centuries of cultivation could not exhaust; a landscape fair and lovely to look upon;

47. On September 19, 1867, the Champion published the following statement, “The Champion has a large and constantly increasing circulation throughout Western and Northwestern Kansas. In the cabin of the settlers in the lovely meadows of the Blue and the Grasshopper [Delaware], in the rude rendezvous of the lonely hunter along the grassy ridges of the distant Republican; in the homes that dot the hillsides, the valleys and the prairies of Atchison, Brown, Nemaha, Marshall, Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Pottawatomie and Doniphan counties, it is an eagerly welcomed visitor.” B. F. Waggener and H. Clay Park took over the Patriot on September 8, 1868, and later Nelson Abbott became its proprietor.—Atchison Champion, September 8, 1868, and August 7, 1871. On May 2, 1873, the Waterville Telegraph welcomed the appearance of the Atchison Globe. On the following day the Marshall County News commented that it would be interesting to watch the struggle between the Globe and the Champion and predicted that all northern Kansas would stick with the Champion.

48. Atchison Champion, September 10, 1870, and April 14, 1871. In an article published in the March 5, 1871, issue of the Champion, Martin was extremely critical of the rectangular block system. If on the one hand Martin paid some attention to aspects of urban development, he did not neglect to comment on the frontier in American history. On April 11, 1869, he wrote, “The Western boundary of Western settlement is moving on, with startling rapidity, to meet the great wave of immigration coming from the Pacific. . . . Soon there will be no ‘West,’ as it is now known. . . .”

49. The advertisement was carried on the front page of the Atchison Champion for a good many months.

50. The most complete description of the area is contained in Adams, The Homestead Guide, pp. 9-112. See also, the article by M. W. Reynolds in the Lawrence Journal reprinted in the Atchison Champion, March 3, 1870.
gently undulating prairies; streams of pure water, their banks fringed with trees.” 51 Into this Eden-like paradise “the steel serpent” of railroad rails was thrust beginning in 1865. 52 An abortive effort by the Atchison and Pike’s Peak Railroad Company in 1860 had been followed by several years of inactivity, by conflicting federal legislation, and by the reorganization of the company. 53 In the midst of these events construction of the road was begun. William Osborn, formerly of Waterville, N. Y., was the chief contractor; O. B. Gunn, the chief engineer; and J. P. “Paddy” Brown, Frank Bier, Richard Cavanaugh, and James S. Fisk, were some of the principal subcontractors. 54 Patented excavators and mobile dormitories shared the construction scene with wheelbarrows and oxen teams. 55 Slowly the road was built westward. Along the line from Monrovia, to Muscotah, to Frog’s Paradise, just east of present day Centralia, periods of great activity were followed by months of indecision, while back in Atchison, moments of high elation alternated with seasons of deep despair. 56 The ambiguity of the project was described by a writer in the Lawrence Journal after a ride over a portion of the road. “Nobody knows where it is going. Its present terminus is Centralia. Its ultimate terminus is one of the problems of the future which the man in the moon could solve as readily as the managers of the road. . . . [It] is now hunting around on the prairies for a place to stop.” 57 Finally, it was decided that the Central Branch

51. Article from the Chicago Railway Review, reprinted in the Waterville Telegraph, June 16, 1871. On August 11, 1871, the Telegraph reprinted a descriptive article from the August, 1871, issue of the Chicago Landowner. In an account reprinted in the Atchison Champion for November 22, 1866, a correspondent of the St. Joseph Herald declared that “The road [Central Branch] traverses the most magnificent sections of land which were ever shone upon, or encircled by a surveyor’s chain.” Another early account was written by a correspondent for the Chicago Tribune after an excursion to Muscotah and was reprinted in the Atchison Champion, November 29, 1866.

52. Ibid., February 19, 1868. In commenting upon the proposed Atchison, Hays City, and Santa Fe railroad the writer remarked, “Cod. Webb is determined that another ‘steel serpent shall glisten in the sun’ along the prairies of the West. All the ‘steel serpents’ terminate at the Great Railroad Center.”

53. The officers of the Atchison and Pike’s Peak company on June 8, 1865, were Samuel C. Pomeroy, president; Willis Gaylord, vice-president; James Wadsworth, secretary and acting treasurer; and Chauncey Vibbard, chairman of the executive committee. Sometime between June, 1865, and November, 1866, Ralph M. Pomeroy became president and Ellingham A. Nichols became treasurer of the company. The directors of the company in October, 1870, were Samuel C. Pomeroy, Benjamin F. Stringfellow, William F. Downs, William C. Wetmore, James A. Stewart, Henry Day, Clement M. Parsons, Ellingham A. Nichols, Alfred S. Barnes, O. H. Palmer, E. B. Phillips, Ralph M. Pomeroy, and George S. Hall—Atchison Champion, June 3, 1865, November 20, 1866, and October 13, 1870.

54. Ibid., March 25 and 26, June 6, July 29, 1865, and April 24, 1866.

55. Ibid., March 25 and 26, August 20, September 17, December 29, 1865; March 7 and 27, April 17, 1866; and July 21, December 11, 1867.

56. On January 26, 1865, the Atchison Champion predicted that the railroad would reach the Big Blue by July 1, 1862. Two months later on March 22, 1865, the editor suggested that the road west from Atchison would win the race to the Pacific Ocean. Except for the months from November, 1865, to April, 1866, and those from November, 1866, to May, 1867, the Champion reported quite regularly on the progress of construction.

57. Reprinted in Ibid., May 17, 1867.
should cross the Big Blue at Irving and then proceed in a northwesterly direction until the 100th milepost was reached.58 This goal was accomplished in late 1867, and a new town was laid out.59 It was named Waterville after William Osborn’s home town in New York, but referred to as West Atchison because of the preponderance of Atchison men among its builders.60

Monrovia, Effingham, and Muscotah; Netawaka, Centralia, and Frankfort; Irving, Blue Rapids, and Waterville; these were the principal towns along the Central Branch. Interspersed at favorable points were the villages of Whiting, Wetmore, Corning, Vermillion, Barrett’s Mill, and Elizabeth.61 Depending upon the time of year an accommodation train, or separate trains for freight and passengers, would go chuffing up the line.62 Until 1870 the engines burned wood, and “wood up” stations were located at frequent intervals along the track.63 As one reads the accounts of travelers one catches glimpses of women helping with the harvest and of small boys windsing their way through the tall grass to the “wood-up” stations to sell watermelons to the passengers and train crews.64 One also catches fuller views of prairie fires and valley floods; of eating places; and of primitive wooden shakes for depots.65

These views of the Central Branch country are possible because the Atchison newspapers reported the visits to Atchison of country residents, printed columns of special correspondence from the Central Branch towns and reprinted other columns from the newspapers

58. Marysville Enterprise quoted in the Atchison Champion, July 14, 1867. See, also, the issues of the Champion for July 20 and 21, 1867.

59. The grading was completed in early December.—Atchison Champion, December 11, 1867. "E. F. Furhman" wrote to the Champion from Waterville on January 18, 1868, saying that Major Gunn was surveying the townsite and that several residents of Atchison were in Waterville preparing to establish business houses.—Ibid., January 22, 1868.

60. The most complete account of the establishment and early history of Waterville is to be found in the sketch by Franklin G. Adams in the Marshall County News, February 8 and 15, 1873. There is an earlier account in the Waterville Telegraph, March 31, 1871. For the origin of the name see the Telegraph for April 7, 1871.

61. Descriptive accounts of the Central Branch towns may be found in the Waterville Telegraph, March 4, 1870; in the Atchison Champion, August 25, 1869, May 5, August 3, 1870, and August 2, 1871; in the Chicago Land Owner for August, 1871, and in Adams, The Homestead Guide, pp. 137-191. The Land Owner sketch is accompanied by a map of the Central Branch country and plats of all of the towns.

62. The changes in schedules and equipment occurred too frequently to permit citation. A particularly complete time table was published in the Irving Weekly Recorder, March 10, 1869. An early train consisted of five coalloads of merchandise, four of lumber, and one of agricultural implements plus the passenger and baggage cars.—Atchison Champion, July 4, 1867.

63. Waterville Telegraph, January 1, 7, and 23, 1870. The shift from wood to coal was made in the autumn of 1870.—Ibid., September 16, October 14 and 28, 1870.

64. Atchison Champion, September 11, 13, 1869. Waterville Telegraph, February 25, September 2, 1870.

65. Atchison Champion, April 25, and October 27, 1869; April 10, 22, 1870; and November 19, 20, and 22, 1873. Holton Express, April 12, 1872. Seneca Courier, February 10, March 24, 1871. Waterville Telegraph, January 1, March 19, April 29, September 2, 1870; and February 2, 1872.
established in them. The Waterville Telegraph, the Blue Rapids Times, the Irving Recorder, the Seneca Courier, and the Holton Express were regularly levied upon for news concerning local events, the visits of Atchison men, the business transactions with Atchison firms, and optimistic predictions of future growth. The country editors reciprocated by reprinting news stories and editorials from the Atchison papers and by supporting Atchison's claims and causes. Two of these country editors, Frank A. Root and Franklin G. Adams, were of particular importance. Both men had played significant roles in the early history of Atchison. Both remained faithful to Atchison, when they exchanged their desks in Atchison for cruder quarters in a newly established town. In 1869 Root left Atchison to establish the Waterville Telegraph. Like a sounding board located 100 miles to the west, Root echoed the hopes and the arguments of his erstwhile partner, John A. Martin. Just as Martin supplemented his editorial duties and his income by serving as postmaster of Atchison, so Root enlarged his sources of news and augmented his income by working as postal agent on the Central Branch trains. From the vantage point of the mail car, Root collected news stories from all of the towns and published them in the Telegraph under the heading, "Items from the Central Branch Country." Later as the editor of the Seneca Courier he defended Atchison's interests even though Seneca was tied more closely to St. Joseph. Still later as editor of the Holton Express, Root continued the same policy, but his position was complicated by the

66. Because of the regularity of these practices some examples must suffice. On September 30, 1859, the Champion said that it wanted correspondents in every northern Kansas town. Martin's excursions over the Central Branch line were usually followed by long descriptive articles; Champion, April 16, August 16, 1867, and October 19, 19, and 25, 1871. "O K.," whose real name was L. Hess, was a regular contributor from Seneca and other points in the Central Branch county. Although he later became a correspondent of the St. Joseph Gazette, the Champion on July 15, 1871, reprinted his Central Branch article. A. B. McNab, using the pen name of "Kickapo," was a frequent contributor. Occasional correspondents included A. J. Patrick of Irving whose letter on "The Present and Future of Marshall County" was published in the Champion on March 29, 1867; T. Shaffer who contributed an article on "Cloud County" in the August 25, 1868, issue, and W. H. Dodge whose description of Jackson county was published on December 29, 1868.

67. On June 7, 1870, the Atchison Champion reprinted items from four country newspapers.

68. Holton Express, April 12 and 19, May 17, 1872; Seneca Courier, February 17, 1871; and Waterville Telegraph, February 18, April 13, December 2, 1870, May 26, June 2, October 15, November 5, December 19, 1871, and January 26, 1872.

69. There is a short sketch of Root's career by James C. Malin in the Dictionary of American Biography, v. 16, p. 146. There is a brief biography of Adams in Kansas Historical Collections, v. 6, pp. 171-175. Root and Adams were brothers-in-law.

70. "O K." reported in the November 30, 1869, issue of the Champion that Root was "Eyes and Ears" and that he was to be the editor of the Telegraph. When Root moved to Seneca he became the postmaster as well as the editor of the Courier.

71. As indicated in the previous note Root also supplied a column under the heading "Eyes and Ears" for the Atchison Champion.

72. In a letter to the Seneca Courier from Atchison, March 15, 1871, J. N. Cox discussed the relations between Seneca and Atchison.—Courier, March 17, 1871. On January 3, 1872, the Champion reprinted the Courier's reasons for supporting Atchison rather than St. Joseph.
A portion of the map of the Central Branch country as published in The Land Owner, Chicago, August, 1871. Quite obviously the delineator emphasized the position of Atchison and the importance of the Central Branch. The most notable feature of the map is the omission of the St. Joseph and Denver City railroad which by the summer of 1871 had reached beyond Marysville.
Atchison, in the 1870's, looking toward town from St. Benedict's College.

Waterville, 1872, showing the usual land-office and livery stable "rush."
completion of the narrow gauge Kansas Central from Leavenworth to Holton.\textsuperscript{73}

Franklin G. Adams, Root’s successor in Waterville, undertook to appeal to an even broader audience. While serving as editor of the Telegraph, Adams traveled extensively through the country west of Marshall county. In 1873 he published the material that he had gathered in an emigration guide book entitled The Homestead Guide.\textsuperscript{74} In glowing words and well-turned phrases he described the attractiveness of the Central Branch country and the area to the west and north of it. Moreover, as Root’s successor in the position of postal agent, Adams provided a steady flow of news items and descriptive comments for the Atchison papers as well as his own.\textsuperscript{75} By journalistic ties in general, and by the special efforts of Root and Adams, the Central Branch country was closely bound to Atchison.

But there were other bonds that united the metropolis on the Missouri with the towns of the hinterland. If a Central Branch town staged a fourth of July celebration, held a farmers’ meeting, or sponsored a railroad bond election it was regular practice for the major address to be delivered by John J. Ingalls, Bailie P. Waggener, John A. Martin, or any one of a dozen Atchison men who were noted for their forensic talent.\textsuperscript{76} If the Corinthian Hall schedule of events included a lecture by Bret Harte or a particularly outstanding play by Lord’s Theatrical Company, special trains originating in Waterville were used to bring the people in.\textsuperscript{77} If the district court was in session at Seneca, Marysville, or Washington, Atchison attorneys were there to plead the causes of their clients.\textsuperscript{78} On some occasions, excursions would bring many residents of Atchison out to a Central

\textsuperscript{73} As editor of the Holton Express, Root printed a column "Items Along the Kansas Central" after that railroad was completed to Holton.—See the issue for September 20, 1873.

\textsuperscript{74} The copy of this book in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society was published in Waterville in 1873. The railroad and township map which accompanies it shows the proposed railroads as well as the completed ones. The first part of the book is devoted to the physical features of the region, pp. 112-133 to the railroads, and pp. 137 to 191 to the history and growth of Atchison and the towns in the area as far west as Norton county. The Atchison Champion gave a good deal of publicity to the book. See especially the issues for June 14 and 17, 1873. Adams and W. F. Campbell took over the Waterville Telegraph in January, 1871. In August, 1873, Adams became the editor of the Atchison Globe, and on January 1, 1876, he became the secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society.—Waterville Telegraph, January 13, 1871; Marshall County News, August 23, 1873; D. W. Wilder, The Annals of Kansas (Topeka, 1886), p. 698.

\textsuperscript{75} Adams had served as postal route agent on an earlier occasion.—Atchison Champion, August 24, 1869.

\textsuperscript{76} Peter T. Abell, George W. Glick, William F. Downe, and John A. Martin participated in the Cloud county railroad bond election in 1871.—Ibid., October 15, 1871. For other appearances of Atchison men see the Champion, August 5, 1873; Marshall County News, July 26, 1873; and the Netawaka Chief, July 9, 1873.

\textsuperscript{77} Atchison Champion, October 21, 1873; Waterville Telegraph, December 9, 10, and 23, 1870, August 23, 1872.

\textsuperscript{78} Atchison Champion, October 22, 1869, and October 26, 1873; Waterville Telegraph, January 1, April 29, 1870; September 15, 1871; and November 22, 1872. The firm of A. H. Horton and Bailie B. Waggener was particularly prominent in the Central Branch country. It was formed in April, 1870.
Branch town for a picnic and music by a silver cornet band, and on other occasions excursions would bring the people of the towns into Atchison for a round of visiting and shopping.  

During the hot weather season, especially if cholera were prevalent in the Missouri river towns, some Atchison men would take their families to summer cottages in Netawaka or Blue Rapids. When drought and prairie fires brought destitution to many settlers in the Central Branch country in 1871, it was John Logan of Atchison who was placed in charge of the distribution of relief supplies provided by the state. Moreover, it was the women of Atchison under the leadership of Mrs. D. P. Blish and Mrs. William Hetherington, among others, who organized the Kansas Relief Association, who utilized their Ladies’ Aid Society to collect clothing and provisions, and who staged a concert at Corinthian Hall to raise relief funds. On pleasanter occasions groups of Atchison young people journeyed to Central Branch towns to assist with revival meetings, the Rev. H. D. Fisher of the Atchison Methodist church traveled to Waterville to preach the dedicatory sermon when the new schoolhouse was ready for use, and James Diggett, an Atchison music teacher, toured the Central Branch country giving concerts for the enjoyment of the people. Additionally, the Northern Kansas District Fair at Atchison, the meetings of Masons and Odd Fellows, and the political campaign tours served to strengthen the relations between the city and the towns.

Close though these social and cultural ties were, the interlocking economic relationships seemed to be even more pervasive. Like the newspaper editors Root and Adams, many of the merchants and professional men of the towns had been residents of Atchison. When Sam Dickson, one of the earliest settlers in Atchison, moved to Waterville in 1869, he found himself in the midst of a colony of Atchison expatriates. J. D. Armstrong, dry goods merchant; J. C. Peters, dealer in groceries and liquors; George W. Hutt, retailer of groceries, agricultural implements, and hardware; John Landgraf,

79. Atchison Champion, July 6, 15, 20, 28, and 29, 1870, March 25, 1871, and July 17 and 20, 1874; Waterville Telegraph, May 13 and 20, June 24, July 15, 22, and 29, December 9, 1870.
80. Atchison Champion, March 9, 1871; Waterville Telegraph, March 17, 1871.
81. Atchison Champion, October 20 and 28, November 1 and 5, December 13, 1871; Waterville Telegraph, December 1, 8, and 22, 1871.
82. Holton Express, May 17, 1872; Waterville Telegraph, June 17, 1870, February 4 and 25, June 17 and 24, July 4, 1871, and May 24, 1872.
83. John A. Martin regularly sent complimentary tickets to the Atchison fair to the editors of newspapers in the Central Branch towns and the railroad offered half-fare rates. The citations are too numerous to be included.
84. Frank Root estimated that three-fourths of the Waterville business men were from Atchison.—Letter to the Atchison Champion, August 25, 1869.
proponent of a saddle and harness shop; Henry Volz, blacksmith; and A. Simis, druggist, were among those who had moved out from Atchison. What was true of Waterville was true of the other towns in the Central Branch country. George W. Shriner and Charles Williamson, of Washington; J. D. Brumbaugh, Charles F. Koester, and Frank Schmidt, of Marysville; Ben F. Drury, Frank Kaufman, and Jacob Weisbach, of Frankfort; G. B. White, of Whiting; J. M. Meacham and George Gould, of Seneca; H. W. Forman, A. Williams, and W. P. McCubbin of Centralia; and William Stratton, of Wetmore, had been residents of Atchison before going west to seek their fortunes in the hinterland.

In some instances close economic ties were created when Atchison firms established branches in the Central Branch towns. This practice seemed to be particularly characteristic of the lumber business. Thus the G. C. Hixon Lumber Company, a large interstate firm with a major outlet in Atchison, opened a branch yard in Waterville, and Cummings and Adams, an Atchison firm, established a branch at Centralia. A somewhat longer extension of Atchison influence occurred when Johnson and Haskell, a Waterville firm with Atchison connections, founded branches in Clyde and Clifton.

A different kind of personal relationship resulted from the fact that Atchison people became landowners, both large and small in the Central Branch country. Next to the railroad companies, the banking firm of Stebbins and Porter with some 50,000 acres of land in Marshall and Nemaha counties was the largest landowner in the area. The smaller landowners, or would-be landowners, were more numerous. From Centralia to Dead Man’s Hollow, southeast of Waterville, to Mill creek valley near Washington, the countryside was full of settlers from Atchison city or county. These expatriates from Atchison, together with their fellow settlers from elsewhere, built schoolhouses that were furnished by the H. E. Nickerson Furniture Company, took their grain to be ground by mills equipped with machinery from N. Plamondon and Company, crossed a good many bridges built by Stebbins and Morse, and

85. Ibid., September 21, December 19, 1869, and April 8, 22, 1870.
86. Ibid., July 11, 1867, August 15, September 2, October 31, 1869, and June 21, August 12, 1873; Marshall County News, August 9, 1873; Waterville Telegraph, February 23, July 11, 1870, February 10, April 25, 1871.
87. Atchison Champion, May 30, 1867; Waterville Telegraph, April 8, 1870.
88. Waterville Telegraph, March 3, April 28, 1871.
89. Atchison Champion, June 21, 1866, and March 24, 1867; Waterville Telegraph, March 11, 1870.
90. Atchison Champion, November 20, 1868, and September 10, 21, and 22, 1869; Waterville Telegraph, January 7, February 4, April 8, May 6, 1870; Seneca Courier, March 17, 1871.
elected men to township and county offices who had served apprenticeships in Atchison county.\textsuperscript{91}

These varied ties between the settlers in the Central Branch country and the people of Atchison were re-enforced by the omnipresent drummers for Atchison business firms. In winter’s snows and summer’s heat these men made their tireless rounds over the rails from Atchison to Waterville, and over the trails from Waterville to Clay Center, Concordia, and Belleville. Wherever they went they brought news of what was going on in Atchison; when they returned they supplemented their orders for goods with reports on business conditions and crops in the tributary area. In some instances the proprietors of Atchison wholesale houses or manufacturing firms took to the road to become personally acquainted with their customers in the Central Branch country. In this group were included such men as D. P. Blish and John Silliman, of the Blish-Silliman Hardware Company; Matthew Quigg, of Quigg, Dolan and Company, wholesale dealers in groceries and liquors; W. C. McPike, of the McPike and Allen Drug Company; J. H. Garside, of J. Garside and Sons, grain dealers; J. S. Hoke, of the Hoke Lumber Company, and W. M. Marbourg, of Marbourg and Lea Hardware Company.\textsuperscript{92} Then there was the corps of regular traveling salesmen. Max Alwens, for Julius Kuhn and Company; George T. Challiss for D. C. Robbins and Company; J. T. Jones, for Marbourg and Lea; D. P. Rogers, for Challiss Brothers; Harry Smith, for the R. A. Heim Stationery Company; W. H. Riggs, for the agricultural implement house of Robbins, Haygood and Company; N. H. Maher of the Flanndon Company, and E. W. Plankenton, for Jacob Leu, wholesale dealer in stoves, were some of the men who were on the road almost constantly drumming up business for their firms.\textsuperscript{93} In a special class were the traveling agents and correspondents of the Atchison newspapers. Always careful to refrain from soliciting job printing in towns that boasted

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{91} Atchison \textit{Champion}, October 31, November 5, 1869, December 1 and 22, 1870, January 9 and 24, 1871; \textit{Seneca Courier}, February 24, 1871; \textit{Waterville Telegraph}, January 14, August 19, 1870, and February 10, 24, 1871.
\bibitem{92} The notices are too numerous to permit complete citation. For examples see the Atchison \textit{Champion}, May 7, September 4, October 5, 1869, and November 21, 1873; \textit{Seneca Courier}, February 24, 1871; and \textit{Waterville Telegraph}, February 4, August 5, November 11, 1870, February 17, April 14 and 21, May 5, June 23 and 30, 1871, May 31, 1872, and June 21, November 22, 1873. John A. Martin advocated intensive cultivation of Atchison’s trade area. On September 4, 1869, he urged Atchison merchants to “oppose effort with effort, enterprise with enterprise, advertising with advertising, drumming with drumming, low prices with low prices, good articles with good articles, and big promises with big performances.”
\bibitem{93} For examples of the notices see the Atchison \textit{Champion}, August 1 and 21, September 4, October 5, 1869, August 29, 1870, June 2, 1871, October 7, 1873; \textit{Holton Express}, May 3, June 7, 1872; \textit{Seneca Courier}, March 31, 1871; and the \textit{Waterville Telegraph}, April 22, July 29, 1870, and May 19, June 23, August 15, 1871.
\end{thebibliography}
of a local newspaper, these peripatetic journalists became reciprocating channels of information as they carried news of Atchison to the towns and sent back long descriptive articles to their papers.94 That the efforts of the drummers and agents were attended with some degree of success is indicated by the increasing number of carloads of lumber, of agricultural implements, of hardware, dry-goods, and groceries that were shipped westward from Atchison.95

But the taking of orders and the shipment of goods in response to them did not complete the interaction of the merchants of the Central Branch towns with the business community of Atchison. There remained all of the intricate details associated with the payment of the bills. In some fashion, without resorting to the earlier practice of shipping coin or currency, or anticipating later procedures of payment by check, a way had to be found to pay wholesale houses in St. Louis, Chicago, and Eastern cities, as well as Atchison firms. And some way had to be devised to receive payment for the carloads of produce, grain, and cattle that were shipped eastward.96 Like the transportation of goods and persons, the transmission of funds is a segment of the broad problem of effective lines of communication. Just as Atchison needed to be the center of a network of railroads, so she needed to be the center of a network of banks with lines of correspondent relationships reaching out to the towns in the hinterlands as well as to the principal financial centers of the nation, if she was to fulfill her role as a metropolis.

To the creation of such a network of banks to serve the Central Branch country, the Exchange Bank of William Hetherington made a substantial contribution.97 During its early years the Exchange had developed correspondent relationships with A. Beattie and Com-

94. Examples of James A. Loper’s letters may be found in the Atchison Champion, June 3, 4, 7, 8, 10-12, 1870. For some of Richard A. Hoffman’s reports from the Central Branch towns see the Champion, April 12, 15, 16, 18, and 25, 1872, March 7, June 21 and 26, 1873.

95. The citations are too numerous to include here. Good examples of descriptions of westbound trains may be found in the Champion, March 2 and 23, 1869, March 3, 1870, March 8, April 20, 1871.

96. Even in the early years of settlements some grain and livestock was shipped out of the Central Branch country—Atchison Champion, September 8, 1869, May 18, 1870, and December 23, 1871; Holton Express, April 26, May 24, July 17, 1872; Marshall County News, August 30, 1873; Seneca Courier, February 17, 1871; and Waterville Telegraph, March 7, 1873.

97. The present writer’s unpublished article, “A Century of Continuity: the Exchange Bank, 1857-1859,” is the fullest historical account of this institution. During the period 1860-1872, Augustus Byram was Hetherington’s partner and a heavy borrower from the bank. In addition to his freighting and railroad construction activities, Byram was a partner with his brother Peter and C. W. Gillespie in the C. W. Gillespie Lumber Company.—Atchison Champion, October 17, 1866; Waterville Telegraph, March 4, 1870; Chas. J. Kelly, Exchange Bank of William Hetherington, pp. 545, 551. The Exchange bank was “puffed” regularly in the Central Branch newspapers. For examples see the Waterville Telegraph, June 3 and 24, August 8, 1870, and the Holton News quoted in the Atchison Champion, November 21, 1871. The ticker and collection register of the Exchange bank (no portion shows that the Exchange had customers in America, Centraín, Holton, Maryville, Monrovia, and Muskoday in addition to the more frequent borrowers in Seneca, Waterville, and Wetmore.
pany of St. Joseph, with the First National Banks of Leavenworth and Kansas City, with the Second National of St. Louis, the Third National of Chicago, and the Importers and Traders National Bank of New York. These were not merely paper connections to embellish an advertisement. They were active channels for the interchange of drafts, acceptances, specie, and currency. As the agency through which William Osborn transacted the financial business attendant to the construction of the railroad, the Exchange bank had played an important role in bringing the Central Branch country into existence. This intimate association was continued when William F. Downs, as general superintendent and land commissioner, received and paid out his funds through the Exchange.

Close financial relationships developed because some merchants like J. C. Meacham of Seneca and Samuel Dickson, J. C. Peters, and John Landgraf of Waterville, who had been regular customers of Hetherington's Exchange Bank before they moved to their new homes, and others like Rising and Son and W. C. McVay of Wetmore, Jason Yurann, of Blue Rapids, Rochefeller and Collins of Washington, and W. W. Jerome of Irving, went to the Exchange for funds to finance their business operations. Less direct in its impact, but just as important in its effect, was the extension of credit by the Exchange to the Atchison firms that did business in the Central Branch country. J. Carside and Sons, reputedly the most extensive buyer of grain in the area, Hipple and Larkin and Brady

98. Some information on Osborn's transactions with the Exchange may be found in "Cash Book A" of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 99, 100; in the cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 500-503, 519-520, 602-619; and in the record of the suit brought by the Exchange against William Osborn, R. A. Park, and the Central Branch of the Union Pacific Railroad Company in the "Atchison County Court. 1866 Cases," No. 76. In March, 1866, William Hetherington purchased the stock of the Bank of the State of Kansas which was the successor to the Kansas Valley Bank of Atchison. Because he used the blank pages in the record books of the Kansas Valley Bank precise citation is difficult. These books were used through the courtesy of John Adair, presently the president of the Exchange National Bank of Atchison. Some of them are on deposit in the Manuscripts division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

and Collins, two of the most active cattle buying firms; 103 J. S. Hoke and Company, G. C. Hixon and Company, and G. W. Gillespie and Company, the principal lumber firms; 104 H. E. Nickerson and Company, manufacturer and wholesaler of furniture; A. B. Symnes, the pork packer; and the wholesale houses of W. F. Dolan, Marbourg and Lea; and Robbins, Haygood and Company, were all regular customers of the Exchange Bank. 105

Until 1870 there were no banks in the Central Branch country to serve as the initial point for the payment of bills and notes and for the extension of credit. In that year the Marshall County Bank of Burtis, Smith and Burtis, later reorganized as the Marshall County Savings Bank of Burtis, Powell and Burtis, was established in Water-ville. 106 Between 1870 and 1874 the Lappin and Serraflord Bank in Seneca, the Olmstead-Freeland Bank of Blue Rapids, 107 the Exchange Bank of Frank Schmidt in Marysville, 108 the Morrill and Janes Bank of Hiawatha, 109 Sabetha Exchange Bank, 110 and the Exchange Bank of Holton were founded. 111 The relations of the Exchange Bank of Atchison with these country banks varied a great deal. For some it merely provided one step in the draft-clearing process. 112 For the Lappin and Serraflord Bank of Seneca, the Exchange served as a city correspondent and on some occasions lent considerable sums of money to the members of the firm. 113 But it was with the Marshall County Savings Bank of Waterville that the

103. Samuel Hipple was a brother-in-law of William Hetherington and owned a large live-stock farm near Ellingham. Both firms shipped cattle to New York as well as to Chicago.


106. Waterville Telegraph, June 17, 24, July 29, August 19, 22, 1870, January 27, 1871, July 19, 1872, and January 31, March 14, June 18, 1873; Atchison Champion, June 20, 1873, and Marshall County News, Marysville, December 7, 1872, and February 8, 13, September 27, 1873.

107. Blue Rapids Times, June 13, 1872; Marshall County News, February 8, 1873; Seneca Courier, February 10, 1871; and Waterville Telegraph, July 1, 1870, and January 20, 1871.


109. Atchison Champion, June 18, 1873.

110. Ibid., June 19, 1873, M. E. Mather was the proprietor.

111. Holton Express, April 12 and 26, August 16, 1872. Marshall County News, May 17, 1873. J. L. Williams was president and T. P. Moore, cashier. There was a Farmers Bank in Holton too, with Martin Anderson as president and H. J. Ramsay as cashier.

112. This was the relationship with the Morrill and Janes Bank of Hiawatha.—See cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 410 et passim.

Exchange Bank of Atchison had the closest connections. William Hetherington, principal proprietor of the Exchange bank, was a director of the Waterville bank.\footnote{114} When it came time for the newly opened country bank to establish correspondent relationships with banks in St. Louis, Chicago and New York, the Exchange played a part in the opening of the accounts. And when the men who operated the Waterville bank needed funds it was the Exchange Bank that provided them.\footnote{115} In return it is altogether likely that the Waterville bank served as a connecting link between the Exchange and the tradespeople in the country west of Marshall county. At least this was the case if credence may be placed in the assertion of the Waterville \textit{Telegraph} that the Marshall County bank was doing the banking business of all northwestern Kansas. In elaborating this statement the editor said,

In fact the Marshall County Bank has become the medium of commercial intercourse between the wholesale trade East and the business men of the northwestern counties. The Bank keeps accounts with merchants at all points within a radius extending from Clay Center to the South, all around to Fairbury in Nebraska on the North—including in the range Waconda, a hundred miles to the West.\footnote{116}

Irrespective of the validity of the claim made by the Waterville editor, there is considerable evidence that it was in the realm of banking services that Atchison enjoyed the greatest success in its effort to play the role of metropolis to the Central Branch hinterland. As in other areas of activity the banks of Atchison, the Exchange among them, were in constant competition with institutions in St. Joseph, Leavenworth, and Kansas City for the business of the Central Branch country. Whatever may have been the outcome during the reasonably normal periods in this competition, the banks of Atchison and the city of Atchison emerged triumphant during the panic of 1873. As failure followed failure and the dark clouds of depression settled over the business of the nation, the banks of New York and those in other Eastern cities suspended currency payments. The banks of Chicago and St. Louis followed suit. As panic conditions moved westward the banks of Kansas City, Leavenworth, and St. Joseph, refused to cash checks and drafts and declined to pay out currency on certificates of deposit.\footnote{117} It was

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{114} Waterville \textit{Telegraph}, September 25, October 16, December 18, 1874; Marshall County \textit{News}, September 27, 1873. The Waterville bank advertised that it paid eight per cent interest on savings accounts.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{115} Cash journal of the Kansas Valley Bank, pp. 416, 453, 454, 472, 562.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{116} Waterville \textit{Telegraph}, March 31, 1871.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{117} The course of the panic and the suspension of specie payments by the banks of New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Leavenworth, and St. Joseph in almost every issue of the \textit{Champion} from September 26 to October 10, 1873.}
asserted contemporaneously, and it seems to be true, that only the banks of Atchison in this area remained open and continued to do business. However it may be with the other banks, the cash journal and the ledger of the Exchange bank demonstrate that it carried on its usual functions during the days of panic. Checks were cashed, bills receivable declined in amount, and deposits were withdrawn. Out in the Central Branch country the merchants had unhappy relations with the banks of Leavenworth, St. Joseph, and Kansas City. Drafts were returned unpaid, grain accumulated at trackside, and livestock could not be sold. In addition to meeting their regular obligations the Atchison banks bought some of the unpaid grain drafts and thus put some funds in circulation. An almost unanimous chorus of praise for the Atchison banks had its counterpart in the denunciation of the banks in the other cities. Atchison had its moment of high exultation and her spokesmen made the most of their opportunity. Their city, they said, was unquestionably the Queen City of the Missouri valley.

Unfortunately, the success in the field of banking was not matched by success in bridging the Missouri and in extending the Central Branch railroad to the westward. No through line to the Colorado mountains; no connection with the main line of the Union Pacific in Nebraska; no branch lines to Holton, Seneca, Hanover, or Washington, none of these appeared on the scene to alter the relations of Atchison with the Central Branch country. As year after year passed and the extensions were not built, the Central Branch became known as the Rip Van Winkle of American railroads. While company representatives argued with federal officials, John A. Martin fumed, cajoled, and prodded. Finally his patience was ex-

118. On September 27, 1873, the Champion paid the following tribute to the banks of Atchison: "There are no sounder or safer banks in the United States than those in Atchison... There is not one of them that has ever departed from the legitimate business of banking... And there is not one of them whose assets are not equal to a dollar and a half for every dollar of liabilities." There are equally complimentary statements in the issues for September 29, 30, October 1, 4, 1873. On October 12, 1873, the Champion published a brief history of the Exchange bank in connection with its commendatory article.

119. Atchison Champion, September 30, October 1, 1873.

120. On October 4, 1873, the Champion noted the return of Matthew Quiga from a trip through northern Kansas and quoted him as saying that "the course of the Atchison banks in refusing to suspend currency payments and the strength and soundness evinced by them has greatly increased the favor in which Atchison is held throughout the region he visited and will have the most favorable effect upon the business interests of our city. Many country merchants and business men had suffered serious inconvenience by the locking up of their funds in suspended banks, while those who kept deposits in Atchison have had no trouble and suffered no inconvenience." The Clyde Reporter, Troy Chief, and Wamego Blade were quoted in the Champion, respectively on October 8, 11, and 18, 1873.

121. William M. Evarts, E. R. Hoar, Reverdy Johnson, and G. T. Curtis were among the distinguished lawyers who participated in the presentation of the Central Branch company's case—Atchison Champion, February 20, 1872. The discussion of the extension of the Central Branch began before the one hundredth milestone was reached and continued throughout the period under discussion—Atchison Champion, January 31, February 4, 1868; January 30, February 3, 6, and 9, March 2, May 2, 4, and 7, September 24, December 12, 1869; February 12 and 27, March 8, 9, and 11, June 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18,
hausted and he declared, “Our experience fully justifies the conclusion that . . . the Central Branch Railroad Company is the most inefficient, unreliable, torpid, and senseless organization on this continent.” But denunciation could not accomplish what exhortation had failed to bring to fruition. The extent of the Central Branch country, Atchison’s special hinterland, remained in 1874 what it had been in 1867.

September 9, 1870; January 6 and 29, February 10, July 19, 20, and 24, August 19 and 23, September 8, November 1 and 18, December 14 and 27, 1871; February 20, March 21, and April 20, 1872; April 7, June 29, August 19, November 21, 1873; Holton Express, July 26, 1872; Marshall County News, Marysville, Oct. 15, 26, 1872; Waterville Telegraph, March 11, July 1 and 22, 1870; January 13 and 20, March 10 and 31, May 17, June 2 and 30, August 18, September 1, 8, 15, 23 and 29, October 15, November 3 and 17, December 29, 1871; February 16, March 1 and 8, April 19, June 28, July 12, 1872.